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CYCLOPÆDIA

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

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EDITED BY

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CYCLOPÆDIA

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BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

IBZAN (אִבְצָן, *illustrious*; Sept. Ἀβαισσάν), the tenth 'judge' of Israel.' He was of Bethlehem, probably the Bethlehem of Zebulun and not of Judah. He governed seven years. The prosperity of Ibzan is marked by the great number of his children (thirty sons and thirty daughters), and his wealth by their marriages—for they were all married. Some have held, with little probability, that Ibzan was the same with Boaz; B.C. 1182 (Judg. xii. 8.).

I-CHABOD (אִי כָבוֹד, *where is the glory?* Sept. Ἀχιτώβ), son of Phinehas and grandson of Eli. He is only known from the unhappy circumstances of his birth, which occasioned this name to be given to him. The pains of labour came upon his mother when she heard that the ark of God was taken, that her husband was slain in battle, and that these tidings had proved fatal to his father Eli. They were death-pains to her; and when those around sought to cheer her, saying, 'Fear not, for thou hast borne a son,' she only answered by giving him the name of Ichabod, saying, 'The glory is departed from Israel' (1 Sam. iv. 19-22); B.C. 1141. The name again occurs in 1 Sam. xiv. 3 [ELI].

ICONIUM (Ἰκόνιον), a town, formerly the capital of Lycaonia, as it is now, by the name of Konieh, of Karamania, in Asia Minor. It is situated in N. lat. 37° 51′, E. long. 32° 40′, about one hundred and twenty miles inland from the Mediterranean. It was visited by St. Paul in A.D. 45, when many Gentiles were converted; but some unbelieving Jews excited against him and Barnabas, a persecution, which they escaped with difficulty (Acts xiii. 51; xiv. 1, &c.). He undertook a second journey to Iconium in A.D. 51. The church planted at this place by the apostle continued to flourish, until, by the persecutions of the Saracens, and afterwards of the Seljukians, who made it one of their sultanies, it was nearly extinguished. But some Christians of the Greek and Armenian churches, with a Greek metropolitan bishop, are still found in the suburbs of the city, not being permitted to reside within the walls.

Konieh is situated at the foot of Mount Taurus, upon the border of the lake Trogolis, in a fertile plain, rich in valuable productions, particularly apricots, wine, cotton, flax, and fruits. The circumference of the town is between two and three miles, beyond which are suburbs not much less populous than the town itself. The walls, strong and lofty, and flanked with square towers, which, at the gates, are placed close together [see cut, No. 317], were built by the Seljukian Sultans of Iconium, who seem to have taken considerable pains to exhibit the Greek inscriptions, and the remains of architecture and sculpture, belonging to the ancient Iconium, which they made use of in building the walls. The town, suburbs, and gardens, are plentifully supplied with water from streams which flow from some hills to the westward, and which, in the north-east, join the lake, which varies in size with the season of the year. In the town carpets are manufactured, and blue and yellow leathers are tanned and dried. Cotton, wool, hides, and a few of the other raw productions which enrich the superior industry and skill of the manufacturers of Europe, are sent to Smyrna by caravans.

The most remarkable building in Konieh is the tomb of a priest highly revered throughout Turkey, called Hazreet Mevlana, the founder of the Mevlevi Dervishes. The city, like all those renowned for superior sanctity, abounds with dervishes, who meet the passenger at every turning of the streets, and demand paras with the greatest clamour and insolence. The bazaars and houses have little to recommend them to notice (Kinneir's *Travels in Asia Minor;* Leake's *Geography of Asia Minor;* Arundell's *Tour in Asia Minor*).

1. IDDO (עִדּוֹ, *seasonable;* Sept. Ἀδδώ), a prophet of Judah, who wrote the history of Rehoboam and Abijah; or rather perhaps who, in conjunction with Seraiah, kept the public rolls during their reigns. It seems by 2 Chron. xiii. 22 that he named his book מִדְרָשׁ, *Midrash*, or 'Exposition.' Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 9. 1) states that this Iddo was the prophet who was sent to Jeroboam at Bethel, and consequently the same who was slain by a lion for disobedience to his instructions (1 Kings xiii.); and many commentators have followed this statement.

2. IDDO, grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (Zech. i. 1; Ezr. v. 1; vi. 14).

3. IDDO (אִדּוֹ), chief of the Jews of the captivity established at Casiphia, a place of which it is difficult to determine the position. It was to

him that Ezra sent a requisition for Levites and Nethinim, none of whom had yet joined his caravan. Thirty-eight Levites and 250 Nethinim responded to his call (Ezra viii. 17-20), B.C. 457. It would seem from this that Iddo was a chief person of the Nethinim, descended from those Gibeonites who were charged with the servile labours of the tabernacle and temple. This is one of several circumstances which indicate that the Jews in their several colonies under the Exile were still ruled by the heads of their nation, and allowed the free exercise of their worship.

4. IDDO (יִדּוֹ, *lovely;* Sept. Ἰαδαΐ), a chief of the half tribe of Manasseh beyond the Jordan (1 Chron. xxvii. 21).

IDLE. The ordinary uses of this word require no illustration. But the very serious passage in Matt. xii. 36 may suitably be noticed in this place. In the Authorized Version it is translated, 'I say unto you, that *every idle word* that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the day of judgment.' The original is, Ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα ἀργόν, ὃ ἐὰν λαλήσωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀποδώσουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. The whole question depends upon the meaning or rather force of the term ῥῆμα ἀργόν, rendered 'idle word,' concerning which there has been no little difference of opinion. Many understand it to mean 'wicked and injurious words,' as if ἀργόν were the same as πονηρόν, which is indeed found as a gloss in Cod. 126. The sense is there taken to be as follows:—'Believe me, that for every wicked and injurious word men shall hereafter render an account.' And our Lord is supposed to have intended in this passage to reprehend the Pharisees, who had spoken impiously against Him, and to threaten them with the severest punishments; inasmuch as every one of their injurious and impious words should one day be judged. This interpretation of the word ἀργόν is, however, reached by a somewhat circuitous process of philological reasoning, which is examined with much nicety by J. A. H. Tittmann, and shown to be untenable. He adds: 'This interpretation, moreover, would not be in accordance with what precedes in verses 33-35, nor with what follows in verse 37. For it is not any *wicked* discourse which is there represented; but the feigned piety of the Pharisees, and their affected zeal for the public welfare. In order to avoid a charge of levity and indifference, they had demanded "a sign," σημεῖον; as if desirous that both they and others might know whether Jesus was truly the Messiah. Against this dissimulation in those who uttered nothing sincerely and from the heart, Jesus had inveighed in severe and appropriate terms in verses 33-35, using the comparison of a tree, which no one judges to be good and useful unless it bears good fruit, and from which, if it be bad, no one expects good fruit. But if now the sense of verse 36 is such as these interpreters would make it, there is added in it a sentiment altogether foreign to what precedes, and ἀργόν becomes not only destitute of effect and force, but involves a sentiment incongruous with that in verse 37. For where our Lord says that hereafter every one shall be judged according to his words, He cannot be understood to mean that every one will be capable of proving his integrity and goodness merely by His words alone—a sentiment surely as far as possible from the intention of our Divine Master. We must, therefore, necessarily understand a certain kind of words or discourse, which, under the appearance of sincerity or candour, is often the worst possible, and καταδικάζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "condemns a man," because it is uttered with an evil purpose. If, then, we interpret ἀργόν according to established Greek usage, there arises a natural and very appropriate sense, namely, ἀργόν is the same as ἄεργον, *otiosus, vain, idle;* then, *void of effect, without result, followed by no corresponding event.* Therefore ῥῆμα ἀργόν is *empty or vain words* or *discourse, i. e.* void of truth, and to which the event does not correspond. In short, it is the empty, inconsiderate, insincere language of one who says one thing and means another; and in this sense ἀργός is very frequently employed by the Greeks.' This Tittmann confirms by a number of citations; and then deduces from the whole that the sense of the passage under review is: 'Believe me, he who uses false and insincere language shall suffer grievous punishment: your words, if uttered with sincerity and ingenuousness, shall be approved; but if they are dissembled, although they bear the strongest appearance of sincerity, they shall be condemned' (See Tittmann, *On the Principal Causes of Forced Interpretations of the New Testament,* in *Am. Bib. Repository* for 1831, pp. 481-484).

IDOLATRY. In giving a summary view of the forms of idolatry which are mentioned in the Bible, it is expedient to exclude all notice of those illegal images which were indeed designed to bear some symbolical reference to the worship of the true God, but which partook of the nature of idolatry; such, for example, as the golden calf of Aaron (cf. Neh. ix. 18); those of Jeroboam; the singular ephods of Gideon and Micah (Judg. viii. 27; xvii. 5); and the Teraphim.

Idolatry was the most heinous offence against the Mosaic law, which is most particular in defining the acts which constitute the crime, and severe in apportioning the punishment. Thus, it is forbidden to make any image of a strange God; to prostrate oneself before such an image, or before those natural objects which were also worshipped without images, as the sun and moon (Deut. iv. 19); to suffer the altars, images, or groves of idols to stand (Exod. xxxiv. 13); or to keep the gold and silver of which their images were made, and to suffer it to enter the house (Deut. vii. 25, 26); to sacrifice to idols, most especially to offer human sacrifices; to eat of the victims offered to idols by others; to prophesy in the name of a strange god; and to adopt any of the rites used in idolatrous worship, and to transfer them to the worship of the Lord (Deut. xii. 30, 31). As for punishment, the law orders that if an individual committed idolatry he should be stoned to death (Deut. xvii. 2-5); that if a town was guilty of this sin, its inhabitants and cattle should be slain, and its spoils burnt together with the town itself (Deut. xiii. 12-18). To what degree also the whole spirit of the Old Testament is abhorrent from idolatry, is evident (besides legal prohibitions, prophetic denunciations, and energetic appeals like that in Isa. xliv. 9-20) from the literal sense of the terms which are used as synonymes for idols and

their worship. Thus idols are called הָאֱלִילִים, *the inane* (Lev. xix. 4); הֲבָלִים, *vanities*—the τὰ μάταια of Acts xiv. 15—(Jer. ii. 5); אָוֶן, *nothing* (Isa. lxvi. 3); שִׁקּוּצִים, *abominations* (1 Kings xi. 5); גִּלּוּלִים, *stercora* (Ezek. vi. 4); and their worship is called *whoredom*, which is expressed by the derivatives of זָנָה.

The early existence of idolatry is evinced by Josh. xxiv. 2, where it is stated that Abram and his immediate ancestors dwelling in Mesopotamia 'served other gods.' The terms in Gen. xxxi. 53, and particularly the plural form of the verb, seem to show that some members of Terah's family had each different gods. From Josh. xxiv. 14, and Ezek. xx. 8, we learn that the Israelites, during their sojourn in Egypt, were seduced to worship the idols of that country; although we possess no particular account of their transgression. In Amos v. 25, and Acts vii. 42, it is stated that they committed idolatry in their journey through the wilderness; and in Num. xxv. 1, sq., that they worshipped the Moabite idol Baal-peor at Shittim. After the Israelites had obtained possession of the promised land, we find that they were continually tempted to adopt the idolatries of the Canaanite nations with which they came in contact. The book of Judges enumerates several successive relapses into this sin. The gods which they served during this period were Baal and Ashtoreth, and their modifications; and Syria, Sidon, Moab, Ammon, and Philistia, are named in Judg. x. 6, as the sources from which they derived their idolatries. Then Samuel appears to have exercised a beneficial influence in weaning the people from this folly (1 Sam. vii.); and the worship of the Lord acquired a gradually increasing hold on the nation until the time of Solomon, who was induced in his old age to permit the establishment of idolatry at Jerusalem. On the division of the nation, the kingdom of Israel (besides adhering to the sin of Jeroboam to the last) was specially devoted to the worship of Baal, which Ahab had renewed and carried to an unprecedented height; and although the energetic measures adopted by Jehu, and afterwards by the priest Jehoiada, to suppress this idolatry, may have been the cause why there is no later express mention of Baal, yet it is evident from 2 Kings xiii. 6, and xvii. 10, that the worship of Asherah continued until the deportation of the ten tribes. This event also introduced the peculiar idolatries of the Assyrian colonists into Samaria. In the kingdom of Judah, on the other hand, idolatry continued during the two succeeding reigns; was suppressed for a time by Asa (1 Kings xv. 12); was revived in consequence of Joram marrying into the family of Ahab; was continued by Ahaz; received a check from Hezekiah; broke out again more violently under Manasseh; until Josiah made the most vigorous attempt to suppress it. But even Josiah's efforts to restore the worship of the Lord were ineffectual; for the later prophets, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, still continue to utter reproofs against idolatry. Nor did the capture of Jerusalem under Jehoiachim awaken this peculiarly sensual people; for Ezekiel (viii.) shows that those who were left in Jerusalem under the government of Zedekiah had given themselves up to many kinds of idolatry; and Jeremiah (xliv. 8) charges those inhabitants of Judah who had found an asylum in Egypt, with having turned to serve the gods of that country. On the restoration of the Jews after the Babylonian captivity, they appear, for the first time in their history, to have been permanently impressed with a sense of the degree to which their former idolatries had been an insult to God, and a degradation of their own understanding—an advance in the culture of the nation which may in part be ascribed to the influence of the Persian abhorrence of images, as well as to the effects of the exile as a chastisement. In this state they continued until Antiochus Epiphanes made the last and fruitless attempt to establish the Greek idolatry in Palestine (1 Macc. i.).

The particular forms of idolatry into which the Israelites fell are described under the names of the different gods which they worshipped [Ashtoreth, Baal, &c.]: the general features of their idolatry require a brief notice here. According to Movers (*Die Phönizier*, i. 148), the religion of all the idolatrous Syro-Arabian nations was a deification of the powers and laws of nature, an adoration of those objects in which these powers are considered to abide, and by which they act. The deity is thus the invisible power in nature itself, that power which manifests itself as the generator, sustainer, and destroyer of its works. This view admits of two modifications: either the separate powers of nature are regarded as so many different gods, and the objects by which these powers are manifested—as the sun, moon, &c.—are regarded as their images and supporters; or the power of nature is considered to be one and indivisible, and only to differ as to the forms under which it manifests itself. Both views coexist in almost all religions. The most simple and ancient notion, however, is that which conceives the deity to be in human form, as male and female, and which considers the male sex to be the type of its active, generative, and destructive power; while that passive power of nature whose function is to conceive and bring forth, is embodied under the female form. The human form and the diversity of sex lead naturally to the different ages of life—to the old man and the youth, the matron and the virgin—according to the modifications of the conception; and the myths which represent the influences, the changes, the laws, and the relations of these natural powers under the sacred histories of such gods, constitute a harmonious development of such a religious system.

Those who saw the deity manifested by, or conceived him as resident in, any natural objects, could not fail to regard the sun and moon as the potent rulers of day and night, and the sources of those influences on which all animated nature depends. Hence star-worship forms a prominent feature in all the false religions mentioned in the Bible. Of this character chiefly were the Egyptian, the Canaanite, the Chaldæan, and the Persian religions. The Persian form of astrolatry, however, deserves to be distinguished from the others; for it allowed no images nor temples of the god, but worshipped him in his purest symbol, fire. It is understood that this form is alluded to in most of those passages which mention the worship of the sun, moon, and heavenly host, by incense, on heights (2 Kings xxiii. 5, 12; Jer. xix. 13). The other form of astrolatry, in which the idea of the

sun, moon, and planets, is blended with the worship of the god in the form of an idol, and with the addition of a mythology (as may be seen in the relations of Baal and his cognates to the sun), easily degenerates into lasciviousness and cruel rites.

The images of the gods, the standard terms for which are מצבה, עצב, and צלם, were, as to material, of stone, wood, silver, and gold. The first two sorts are called פסל, as being hewn or carved; those of metal had a trunk or stock of wood, and were covered with plates of silver or gold (Jer. x. 4); or were cast (מסכה). The general rites of idolatrous worship consist in burning incense; in offering bloodless sacrifices, as the dough-cakes (כונים) and libations in Jer. vii. 18, and the raisin-cakes (אשישי ענבים) in Hos. iii. 1; in sacrificing victims (1 Kings xviii. 26), and especially in human sacrifices [Moloch]. These offerings were made on high places, hills, and roofs of houses, or in shady groves and valleys. Some forms of idolatrous worship had libidinous orgies [Ashtoreth]. Divinations, oracles (2 Kings i. 2), and rabdomancy (Hos. iv. 12) form a part of many of these false religions. The priesthood was generally a numerous body; and where persons of both sexes were attached to the service of any god (like the קדשים and קדשות of Ashtoreth), that service was infamously immoral. It is remarkable that the Pentateuch makes no mention of any *temple* of idols; afterwards we read often of such.—J. N.

IDUMÆA. Ἰδουμαία is the Greek form of the Hebrew name Edom, or, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 1. 1), it is only a more agreeable mode of pronouncing what would otherwise be Ἀδῶμα (comp. Jerome on Ezek. xxv. 12). In the Septuagint we sometimes meet with Ἐδώμ, but more generally with Ἰδουμαία (the people being called Ἰδουμαῖοι), which is the uniform orthography in the Apocrypha as well as in Mark iii. 8, the only passage in the New Testament where it occurs. Our Authorized Version has in three or four places substituted for Edom 'Idumea,' which is the name employed by the writers of Greece and Rome, though it is to be noted that they, as well as Josephus, include under that name the south of Palestine, and sometimes Palestine itself, because a large portion of that country came into possession of the Edomites of later times.

The Hebrew אדם Edom, as the name of the people is *masculine* (Num. xx. 22); as the name of the country, *feminine* (Jer. xlix. 17). We often meet with the phrase *Eretz-Edom*, 'the Land of Edom,' and once with the poetic form *Sedeh-Edom*, 'the Field of Edom' (Judg. v. 4). The inhabitants are sometimes styled *Beni-Edom*, 'the Children of Edom,' and poetically *Bath-Edom*, 'the Daughter of Edom' (Lam. iv. 21, 22). A single person was called אדמי *Adomi*, 'an Edomite' (Deut. xxiii. 8), of which the feminine plural אדמית *Adomith* occurs in 1 Kings xi. 1. The name was derived from Isaac's son *Edom*, otherwise called Esau, the elder twin-brother of Jacob [Esau]. It signifies *red*, and seems first to have been suggested by his appearance at his birth, when 'he came out all red' (*i. e.* covered with red hair, Gen. xxv. 25), and was afterwards more formally and permanently imposed on him on account of his unworthy disposal of his birth-right for a mess of red lentiles (Gen. xxv. 30). The region which came to bear his name, is the mountainous tract on the east side of the great valleys El Ghor and El Araba, extending between the Dead Sea and the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea. Some have conjectured that the latter sea was called 'Red,' because it washed the shore of 'Edom;' but it never bears in Hebrew the name of *Yam-Edom:* it is uniformly designated *Yam-Suph*, *i. e.* 'the Sea of Madrepores.' Into this district Esau removed during his father's life-time, and his posterity gradually obtained possession of it as the country which God had assigned for their inheritance in the prophetic blessing pronounced by his father Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 39, 40; xxxii. 3; Deut. ii. 5-12, 22). Previously to their occupation of the country, it was called הר שׂעיר, *Mount Seir*, a designation indeed which it never entirely lost. The word *seir* means *hairy* (being thus synonymous with Esau), and, when applied to a country, may signify *rugged*, *mountainous*, and so says Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 20. 3): 'Esau named the country "Roughness" from his own hairy roughness.' But in Gen. xxxvi. 20, we read of an individual of the name of Seir, who had before this inhabited the land, and from whom it may have received its first appellation. Part of the region is still called Esh-*Sherah*, in which some find a trace of *Seir*, but the two words have no etymological relation: the former wants the ע, a letter which is never dropped, and it signifies 'a tract, a possession,' and sometimes 'a mountain.'

The first mention made of Mount Seir in Scripture is in Gen. xiv. 6, where Chedorlaomer and his confederates are said to have smitten 'the Horim in their Mount Seir.' Among the earliest human habitations were caves, either formed by nature or easily excavated, and for the construction of these the mountains of Edom afforded peculiar facilities. Hence the designation given to the Aboriginal inhabitants—*Horim*, *i. e.* cave-dwellers (from חר, a 'cave'), an epithet of similar import with the Greek *Troglodytes*. Even in the days of Jerome 'the whole of the southern part of Idumæa, from Eleutheropolis to Petra and Aila, was full of caverns used as dwellings, on account of the sun's excessive heat' (Jerome *on Obadiah*, ver. 1); and there is reason to believe that the possessors of the country in every age occupied similar habitations, many traces of which are yet seen in and near Petra, the renowned metropolis.

We are informed in Deut. ii. 12, that 'the children of Esau succeeded [*marg.* inherited] the Horim when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which Jehovah gave unto them.' From this it may be inferred, that the extirpation of the Horim by the Esauites was, like that of the Canaanites by Israel, very gradual and slow. Some think this supposition is confirmed by the genealogical tables preserved in the 36th chapter of Genesis (comp. 1 Chron. 1.), where we have, along with a list of the chiefs of Edom, a similar catalogue of Horite chieftains, who are presumed to have been their contemporaries. But for the *chronology* of these ancient documents we possess no *data* whatsoever, and very precarious, therefore, must be

any deductions that are drawn from them. This much, however, we there learn of the political constitution of the Seirite Aborigines, that, like the Esauites and Israelites, they were divided into tribes, and these tribes were sub-divided into families — the very polity which still obtains among the Arabs by whom Idumæa is now peopled. Each tribe had its own *Alluf*—a term which is unhappily rendered in the English Version by 'Duke'—for though that has, no doubt, the radical meaning of the Latin *dux*, a 'leader,' it now only suggests the idea of a feudal title of nobility. Of these chiefs of the Horites *seven* are enumerated, viz., Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Dishon, Ezer, and Dishan. The only one of these who is spoken of as related to the other is *Anah*, the son of Zibeon. The primitive and pastoral character of the people is incidentally brought out by the circumstance that this Anah, though a chieftain's son, was in the habit of tending his father's asses. It was when thus employed that he found in the wilderness *eth-ha-yemim*, rendered in the English Version by 'the mules,' but meaning more probably 'the hot springs;' and thus interpreted, the passage seems to be an intimation that he was the first to discover the faculty with which asses and other animals are endowed, of snuffing the moisture of the air, and thus sometimes leading to the opportune discovery of hidden waters in the desert. There is in the country to the south-east of the Dead Sea (which formed part of the Seirite possessions), a place, *Kallirhoë*, celebrated among the Greeks and Romans for its warm baths, and which has been visited by modern travellers (Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 5; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 5. 17; Legh's *Travels*).

Esau first married into two Canaanitish families of the Hittite and Hivite tribes (Gen. xxvi. 34; xxxvi. 2; in one or other of which places, however, the text seems corrupt); but anxious to propitiate his offended parents, he next formed a matrimonial alliance with one of the race of Abraham, viz., Mahalath, otherwise called Bashemath, daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebaioth, whose descendants, the Nabathæans, by a singular coincidence, obtained in after times possession of the land of Edom (Gen. xxviii. 9). Esau's first-born (by Adah or Bashemath, of the daughters of Heth) was Eliphaz, whose son *Teman* gave name to a district of the country (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 34; 1 Chron. i. 45; Ezek. xxv. 13; Obad. verse 9). The Temanites were renowned for their wisdom (Jer. xlix. 7, 20; Baruch iii. 22, 23). The chief speaker in the book of Job is another Eliphaz, a Temanite,—which is one of the circumstances that have led many to place the scene of that story in the land of Edom [Job]. The name of Teman was preserved to the days of Eusebius in that of Thaiman, a small town five Roman miles from Petra. Another son of the first-mentioned Eliphaz was *Amalek*, who is not to be confounded, however, with the father of the Amalekites, one of the doomed nations of Canaan, of whom we hear so early as the age of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 7).

As a modern Arab *sheikh* is often found to exercise influence far beyond the sphere of his hereditary domain, so in the list of the Edomite *emirs* preserved by Moses we have perhaps only the names of the more distinguished individuals who acquired more or less authority over all the tribes. This oligarchy appears gradually to have changed into a monarchy, as happened too among the Israelites; for in addition to the above mentioned lists, both of Horite and Esauite leaders, we have, at Gen. xxxvi. 31, a catalogue of eight kings (Bela, Jobab, Husham, Hadad, Samlah, Saul, Baal-hanan, Hadar or Hadad) who 'reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.' It is not necessary to suppose that this was said by Moses *prophetically:* it is one of those passages which may have been inserted by Ezra when finally arranging the canon, inasmuch as it occurs also in the first book of Chronicles, of which he is the reputed compiler. The period when this change to regal government took place in Idumæa can only be matter of conjecture. In the Song of Moses (Exod. xv. 15) it is said that at the tidings of Israel's triumphant passage of the Red Sea the rulers or princes (*Alluf*) of Edom trembled with affright, but when, some forty years afterwards, application had to be made by the Israelites for leave to traverse the land of Edom, it was to the king (*Melek*) that the request was addressed (Num. xx. 14). The road by which it was sought to penetrate the country was termed 'the *king's* highway' (ver. 17), supposed by Robinson to be the Wady el-Ghuweir, for it is almost the only valley that affords a direct and easy passage through those mountains. From a comparison of these incidents it may be inferred that the change in the form of government took place during the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert, unless we suppose, with Rosenmüller, that it was only this north-eastern part of Edom which was now subject to a monarch, the rest of the country remaining under the sway of its former chieftains. But whether the regal power at this period embraced the whole territory or not, perhaps it did not supplant the ancient constitution, but was rather grafted on it, like the authority of the Judges in Israel, and of Saul, the first king, which did not materially interfere with the government that previously existed. It further appears, from the list of Idumæan kings, that the monarchy was not hereditary, but elective (for no one is spoken of as the son or relative of his predecessor); or probably that chieftain was acknowledged as sovereign who was best able to vindicate his claim by force of arms. Every successive king appears to have selected his own seat of government: the places mentioned as having enjoyed that distinction are Dinhabah, Avith, Pagu or Pai. Even foreigners were not excluded from the throne, for the successor of Samlah of Masrekah was Saul, or Shaul, 'of Rechoboth, on the river.' The word 'Rechoboth' means, literally, *streets*, and was a not uncommon name given to towns; but the emphatic addition of 'the river,' points evidently to the Euphrates, and between Rakkah and Anah, on that river, there are still the remains of a place called by the Arabs Rachabath-Malik-Ibn Tauk. In the age of Solomon we read of one Hadad, who 'was of the king's seed in Edom' (1 Kings xi. 14); from which some have conjectured that by that period there was a royal dynasty of one particular family; but all that the expression may imply is, that he was a blood-relation of the last king of the country. Hadad was the name of one of the early sove-

reigns 'who smote Midian in the field of Moab' (Gen. xxxvi. 35).

The unbrotherly feud which arose between Esau and Jacob was prolonged for ages between their posterity. The Israelites, indeed, were commanded 'not to abhor an Edomite, for he was their brother' (Deut. xxiii. 7); but a variety of circumstances occurred to provoke and perpetuate the hostility. The first time they were brought into direct collision was when the Edomites, though entreated by their 'brother Israel,' refused the latter a passage through their territories; and they had consequently to make a retrograde and toilsome march to the Gulf of Elath, whence they had to 'compass the land of Edom' by the mountain desert on the east. We do not again hear of the Edomites till the days of Saul, who warred against them with partial success (1 Sam. xiv. 47); but their entire subjugation was reserved for David, who first signally vanquished them in the Valley of Salt (supposed to be in the Ghôr, beside *Usdum*, the Mountain of Salt); and, finally, placed garrisons in all their country (2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Chron. xviii. 11-13; 1 Kings xi. 15. Comp. the inscription of Ps. lx. and v. 8, 9; cviii. 9, 10, where 'the strong city' may denote Selah or Petra). Then were fulfilled the prophecies in Gen. xxv. 23 and xxvii. 40, that the 'elder should serve the younger;' and also the prediction of Balaam (Num. xxiv. 18), that Edom and Seir should be for possessions to Israel. Solomon created a naval station at Ezion-geber, at the head of the Gulf of Elath, the modern Akaba (1 Kings ix. 26; 2 Chron. viii. 18). Towards the close of his reign an attempt was made to restore the independence of the country by one Hadad, an Idumæan prince, who, when a child, had been carried into Egypt at the time of David's invasion, and had there married the sister of Tahpanhes the queen (1 Kings xi. 14-23) [HADAD]. If Edom then succeeded in shaking off the yoke, it was only for a season, since in the days of Jehoshaphat, the fourth Jewish monarch from Solomon, it is said, 'there was no king in Edom; a deputy was king;' *i. e.* he acted as viceroy for the king of Judah. For that the latter was still master of the country is evident from the fact of his having fitted out, like Solomon, a fleet at Ezion-geber (1 Kings xxii. 47, 48; 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37). It was, no doubt, his deputy (called *king*) who joined the confederates of Judah and Israel in their attack upon Moab (2 Kings iii. 9, 12, 26). Yet there seems to have been a partial revolt of the Edomites, or at least of the mountaineers of Seir, even in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 22); and under his successor, Jehoram, they wholly rebelled, and 'made a king over themselves' (2 Kings viii. 20, 22; 2 Chron. xxi. 8, 10). From its being added that, notwithstanding the temporary suppression of the rebellion, 'Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day,' it is probable that the Jewish dominion was never completely restored. Amaziah, indeed, invaded the country, and having taken the chief city, Selah or Petra, he, in memorial of the conquest, changed its name to Joktheel (*q. d.* subdued of God); and his successor, Uzziah, retained possession of Elath (2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 11-14; xxvi. 3). But in the reign of Ahaz, hordes of Edomites made incursions into Judah, and carried away captives (2 Chron. xxviii. 17). About the same period Rezin, king of Syria, expelled the Jews from Elath, which (according to the correct reading of 2 Kings xvi. 6) was thenceforth occupied by the Edomites. In our version it is said, 'the *Syrians* dwelt in Elath;' but the *Keri*, or marginal Masoretic reading, instead of ארמים, Aramæans, has אדומים, Edomites, the letter ד being substituted for ר; and this is followed by many MSS., as well as by the Sept. and Vulgate, and best accords with historical fact. But then, to make both clauses of the verse to correspond, we must, with Le Clerc and Houbigant, read the whole thus: 'At that time Rezin, king of Aram, recovered Elath to Edom, and drove the Jews from Elath; and the Edomites came to Elath, and continued there unto this day.' Now was fulfilled the other part of Isaac's prediction, viz. that, in course of time, Esau 'should take his brother's yoke from off his neck' (Gen. xxvii. 40). It appears from various incidental expressions in the later prophets, that the Edomites employed their recovered power in the enlargement of their territory in all directions. They spread as far south as Dedan in Arabia, and northward to Bozrah in the Hhauran; though it is doubtful if the Bozrah of Scripture may not have been a place in Idumæa Proper (Isa. xxxiv. 6; lxiii. 1; Jer. xlix. 7, 8-20; Ezek. xxv. 13; Amos i. 12). When the Chaldæans invaded Judah, under Nebuchadnezzar, the Edomites became their willing auxiliaries, and triumphed with fiendish malignity over the ruin of their kinsmen the Jews, of whose desolated land they hoped to obtain a large portion to themselves (Obad. verses 10-16; Ezek. xxv. 12-14; xxxv. 3-10; xxxvi. 5; Lament. iv. 21). By this circumstance the hereditary hatred of the Jews was rekindled in greater fury than ever, and hence the many dire denunciations of the 'daughter of Edom,' to be met with in the Hebrew prophets (Ps. cxxxvii. 7-9; Obad. *passim;* Jer. xlix. 7; Ezek. xxv. and xxxv.). From the language of Malachi (i. 2, 3), and also from the accounts preserved by Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 9. 7), it would seem that the Edomites did not wholly escape the Chaldæan scourge; but instead of being carried captive, like the Jews, they not only retained possession of their own territory, but became masters of the south of Judah, as far as Hebron (1 Macc. v. 65, comp. with Ezek. xxxv. 10; xxxvi. 5). Here, however, they were, in course of time, successfully attacked by the Maccabees, and about B.C. 125, were finally subdued by John Hyrcanus, who compelled them to submit to circumcision and other Jewish rites, with a view to incorporate them with the nation (1 Macc. v. 3, 65; 2 Macc. x. 16; xii. 32; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1; 15. 4). The amalgamation, however, of the two races seems never to have been effected, for we afterwards hear of Antipater, an Idumæan by birth, being made by Cæsar procurator of all Judæa; and his son, commonly called Herod the Great, was, at the time of Christ's birth, king of Judæa, including Idumæa; and hence Roman writers often speak of all Palestine under that name (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 1. 3; 8. 5; xv. 7. 9; xvii. 11. 4). Not long before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, 20,000 Idumæans were called in to the defence of the city by the Zealots; but both parties gave themselves up to rapine and murder (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iv. 4. 5; 6. 1; vii. S. 1).

This is the last mention made of the Edomites in history. The author of a work on Job, once ascribed to Origen, says that their name and language had perished, and that, like the Ammonites and Moabites, they had all become Arabs. In the second century Ptolemy limits the name Idumæa to the country west of the Jordan.



360. [Ravine in Idumæa.]

But while, during the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, the Edomites had thus been extending their territory to the north-west, they were themselves supplanted in the southern part of their native region by the Nabathæans, the descendants of Ishmael's eldest son, and to the article NEBAIOTH, we must refer the reader for the subsequent history of the land of Edom.

From the era of the Crusades down to the present century the land of Esau was, to Europeans, a *terra incognita*. Its situation was laid down on the best maps more than a hundred miles from the true position, and as if lying in a direction where it is now known there is nothing but a vast expanse of desert. Volney had his attention drawn towards it, when at Gaza, by the vague reports of the Arabs, and in 1807 the unfortunate Seetzen penetrated a certain way into the country, and heard of the wonders of the Wady Mûsa; but the first modern traveller who 'passed through the land of Edom' was Burckhardt, in the year 1812. And it has been well remarked by Dr. Robinson (*Amer. Bib. Reposit.* vol. iii. p. 250), that 'had he accomplished nothing but his researches in these regions, his journey would have been worth all the labour and cost expended on it, although his discoveries thus shed their strongest light upon subjects which were not comprehended in the plan or purpose either of himself or his employers.' Burckhardt entered Idumæa from the north, and in the year 1818 he was followed in the same direction by Messrs. Legh, Bankes, Irby and Mangles. In 1828 Laborde and Linant found access from the south; and since then it has been visited and described by so many that the names of its localities have become familiar as household words.

The limit of the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert was the brook Zered, after crossing which they found themselves in the territory of Moab (Deut. ii. 13-18). This brook is supposed to be identical with the *Wady-el-Ahsy*, which, rising near the Castle el-Ahsy, on the route to Mecca of the Syrian caravan upon the high eastern desert, penetrates through the whole chain of mountains to near the south-east corner of the Dead Sea. It was thus the southern border of Moab and the northern of Edom, whence the latter region extended southwards as far as to Elath on the Red Sea. The valley which runs between the two seas consists first of El-Ghor, which is comparatively low, but gradually rises into the more elevated plain of El-Arabah to the south. The country lying *east* of this great valley is the land of Idumæa. It is a mountain tract, consisting at the base of low hills of limestone or argillaceous rock, then lofty mountains of porphyry forming the body of the mountain; above these, sandstone broken up into irregular ridges and grotesque groups of cliffs; and again farther back, and higher than all, long elevated ridges of limestone without precipices. East of all these stretches off indefinitely the high *plateau* of the great eastern desert. Robinson and Smith estimated the height of the porphyry cliffs at about 2000 feet above the Arabah; the elevation of Wady Mûsa above the same is, perhaps, 2000 or 2200 feet, while the limestone ridges further back probably do not fall short of 3000 feet. The whole breadth of the mountainous tract between the Arabah and the eastern desert does not exceed fifteen or twenty geographical miles. Of these mountains the most remarkable is *Mount Hor*, near the Wady Mûsa. [HOR, MOUNT]. While the mountains on the west of the Arabah, though less elevated, are wholly barren, those of Idumæa seem to enjoy a sufficiency of rain, and are covered with tufts of herbs and occasional trees. The wadys, too, are full of trees and shrubs and flowers, while the eastern and higher parts are extensively cultivated, and yield good crops. Hence Robinson thinks its appearance fulfils the promise made to Esau (Gen. xxvii. 39), 'Thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth and of the dew of heaven from above.' Yet many critics are of opinion (*e. g.* Vater, De Wette, Geddes, Von Bohlen) that משמני should there be rendered 'from,' *i. e.* 'far away from, or destitute of,' the fatness of the earth, &c.; and it is immediately added, 'for thou shalt live by thy sword;' and it does not appear that Idumæa was ever particularly noted for its fertility. This mountainous region is at present divided into two districts. The northern bears the name of *Jebâl*, *i. e.* 'The Mountain,' the Gebal of the Hebrews (Ps. lxxxiii. 8), and the Gebalene of the Greeks and Romans. Commencing at Wady el-Ahsy, it terminates, according to Burckhardt, at Wady el-Ghuweir, the largest place in it being Tufileh, perhaps the Tophel of Deut. i. 1. The southern district is *esh-Sherah*, extending as far as Akabah, and including Shôbak, Wady Mûsa, Maan, &c. Burckhardt mentions a *third* dis-

trict, *Jebal Hesma;* but Robinson says that though there is a sandy tract, el-Hismah, with mountains around it, on the east of Akabah, it does not constitute a separate division.

The whole of this region is at present occupied by various tribes of Bedouin Arabs. The chief tribe in the *Jebal* is the Hejaya, with a branch of the Kaabineh, while in *esh-Sherah* they are all of the numerous and powerful tribe of the Haweitat, with a few independent allies. The Bedouins in Idumæa have of late years been partially subject to the Pacha of Egypt, paying an annual tribute, which, in the case of the Beni Sukhr, is one camel for two tents. The fellahin, or peasants, are half Bedouin, inhabiting the few villages, but dwelling also in tents; they, too, pay tribute to the Egyptian government, and furnish supplies of grain.

Among the localities connected with Edom which are mentioned in Scripture may be noticed Dinhabah, Bozrah, Theman, Maon (now Maan), Kadesh-barnea (which Robinson identifies with el-Weibeh in the Wady el-Jeib), Zephath (which he supposes to be the pass of Es-Sufah), Elath, and Ezion-geber, &c.; but the most celebrated place in all the region was the chief city, Selah or Petra, for a description of which the reader is referred to the latter head [Petra].

Could the scene of the book of Job be with certainty fixed in Idumæa, we should then possess much curious and valuable information respecting both the country and people soon after it had been colonized by the descendants of Esau (See Mason Good, Wemyss, and others upon Job). But all that we learn directly of the ancient Edomites from the historical books of Scripture represents them as not, indeed, neglecting agriculture or trade (Num. xx. 17), yet, on the whole, a warlike and predatory race, who, according to the prediction of their progenitor Isaac, 'lived by their sword.' The situation of the country afforded peculiar facilities for commerce, which seems to have been prosecuted from a very early period. 'Bordering,' says Volney, 'upon Arabia on the east and south, and Egypt on the south-west, and forming, from north to south, the most commodious channel of communication between Jerusalem and her dependencies on the Red Sea, through the continuous valleys of El-Ghor and El-Araba, Idumæa may be said to have long formed the emporium of the commerce of the East.' The era of its greatest prosperity was after the Nabathæans had become masters of the country and founded the kingdom of Arabia Petræa, of which the renowned metropolis was Petra. The *religion* of the early Edomites was, perhaps, comparatively pure; but in process of time they embraced idolatry: in 2 Chron. xxv. 20, we read of the 'gods of Edom,' one of whom, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 7. 9), was called *Kotzé*. With respect to the striking fulfilment of the prophetic denunciations upon Edom, we need only refer the reader to the well-known work of Keith, who frequently errs, however, in straining the sense of prophecy beyond its legitimate import, as well as in seeking out too literally minute an accomplishment. On Idumæa generally, see C. B. Michaelis, *Diss. de Antiquiss. Idumæor. Hist.* in Pott and Ruperti's *Sylloge Comment. Theologic.* Part VI. p. 121; J. D. Michaelis, *Comment. de Troglodytis Seiritis*, in the *Syntagma Commentt.*, Part I. p. 194; but especially *Sketches of Idumea and its present Inhabitants*, by Dr. E. Robinson, in the *Amer. Bib. Repository* for April, 1833, p. 247; and the *Bib. Researches* of the same writer, vol. ii. p. 551.—N. M.

ILLYRICUM (Ἰλλυρικόν), a country lying to the north-west of Macedonia, and answering nearly to that which is at present called Dalmatia; by which name indeed the southern part of Illyricum itself was known, and whither St. Paul informs Timothy that Titus had gone (2 Tim. iv. 10). Paul himself preached the Gospel in Illyricum, which was at that time a province of the Roman Empire (Rom. xv. 19).

IMMANUEL (עִמָּנוּאֵל; Sept. Ἐμμανουήλ) or Emmanuel. This word, meaning '*God with us*,' occurs in the celebrated verse of Isaiah (vii. 14), 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.' In forty-three MSS. and thirty-nine printed editions, the word is given in the separate form עמנו אל; but, as Dr. Henderson remarks, 'in the orthography of all compound names, the MSS. and editions widely differ.' In the name itself there is no difficulty; but the verse, as a whole, has been variously interpreted. From the manner in which the word God, and even Jehovah, is used in the composition of Hebrew names, there is no such peculiarity in that of Immanuel as in itself requires us to understand that he who bore it should be in fact God. Indeed, it is used as a proper name among the Jews at this day. This high sense has, however, been assigned to it in consequence of the application of the whole verse by the Evangelist Matthew (i. 23), to our Divine Saviour. Even if this reference did not exist, the history of the Nativity would irresistibly lead us to the conclusion that the verse—whatever may have been its intermediate signification—had an ultimate reference to Christ.

The state of opinion on this point has been thus neatly summed up by Dr. Henderson, in his note on the text:—'This verse has long been a subject of dispute between Jews and professedly Christian writers, and among the latter mutually. While the former reject its application to the Messiah altogether,—the earlier rabbins explaining it of the queen of Ahaz and the birth of his son Hezekiah; and the later, as Kimchi and Abarbanel, of the prophet's own wife,—the great body of Christian interpreters have held it to be directly and exclusively in prophecy of our Saviour, and have considered themselves fully borne out by the inspired testimony of the Evangelist Matthew. Others, however, have departed from this construction of the passage, and have invented or adopted various hypotheses in support of such dissent. Grotius, Faber, Isenbiehl, Hezel, Bolten, Fritsche, Pluschke, Gesenius, and Hitzig, suppose either the then present or a future wife of Isaiah to be the עַלְמָה *almah* [rendered "virgin"], referred to. Eichhorn, Paulus, Hensler, and Ammon, are of opinion that the prophet had nothing more in view than an ideal virgin, and that both she and her son are merely imaginary personages, introduced for the purpose of prophetic illustration. Bauer, Cube, Steudel, and some

others, think that the prophet pointed to a young woman in the presence of the king and his courtiers. A fourth class, among whom are Richard Simon, Lowth, Koppe, Dathe, Williams, Von Meyer, Olshausen, and Dr. J. Pye Smith, admit the hypothesis of a double sense: one in which the words apply primarily to some female living in the time of the prophet, and her giving birth to a son according to the ordinary laws of nature; or, as Dathe holds, to some virgin, who at that time should miraculously conceive; and the other in which they received a secondary and plenary fulfilment in the miraculous conception and birth of Jesus Christ.'

INCENSE, a perfume which gives forth its fragrance by burning, and, in particular, that perfume which was burnt upon the altar of incense [Altar; Censer]. Indeed, the burning of incense seems to have been considered among the Hebrews so much of an act of worship or sacred offering, that we read not of any other use of incense than this among them. Nor among the Egyptians do we discover any trace of burnt perfume but in sacerdotal use; but in the Persian sculptures we see incense burnt before the king. The prohibition of the Hebrews to make any perfume for private use—'to smell to'—like that prepared for the altar, merely implies, we apprehend, that the sacred incense had a peculiarly rich fragrance before being burnt, which was forbidden to be imitated in common perfumes.

The incense is denoted by the words מקטר *miktar* (Exod. xxx. 1); קטר *kitter* (Jer. xliv. 21); and קטרות *kituroth* (Exod. xxx. 1; xxxi. 11; Ezek. xvi. 18); all of which are equally from the root קטר, which, in Pihel, signifies generally *to raise an odour by burning;* and in the verbal form it is applied not only to the offering of incense but also of sacrifices, the smoke or effluvium of which is regarded as an acceptable or sweet odour to God. Indeed, the word which denotes an incense of spices in Exod. xxx. 1 describes an incense of fat in Ps. lxvi. 15.

The ingredients of the sacred incense are enumerated with great precision in Exod. xxx. 34, 35: 'Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte (נטף *netaph*), and onycha (שחלת *shecheleph*), and galbanum (חלבנה *chelbenah*); these sweet spices with pure frankincense (לבנה *lebonah*): of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make of it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy.' For an explanation of these various ingredients, we must refer to their several Hebrew names in the present work. The further directions are, that this precious compound should be made or broken up into minute particles, and that it should be deposited, as a very holy thing, in the tabernacle 'before the testimony' (or ark). As the ingredients are so minutely specified, there was nothing to prevent wealthy persons from having a similar perfume for private use: and this, therefore, was forbidden under pain of excommunication: 'Ye shall not make to yourselves according to the composition thereof: it shall be unto thee holy for the Lord. Whosoever shall make like unto that, to smell thereto, shall even be cut off from his people' (ver. 37, 38).

The word which describes the various ingredients as being 'tempered together' literally means 'salted' (ממלח *memullach*). The Chaldee and Greek versions have, however, set the example of rendering it by '*mixed*' or '*tempered*,' as if their idea was that the different ingredients were to be mixed together, just as salt is mixed with any substance over which it is sprinkled. Ainsworth contends for the literal meaning, inasmuch as the law (Lev. ii. 13) expressly says, 'With all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt.' In support of this he cites Maimonides, who affirms that there was not any thing offered on the altar without salt, except the wine of the drink offering, and the blood, and the wood; and of the incense he says, still more expressly, that 'they added to it a cab of salt.' In accordance with this, it is supposed, our Saviour says, 'Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt' (Mark ix. 49). Ainsworth further remarks: 'If our speech is to be always with grace, seasoned with salt, as the apostle teaches (Col. iv. 6), how much more should our incense, our prayers unto God, be therewith seasoned?' It is, however, difficult to see how so anomalous a substance as salt could well be combined in the preparation; and if it was used, as we incline to think that it was, it was probably added in the act of offering.

The above reference to Maimonides reminds us of the reason which he assigns, in the *More Nevochim*, for the use of incense in the Jewish ritual service: 'To prevent the stench which would otherwise have been occasioned by the number of beasts every day slaughtered in the sanctuary, God ordained that incense should be burned in it every morning and evening, and thereby rendered the odour of the sanctuary and of the vestments of those that ministered exceedingly grateful; which has occasioned the saying of our rabbins, That the odour of the incense extended to Jericho. This, therefore, is another of the precepts conducing to the reverence and veneration which ought to be entertained for the sanctuary: for if the perfume thereof had not been pleasant, but the contrary, it would have produced contempt instead of veneration, since a grateful odour pleases and attracts, while an unpleasant one disgusts and repels.'

This is very well; and no doubt the use of incense, which we always find in religions where worship is rendered by sacrifice, had its origin in some such considerations. But we are not to lose sight of the symbolical meaning of this grateful offering. It was a symbol of *prayer*. It was offered at the time when the people were in the posture and act of prayer; and their orisons were supposed to be presented to God by the priest, and to ascend to Him in the smoke and odour of that fragrant offering. This beautiful idea of the incense frequently occurs in Scripture (comp. Ps. cxli. 2; Mal. i. 11; Zech. xiv. 16; Acts x. 4; Rev. v. 8: viii. 4).

INCHANTMENTS. [Witchcraft.]

INDIA (הדו; Sept. Ἰνδική). This name occurs only in Esther i. 1; viii. 9, where the Persian king is described as reigning 'from India unto Ethiopia, over a hundred and seven and twenty provinces.' It is found again, however, in the Apocrypha, where India is mentioned among the countries which the Romans took from Anti-

ochus and gave to Eumenes (1 Macc. viii. 8). It is also with some reason conceived that in Acts ii. 9, we should read Ἰνδίαν, India, and not Ἰουδαίαν, Judæa. If this could be admitted, an interesting subject of inquiry would arise; for these dwellers in India—that is, Jews of India—are described as being present in Jerusalem at the Passover. There is much to say in favour of this reading, but more in favour of Idumæa; for the name of that country, Ἰδουμαίαν, might, much more easily than that of India, Ἰνδίαν, have been accidentally, or rather carelessly, corrupted into Ἰουδαίαν: and, at the same time, the name of Idumæa would come better into the list than that of India, seeing that the enumeration is manifestly taken from east to west; which allows Idumæa with great propriety to follow Mesopotamia, but forbids India to do so. Whichever may be right, Judæa cannot but be wrong; and, indeed, on the face of the list, we cannot but see the superfluousness of the information, that the people of Judæa were present in their own city at the Passover.

It is evident on the face of the above intimations, and indeed from all ancient history, that the country known as India in ancient times extended more to the west, and did not reach so far to the east—that is, was not known so far to the east—as the India of the moderns. When we read of ancient India, we must clearly not understand the whole of Hindostan, but chiefly the northern parts of it, or the countries between the Indus and the Ganges; although it is not necessary to assert that the rest of that peninsula, particularly its western coast, was then altogether unknown. It was from this quarter that the Persians and Greeks (to whom we are indebted for the earliest accounts of India) invaded the country; and this was consequently the region which first became generally known. The countries bordering on the Ganges continued to be involved in obscurity, the great kingdom of the Prasians excepted, which, situated nearly above the modern Bengal, was dimly discernible. The nearer we approach the Indus, the more clear becomes our knowledge of the ancient geography of the country; and it follows that the districts of which at the present day we know the least, were anciently best known. Besides, the western and northern boundaries were not the same as at present. To the west, India was not then bounded by the river Indus, but by a chain of mountains which, under the name of Koh (whence the Grecian appellation of the Indian Caucasus), extended from Bactria to Makran, or Gedrosia, enclosing the kingdoms of Candahar and Cabul, the modern kingdom of Eastern Persia, or Afghanistan. These districts anciently formed part of India, as well as, further to the south, the less perfectly known countries of the Arabi and Haurs (the Arabitæ and Oritæ of Arrian, vi. 21), bordering on Gedrosia. This western boundary continued at all times the same, and was removed to the Indus only in consequence of the victories of Nadir Shah.

Towards the north, ancient India overpassed not less its present limit. It comprehended the whole of the mountainous region above Cashmir, Badakshan, Belur Land, the western boundary mountains of Little Bucharia, or Little Thibet, and even the desert of Cobi, so far as it was known. The discovery of a passage by sea to the coasts of India has contributed to withdraw from these regions the attention of Europeans, and left them in an obscurity which hitherto has been little disturbed, although the current of events seems likely ere long to lead to our better knowledge.

From this it appears that the India of Scripture included no part of the present India, seeing that it was confined to the territories possessed by the Persians and the Syrian Greeks, that never extended beyond the Indus, which, since the time of Nadir Shah, has been regarded as the western boundary of India. Something of India beyond the Indus became known through the conquering march of Alexander, and still more through that of Seleucus Nicator, who penetrated to the banks of the Ganges; but the notions thus obtained are not embraced in the Scriptural notices, which, both in the canonical and the Apocryphal text, are confined to Persian India. (See Heeren's *Historical Researches*, i. c. 1, § 3, on *Persian India;* and Rennel's *Geog. of Herodotus*).

INHERITANCE. The laws and observances which determine the acquisition and regulate the devolution of property, are among the influences which affect the vital interests of states; and it is therefore of high consequence to ascertain the nature and bearing of the laws and observances relating to this subject, which come to us with the sanction of the Bible. We may also premise that, in a condition of society such as that in which we now live, wherein the two diverging tendencies which favour immense accumulations on the one hand, and lead to poverty and pauperism on the other, are daily becoming more and more decided, disturbing, and baneful, there seems to be required on the part of those who take Scripture as their guide, a careful study of the foundations of human society, and of the laws of property, as they are developed in the divine records which contain the revealed will of God.

That will, in truth, as it is the source of all created things, and specially of the earth and its intelligent denizen, man, so is it the original foundation of property, and of the laws by which its inheritance should be regulated. God, as the Creator of the earth, gave it to man to be held, cultivated, and enjoyed (Gen. i. 28, sq.; Ps. cxv. 16; Eccles. v. 9). The primitive records are too brief and fragmentary to supply us with any details respecting the earliest distribution or transmission of landed property; but from the passages to which reference has been made, the important fact appears to be established beyond a question, that the origin of property is to be found, not in the achievements of violence, the success of the sword, or any imaginary implied contract, but in the will and the gift of the common Creator and bountiful Father of the human race. It is equally clear that the gift was made, not to any favoured portion of our race, but to the race itself—to man as represented by our great primogenitor, to whom the use of the divine gift was first graciously vouchsafed. The individual appropriation of portions of the earth, and the transmission of the parts thus appropriated, in other words, the consuetudinary laws of property, would be determined in each instance by the peculiar circumstances in which an individual, a family, or a clan, might find itself placed in relation to the world and its other inhabitants;

nor is it now, in the absence of written evidence, possible to ascertain, and it is useless, if not worse, to attempt to conjecture, what these laws were. This, however, is certain, that if in any case they inflicted injury, if they aided the aggrandisement of the few, and tended to the depression of the many, they thereby became unjust, and not only lost their divine sanction, but, by opposing the very purposes for which the earth was given to man, and operating in contravention of the divine will, they were disowned and condemned of God, the tenure of the property was forfeited, and a recurrence to first principles and a re-distribution became due alike to the original donor, and to those whom He had intended impartially to benefit.

The enforcement of these principles has, in different periods of human history, been made by the seen hand of God, in those terrible providential visitations which upturn the very foundations of society and reconstruct the social frame. The Deluge was a kind of revocation of the divine gift; the Creator took back into his own hands the earth which men had filled with injustice and violence. The trust, however, was, after that terrible punishment, once more committed to man, to be held, not for himself, but for God, and to be so used and improved as to further the divine will by furthering human good. And, whatever conduct may have been pursued, at any period, at variance with the divine purpose, yet it is in trust, not in absolute possession, it is for God's purposes, not our own, that the earth at large, and every portion of the earth, has been and is still held. In truth, man is the tenant, nor the proprietor, of the earth. It is the temporary use, not the permanent possession of it that he enjoys. The lord of ten thousand broad acres, equally with the poor penniless squatter, is a sojourner and pilgrim in the land, as all his fathers were, and is bound, not less than the other, to remember, not only that property has its duties as well as its rights, but also that its best titles are held by a momentary tenure, revocable at the will of an omnipotent power, and subject to unerring scrutiny, in regard both to their origin and their use, in a court where the persons of men are not respected, where justice is laid to the line, and judgment to the plummet (Isa. xviii. 17).

The impression which the original gift of the earth was calculated to make on men, the Great Donor was pleased, in the case of Palestine, to render, for his own wise purposes, more decided and emphatic by an express re-donation to the patriarch Abraham (Gen. xiii. 14, sq.). Many years, however, elapsed before the promise was fulfilled. Meanwhile the notices which we have regarding the state of property in the patriarchal ages, are few and not very definite. The products of the earth, however, were at an early period accumulated and held as property. Violence invaded the possession; opposing violence recovered the goods. War soon sprang out of the passions of the human heart. The necessity of civil government was felt. Consuetudinary laws accordingly developed themselves. The head of the family was supreme. His will was law. The physical superiority which he possessed gave him this dominion. The same influence would secure its transmission in the male rather than the female line. Hence too the rise of the rights of primogeniture. In the early condition of society which is called patriarchal, landed property had its origin, indeed, but could not be held of first importance by those who led a wandering life, shifting continually, as convenience suggested, from one spot to another. Cattle were then the chief property (Gen. xxiv. 35). But land, if held, was held on a freehold tenure; nor could any other tenure have come into existence till more complex and artificial relations arose, resulting, in all probability, from the increase of population and the relative insufficiency of food. When Joseph went down into Egypt, he appears to have found the freehold tenure prevailing, which, however, he converted into a tenancy at will, or, at any rate, into a conditional tenancy. Other intimations are found in Genesis which confirm the general statements which have just been made. Daughters do not appear to have had any inheritance. If there are any exceptions to this rule, they only serve to prove it. Thus Job (the book so called is undoubtedly very old, so that there is no impropriety in citing it in this connection) is recorded (xlii. 15) to have given his daughters an inheritance conjointly with their brothers—a record which of itself proves the singularity of the proceeding, and establishes our position that inheritance generally followed the male line. How highly the privileges conferred by primogeniture were valued, may be learnt from the history of Jacob and Esau. In the patriarchal age doubtless these rights were very great. The eldest son, as being by nature the first fitted for command, assumed influence and control, under his father, over the family and its dependents; and when the father was removed by death, he readily, and as if by an act of Providence, took his father's place. Thus he succeeded to the property in succeeding to the headship of the family, the clan, or the tribe. At first the eldest son most probably took exclusive possession of his father's property and power; and when, subsequently, a division became customary, he would still retain the largest share—a double portion, if not more (Gen. xxvii. 25, 29, 40). That in the days of Abraham other sons partook with the eldest, and that too though they were sons of concubines, is clear from the story of Hagar's expulsion:—'Cast out (said Sarah) this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac' (Gen. xxi. 10). The few notices left us in Genesis of the transfer of property from hand to hand are interesting, and bear a remarkable similarity to what takes place in Eastern countries even at this day (Gen. xxi. 22, sq.; xxiii. 9, sq.). The purchase of the Cave of Machpelah as a family burying-place for Abraham, detailed in the last passage, serves to show the safety of property at that early period, and the facility with which an inheritance was transmitted even to sons' sons (comp. Gen. xlix. 29). That it was customary, during the father's lifetime, to make a disposition of property, is evident from Gen. xxiv. 35, where it is said that Abraham had given all he had to Isaac. This statement is further confirmed by ch. xxv. 5, 6, where it is added that Abraham gave to the sons of his concubines 'gifts, sending them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward unto the east country.' Sometimes, however, so far

were the children of unmarried females from being dismissed with a gift, that they shared, with what we should term the legitimate children, in the father's property and rights. Thus Dan and Naphtali were sons of Bilhah, Rachel's maid, whom she gave to her husband, failing to bear children herself. So Gad and Asher were, under similar circumstances, sons of Zilpah, Leah's maid (Gen. xxx. 2-14). In the event of the eldest son's dying in the father's lifetime, the next son took his place; and if the eldest son left a widow, the next son made her his wife (Gen. xxxviii. 7, sq.), the offspring of which union was reckoned to the first-born and deceased son. Should the second likewise die, the third son took his place (Gen. xxxviii. 11). While the rights of the first-born were generally established and recognised, yet were they sometimes set aside in favour of a younger child. The blessing of the father or the grandsire seems to have been an act essential in the devolution of power and property—in its effects not unlike wills and testaments with us; and instances are not wanting in which this (so to term it) testamentary bequest set aside consuetudinary laws, and gave precedence to a younger son (Gen. xlviii. 15, sq.). Special claims on the parental regards were acknowledged and rewarded by special gifts, as in the case of Jacob's donation to Joseph (Gen. xlviii. 22). In a similar manner, bad conduct on the part of the eldest son (as well as of others) subjected him, if not to the loss of his rights of property, yet to the evil influence of his father's dying malediction (Gen. xlix. 3); while the good and favoured, though younger, son was led by the paternal blessing to anticipate, and probably also to reap, the richest inheritance of individual and social happiness (Gen. xlix. 8-22).

The original promise made to Abraham of the land of Palestine was solemnly repeated to Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 3), the reason assigned being, because 'Abraham obeyed my voice and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws;' while it is expressly declared that the earlier inhabitants of the country were dispossessed and destined to extermination for the greatness of their iniquity. The possession of the promised land was embraced by Isaac in his dying benediction to Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 3, 4), to whom God vouchsafed (Gen. xxviii. 15; see also xxxv. 10, 11) to give a renewed assurance of the destined inheritance. That this donation, however, was held to be dependent for the time and manner of its fulfilment on the divine will, appears from Gen. xxxiii. 18, where Jacob, on coming into the land of Canaan, bought for an hundred pieces of money 'a parcel of a field, at the hand of the children of Hamor.' Delayed though the execution of the promise was, confidence never deserted the family of Abraham, so that Joseph, dying in the land of Egypt, assured his brothers that they would be visited of God and placed in possession of Canaan, enjoining on them, in this conviction, that, when conducted to their possession, they should carry his bones with them out of Egypt (Gen. l. 25).

A promise thus given, thus repeated, and thus believed, easily, and indeed unavoidably, became the fundamental principle of that settlement of property which Moses made when at length he had effected the divine will in the redemption of the children of Israel. The observances and practices, too, which we have noticed as prevailing among the patriarchs would, no doubt, have great influence on the laws which the Jewish legislator originated or sanctioned. The land of Canaan was divided among the twelve tribes descended through Isaac and Jacob from Abraham. The division was made by lot for an inheritance among the families of the sons of Israel, according to the tribes, and to the number and size of families in each tribe. The tribe of Levi, however, had no inheritance, but forty-eight cities with their suburbs were assigned to the Levites, each tribe giving according to the number of cities that fell to its share (Num. xxxiii. 50; xxxiv. 1; xxxv. 1). The inheritance thus acquired was never to leave the tribe to which it belonged; every tribe was to keep strictly to its own inheritance. An heiress, in consequence, was not allowed to marry out of her own tribe, lest property should pass by her marriage into another tribe (Num. xxxvi. 6-9). This restriction led to the marriage of heiresses with their near relations: thus the daughters of Zelophehad 'were married unto their father's brother's sons,' 'and their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father' (ver. 11, 12; comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 7. 5). In general cases the inheritance went to sons, the first-born receiving a double portion, 'for he is the beginning of his father's strength.' If a man had two wives, one beloved, the other hated, and if the first-born were the son of her who was hated, he nevertheless was to enjoy 'the right of the first-born' (Deut. xxi. 15). If a man left no sons, the inheritance passed to his daughters; if there was no daughter, it went to his brothers; in case there were no brothers, it was given to his father's brothers; if his father had no brothers, it came into possession of the nearest kinsman (Num. xxvii. 8). The land was Jehovah's, and could not therefore be permanently alienated. Every fiftieth year, whatever land had been sold returned to its former owner. The value and price of land naturally rose or fell in proportion to the number of years there were to elapse prior to the ensuing fiftieth or jubilee-year. If he who sold the land, or a kinsman, could redeem the land before the year of jubilee, it was to be restored to him on his paying to the purchaser the value of the produce of the years remaining till the jubilee. Houses in villages or unwalled towns might not be sold for ever; they were restored at the jubilee, and might at any time be redeemed. If a man sold a dwelling-house situated in a walled city, he had the option of redeeming it within the space of a full year after it had been sold; but if it remained unredeemed, it belonged to the purchaser, and did not return to him who sold it even at the jubilee (Lev. xxv. 8, 23). The Levites were not allowed to sell the land in the suburbs of their cities, though they might dispose of the cities themselves, which, however, were redeemable at any time, and must return at the jubilee to their original possessors (Lev. xxvii. 16).

The regulations which the laws of Moses established rendered wills, or a testamentary disposition of (at least) landed property, almost, if not quite, unnecessary; we accordingly find no provision for anything of the kind. Some difficulty may have been now and then occasioned, when

near relations failed; but this was met by the traditional law, which furnished minute directions on the point (Misch. *Baba Bathra*, iv. 3, c. 8, 9). Personal property would naturally follow the land, or might be bequeathed by word of mouth. At a later period of the Jewish polity the mention of wills is found, but the idea seems to have been taken from foreign nations. In princely families they appear to have been used, as we learn from Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 16. 1; xvii. 3. 2; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 2. 3); but such a practice can hardly suffice to establish the general use of wills among the people. In the New Testament, however, wills are expressly mentioned (Gal. iii. 15; Heb. ix. 17). Michaelis (*Commentaries*, i. 431) asserts that the phrase (2 Sam. xvii. 23; 2 Kings xx. 1: צוה לביתו) 'set thine house in order' has reference to a will or testament. But his grounds are by no means sufficient; the literal rendering of the words being, 'give commands to thy house.' The utmost which such an expression could inferentially be held to comprise in regard to property, is a dying and final distribution of personal property; and we know that it was not unusual for fathers to make, while yet alive, a division of their goods among their children (Luke xv. 12; Rosenmüll. *Morgenl.* v. 197).—J. R. B.

INK, INKHORN. [Writing.]

INSPIRATION. This word is sometimes used to denote the excitement and action of a fervent imagination in the poet or orator. But even in this case there is generally a reference to some supposed divine influence, to which the excited action is owing. It is once used in Scripture to denote that divine agency by which man is endued with the faculties of an intelligent being, when it is said, 'the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding.' But the inspiration now to be considered is that which belonged to those who wrote the Scriptures, and which is particularly spoken of in 2 Tim. iii. 16, and in 2 Pet. i. 21: 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God;' 'Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' These passages relate specially to the Old Testament; but there is at least equal reason to predicate divine inspiration of the New Testament.

The definition which Dr. Knapp gives of inspiration is the one we shall adopt. He says, 'It may be best defined, according to the representations of the Scriptures themselves, as *an extraordinary divine agency upon teachers while giving instruction, whether oral or written, by which they were taught what and how they should write or speak.*' Or we may say more briefly, that the sacred penmen were completely under the direction of the Holy Spirit, or that they wrote under a plenary inspiration. Dr. Calamy's definition agrees substantially with that of Dr. Knapp.

To prove that the Scriptures are divinely inspired we might with propriety refer to the excellence of the doctrines, precepts, and promises, and other instructions, which they contain; to the simplicity and majesty of their style; to the agreement of the different parts, and the scope of the whole; especially to the full discovery they make of man's fallen and ruined state, and the way of salvation through a Redeemer; together with their power to enlighten and sanctify the heart, and the accompanying witness of the spirit in believers. These are circumstances of real importance, and the discerning advocates of inspiration have not overlooked them. But the more direct and conclusive evidence that the Scriptures were divinely inspired is found in *the testimony of the writers themselves.* And as the writers did, by working miracles, and in other ways, sufficiently authenticate their divine commission, and establish their authority and infallibility as teachers of divine truth, their testimony, in regard to their own inspiration, is entitled to our full confidence. For who can doubt that they were as competent to judge of, and as much disposed to speak the truth on this subject as on any other? If then we admit their divine commission and authority, why should we not rely upon the plain testimony which they give concerning the divine assistance afforded them in their work? To reject their testimony in this case would be to impeach their veracity, and thus to take away the foundation of the Christian religion. And it is well known that those who deny the justice of the claim which they set up to divine inspiration, do, in fact, give up the infallible truth and authority of the Scriptures, and adopt the principles of deism.

It is, then, of the first importance to inquire what representations are made by the prophets, and by Christ and his apostles, respecting the inspiration, and the consequent authority, of the sacred Scriptures.

The prophets generally professed to speak *the word of God.* What they taught was introduced and confirmed by a 'Thus saith the Lord;' or 'The Lord spake to me, saying.' And, in one way or another, they gave clear proof that they were divinely commissioned, and spoke in the name of God, or as it is expressed in the New Testament, *that God spake by them.*

But the strongest and most satisfactory proof of the inspiration and divine authority of the Old Testament writings, is found in the testimony of Christ and the apostles.

The Lord Jesus Christ possessed the spirit of wisdom without measure, and came to bear witness to the truth. His works proved that he was what he declared himself to be—the Messiah, the great Prophet, the infallible Teacher. The faith which rests on him rests on a rock. As soon then as we learn how *he* regarded the Scriptures, we have reached the end of our inquiries. His word is truth. Now every one who carefully attends to the four Gospels will find, that Christ everywhere spoke of that collection of writings called the Scripture, as the word of God; that he regarded the whole in this light; that he treated the Scripture, and every part of it, as infallibly true, and as clothed with divine authority,—thus distinguishing it from every mere human production. Nothing written by man can be entitled to the respect which Christ showed to the Scriptures. This, to all Christians, is direct and incontrovertible evidence of the divine origin of the Scriptures, and is, by itself, perfectly conclusive.

But there is clear concurrent evidence, and evidence still more specific, in the writings of the Apostles. In two texts in particular, divine inspiration is positively asserted. In the first (2 Tim. iii. 16), Paul lays it down as the charac-

teristic of '*all Scripture*,' that it '*is given by inspiration of God*' (θεόπνευστος, 'divinely inspired'); and from this results its profitableness. Some writers think that the passage should be rendered thus: *All divinely inspired Scripture*, or, *all Scripture, being divinely inspired, is profitable*. According to the common rendering, inspiration is predicated of all Scripture. According to the other, it is presupposed, as the attribute of the subject. But this rendering is liable to insuperable objections. For θεόπνευστος and ὠφέλιμος are connected by the conjunction καί, and must both be predicates, if either of them is; and unless one of them is a predicate there is no complete sentence. Henderson remarks, that the mode of construction referred to ' is at variance with a common rule of Greek syntax, which requires, that when two adjectives are closely joined, as θεόπνευστος and ὠφέλεμος here are, if there be an ellipsis of the substantive verb ἐστι, this verb must be supplied after the former of the two, and regarded as repeated after the latter. Now there exists precisely such an ellipsis in the case before us; and as there is nothing in the context which would lead to any exception to the rule, we are bound to yield to its force.' And he adds, that 'the evidence in favour of the common rendering, derived from the Fathers, and almost all the versions, is most decided.' It cannot for a moment be admitted, that the Apostle meant to signify that divine inspiration belongs to a part of Scripture, but not to the whole; or that he meant, as Semler supposes, to furnish a criterion by which to judge whether any work is inspired or not, namely, its *utility*. 'That author proceeds fearlessly to apply this criterion to the books of the Old Testament, and to lop off eight of them, as not possessing the requisite marks of legitimacy. Most of the German divines adopt Semler's hypothesis.' But it is very manifest that such a sense is not by any means suggested by the passage itself, and that it is utterly precluded by other parts of the New Testament. For neither Christ nor any one of his apostles ever intimates a distinction between some parts of Scripture which are inspired and other parts which are not inspired. The doctrine which is plainly asserted in the text under consideration, and which is fully sustained by the current language of the New Testament, is, that *all the writings denominated the Scriptures are divinely inspired.*

The other text (2 Pet. i. 21) teaches that 'Prophecy came not by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' This passage, which the apostle Peter applied particularly to the subject of which he was speaking, may be considered as explanatory of what is intended by inspiration. For to say that all Scripture is divinely inspired, and that men of God wrote it as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, is one and the same thing.

The various texts in which Christ and the Apostles speak of Scripture as *the word of God*, and as invested with authority to decide all questions of truth and duty, fully correspond with the texts above considered.

From this view of the subject it follows, that the attempt which has been made by a certain class of writers, to account for the production of the whole or any part of the Scriptures by the will or agency, the ingenuity, diligence or fidelity of men, in the use of the means within their reach, without the supernatural influence of the spirit, is utterly at variance with the teachings of Christ and the Apostles as to the origin of the sacred writings.

As the Christian dispensation surpasses the former in all spiritual privileges and gifts, it is reasonable to presume that the New Testament was written under at least an equal degree of divine influence with the Old, and that it comes recommended to us by equal characteristics of infallible truth. But of this there is clear positive evidence from the New Testament itself.

In the first place, *Jesus Christ*, whose works proved him to be the great unerring Teacher, and to be possessed of all power in Heaven and earth, *gave commission to his Apostles to act in his stead, and to carry out the work of instruction which he had begun*, confirming their authority by investing them with power to perform miracles. But how could such a commission have answered the end proposed, had not the Divine Spirit so guided the Apostles as to render them infallible and perfect teachers of divine truth?

But, secondly, in addition to this, *Jesus expressly promised to give them the Holy Spirit, to abide with them continually, and to guide them into all the truth.* He said to them, 'When they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.' Storr and Flatt think this is the idea intended: 'The instructions which ye in general give are derived not so much from yourselves as from the Holy Spirit. Hence, when ye are called on to defend your doctrines, ye need feel no anxiety, but may confidently rely on the Holy Spirit to vindicate his own doctrines, by suggesting to you the very words of your defence.' If these promises were not fulfilled, then Jesus was not a true prophet. If they were fulfilled, as they certainly were, then the Apostles had the constant assistance of the Holy Spirit, and, whether engaged in speaking or writing, were under divine guidance, and, of course, were liable to no mistakes either as to the matter or manner of their instructions.

In the third place, *the writers of the New Testament manifestly considered themselves to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and their instructions, whether oral or written, to be clothed with divine authority, as the word of God.*

'We speak,' they say, 'as of God.' Again, 'Which things we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in words which the Holy Ghost teacheth.' They declared what they taught to be *the word of God*, and the things they wrote to be the *commandments of God.* Now the Apostles, being honest, unassuming, humble men, would never have spoken of themselves and their writings in such a manner, had they not known themselves to be under the unerring guidance of the Holy Spirit, and their instructions perfectly in accordance with the mind of God.

From several passages in Paul's epistles to the Corinthians, it has been supposed that, in the cases referred to, he meant to disclaim inspiration.

But that those passages will bear another construction, and ought to be understood in another manner, has been satisfactorily argued by several writers, particularly by Haldane and Gaussen in their treatises on inspiration, and by Henderson in his lectures. And the writer of this article would take the liberty to refer also to his lectures on the same subject.

It is perfectly consistent with the plenary inspiration here maintained, that God operated on the minds of inspired men in a variety of ways, sometimes by audible words, sometimes by direct inward suggestions, sometimes by outward visible signs, sometimes by the Urim and Thummim, and sometimes by dreams and visions. This variety in the mode of divine influence detracted nothing from its certainty. God made known his will equally in different ways; and, whatever the mode of his operation, he made it manifest to his servants that the things revealed were from him.

But inspiration was concerned not only in making known the will of God to prophets and apostles, but also *in giving them direction in writing the sacred books*. They wrote *as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*. And in this, also, there was a diversity in the mode of divine influence. Sometimes the Spirit of God moved and guided his servants to write things which they could not know by natural means, such as new doctrines or precepts, or predictions of future events. Sometimes he moved and guided them to write the history of events which were wholly or partly known to them by tradition, or by the testimony of their contemporaries, or by their own observation or experience. In all these cases the Divine Spirit effectually preserved them from all error, and influenced them to write just so much and in such a manner as God saw to be best. Sometimes he moved and guided them to write a summary record of larger histories, containing what his infinite wisdom saw to be adapted to the end in view, that is, the benefit of his people in all ages. Sometimes he influenced them to make a record of important maxims in common use, or to write new ones, derived either from their own reason or experience, or from special divine teaching. Sometimes he influenced them to write parables or allegories, particularly suited to make a salutary impression of divine things on the minds of men; and sometimes to record supernatural visions. In these and all other kinds of writing the sacred penmen manifestly needed special divine guidance, as no man could of himself attain to infallibility, and no wisdom, except that of God, was sufficient to determine what things ought to be written for permanent use in the church, and what manner of writing would be best fitted to promote the great ends of revelation.

Some writers speak of different modes and different kinds, and even different degrees of inspiration. And if their meaning is that God influenced the minds of inspired men in different ways; that he adopted a variety of modes in revealing divine things to their minds; that he guided them to give instruction in prose and in poetry, and in all the different forms of composition; that he moved and guided them to write history, prophecy, doctrines, commands, promises, reproofs, and exhortations, and that he adapted his mode of operation to each of these cases—against this no objection can be made. It is a fact, that the Scriptures exhibit specimens of all these different kinds of writing and these different modes of divine instruction. Still each and every part of what was written was divinely inspired, and equally so. It is all the word of God, and clothed with divine authority, as much as if it had all been made known and written in one way.

Dr. Henderson, who labours perhaps with too much zeal against carrying inspiration to extreme lengths, still says that if those who hold to different modifications of inspiration intend that there are different modifications and degrees of *authority* given to Scripture, their opinion must meet with unqualified reprobation from every sincere believer. He insists that a diversity in the modes and degrees of divine operation did exist in the work of inspiration, and that this diversity was the result of infinite wisdom adapting itself to different circumstances. He thinks that, unless we admit such a diversity, we cannot form correct ideas of the subject. But he is confident that the distinction which he endeavours to establish is not in the slightest degree hostile to the divine authority of Scripture. He affirms that *no part of that holy book was written without miraculous influence; that all parts were equally inspired;* that in regard to the whole volume the great end was infallibly attained, namely, the commitment to writing of precisely such matters as God designed for the religious instruction of mankind; that the sacred penmen wrote what had for its object not merely the immediate benefit of individual persons or churches, but what would be useful to Christians in all future times; and that in regard to the most minute and inconsiderable things which the Scripture contains we are compelled to say, *this also cometh from the Lord.*

The controversy among orthodox divines respecting what is called *verbal inspiration*, appears to arise, in a great measure, from the different senses affixed to the phrase. Dr. Henderson, who is among the most candid and able writers opposed to the doctrine of *verbal* inspiration, seems to understand the doctrine as denoting the *immediate communication* to the writers of *every word*, and *syllable*, and *letter* of what they wrote, independently of their intelligent agency and without any regard to their peculiar mental faculties or habits:—while those who most earnestly and successfully contend for the higher views of inspiration, particularly Calamy, Haldane, and Gaussen, consider the doctrine they maintain as entirely consistent with the greatest diversity of mental endowments, culture, and taste in the writers, and with the most perfect exercise of their intelligent agency,—consistent with their using their own memory, their own reason, their own manner of thinking, and their own language,—consistent, too, with their making what they were to write the subject of diligent and laborious study,—*only insisting that it was all under the unerring guidance of the Divine Spirit.*

In a controversy of such a character as this, we may often succeed in removing difficulties, and in presenting the subject in a light which will be satisfactory to all concerned, by laying aside an ambiguous word or phrase, and making use of one which will express the idea intended with

clearness and certainty. The word *verbal*, in its most common senses, is not well suited to the present subject. According to the best philologists its first signification is, 'spoken, expressed to the ear in words, not written.' But no one supposes that when God inspired the sacred writers he generally spoke to them in audible words. It is, indeed, true, that he sometimes uttered articulate words in making known his will, as at Sinai, at the baptism of Christ, and on some other occasions. In such cases he did, properly speaking, make *verbal* communications, or give *verbal* instruction. But we should hardly call this *verbal inspiration*. Who can suppose that this was commonly, if ever, the way, in which God inspired holy men of old while engaged in writing the Scriptures? Who can suppose that he taught them what to write by speaking *words* in their ears, as a man teaches his amanuensis? His influence was doubtless *inward*. He guided them in writing by an operation *in their minds*.

The next meaning of *verbal* is '*oral, uttered by the mouth;*' and this agrees no better with our subject. Other significations of *verbal* are, 'consisting in *mere* words; respecting words *only; literal*,' as in a translation, 'having word answering to word.' Neither of these senses is adapted to the subject. Now it would be nothing strange, if applying this word to inspiration, and thus giving it an unusual sense, should occasion needless perplexity and confusion. For the sake of avoiding this evil, why would it not be expedient to employ such words as will convey the idea intended clearly and definitely; and, if necessary, to incur the inconvenience of using an exact explanation, instead of the word or phrase which causes the difficulty?

The real question, and the whole question at issue, may be stated thus: *did the work of the Divine Spirit in the sacred penmen relate to the language they used, or their manner of expressing their ideas; and if so, how far, and in what way?*

All those with whom we are concerned in the discussion of this question, hold that divine inspiration had some respect to the language employed by the inspired writers, at least in the way of general *supervision*. And Dr. Henderson shows, in various passages of his excellent lectures, that there is no material difference between him and those who profess to maintain higher ground. He allows that, to a certain extent, what is called *verbal inspiration*, or the *inspiration of words*, took place. 'In recording what was immediately spoken with an audible voice by Jehovah, or by an angel interpreter; in giving expression to points of revelation which entirely surpassed the comprehension of the writers; in recording prophecies, the minute bearings of which they did not perceive; in short, in committing to writing any of the dictates of the Spirit, which they could not have otherwise accurately expressed, the writers,' he alleges, 'were supplied with the words as well as the matter.' He says, that even when Biblical writers made use of their own faculties, and wrote each one in his own manner, without having their mental constitution at all disturbed, they were yet 'always secured by celestial influence against the adoption of any forms of speech, or collocation of words, that would have injured the exhibition of divine truth, or that did not adequately give it expression;' that the characteristic differences of style, so apparent among the sacred writers, were employed by the Holy Spirit for the purposes of inspiration, and 'were called forth in a rational way;' that the writers, 'being acted upon by the Divine Spirit, expressed themselves naturally; that while the divine influence adapted itself to whatever was peculiar in the minds of inspired men, it constantly guided them in writing the sacred volume.' He declares his belief that the Scriptures were written not under a partial or imperfect, but under a plenary and infallible, inspiration; that they were entirely the result of divine intervention, and are to be regarded as the oracles of Jehovah. Referring to 2 Tim. iii. 16, he says, 'We are here expressly taught the divine inspiration of the whole of the Old Testament Codex; that the Scriptures are inspired as *written documents;* that they are the result of the special and extraordinary influence of the Spirit, and contain whatever the Spirit caused to be written for our instruction.' Referring to 1 Cor. ii. 13, he says, 'It is past all dispute that the apostle here unequivocally ascribes both the doctrines which he and his fellow-labourers taught, and their *manner of propounding* them, to the influence of the same divine agent;' that the passage conveys the idea 'that *the style*, or *mode of expression* which they used, was such as they were instructed by the Spirit to employ;' that 'in delivering their doctrines they were under the constant guidance of the Great Instructor, and clothed them in that garb which he directed them to use;' that, in the passage alluded to, the apostle refers 'to the *entire character of the style* which the first teachers of Christianity were taught to use in announcing its all important doctrines.' The passage in Matt. x. 9, 10, he says, implies, 'that the subject matter of apology was to be supplied to the apostles; and they might be well assured that if this, which was the most important, was secured by divine instruction, the mere expression would not be wanting.' 'To remove all ground of hesitation from their minds, our Lord says, *it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.* By his teaching and superintending influence, they would always be enabled to express themselves in a manner worthy of the divine cause which they were called to defend—a manner which they could never have attained by the exertion of their unassisted powers; so that, although these powers were not to be superseded, but employed, it was to be as the organs of the divine agency by which they were employed.' And he concedes that, as to all practical purposes, they were favoured with divine influence in *composing their writings*, as well as in their public speaking.

Our author says that on the day of Pentecost, when the apostles were filled with the Holy Ghost, and spake with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance, 'verbal inspiration in the strictest sense of the term took place.' 'The immediate supply of words,' he holds, 'was in this and every similar instance absolutely necessary.' And he thinks that direct verbal inspiration was indispensably requisite in all instances in which prophets and apostles were employed to write what they did not clearly comprehend. The

passages in which such terms as *the word of God*, *the Lord spake*, etc., occur, are, in this view, descriptive of immediate verbal communications. He supposes that, in all such cases, *words* were literally spoken, or audibly pronounced by God himself, or by an angel in his name. In this opinion, however, I think he is mistaken. For unquestionably the word of the Lord often, if not generally, came to the prophets in the way of dreams, or other modes of inward suggestion.

The doctrine of a plenary inspiration of all Scripture in regard to the language employed, as well as the thoughts communicated, ought not to be rejected without valid reasons. The doctrine is so obviously important, and so consonant to the feelings of sincere piety, that those evangelical Christians who are pressed with speculative objections against it, frequently, in the honesty of their hearts, advance opinions which fairly imply it. This is the case, as we have seen, with Dr. Henderson, who says, that the Divine Spirit guided the sacred penmen in *writing* the Scriptures; that their *mode of expression* was such as they were instructed by the Spirit to employ; that Paul ascribes not only the doctrines which the apostles taught, but *the entire character of their style*, to the influence of the Spirit. He indeed says, that this does not always imply the *immediate communication of the words* of Scripture; and he says it with good reason. For *immediate* properly signifies, *acting without a medium*, or *without the intervention of another cause or means, not acting by second causes.* Now those who hold the highest views of inspiration do not suppose that the Divine Spirit, except in a few instances, so influenced the writers of Scripture as to interfere with the use of their rational faculties or their peculiar mental habits and tastes, or in any way to supersede secondary causes as the medium through which his agency produced the desired effect.

In regard to this point, therefore, there appears to be little or no ground for controversy. For, if God so influenced the sacred writers that, either with or without the use of secondary causes, they wrote just *what* he intended, and in the *manner* he intended, the end is secured; and what they wrote is as truly *his word*, as though he had written it with his own hand on tables of stone, without any human instrumentality. The very words of the decalogue were all such as God chose. And they would have been equally so if Moses had been moved by the Divine Spirit to write them with *his* hand. The expression, that God *immediately imparted* or *communicated* to the writers the very words which they wrote, is evidently not well chosen. The exact truth is that *the writers themselves* were the subjects of the divine influence. The Spirit employed them as active instruments, and directed them in writing, both as to matter and manner. They wrote 'as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' The matter, in many cases, was what they before knew, and the manner was entirely conformed to their habits; it was *their own*. But what was written was none the less inspired on that account. God may have influenced and guided an apostle as infallibly in writing what he had before known, and that guidance may have been as really necessary, as in writing a new revelation. And God may have influenced Paul or John to write a book in *his own peculiar style*, and that influence may have been as real and as necessary as if the style had been what some would call a *divine style*. It *was* a divine style, if the writer used it under divine direction. It was a *divine* style, and it was, at the same time, a *human* style, and the *writer's own* style, all in one. Just as the believer's exercises, faith and love, are his own acts, and at the same time are the effects of divine influence. 'In efficacious grace,' says Edwards, 'we are not merely passive, nor yet does God do some and we do the rest. But God does all, and we do all. God produces all, and we act all. For that is what he produces, namely, our own acts. God is the only proper author and foundation: we only are the proper actors. We are, in different respects, wholly passive and wholly active. In the Scriptures, the same things are represented as from God and from us. God is said to convert men, and men are said to convert and turn. God makes a new heart, and we are commanded to make us a new heart—not merely because we must use the means in order to the effect, but the effect itself is our act and our duty. These things are agreeable to that text, "God worketh in you both to will and to do."' The mental exercises of Paul and of John had their own characteristic peculiarities, as much as their style. God was the author of John's mind and all that was peculiar to his mental faculties and habits, as really as of Paul's mind and what was peculiar to him. And in the work of inspiration he used and directed, for his own purposes, what was peculiar to each. When God inspired different men he did not make their minds and tastes all alike, nor did he make their language alike. Nor had he any occasion for this; for while they had different mental faculties and habits, they were as capable of being infallibly directed by the Divine Spirit, and infallibly speaking and writing divine truth, as though their mental faculties and habits had been all exactly alike. And it is manifest that the Scriptures, written by such a variety of inspired men, and each part agreeably to the peculiar talents and style of the writer, are not only equally from God, but, taken together, are far better adapted to the purposes of general instruction, and all the objects to be accomplished by revelation, than if they had been written by one man, and in one and the same manner.

This view of plenary inspiration is fitted to relieve the difficulties and objections which have arisen in the minds of men from the variety of talent and taste which the writers exhibited, and the variety of style which they used. See, it is said, how each writer expresses himself naturally, in his own way, just as he was accustomed to do when not inspired. And see too, we might say in reply, how each apostle, Peter, Paul, or John, when speaking before rulers, with the promised aid of the Holy Spirit, spoke naturally, *with his own voice*, and in his own way, as he had been accustomed to do on other occasions when not inspired. There is no more objection to plenary inspiration in the one case than in the other. The mental faculties and habits of the apostles, their style, their voice, their mode of speech, all remained as they were. What, then, had the divine Spirit to do? What was the work which appertained to Him? We reply, His work was so to direct the apostles in the use of their own talents

and habits, their style, their voice, and all their peculiar endowments, that they should speak or write, each in his own way, just what God would have them speak or write, for the good of the Church in all ages.

The fact that the individual peculiarities of the sacred penmen are everywhere so plainly impressed on their writings, is often mentioned as an objection to the doctrine, that inspiration extended to their *language* as well as their thoughts. This is, indeed, one of the most common objections, and one which has obtained a very deep lodgment in the minds of some intelligent Christians. It may, therefore, be necessary to take some further pains completely to remove it. And in our additional remarks relative to this and other objections, it will come in our way to show that such a writer as Gaussen, who contends with great earnestness and ability for the highest views of inspiration, does still, on all important points, agree with those who advocate lower views of the subject.

Gaussen says, 'Although the title of each book should not indicate to us that we are passing from one author to another; yet we could quickly discover, by the change of their characters, that a new hand has taken the pen. It is perfectly easy to recognise each one of them, although they speak of the same master, teach the same doctrines, and relate the same incidents.' But how does this prove that Scripture is not, in all respects, inspired? 'So far are we,' says this author, 'from overlooking human individuality everywhere impressed on our sacred books, that, on the contrary, it is with profound gratitude, and with an ever-increasing admiration, that we regard this living, real, human character infused so charmingly into every part of the Word of God. We admit the fact, and we see in it clear proof of the divine wisdom which dictated the Scriptures.'

Those who urge the objection above mentioned are plainly inconsistent with themselves. For while they deny the plenary inspiration of some parts of Scripture, *because they have these marks of individuality*, they acknowledge inspiration in the fullest sense in other parts, particucularly in the prophecies, where this individuality of the writers is equally apparent.

In truth, what can be more consonant with our best views of the wisdom of God, or with the general analogy of his works, than that he should make use of the thoughts, the memories, the peculiar talents, tastes, and feelings of his servants in recording his Word for the instruction of men? Why should he not associate the peculiarities of their personal character with what they write under his personal guidance? But, independently of our reasoning, this matter is decided by the Bible itself. 'All Scripture is divinely inspired,' and it is all the Word of God. And it is none the less the Word of God, and none the less inspired, because it comes to us in the language of Moses, and David, and Paul, and the other sacred writers. 'It is God who speaks to us, but it is also man; it is man, but it is also God.' The Word of God, in order to be intelligible and profitable to us, 'must be uttered by mortal tongues, and be written by mortal hands, and must put on the features of human thoughts. This blending of humanity and divinity in the Scriptures reminds us of the majesty and the condescension of God. Viewed in this light, the Word of God has unequalled beauties, and exerts an unequalled power over our hearts.'

The objection to the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, from the inaccuracy of the translations and the various readings of the ancient manuscript copies, is totally irrelevant. For what we assert is, the inspiration of the *original* Scriptures, not of the translations or the ancient copies. The fact that the Scriptures were divinely inspired, cannot be expunged or altered by any subsequent event. The very words of the decalogue were written by the finger of God, and none the less so because the manuscripts which transmit it to us contain some variations. The integrity of the copies has nothing to do with the inspiration of the original. It is, however, well known that the variations are hardly worthy to be mentioned.

But if the copies of the Scriptures which we have are not inspired, then how can the inspiration of the original writings avail to our benefit? The answer is, that, according to the best evidence, the original writings have been transmitted to us with remarkable fidelity, and that our present copies, so far as anything of consequence is concerned, agree with the writings as they came from inspired men; so that, through the gracious care of divine providence, the Scriptures now in use are, in all important respects, the Scriptures which were given by inspiration of God, and are stamped with divine authority. In this matter, we stand on the same footing with the apostles. For when they spoke of the Scriptures, they doubtless referred to the copies which had been made and preserved among the Jews, not to the original manuscripts written by Moses and the prophets.

It has been made an objection to the plenary inspiration of the writers of the New Testament, that they generally quote from the Septuagint version, and that their quotations are frequently wanting in exactness. Our reply is, that their quotations are made in the usual manner, according to the dictates of common sense, and always in such a way as to subserve the cause of truth; and therefore, that the objection is without force. And as to the Septuagint version, the apostles never follow it so as to interfere with the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures. Their references to the Old Testament are just such as the case required. There is a noble freedom in their quotations, but that freedom never violates truth or propriety.

If any one, like Priestley and others of the same school, alleges, that there are in the Scriptures errors in reasoning and in matters of fact, he opens the door to the most dangerous consequences. Indeed he takes the ground of infidelity. And if any one holds, that some parts are inspired, while other parts are not inspired, then we ask, who shall make the distinction? And if we begin this work, where will it end? But our present concern is with those who deny that inspiration respected the language of Scripture.

There are some who maintain that all which was necessary to secure the desired results, was an infallible guidance of the *thoughts* of the sacred writers; that with such a guidance they might be safely left to express their thoughts in their own way, without any special influence from above.

Now, if those who take this view of the subject mean that God not only gives the sacred penmen

the very ideas which they are to write, but, in some way, secures an infallible connection between those ideas and a just expression of them in words; then, indeed, we have the desired result—an infallible revelation from God, made in the proper language of the writers. But if any one supposes that there is naturally such an infallible connection between right thoughts and a just expression of them in language, without an effective divine superintendence, he contradicts the lessons of daily experience. But those to whom we refer evidently do not themselves believe in such an infallible connection. For when they assign their reason for denying that inspiration related to the language of the Scriptures, they speak of the different, and, as they regard them, the contradictory statements of facts by different writers—for example, the different accounts of the crucifixion and the resurrection, and the different accounts of the numbers of the slain in Num. xxv. 9 and 1 Cor. x. 8. Who, they say, can believe that the *language* was inspired, when one writer says that 24,000 were slain, and the other 23,000? But it is easy to see that the difficulty presses with all its force upon those who assert the inspiration of the *thoughts*. For surely they will not say that the sacred writers had *true thoughts* in their minds, and yet uttered them in the language of falsehood. This would contradict their own idea of a sure connection between the conceptions of the mind and the utterance of them in suitable words, and would clearly show that they themselves feel it to be necessary that the divine guidance should extend to the *words* of inspired men as well as their thoughts. But if Paul, through inadvertence, committed a real mistake in saying that 23,000 fell in one day, it must have been a mistake in his *thoughts* as well as in his words. For when he said 23,000, had he not the idea of that number in his mind? If, then, there was a mistake, it lay in his *thoughts*. But if there was no mistake in either of the writers, then there is nothing to prove that inspiration did not extend to the language. If, however, there was a real mistake, then the question is not, what becomes of *verbal* inspiration, but what becomes of inspiration *in any sense*.

As to the way of reconciling the two statements above mentioned, but a few words can be offered here. Some writers attempt to remove the difficulty in this manner. The first writer says, 24,000 were slain, meaning to include in that number all who died in consequence of that rebellion. The other writer says, 23,000 fell *in one day*, leaving us to conclude that an addition of 1000 fell the next day. But it may perhaps be more satisfactory to suppose, that neither of the writers intended to state the exact number, this being of no consequence to their objects. The real number might be between 23,000 and 24,000, and it might be sufficient for them to express it in general terms, one of them calling it 24,000, and the other 23,000, that is, *about so many*, either of the numbers being accurate enough to make the impression designed. Suppose that the exact number was 23,579, and that both the writers knew it to be so. It was not at all necessary, in order to maintain their character as men of veracity, that they should, when writing for *such a purpose*, mention the particular number. The particularity and length of the expression would have been inconvenient, and might have made a less desirable impression of the evil of sin and the justice of God, than expressing it more briefly in a round number; as we often say, with a view merely to make a strong impression, that in such a battle 10,000, or 50,000, or 500,000 were slain, no one supposing that we mean to state the number with arithmetical exactness, as our object does not require this. And who can doubt that the Divine Spirit might lead the sacred penmen to make use of this principle of rhetoric, and to speak of those who were slain, according to the common practice in such a case, in round numbers?

It is sometimes said that the sacred writers were of themselves generally competent to express their ideas in *proper language*, and in this respect had *no need* of supernatural assistance. But there is just as much reason for saying that they were of themselves generally competent to form their own *conceptions*, and so had no need of supernatural aid in this respect. It is just as reasonable to say that Moses could recollect what took place at the Red Sea, and that Paul could recollect that he was once a persecutor, and Peter what took place on the mount of transfiguration, without supernatural aid, as to say that they could, without such aid, make a proper record of these recollections. We believe a real and infallible guidance of the Spirit in both respects, because this is taught in the Scriptures. And it is obvious that the Bible could not be what Christ and the apostles considered it to be, unless they were divinely inspired.

The diversity in the narratives of the Evangelists is sometimes urged as an objection against the position we maintain in regard to inspiration, but evidently without reason, and contrary to reason. For what is more reasonable than to expect that a work of divine origin will have marks of consummate wisdom, and will be suited to accomplish the end in view. Now it will not be denied that God determined that there should be four narratives of the life and death of Jesus from four historians. If the narratives were all alike, three of them would be useless. Indeed such a circumstance would create suspicion, and would bring discredit upon the whole concern. The narratives must then be different. And if, besides this useful diversity, it is found that the seeming contradictions can be satisfactorily reconciled, and if each of the narratives is given in the peculiar style and manner of the writers, then all is natural and unexceptionable, and we have the highest evidence of the credibility and truth of the narratives.

We shall advert to one more objection. It is alleged that writers who were constantly under a plenary divine inspiration would not descend to the unimportant details, the trifling incidents, which are found in the Scriptures. To this it may be replied that the details alluded to must be admitted to be according to truth, and that those things which, at first view, seem to be trifles may, when taken in their connections, prove to be of serious moment. And it is moreover manifest that, considering what human beings and human affairs really are, if all those things which are called trifling and unimportant were excluded, the Scriptures would fail of being conformed to fact; they would not be faithful histories of human life: so that the very circumstance which

is demanded as proof of inspiration would become an argument against it. And herein we cannot but admire the perfect wisdom which guided the sacred writers, while we mark the weakness and shallowness of the objections which are urged against their inspiration.

On the whole, after carefully investigating the subject of inspiration, we are conducted to the important conclusion that 'all Scripture is divinely inspired;' that the sacred penmen wrote 'as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;' and that these representations are to be understood as implying that the writers had, in all respects, the effectual guidance of the divine Spirit. And we are still more confirmed in this conclusion because we find that it begets in those who seriously adopt it, an acknowledgment of the divine origin of Scripture, a reverence for its teachings, and a practical regard to its requirements, like what appeared in Christ and his apostles. Being convinced that the Bible has, in all parts and in all respects, the seal of the Almighty, and that it is truly and entirely from God, we are led by reason, conscience, and piety to bow submissively to its high authority, implicitly to believe its doctrines, however incomprehensible, and cordially to obey its precepts, however contrary to our natural inclinations. We come to it from day to day, not as judges, but as learners, never questioning the propriety or utility of any of its contents. This precious Word of God is the perfect standard of our faith, and the rule of our life, our comfort in affliction, and our sure guide to heaven.—L. W.

INTERPRETATION (BIBLICAL), AND HERMENEUTICS. There is a very ancient and wide-spread belief that the knowledge of divine things in general, and of the divine will in particular, is by no means a common property of the whole human race, but only a prerogative of a few specially-gifted and privileged individuals. It has been considered that this higher degree of knowledge has its source in light and instruction proceeding directly from God, and that it can be imparted to others by communicating to them a key to the signs of the divine will. Since, however, persons who in this manner have been indirectly taught, are initiated into divine secrets, and consequently appear as the confidants of deity, they also enjoy, although instructed only through the medium of others, a more intimate communion with God, a more distinct perception of his thoughts, and consequently a mediate consciousness of deity itself. It therefore follows that persons thus either immediately or mediately instructed are supposed to be capable, by means of their divine illumination and their knowledge of the signs of the divine will, to impart to mankind the ardently-desired knowledge of divine things and of the will of deity. They are considered to be interpreters or explainers of the signs of the divine will, and, consequently, to be mediators between God and man. Divine illumination and a communicable knowledge of the signs and expressions of the divine will, are thus supposed to be combined in one and the same person.

This idea is the basis of the Hebrew נָבִיא, *prophet*. The prophet is a divinely-inspired seer, and, as such, he is an interpreter and preacher of the divine will. He may either be directly called by God, or have been prepared for his office in the schools of the prophets (comp. Knobel, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer vollständig dargestellt*, Breslau, 1837, pt. i. p. 102, sq.; pt. ii. p. 45, sq.).

However, the being filled with the Holy Ghost was the most prominent feature in the Hebrew idea of a prophet. This is even implied in the usual appellation נָבִיא, which means a person in the state of divine inspiration (not a predicter of future events). Prophetism ceased altogether as soon as Jehovah, according to the popular opinion, ceased to communicate his Spirit.

The ancient Greeks and Romans kept the idea of divine inspiration more distinct from the idea of interpretation of the divine will. They, according to a more natural manner of viewing the subject, recognised generally, in the mediator between God and man, more of an experienced and skilful interpreter than of a divinely-inspired seer. They distinguished the interpreter and the seer by different names, of which we will speak hereafter. It was the combination of the power of interpretation with inspiration, which distinguished the Hebrew prophets or seers from those of other ancient nations. The Hebrew notion of a נָבִיא appears, among the Greeks, to have been split into its two constituent parts of *μάντις*, from *μαίνεσθαι*, *to rave* (Platonis *Phædrus*, § 48, ed. Steph. p. 244, a. b.), and of *ἐξηγητής*, from *ἐξηγεῖσθαι*, *to expound*. However, the ideas of *μάντις* and of *ἐξηγητῆς* could be combined in the same person. Comp. Boissonnade, *Anecdota Græca*, i. 96, *Λάμπων οὐξηγητής μάντις γὰρ ἦν καὶ χρησμοὺς ἐξηγεῖτο* (comp. Scholia in Aristophanis *Nubes*, 336), and Arriani *Epictetus*, ii. 7, *τὸν μάντιν τὸν ἐξηγούμενον τὰ σημεῖα*; Plato, *De Legibus*, ix. p. 871, c., *μετ' ἐξηγητῶν καὶ μάντεων*; Euripidis *Phœnissæ*, v. 1018, *ὁ μάντις ἐξηγήσατο*, and *Iphigenia in Aulide*, *l.* 529. Plutarch (*Vita Numæ*, cap. xi.) places *ἐξηγητής* and *προφήτης* together; so also does Dionysius Halicarnassensis, ii. 73. The two first of these examples prove that *ἐξηγηταί* were, according to the Greeks, persons who possessed the gift of discovering the will of the Deity from certain appearances, and of interpreting signs. Jul. Pollux, viii. 124, *ἐξηγηταὶ δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο, οἱ τὰ περὶ τῶν διοσημείων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν διδάσκοντες*. Harpocration says, and Suidas repeats after him, *ἐξηγητής ὁ ἐξηγούμενος τὰ ἱερά*. Comp. Bekker, *Anecdota Græca*, i. 185, *ἐξηγοῦνται οἱ ἔμπειροι*. Creuzer defines the *ἐξηγηταί*, in his *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Völker*, i. 15, as 'persons whose high vocation it was to bring laymen into harmony with divine things.' These *ἐξηγηταί* moved in a religious sphere (comp. Herod. i. 78, and Xenophontis *Cyropædia*, viii. 3, 11). Even the Delphic Apollo, replying to those who sought his oracles, is called by Plato *ἐξηγητής* (*Polit.* iv. 448, b.). Plutarch mentions, in *Vita Thesei*, c. 25, *ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταί*; comp. also the above-quoted passage of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and especially Ruhnken (*ad Timæi Lexicon*, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1789, p. 189, sq.). The Scholiast on Sophocles (*Ajax*, *l.* 320) has *ἐξήγησις ἐπὶ τῶν θείων*, and the Scholiast on Electra, 426, has the definition *ἐξήγησις διασάφησις θείων*. It is in connection with this original signification of the word *ἐξηγητής* that the expounders of the law are styled *ἐξηγηταί*; because the ancient law was derived from the gods, and the law-language had become unintelligible to the multitude. (Comp. Lysias, vi. 10; Diodorus Siculus, xiii. 35; Ruhn-

ken, as quoted above; the annotators on Pollux and Harpocration; and K. Fr. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staats-alterthumer*, Marburg, 1836, § 104, note 4). In Athenæus and Plutarch there are mentioned books under the title ἐξηγητικά, which contained introductions to the right understanding of sacred signs. (Comp Valesius, *ad Harpocrationis Lexicon*, Lipsiæ, 1824, ii. 162.)

Like the Greeks, the Romans also distinguished between *vates* and *interpres* (Cicero, *Fragm.*; Hortens.):—Sive vates sive in sacris initiisque tradendis divinæ mentis interpretes.' Servius (*ad Virgilii Æn.* iii. 359) quotes a passage from Cicero, thus:—ut ait Cicero, omnis divinandi peritia in duas partes dividitur. Nam aut furor est, ut in vaticinantibus; aut ars, ut in aruspicibus, fulguritis sive fulguratoribus, et augu ribus: that is, 'the science of divination is twofold; it is either a sacred raving, as in prophets, or an art, as in soothsayers, who regard the intestines of sacrifices, or lightnings, or the flight of birds.' The *aruspices*, *fulguriti*, *fulguratores*, and *augures*, belong to the idea of the *interpres deorum*. Comp. Cicero, *Pro domo sua*, c. 41:—Equidem sic accepi, in religionibus suscipiendis caput esse interpretari quæ voluntas deorum immortalium esse videatur:—'I have been taught thus, that in undertaking new religious performances the chief thing seems to be the interpretation of the will of the immortal gods.' Cicero (*De Divinatione*, i. 41) says:—Etruria interpretatur quid quibusque ostendatur monstris atque portentis. 'The Etrusci explain the meaning of all remarkable foreboding signs and portents.' Hence, in Cicero (*De Legibus*, ii. 27), the expression, 'interpretes religionum.'

An example of this distinction, usual among the Greeks, is found in 1 Cor. xii. 4, 30. The Corinthians filled with the Holy Ghost were γλώσσαις λαλοῦντες, *speaking in tongues*, consequently they were in the state of a μάντις; but frequently they did not comprehend the sense of their own inspiration, and did not understand how to interpret it because they had not the ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν, *interpretation of tongues*: consequently they were not ἐξηγηταί.

The Romans obtained the *interpretatio* from the Etruscans (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 2, and Ottfried Müller, *Die Etrusker*, ii. 8, sq.); but the above distinction was the cause that the *interpretatio* degenerated into a common art, which was exercised without inspiration, like a contemptible soothsaying, the rules of which were contained in writings. Cicero (*De Divinatione*, i. 2) says:—Furoris divinationem Sibyllinis maxime versibus contineri arbitrati, eorum decem interpretes delectos e civitate esse voluerunt:—'Supposing that divination by raving was especially contained in the Sibylline verses, they appointed ten public interpreters of the same.'

The ideas of *interpres* and of *interpretatio* were not confined among the Romans to sacred subjects; which, as we have seen, was the case among the Greeks with the corresponding Greek terms. The words *interpres* and *interpretatio* were not only, as among the Greeks, applied to the explanation of the laws, but also, in general, to the explanation of whatever was obscure, and even to a mere intervention in the settlement of affairs; for instance, we find in Livy (xxi. 12) *pacis interpres*, denoting Alorcas, by whose instrumentality peace was offered. At an earlier period *interpretes* meant only those persons by means of whom affairs between God and man were settled (comp. Virgilii *Æneis*, x. 175, and Servius on this passage). The words *interpretes* and *conjectores* became convertible terms:—unde etiam somniorum atque omnium interpretes *conjectores* vocantur:—'for which reason the interpreters of dreams and omens are called also *conjecturers*' (Quintil. *Instit.* iii. 6).

From what we have stated it follows that ἐξήγησις and *interpretatio* were originally terms confined to the unfolding of supernatural subjects, although in Latin, at an early period, these terms were also applied to profane matters. The Christians also early felt the want of an interpretation of their sacred writings, which they deemed to be of divine origin; consequently they wanted interpreters and instruction by the aid of which the true sense of the sacred Scriptures might be discovered. The right understanding of the nature and will of God seemed, among the Christians, as well as at an early period among the heathen, to depend upon a right understanding of certain external signs; however, there was a progress from the unintelligible signs of nature to more intelligible written signs, which was certainly an important progress.

The Christians retained about the interpretation of their sacred writings the same expressions which had been current in reference to the interpretation of sacred subjects among the heathen. Hence arose the fact that the Greek Christians employed with predilection the words ἐξήγησις and ἐξηγητής in reference to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. But the circumstance that St. Paul employs the term ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν for the interpretation of the γλώσσαις λαλεῖν (1 Cor. xii. 10, xiv. 26), greatly contributed that words belonging to the root ἑρμηνεύειν were also made use of. According to Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii. 9), Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, wrote, as early as about A.D. 100, a work under the title of λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσις, which means an interpretation of the discourses of Jesus. Papias explained the religious contents of these discourses, which he had collected from oral and written traditions. He distinguished between the meaning of ἐξηγεῖσθαι and ἑρμηνεύειν, as appears from his observation (preserved by Eusebius in the place quoted above), in which he says concerning the λόγια of St. Mathew, written in Hebrew, ἑρμήνευσε δὲ αὐτὰ ὡς ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος, 'but every one interpreted them according to his ability'. In the Greek Church, ὁ ἐξηγητής and ἐξηγηταὶ τοῦ λόγου were the usual terms for teachers of Christianity. (See Eusebii *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vii. 30, and Heinichen on this passage, note 21; Photii *Biblioth. Eod.* 105; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* i. 146). Origen called his commentary on the Holy Scriptures ἐξηγητικά; and Procopius of Gaza wrote a work on several books of the Bible, entitled σχολαὶ ἐξηγητικαί. However, we find the word ἑρμηνεία employed as a synonym of ἐξηγήσις, especially among the inhabitants of Antioch. For instance, Gregorius Nyssenus says, concerning Ephraim Syrus, γραφὴν ὅλην ἀκριβῶς πρὸς λέξιν ἡρμήνευσεν (see Gregorii Nysseni *Vita Ephraimi Syri*; Opera, Paris, ii. p. 1033). Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoret,

and others, wrote commentaries on the sacred Scriptures under the title of ἑρμηνεία (compare A. H. Niemeyer, *de Isidori Pelusiotæ Vita, Scriptis, et Doctrina*, Halae, 1825. p. 207).

Among the Latin Christians the word *interpres* had a wider range than the corresponding Greek term, and the Latins had no precise term for the exposition of the Bible which exactly corresponded with the Greek. The word *interpretatio* was applied only in the sense of OCCUPATION or ACT *of an expositor of the Bible*, but not in the sense of CONTENTS *elicited from biblical passages*. The words *tractare*, *tractator*, and *tractatus* were in preference employed with respect to biblical exposition, and the sense which it elicited. Together with these words there occur *commentarius* and *expositio*. In reference to the exegetical work of St Hilary on St. Matthew, the codices fluctuate between *commentarius* and *tractatus*. St. Augustine's *tractatus* are well known; and this father frequently mentions the *divinarum scripturarum tractatores*. For instance, *Retractationes* l. 23. *divinorum tractatores eloquiorum*. Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* i. 6. *originis .... qui tractator sacrorum peritissimus habebatur*. Vincentius Lirinensis observes in his *Commonitorium* on 1 Cor. xii. 28:—tertio doctores qui tractatores nunc appellantur; quos hic idem apostolus etiam prophetas interdum nuncupat, eo quod per eos prophetarum mysteria populis aperiantur:—'in the third place teachers who are now called *tractatores;* whom the same apostle sometimes styles prophets, because by them the mysteries of the prophets are opened to the people' (compare Dufresne, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, *sub* TRACTATOR *et* TRACTATUS; and Baluze, *ad Servat. Lupum*, p. 479).

However, the occupation of *interpres*, in the nobler sense of this word, was not unknown to St. Jerome; as may be seen from his *Præfatio in libros Samuelis* (Opera, ed. Vallarsi, ix. p. 459):—Quicquid enim crebrius vertendo et emendando solicitius et didicimus et tenemus, nostrum est. Et quum intellexeris, quod antea nesciebas, vel interpretem me estimato si gratus es, vel παραφραστὴν si ingratus:—'for whatever by frequently translating and carefully correcting we have learned and retain, is our own. And if you have understood what you formerly did not know, consider me to be an expositor if you are grateful, or a paraphrast if you are ungrateful.'

In modern times the word *interpretatio* has again come into repute in the sense of scriptural exposition, for which, indeed, *interpretation* is now the standing technical term.

The German language also distinguishes between the words *auslegen* and *erklären* in such a manner that the former corresponds to ἐξηγεῖσθαι and *interpretari*. The word *auslegen* is always used in the sense of rendering perceptible what is contained under signs and symbols. Compare Dionysii Halicarnassensis *Antiq. Rom.* ii. 73: τοῖς τε ἰδιώταις, ὅποσοι μὴ ἴσασι τοὺς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σεβασμοὺς, ἐξηγηταὶ γίνονται καὶ προφῆται: 'for the ignorant, who do not know what belongs to divine worship, there are expositors and prophets.'

The word *erklären*, on the contrary, means *to clear up by arguments what has been indistinctly understood*, so that what was incomprehensible is comprehended.

The *Erklärer* does not develope what is hidden and concealed, but explains what is unclear and obscure (see Weigand, *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Synonymen*, 1. Mainz, 1840, p. 140 sq.). Hence it follows that the *Ausleger* of the Bible occupies a position different from that of the *Erklärer*, although these terms are frequently employed as if they were synonymous. The *Ausleger*, ἐξηγητής, opens what is concealed under the words of the Bible. He unveils mysteries, while the *Erklärer*, ἑρμηνεύς, sees in the words of the Bible not merely signs for something concealed and hidden, but words the sense of which is to be cleared up whenever it is obscure. The *Erklärer* stands on NATURAL ground, but the *Ausleger* on SUPERNATURAL.

From ancient times the church, or rather ecclesiastical bodies and religious denominations, have taken the supernatural position with reference to the Bible, as, before the Church, the Jews did in respect of the Old Testament. The church and denominations have demanded *Ausleger*, not *Erklärer*. They have supposed that in the authors of Biblical books there did not exist a literary activity of the same kind which induces men to write down what they have thought, but have always required from their followers the belief that the Biblical authors wrote in a state of inspiration, that is to say, under a peculiar and direct influence of the Divine Spirit. Sometimes the Biblical authors were described to be merely external and mechanical instruments of God's revelation. But however wide, or however narrow the boundaries were, within which the operation of God upon the writers was confined by ecclesiastical supposition, the origin of the Biblical books was always supposed to be essentially different from the origin of human compositions; and this difference demanded the application of peculiar rules in order to understand the Bible. There were required peculiar arts and kinds of information in order to discover the sense and contents of books which, on account of their extraordinary origin, were inaccessible by the ordinary way of logical rules, and whose written words were only outward signs, behind which a higher and divine meaning was concealed. Consequently, the church and denominations required *Deuter*, *Ausleger*, ἐξηγηταί, or interpreters, of the signs by means of which God had revealed his will. Thus necessarily arose again in the Christian church the art of opening or interpreting the supernatural; which art had an existence in earlier religions, but with this essential difference, that the signs, by the opening of which supernatural truth was obtained, were now more simple, and of a more intelligible kind, than in earlier religions. They were now written signs, which belonged to the sphere of speech and language, through which alone all modes of thinking obtain clearness, and can be readily communicated to others. But the Holy Scriptures in which divine revelation was preserved, differ, by conveying divine thoughts, from common language and writing, which convey only human thoughts. Hence it followed that its sense was much deeper, and far exceeded the usual sphere of human thoughts, so that the usual requisites for the right understanding of written documents appeared to be insufficient. According to this opinion a LOWER and a HIGHER sense of the Bible were distinguished. The lower sense was that which

could be elicited according to the rules of grammar; the higher sense was considered to consist of deeper thoughts concealed under the grammatical meaning of the words. These deeper thoughts they endeavoured to obtain in various ways, but not by grammatical research.

The Jews, in the days of Jesus, employed for this purpose especially the typico-allegorical interpretation. The Jews of Palestine endeavoured by means of this mode of interpretation especially to elicit the secrets of futurity, which were said to be fully contained in the Old Testament. (See Wahner, *Antiquitates Hebræorum*, vol. i. Gottingæ, 1713, p. 341, sq.; Dopke, *Hermeneutik der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, 1829, p. 88, sq., 164, sq.; Hirschfeld, *der Geist der Talmudischen Auslegung der Bibel*, Berlin, 1840; comp. Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 103; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. pp. 52, 61; Bretschneider, *Historisch-dogmatische Auslegung des Neuen Testamentes*, Leipzig, 1806, p. 35, sq.)

The Alexandrine Jews, on the contrary, endeavoured to raise themselves from the simple sense of the words, τὸ ψυχικόν, to a higher, more general, and spiritual sense, τὸ πνευματικόν (see Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*, Halle, 1834, i. p. 52, sq.; ii. 17. 195, sq., 209, 228, 241). Similar principles were adopted by the authors of the New Testament (see De Wette, *Ueber die Symbolisch-Typische Lehrart in Briefe an die Hebräer*, in *der Theologischen Zeitschrift*, von Schleiermacher und De Wette, part iii.; Tholuck, *Beilage zum Commentar über den Brief an die Hebräer*, 1840).

These two modes of interpretation, the ALLEGORICO-TYPICAL and the ALLEGORICO-MYSTICAL, are found in the Christian writers as early as the first and second centuries; the latter as γνῶσις, the former as a demonstration that all and everything, both what had happened, and what would come to pass, was somehow contained in the sacred Scriptures (see Justin Martyr, as quoted above, and Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, iv. 2, Prædicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset si non assistat auctoritas:—'The preaching of the disciples might appear to be questionable, if it was not supported by other authority').

To these allegorical modes of interpretation was added a third mode, which necessarily sprung up after the rise of the Catholico-apostolical church, namely, the DOGMATICAL, or THEOLOGICO-ECCLESIASTICAL. The followers of the Catholico-apostolical church agreed that all apostles and all apostolical writings had an equal authority, because they were all under an equal guidance of the Holy Ghost. Hence it followed that they could not set forth either contradictory or different doctrines. A twofold expedient was adopted in order to effect harmony of interpretation. The one was of the apparent and relative kind, because it referred to subjects which appear incomprehensible only to the confined human understanding, but which are in perfect harmony in the divine thoughts. Justin (*Dialogus cum Tryphone*, c. 65) says:—ἐκ παντός πεπεισμένος ὅτι οὐδεμία γραφὴ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ἐναντία ἐστίν, αὐτὸς μὴ νοεῖν μᾶλλον ὁμολογήσω τὰ εἰρημένα:—'Being quite certain that no Scripture contradicts the other, I will rather confess that I do not understand what is said therein.' St. Chrysostom restricted this as follows:—πάντα σαφῆ καὶ εὐθέα τὰ παρὰ ταῖς θειαῖς γραφαῖς, πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα (*Homil.* iii. c. 4, *in Ep.* 2 *ad Thessalonicenses*):—'In the divine writings everything is intelligible and plain, whatever is necessary is open' (compare *Homil.* iii. *de Lazaro*, and Athanasii *Oratio contra gentes*; Opera i. p. 12).

The SECOND expedient adopted by the church was to consider certain articles of faith to be LEADING DOCTRINES, and to regulate and define accordingly the sense of the Bible wherever it appeared doubtful and uncertain. This led to the THEOLOGICO-ECCLESIASTICAL or DOGMATICAL mode of interpretation, which, when the Christians were divided into several sects, proved to be indispensable to the Church, but which adopted various forms in the various sects by which it was employed. Not only the heretics of ancient times, but also the followers of the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, the Syrian, the Anglican, the Protestant Church, &c., have endeavoured to interpret the Bible in harmony with their dogmas.

The different modes of interpreting the Bible are, according to what we have stated, the following three—the GRAMMATICAL, the ALLEGORICAL, the DOGMATICAL. The grammatical mode of interpretation simply investigates the sense contained in the words of the Bible. The allegorical, according to Quintilian's sentence 'aliud verbis, aliud sensu ostendo,' maintains that the words of the Bible have, besides their simple sense, another which is concealed as behind a picture, and endeavours to find out this supposed figurative sense, which, it is said, was not intended by the authors (see Olshausen, *Ein Wort über tieferen Schriftsinn*, Königsberg, 1824). The dogmatical mode of interpretation endeavours to explain the Bible in harmony with the dogmas of the church, following the principle of *analogia fidei*. Compare *Consilii Tridentini* sess. iv. decret. 2:—Ne quis Sacram Scripturam interpretari audeat contra eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum Sacrarum:—'Let no one venture to interpret the Holy Scriptures in a sense contrary to that which the holy mother church has held, and does hold, and which has the power of deciding what is the true sense and the right interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.'

Rambach, *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ*, Jenæ, 1723: Auctoritas, quam hæc analogia fidei in re exegetica habet, in eo consistit, ut sit fundamentum ac principium generale, ad cujus normam omnes Scripturæ expositiones, tamquam ad lapidem Lydium, exigendæ sunt:—'The authority which this analogy of faith exercises upon interpretation consists in this, that it is the foundation and general principle according to the rule of which all Scriptural interpretations are to be tried as by a touchstone.'

Ecclesia Anglicana, art. xx.:—Ecclesiæ non licet quicquam instituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, nec unum Scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat:—'It is not lawful for the church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it expound one place of Scripture so as to be repugnant to another.'

Confessio Scotica, 18:—Nullam enim interpretationem admittere audemus, quæ alicui prin-

cipali articulo fidei, aut alicui plano textui Scripturæ, aut caritatis regulæ repugnat, &c.:—'We dare not admit any interpretation which contradicts any leading article of faith, or any plain text of Scripture, or the rule of charity,' &c.

Besides the three modes of interpretation which have been mentioned above, theological writers have spoken of TYPICAL, PROPHETICAL, EMPHATICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, TRADITIONAL, MORAL, or PRACTICAL interpretation. But all these are only one-sided developments of some single feature contained in the above three, arbitrarily chosen; and, therefore, they cannot be considered to be separate modes, but are only modifications of one or other of those three. The interpretation in which all these modes are brought into harmony, has lately been called the PANHARMONICAL, which word is not very happily chosen (F. H. Germar, *Die Panharmonische Interpretation der Heiligen Schrift*, Leipsic, 1821; and by the same author, *Beitrag zur Allgemeinen Hermeneutik*, Altona, 1828).

The ALLEGORICAL, as well as the DOGMATICAL, mode of interpretation, presupposes the GRAMMATICAL, which, consequently, forms the basis of the other two; so that neither the one nor the other can exist entirely without it. Consequently, the grammatical mode of interpretation must have an historical precedence before the others. But history also proves that the church has constantly endeavoured to curtail the province of grammatical interpretation, to renounce it as much as possible, and to rise above it. If we follow, with the examining eye of an historical inquirer, the course in which these three modes of interpretation, in their mutual dependence upon each other, have generally been applied, it becomes evident that in opposition to the grammatical mode, the allegorical was first set up. Subsequently, the allegorical was almost entirely supplanted by the dogmatical; but it started up with renewed vigour when the dogmatical mode rigorously confined the spiritual movement of the human intellect, as well as all religious sentiment, within the too narrow bounds of dogmatical despotism.

The dogmatical mode of interpretation could only spring up after the church, renouncing the original multiplicity of opinions, had agreed upon certain leading doctrines; after which time, it grew, together with the church, into a mighty tree, towering high above every surrounding object, and casting its shade over every thing. The longing desire for light and warmth, of those who were spell-bound under its shade, induced them to cultivate again the allegorical and the grammatical interpretation; but they were unable to bring the fruits of these modes to full maturity. Every new intellectual revolution, and every spiritual development of nations, gave a new impulse to grammatical interpretation. This impulse lasted until interpretation was again taken captive by the overwhelming ecclesiastical power, whose old formalities had regained strength, or which had been renovated under new forms. Grammatical interpretation, consequently, goes hand in hand with the principle of spiritual progress, and the dogmatical with the conservative principle. Finally, the allegorical interpretation is as an artificial aid subservient to the conservative principle, when, by its vigorous stability, the latter exercises a too unnatural pressure. This is confirmed by the history of all times and countries, so that we may confine ourselves to the following few illustrative observations. The various tendencies of the first Christian period were combined in the second century, so that the principle of one general (Catholic) church was gradually adopted by most parties. But now, it became rather difficult to select, from the variety of doctrines prevalent in various sects, those by the application of which to biblical interpretation, a perfect harmony and systematical unity could be effected. Nevertheless, the wants of science powerfully demanded a systematical arrangement of biblical doctrines, even before a general agreement upon dogmatical principles had been effected. The wants of science were especially felt among the Alexandrine Christians; and in Alexandria, where the allegorical interpretation had from ancient times been practised, it offered the desired expedient which met the exigency of the church. Hence, it may naturally be explained why the Alexandrine theologians of the second and third century, particularly Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, interpreted allegorically, and why the allegorical interpretation was perfected, and in vogue, even before the dogmatical came into existence. Origen, especially in his fourth book, *De Principiis*, treats on scriptural interpretation, using the following arguments:—The Holy Scriptures, inspired by God, form an harmonious whole, perfect in itself, without any defects and contradictions, and containing nothing that is insignificant and superfluous. The grammatical interpretation leads to obstacles and objections, which, according to the quality just stated of the Holy Scriptures, are inadmissible and impossible. Now, since the merely grammatical interpretation can neither remove nor overcome these objections, we must seek for an expedient beyond the boundaries of grammatical interpretation. The allegorical interpretation offers this expedient, and consequently is above the grammatical. Origen observes that man consists of body, soul, and spirit; and he distinguishes a triple sense of the Holy Scriptures analogous to this division: — *οὐκοῦν τρισσῶς ἀπογράφεσθαι δεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν τὰ τῶν ἁγίων γραμμάτων νοήματα· ἵνα ὁ μὲν ἁπλούστερος οἰκοδομῆται, ἀπὸ τῆς οἱονεὶ σαρκὸς τῆς γραφῆς, οὕτως ὀνομαζόντων ἡμῶν τὴν πρόχειρον ἐκδοχήν· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀναβεβηκὼς ἀπὸ τῆς ὡσπερεὶ ψυχῆς αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ τέλειος καὶ ὅμοιος τοῖς παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ* (1 Cor. ii. 6, 7) *λεγομένοις· σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ..... ἀπὸ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ νόμου σκιὰν ἔχοντος τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος συνέστηκεν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος, τὸν αὐτὸν πρόπον καὶ ἡ οἰκονομηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν δοθῆναι γραφήν*:—'The sentiments, therefore, of the Holy Scriptures are to be impressed upon our minds in a three-fold manner, in order that whosoever belongs to the simpler sort of persons, may receive edification from the flesh of the Scripture (thus we call their obvious meaning), but he who is somewhat more advanced from its soul; but whosoever is perfect, and similar to those to whom the apostle alludes, where he says, "we speak wisdom"... from the spiritual law which contains a shadow of good things to come; for as man consists of spirit, body, and soul, so also the Holy Writ, which God has planned to be granted for the

salvation of mankind' (*De Princip.*, iv. 168; compare Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1841, p. 104, sq.).

Since, however, allegorical interpretation cannot be reduced to settled rules, but always depends upon the greater or less influence of imagination; and since the system of Christian doctrines, which the Alexandrine theologians produced by means of allegorical interpretation, was in many respects objected to; and since, in opposition to these Alexandrine theologians, there was gradually established, and more and more firmly defined, a system of Christian doctrines which formed a firm basis for uniformity of interpretation, in accordance with the mind of the majority, there gradually sprung up a dogmatical mode of interpretation founded upon the interpretation of ecclesiastical teachers, which had been recognised as orthodox in the Catholic church. This dogmatical interpretation has been in perfect existence since the beginning of the fourth century, and then more and more supplanted the allegorical, which henceforward was left to the wit and ingenuity of a few individuals. Thus St. Jerome, about A.D. 400, could say:—Regula scripturarum est: ubi manifestissima prophetia de futuris textitur per INCERTA ALLEGORIÆ non extenuare quæ scripta sunt (*Comment. in Malachiam*, i. 16).—'The rule of scriptures is, that where there is a manifest prediction of future events, not to enfeeble that which is written by the uncertainty of allegory.' During the whole of the fourth century, the ecclesiastico-dogmatical mode of interpretation was developed with constant reference to the grammatical. Even Hilary, in his book *De Trinitate*, i. properly asserts:—Optimus lector est, qui dictorum intelligentiam expectet ex dictis potius quam imponat, et retulerit magis quam attulerit; neque cogat id videri dictis contineri, quod ante lectionem præsumpserit intelligendum. 'He is the best reader who rather expects to obtain sense from the words, than imposes it upon them, and who carries more away than he has brought, nor forces that upon the words which he had resolved to understand before he began to read.'

After the commencement of the fifth century, grammatical interpretation fell entirely into decay; which ruin was effected partly by the full development of the ecclesiastical system of doctrines defined in all their parts, and by a fear of deviating from this system, partly also by the continually increasing ignorance of the languages in which the Bible was written. The primary condition of ecclesiastical or dogmatical interpretation was then most clearly expressed by Vincentius Lirinensis (*Commonit.* i.):—Quia videlicet scripturam sacram pro ipsa sua altitudine non uno eodemque sensu universi accipiunt, sed ejusdem eloquia aliter atque aliter alius atque alius interpretatur, ut pene quot homines sunt, tot illinc sententiæ erui posse videantur..... in ipsa catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est:—'Since the Holy Scriptures, on account of their depth, are not understood by all in the same manner, but its sentences are understood differently by different persons, so that they might seem to admit as many meanings as there are men, we must well take care that within the pale of the Catholic church we hold fast what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all' (Compare *Commonit.* ii. ed. Brenemus, 1688, p. 321, sq.). Henceforward, interpretation was confined to the mere collection of explanations, which had first been given by men whose ecclesiastical orthodoxy was unquestionable. Praetantius præsumpta novitate non inhiet, sed priscorum fonte satiari:—'It is better not to be inhaled with the pretended novelty, but to be filled from the fountain of the ancients' (Cassiodori *Institutiones Divinæ, Præf.* Compare Alcuini *Epistola ad Gislam*, Opera, ed. Frobenius, i. p. 464. *Comment. in Joh. Præf.*, ib. p. 460. Claudius Turon, *Prolegomena in Comment. in libros Regum.* Haymo, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ix. 3, &c.). Doubtful cases were decided according to the precedents of ecclesiastical definitions. In his quæ vel dubia vel obscura fuerint id noverimus sequendum quod nec præceptis evangelicis contrarium, nec decretis sanctorum inventur adversum:—'In passages which may be either doubtful or obscure, we might know that we should follow that which is found to be neither contrary to evangelical precepts, nor opposed to the decrees of holy men' (Benedicti *Capitularia*, iii. 58, in Pertz, *Monumenta Veteris Germaniæ Histor.* iv. 2, p. 107). But men like Bishop Agobardus (A.D. 840, in Galandii *Bibl.*, xiii. p. 416), Johannes Scotus, Erigena, Druthmar, Nicolaus Lyranus, Roger Bacon, and others, acknowledged the necessity of grammatical interpretation, and were only wanting in the requisite means, and in knowledge, for putting it successfully into practice.

During the whole period of the middle ages the allegorical interpretation again prevailed. The middle ages were more distinguished by sentiment than by clearness, and the allegorical interpretation gave satisfaction to sentiment and occupation to free mental speculation.

When, in the fifteenth century, classical studies had revived, they exercised also a favourable influence upon Biblical interpretation, and restored grammatical interpretation to honour. It was especially by grammatical interpretation that the domineering Catholic church was combated at the period of the Reformation; but as soon as the newly sprung-up Protestant church had been dogmatically established, it began to consider grammatical interpretation a dangerous adversary of its own dogmas, and opposed it as much as did the Roman Catholics themselves. From the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century this important ally of Protestantism was subjected to the artificial law of a new dogmatical interpretation; while the Roman Catholic church changed the principle of interpretation formerly advanced by Vincentius, into an ecclesiastical dogma. In consequence of this new oppression the religious sentiment, which had frequently been wounded both among Roman Catholics and Protestants, took refuge in allegorical interpretation, which then re-appeared under the forms of typical and mystical theology.

After the beginning of the eighteenth century grammatical interpretation recovered its authority. It was then first re-introduced by the Arminians, and, in spite of constant attacks, towards the conclusion of that century, it decidedly prevailed among the German Protestants. It exercised a very beneficial influence, although it

cannot be denied that manifold errors occurred in its application. During the last thirty years both Protestants and Roman Catholics have again curtailed the rights and invaded the province of grammatical interpretation, by promoting (according to the general reaction of our times) the opposing claims of dogmatical and mystical interpretation (comp. J. Rosenmüller, *Historia Interpretationis Librorum sacrorum in Ecclesia Christiana*, Lipsiæ, 1795-1814, 5 vols.; W. Van Mildert, *An Inquiry into the General Principles of Scripture Interpretation, in Eight Sermons*, &c., Oxford, 1815; G. W. Meyer, *Geschichte der Schrifterklärung seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen, 1802-9, 5 vols.; Richard Simon, *Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du Nouv. Test.*, Rotterdam, 1693; H. N. Klausen, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testamentes*, Aus dem Dänischen, Leipzig, 1841, p. 77, sq.; E. F. K. Rosenmüller, *Handbuch für die Literatur der Biblischen Kritik und Exegese*, Göttingen, 1797-1800, 4 vols.).

The aim of human speech in general may be described as the desire to render one's own thoughts intelligible to others by means of words in their capacity of signs of thoughts. These words may be written, or merely spoken. In order to understand the speech of another, several arts and branches of knowledge are requisite. The art of understanding the language of another is called Hermeneutics, ἑρμηνευτικὴ τέχνη, or ἐπιστήμη. Every art may be reduced to the skilful application of certain principles, which, if they proceed from one highest principle, may be said to be based on science.

Here we have to consider not the spoken, but the written language only. The rules to be observed by the interpreter, and the gifts which qualify him for the right understanding of written language, are applicable either to all written language in general, or only to the right understanding of particular documents; they are, therefore, to be divided into *general* and *particular*, or *especial* rules and gifts. In Biblical interpretation arises the question, whether the general hermeneutical rules are applicable to the Bible and sufficient for rightly understanding it, or whether they are insufficient, and have to undergo some modification.

Most Biblical interpreters, as we might infer from the principle of dogmatical and allegorical interpretation, have declared the general hermeneutical principles to be insufficient for explaining the Bible, and required for this purpose especial hermeneutical rules, because the Bible, they said, which had been written under the direct guidance of the Holy Ghost, could not be measured by the common rules which are applicable only to the lower sphere of merely human thoughts and compositions. Therefore, from the most ancient times, peculiar hermeneutical rules, meeting the exigency of biblical interpretation, have been set forth, which deviated from the rules of general hermeneutics. Thus Biblical Hermeneutics were changed into an art of understanding the Bible according to a certain ecclesiastical system in vogue at a certain period.

The advocates of grammatical interpretation have opposed these Biblical hermeneutics, as proceeding upon merely arbitrary suppositions. Sometimes they merely limited its assertions, and sometimes they rejected it altogether. In the latter case they said that the principles of general hermeneutics ought to be applicable to the Holy Scriptures also. Against the above-mentioned train of argument cited from Origen, on which the demand of particular Biblical hermeneutics essentially rests, the following argument might, with greater justice, be opposed: if God deemed it requisite to reveal his will to mankind by means of intelligible books, he must, in choosing this medium, have intended that the contents of these books should be discovered according to those general laws which are conducive to the right understanding of documents in general. If this were not the case God would have chosen insufficient and even contradictory means inadequate to the purpose he had in view.

The interpretation, which, in spite of all ecclesiastical opposition, ought to be adopted as being the only true one, strictly adheres to the demands of general hermeneutics, to which it adds those particular hermeneutical rules which meet the requisites of particular cases. This has, in modern times, been styled the HISTORICO-GRAMMATICAL mode of interpretation. This appellation has been chosen because the epithet grammatical seems to be too narrow and too much restricted to the mere verbal sense. It might be more correct to style it simply the HISTORICAL interpretation, since the word HISTORICAL comprehends everything that is requisite to be known about the language, the turn of mind, the individuality, &c. of an author in order rightly to understand his book.

In accordance with the various notions concerning Biblical interpretation which we have stated, there have been produced Biblical hermeneutics of very different kinds; for instance, in the earlier period we might mention that of the Donatist Ticonius, who wrote about the fourth century his *Regulæ ad investigandam et inveniendam Intelligentiam Scripturarum Septem*; Augustinus, *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. i. 3; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sentent.* 419, sq.; Santis Pagnini (who died in 1541) *Isagoga ad Mysticos Sacræ Scripturæ Sensus, libri octodecim*, Colon. 1540; Sixti Senensis (who died 1599) *Bibliotheca Sancta*, Venetiis, 1566. Of this work, which has been frequently reprinted, there belongs to our present subject only *Liber tertius Artem exponendi Sancta Scripta Catholicis Expositoribus aptissimis Regulis et Exemplis ostendens.* At a later period the Roman Catholics added to these the works of Bellarmine, Martianay, Calmet, Jahn, and Arigler.

On the part of the Lutherans were added by Matt. Flacius, *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*, Basileæ, 1537, and often reprinted in two volumes; by Johann Gerhard, *Tractatus de Legitima Scripturæ Sacræ Interpretatione*, Jenæ, 1610; by Solomon Glassius, *Philologiæ Sacræ*, libri quinque, Jenæ, 1623, and often reprinted; by Jacob Rambach, *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ*, Jenæ, 1723.

On the part of the Calvinists there were furnished by J. Alph. Turretinus, *De Scripturæ Sacræ Interpretatione Tractatus Bipartitus*, Dortrecht, 1723, and often reprinted. In the English Church were produced by Herbert Marsh *Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible*, Cambridge, 1828.

Since the middle of the last century it has been usual to treat on the Old Testament hermeneutics

and on those of the New Testament in separate works. For instance, G. W. Meyer, *Versuch einer Hermeneutik des Alten Testamentes*, Lubeck, 1799; J. H. Pareau, *Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti*, Trajecti, 1822; J. A. Ernesti, *Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti*, Lipsiæ, 1761, ed. 5ta., curante Ammon, 1809. Translated into English by Terrot, Edinburgh, 1833; Morus, *Super Hermeneutica Novi Testamenti scriptura tradenda*, ed. Eichstaedt, Lipsiæ, 1797-1802, in two volumes, but not completed; K. A. G. Keil, *Lehrbuch der Hermeneutik des Neuen Testamentes, mit Grundsätzen der grammatisch-historischen Interpretation*, Leipzig, 1810; the same work in Latin, Lipsiæ, 1811; T. T. Conybeare, *The Bampton Lectures for the year* 1824, *being an attempt to trace the History and to ascertain the limits of the secondary and spiritual Interpretation of Scripture*, Oxford, 1824; Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik und Kritik mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Neue Testament*, herausgegeben von Lücke, Berlin, 1838; H. Nik. Klaiber, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testamentes*, aus dem Dänischen, Leipzig, 1841; Chr. Gottlieb Wilke, *Die Hermeneutik des Neuen Testamentes systematisch dargestellt*, Leipzig, 1843.*—K. A. C.

INTRODUCTION, BIBLICAL. The Greek word εἰσαγωγή, in the sense of an introduction to a science, occurs only in later Greek, and was first used to denote an introduction to the right understanding of the Bible, by a Greek called Adrian, who lived in the fifth century after Christ. Ἀδριάνου εἰσαγωγὴ τῆς γραφῆς is a small book, the object of which is to assist readers who are unacquainted with biblical phraseology in rightly understanding peculiar words and expressions. It was first edited by David Hoschel, under the title of Adriani *Isagoge in Sacram Scripturam Græce cum Scholiis*, Augustæ Vindelorum, 1602, 4to. This work is reprinted in the London edition of the *Critici Sacri*, tom. viii.; and in the Frankfort edition, tom. vi. Before Adrian, the want of similar works had already been felt, and books of a corresponding tendency were in circulation, but they did not bear the title of εἰσαγωγή. Melito of Sardis, who lived in the latter half of the second century, wrote a book under the title ἡ κλείς, being a key both to the Old and to the New Testament. The so-called Λέξεις, which were written at a later period, are books of a similar description. Some of these Λέξεις have been printed in Matthæi's *Novum Testamentum Græce*, and in Boissonade's *Anecdota Græca*, tom. iii. Parisiis, 1831. These are merely linguistic introductions; but there was soon felt the want of works which might solve other questions; such as, for instance, what are the principles which should guide us in biblical interpretation. The Donatist Ticonius wrote, about the year 380, *Regulæ ad investigandam et inveniendam Intelligentiam Scripturarum Septem*. St. Augustine, in his work *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, (iii. 302), says concerning these seven rules, that the author's intention was by means of them to open the secret sense of Holy Writ, 'quasi clavibus,' as *if it were by keys*.

There arose also a question concerning the extent of Holy Writ—that is to say, what belonged, and what did not belong, to Holy Writ; and also respecting the contents of the separate biblical books, and the order in which they should follow each other, &c.

About A.D. 550, Cassiodorus wrote his *Institutiones Divinæ*. He mentions in this work, under the name of *Introductores Divinæ Scripturæ*, five authors who had been engaged in biblical investigations, and in his tenth chapter speaks of them thus:—Ad introductores scripturæ divinæ . . . . . sollicita mente redeamus, id est Ticonium Donatistam, Sanctum Augustinum de doctrina Christiana, Adrianum, Eucherium, et Junilium, quos nobis curiositate collegi, ut, quidquid erat similis intentionis, in uno corpore adunati celeres clauderetur:—'Let us eagerly return to the guides to Holy Writ; that is to say, to the Donatist Ticonius, to St. Augustine on Christian doctrine, to Adrian, Eucherius, and Junillus, whom I have sedulously collected, in order that works of a similar purport might be combined in one volume.'

Henceforward the title, *Introductio in Scripturam Sacram*, was established, and remained current for all works in which were solved questions introductory to the study of the Bible. In the Western, or Latin church, during a thousand years, scarcely any addition was made to the collection of Cassiodorus; while in the Eastern, or Greek church, only two works written during this long period deserve to be mentioned, both bearing the title, Σύνοψις τῆς θείας γραφῆς. One of these works was falsely ascribed to Athanasius, and the other as falsely to Chrysostom.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century the Dominican friar, Santes Pagninus, who died in 1541, published his *Isagoge*, by means of which he intended to revive the biblical knowledge of Jerome and St. Augustine. This work, considering the time of its appearance, was a great step in advance. Its title is, *Santis Pagnini Lucensis Isagoge ad Sacras Literas, liber unicus*, Coloniæ, 1540, fol.

The work of the Dominican friar, Sixtus of Sienna, who died in 1599, is of greater importance, although it is manifestly written under the influence of the Inquisition, which had just been restored, and is perceptibly shackled by the decrees of the Council of Trent. Sixtus had the intention, worthy of an inquisitor, to expurgate from Christian literature every heretical element. The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, which was then first published, had the same object; but Sixtus furnished also a list of books to be used by a true Catholic Christian for the right understanding of Holy Writ, as well as the principles which should guide a Roman Catholic in criticism and interpretation. The title of his work is, *Bibliotheca Sancta ab A. F. Sixto, Senensi, ordinis prædicatorum, ex præcipuis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ auctoribus collecta, et in octo libros digesta*, Venetiis, 1566. This book is dedicated to the Cardinal Ghisleri, who ascended the papal throne in 1566, under the name of Pius V.: it has frequently been reprinted.

* The writer of this article does not seem to have become acquainted with a very valuable work on the general subject, recently published in this country, under the title of *Sacred Hermeneutics developed and applied; including a History of Biblical Interpretation from the earliest of the Fathers to the Reformation*, by the Rev. S. Davidson, LL.D., Edinburgh, 1843.

The decrees of the Council of Trent prevented the Roman Catholics from moving freely in the field of biblical investigation, while the Protestants zealously carried out their researches in various directions. The Illyrian, Matthias Flacius, in his *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ, seu de Sermone Sacrarum Literarum*, which was first printed at Basle, 1567, in folio, furnished an excellent work on biblical Hermeneutics; but it was surpassed by the Prolegomena of Brian Walton, which belong to his celebrated *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, London, 1657, six volumes fol. These Prolegomena contain much that will always be accounted valuable and necessary for the true criticism of the sacred text. They have been published separately, with notes, by Archdeacon Wrangham, in 2 vols. 8vo. Thus we have seen that excellent works were produced on isolated portions of biblical introduction, but they were not equalled in merit by the works in which it was attempted to furnish a whole system of biblical introduction.

The following biblical introductions are among the best of those which were published about that period: Michaelis Waltheri *Officina Biblica noviter adaperta, &c.*, Lipsiæ, first published in 1636; Abrahami Calovii *Criticus Sacer Biblicus, &c.*, Vitembergæ, 1643; J. H. Hottinger, *Thesaurus Philologicus, seu Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*, Tiguri, 1649; Johannis Henrici Heidegger *Enchiridion Biblicum ἑρομνημονικόν*, Tiguri, 1681; Leusden, a Dutchman, published a work entitled *Philologus Hebræus, &c.*, Utrecht, 1656, and *Philologus Hebræo-Græcus Generalis*, Utrecht, 1670. All these works have been frequently reprinted.

The dogmatical zeal of the Protestants was greatly excited by the work of Louis Capelle, a reformed divine and learned professor at Saumur, which appeared under the title of Ludovici Cappelli *Critica Sacra; sive de variis quæ in veteris Testamenti libris occurrunt lectionibus libri sex. Edita opere ac studio Joannis Cappelli, auctoris filii*, Parisiis, 1650. A learned Roman Catholic and priest of the Oratory, Richard Simon, who was born in 1658, and died in 1712, rightly perceived, from the dogmatical bile stirred up by Capelle, that biblical criticism was the most effective weapon to be employed against the Protestantism which had grown cold and stiff in dogmatics. He therefore devoted his critical knowledge of the Bible to the service of the Roman Catholic church, and endeavoured to inflict a death-blow upon Protestantism. The result, however, was the production of Simon's excellent work on biblical criticism, which became the basis on which the science of biblical introduction was raised. Simon was the first who correctly separated the criticism of the Old Testament from that of the New. His works on biblical introduction appeared under the following titles: *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, Paris, 1678. This work was inaccurately reprinted at Amsterdam by Elzevir in 1679, and subsequently in many other bad piratical editions. Among these the most complete was that printed, together with several polemical treatises occasioned by this work, at Rotterdam, in 1685, 4to.;—*Histoire Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam, 1689; *Histoire Critique des Versions du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam, 1690; *Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam, 1693. By these excellent critical works Simon established a claim upon the gratitude of all real friends of truth; but he was thanked by none of the prevailing parties in the Christian church. The Protestants saw in Simon only an enemy of their church, not the thorough investigator and friend of truth. To the Roman Catholics, on the other hand, Simon's works appeared to be destructive, because they demonstrated their ecclesiastical decrees to be arbitrary and unhistorical. The *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* was suppressed by the Roman Catholics in Paris immediately after its publication, and in Protestant countries also it was forbidden to reprint it. The Roman Catholic bishop, Bossuet, lamented that Simon had undermined the dogma of tradition, and had changed the holy fathers into Protestants. Simon, as an honest investigator and friend of truth, remained undisturbed; but kept aloof from both Roman Catholics and Protestants, by both of which parties he was persecuted, and died in 1712, in a merely external connection with the Romish church.

The churches endeavoured, with apparent success, to destroy Simon and his writings, in a host of inimical and condemnatory publications, by which the knowledge of truth was not in the least promoted. However, the linguistic and truly scientific researches of Pocock; the Oriental school in the Netherlands; the unsurpassed work of Humphry Hody, *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus Versionibus, &c.*, Oxoniæ, 1705, folio; the excellent criticism of Mill, in his *Novum Testamentum Græcum cum Lectionibus Variantibus*, Oxoniæ, 1707, folio; which was soon followed by Wetstein's *Novum Testamentum Græcum editionis receptæ, cum Lectionibus Variantibus*, Amstelodami, 1751-2, folio, and by which even Johann Albert Bengel, who died in 1752, was convinced, in spite of his ecclesiastical orthodoxy (comp. Bengelii *Apparatus Criticus Novi Testamenti*, p. 634, sq.); the biblical works by Johann Heinrich Michaelis, especially his *Biblia Hebraica ex Manuscriptis et impressis Codicibus*, Halæ, 1720; and Benjamin Kennicott's *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis Lectionibus*, Oxoniæ, 1776, and the revival of classical philology;—all this gradually led to results which coincided with Simon's criticism, and showed the enormous difference between historical truth and the arbitrary ecclesiastical opinions which were still prevalent in the works on biblical introduction by Pritius, Blackwall, Carpzov, Van Til, Moldenhauer, and others. Johann David Michaelis, who died in 1791, mildly endeavoured to reconcile the church with historical truth, but has been rewarded by the anathemas of the ecclesiastical party, who have pronounced him a heretic. By their ecclesiastical persecutors, Richard Simon was falsely described to be a disciple of the atheistical Spinoza, and Michaelis as a follower of both Simon and Spinoza. However, the mediating endeavours of Michaelis gradually prevailed. His Introduction to the New Testament appeared first as a work of moderate size, under the title of Johann David Michaelis *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes*, Göttingen, 1750, 8vo. It was soon translated into English. In the years 1765-6 Michaelis published a second and augmented edition of the German original, in two volumes. The fourth edition, which received great additions, and in which many alter-

ations were made, appeared in 1788, in two vols. 4to. This edition was translated and essentially augmented by Herbert Marsh, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and appeared under the title, *Introduction to the New Testament*, by John David Michaelis, translated from the fourth edition of the German, and considerably augmented, Cambridge, 1791-1801, 4 vols. 8vo. Michaelis commenced also an introduction to the Old Testament, but did not complete it. A portion of it was printed under the title, *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des Alten Bundes*, Theil i. Abschnitt 1, Hamburg, 1787.

A work by Ed. Harwood, entitled *A New Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the New Testament*, London, 1767-71, was translated into German by Schulz, Halle, 1770-73, in three volumes. In this book there are so many heterogeneous materials, that it scarcely belongs to the science of introduction.

The study of New Testament introduction was in Germany especially promoted also by Johann Solomon Semler, who died at Halle in 1791. It was by Semler's influence that the critical works of Richard Simon were translated into German, and the works of Wetstein re-edited and circulated. The original works of Semler on biblical introduction are his *Apparatus ad liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem*, Halæ, 1767, and his *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Canons*. 4 vols., Halle, 1771-5.

Semler's school produced Johann Jacob Griesbach, who died at Jena in the year 1812. Griesbach's labours in correcting the text of the New Testament are of great value. K. A. Haenlein published a work called *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testamentes*, Erlangen, 1794-1802, in two volumes, in which he followed up the lectures of Griesbach. A second edition of this work appeared in the years 1801-9. This introduction contains excellent materials, but is wanting in decisive historical criticism.

Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, who died at Göttingen in 1827, was formed in the school of Michaelis at Göttingen, and was inspired by Herder's poetical views of the East in general, and of the literature of the ancient Hebrews in particular. Eichhorn commenced his Introduction when the times were inclined to give up the Bible altogether, as a production of priestcraft inapplicable to the present period. He endeavoured to bring the contents of the Bible into harmony with modern modes of thinking, to explain, and to recommend them. He endeavoured by means of hypotheses to furnish a clue to their origin, without sufficiently regarding strict historical criticism. Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* was first published at Leipsic in 1780-83, in three volumes. The fifth edition was published at Göttingen, 1820-24, in five volumes. His *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* was published at Göttingen in 1804-27, in five volumes. The earlier volumes have been republished. The external treatment of the materials, the style, aim, and many separate portions of both works, are masterly and excellent; but with regard to linguistic and historical research, they are feeble and overwhelmed with hypotheses.

Leonhardt Bertholdt was a very diligent but uncritical compiler. He made a considerable step backward in the science of introduction, not only by remitting the Old and New Testament into one whole, but by even intermixing the separate writings with each other, in his work entitled *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in sämmtliche kanonische und Apocryphische Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testamentes*, Erlangen, 1812-19, in six volumes.

The *Isagoge Historico-critica in Libros Novi Fœderis Sacros*, Jenæ, 1830, of H. A. Schott, is more distinguished by diligence than by penetration. The *Lehrbuch der Historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Bibel A. und N. T.* Berlin; *Theil* 1, *Die Allgemeine Einleitung und das Alte Testament enthaltend*, 1817 (fifth edition, 1840); *Theil* 2, *Das Neue Testament enthaltend*, 1826 (fourth edition, 1842), by W. M. Lebrecht de Wette, is distinguished by brevity, precision, critical penetration, and in some parts by completeness. This book contains an excellent survey of the various opinions prevalent in the sphere of biblical introduction, interspersed with original discussions. Almost every author on biblical criticism will find that De Wette has made use of his labours; but in the purely historical portions the book is feeble, and indicates that the author did not go to the first sources, but adopted the opinions of others; consequently the work has no internal harmony. An English translation of this work, with additions by the translator, Theodore Parker, has lately appeared in America, under the title of *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*.

The word 'introduction' being of rather vague signification, there was also formerly no definite idea attached to the expression Biblical Introduction. In works on this subject (as in Horne's *Introduction*) might be found contents belonging to geography, antiquities, interpretation, natural history, and other branches of knowledge. Even the usual contents of biblical introductions were so unconnected, that Schleiermacher, in his *Kurze Darstellung des Theologischen Studiums*, justly called it *ein Mancherlei*; that is, a farrago or omnium-gatherum. Biblical introduction was usually described as consisting of the various branches of preparatory knowledge requisite for viewing and treating the Bible correctly. It was distinguished from biblical history and archæology by being less intimately connected with what is usually called history. It comprised treatises on the origin of the Bible, on the original languages, on the translations, and on the history of the sacred text; and was divided into general and special introduction.

The author of this article endeavoured to remove this vagueness by furnishing a firm definition of biblical introduction. In his work, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, von Dr. K. A. Credner, th. i. Halle, 1836, he defined biblical introduction to be the history of the Bible, and divided it into the following parts:

1. The history of the separate biblical books.
2. The history of the collection of these books, or of the canon.
3. The history of the spread of these books, or of the translations of it.
4. The history of the preservation of the text.
5. The history of the interpretation of it.

This view of the science of introduction has

received much approbation, and is the basis of Reus's *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testamentes*, Halle, 1842. The results of the critical examination of the books of the New Testament are comprehended in the following work, *Das Neue Testament nach seinem Zweck, Ursprunge und Inhalt*, von A. R. Credner, Giessen, 1841-3, in two volumes.

The critical investigation which prevailed in Germany after the days of Michaelis, has of late been opposed by a mode of treating biblical introduction, not so much in the spirit of a free search after truth as in an apologetical and polemical style. This course, however, has not enriched biblical science. To this class of books belong a number of monographs, or treatises on separate subjects; also the *Handbuch der Historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Erlangen, 1836, by H. A. C. Hävernick, of which there have been published two parts, in three volumes, and of which an English translation is in preparation; and also H. E. Ferd. Guericke's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Halle, 1843, in which too frequently an anathema against heretics serves as a substitute for demonstration. The apologetical tendency prevails in the work of G. Hamilton, entitled *A General Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Scriptures, &c.*, Dublin, 1814; in Thomas Hartwell Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, &c.*, London, 1818, four volumes (the eighth edition, 1839, five volumes); and in J. Cook's *Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament*, Edinburgh, 1824.

The Roman Catholics also have, in modern times, written on biblical introduction, although the unchangeable decrees of the Council of Trent hinder all free, critical, and scientific treatment of the subject. The Roman Catholics can treat biblical introduction only in a polemical and apologetical manner, and are obliged to keep up the attention of their readers by introducing learned archæological researches, which conceal the want of free movement. This latter mode was adopted by J. Jahn (who died at Vienna in 1816) in his *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Bücher des alten Bundes*, Vienna, 1793, two volumes, and 1802, three volumes; and in his *Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Testamenti in epitomen redacta*, Viennæ, 1805. This work has been republished by F. Ackermann, in what are asserted to be the third and fourth editions, under the title of *Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Testamenti, usibus academicis accommodata*, Viennæ, 1825, and 1839. But these so-called new editions are full of alterations and mutilations, which remove every free expression of Jahn, who belonged to the liberal period of the Emperor Joseph.

Johann Leonhard Hug's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1808, two volumes, third edition, 1826, surpasses Jahn's work in ability, and has obtained much credit among Protestants by its learned explanations, although these frequently swerve from the point in question. Hug's work has been translated into English by the Rev. D. G. Wait, LL.D.; but this translation is much surpassed by that of Fosdick, published in the United States, and enriched by the addenda of Moses Stuart. The polemical and apologetical style prevails in the work of J. G. Herbst, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Schriften des Alten Testamentes*, completed and edited after the death of the author, by Welte, Carlsruhe, 1840; and in *L'Introduction Historique et Critique aux Livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament*, par J. B. Glaire, Paris, 1839, four volumes. The work of the excellent Feilmoser, who died in 1831, *Einleitung in die Bücher des Neuen Bundes*, in the second edition, Tübingen, 1830, forsakes the position of a true Roman Catholic, inasmuch as it is distinguished by a noble ingenuousness and candour. All these last-mentioned works prove that the science of introduction cannot prosper in ecclesiastical fetters.—K. A. C.

[It seems desirable to add to this article a short view of the works on Biblical Introduction which have appeared in England. These are mostly of small importance in comparison with the great works on the subject which have been produced on the Continent; and hence few of them have engaged the notice of the Contributor to whom we are indebted for the preceding article.

Collier's *Sacred Interpreter*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1746, was one of our earliest publications of this kind. It went through several editions, and was translated into German in 1750. It relates both to the Old and New Testament, and is described by Bishop Marsh as 'a good popular preparation for the study of the Holy Scriptures.'

Lardner's *History of the Apostles and Evangelists*, 3 vols. 8vo. 1756-7, is described by the same critic as an admirable introduction to the New Testament. 'It is a storehouse of literary information, collected with equal industry and fidelity.' From this work, from the English translation of Michaelis's *Introduction*, 1761, and from Dr. Owen's *Observations on the Gospels*, 1764, Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, compiled a useful manual, called *A Key to the New Testament*, which has gone through many editions, and is much in request among the candidates for ordination in the Established Church.

The *Key to the Old Testament*, 1790, by Dr. Gray, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, was written in imitation of Percy's compilation; but it is a much more elaborate performance than the *Key to the New Testament*. It is a compilation from a great variety of works, references to which are given at the foot of each page. Bishop Marsh speaks of it as 'a very useful publication for students of divinity, who will find at one view what must otherwise be collected from many writers.' It is still popular, the *tenth* edition having been published in 1841. But a professed compilation, which contains in its latest edition no reference to any work published for above half a century past, must necessarily be far behind the present state of our information on the subjects of which it treats.

Dr. Harwood's *Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the New Testament*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1767, 1771, although noticed by our contributor, is not properly an introduction to the New Testament, in the usual and proper sense of the term. It does not describe the books of the New Testament, but is a collection of dissertations relative partly to the character of the sacred writers, Jewish history and customs, and to such parts of heathen antiquities as have reference to the New Testament.

The first volume of Bishop Tomline's *Elements*

of Christian Theology contains an introduction both to the Old and to the New Testament, and has been published in a separate form. It is suited to its purpose as a manual for students in divinity; but the standard of present attainment cannot be very high if, as Marsh states, 'it may be read with advantage by the most experienced divine.'

The works of Dr. Cook, the Rev. G. Hamilton, and the Rev. T. H. Horne, are mentioned in the above article; but the slight notice of Horne's *Introduction* which it contains will scarcely satisfy those who are aware that it is the largest and most important work of the kind which we possess. We cheerfully subscribe to the opinion of Bishop Marsh, that it is 'upon the whole a very useful publication, and does great credit to the industry and researches of the indefatigable author.' We may add, that it has worthily occupied for above a quarter of a century a high and influential place in our theological literature; during which it has satisfied the current demand for the kind of information which it offers, and has done much to form a class of students who now take their stand upon it, and look with desire to the fields beyond, where lie the vast treasures in every department of biblical literature which the wonderful activity of continental research has of late years accumulated. Had the able and pious author more largely availed himself of these important sources of information, the value of his work to a large and rapidly-increasing class of students would have been very much enhanced. A very useful abridgment of this *Introduction*, in 1 vol. 12mo., appeared in 1829 under the title of *A Compendious Introduction to the Study of the Bible*. Another manual, under the title of *A Scripture Help*, 1806, by the Rev. E. Bickersteth, has been received with eminent favour; and we have seen the first volume of an admirable work for junior students published in the United States in 1835 under the title of *Introduction to the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible*, by C. E. Stowe. We know not whether the second volume has yet appeared].

IOTA (Auth. Vers. '*Jot*'), the smallest letter of the Greek alphabet (ι); derived from the Hebrew *jod* (י) and the Syriac *judh* (ܝ), and employed metaphorically to express the minutest trifle. It is, in fact, one of several metaphors derived from the alphabet—as when *alpha*, the first letter, and *omega*, the last, are employed to express the beginning and the end. We are not to suppose, however, that this proverb was exclusively apposite in the Greek language. The same practical allusion equally existed in Hebrew, some curious examples of which may be seen in Wetstein and Lightfoot. One of these may here suffice:—In the Talmud (*Sanhed.* xx. 2) it is fabled that the book of Deuteronomy came and prostrated itself before God, and said, 'O Lord of the universe, thou hast written in me thy law, but now a testament defective in some parts is defective in all. Behold, Solomon endeavours to root the letter jod out of me' (*i. e.* in the text, לֹא יִרְבֶּה נָשִׁים, 'he shall not multiply wives' (Deut. xvi. 17). 'The holy, blessed God answered—Solomon, and a thousand such as he, shall perish, but the least word shall not perish out of thee.' This is, in fact, a parallel not only to the usage but the sentiment, as conveyed in Matt. v. 18, 'One jot, or one tittle, shall in no wise pass from the law.'

IRON. This word, wherever it occurs in the English Version, answers to בַּרְזֶל, or to its Chaldaic; to σίδηρος in the Sept.; and to *ferrum* in the Vulg., except where it gives an explanatory translation, as 'falcatos currus' (Judg. iv. 3), though it sometimes gives the literal translation of the same term, as 'ferreos currus' (Josh. xvii. 18). The use of the Greek and Latin words, in classical authors of every age, fixes their meaning. That σίδηρος means iron, in Homer, is plain from his simile derived from the quenching of iron in water, which he applies to the hissing noise produced in piercing the eye of Polyphemus with the pointed stake (*Odys.* ix. 391). Much stress has been laid upon the absence of iron among the most ancient remains of Egypt; but the speedy decomposition of this metal, especially when buried in the nitrous soil of Egypt, may account for the absence of it among the remains of the early monarchs of a Pharaonic age (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt.*, iii. 246). Tubal-Cain is the *first-mentioned* smith, 'a forger of every instrument of iron' (Gen. iv. 22). From that time we meet with manufactures in iron of the utmost variety (*some* articles of which seem to be anticipations of what are commonly supposed to be modern inventions); as iron weapons or instruments (Num. xxxv. 7; Job xx. 24); barbed irons, used in hunting (Job xli. 7); *an iron bedstead* (Deut. iii. 11); chariots of iron (Josh. xvii. 16, and elsewhere); iron weights (shekels) (1 Sam. xvii. 7); harrows of iron (2 Sam. xii. 31); iron armour (2 Sam. xxiii. 7); tools (1 Kings vi. 7; 2 Kings vi. 5); horns (1 Kings xxii. 11); nails, hinges (1 Chron. xxii. 3); fetters (Ps. cv. 18); bars (Ps. cvii. 16); iron bars used in fortifying the gates of towns (Ps. cvii. 16; Isa. xlv. 2); a *pen of iron* (Job xix. 24; Isa. xvii. 1); a pillar (Jer. i. 18); yokes (Jer. xxviii. 13); pan (Ezek. iv. 3); trees bound with iron (Dan. iv. 15); gods of iron (Dan. v. 4); threshing-instruments (Amos i. 3); and in later times, an iron gate (Acts xii. 10); the actual cautery (1 Tim. iv. 2); breastplates (Rev. ix. 9).

The mineral origin of iron seems clearly alluded to in Job xxviii. 2. It would seem that in ancient times it was a plentiful production of Palestine (Deut. viii. 9). There appear to have been furnaces for smelting at an early period in Egypt (Deut. iv. 20). The requirement that the altar should be made of 'whole stones over which no man had lift up any iron,' recorded in Josh. viii. 31, does not imply any objection to iron as such, but seems to be merely a mode of directing that, in order to prevent idolatry, the stones must not undergo any preparation by art. Iron was prepared in abundance by David for the building of the temple (1 Chron. xxii. 3), to the amount of one hundred thousand talents (1 Chron. xxix. 7), or rather 'without weight' (1 Chron. xxii. 14). Working in iron was considered a calling (2 Chron. ii. 7) [Smith]. Iron seems to have been better from some countries, or to have undergone some hardening preparation by the inhabitants of them, such as were the people called

Chalybes, living near the Euxine Sea (Jer. xv. 12); to have been imported from Tarshish to Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 12), and 'bright iron' from Dan and Javan (ver. 19). The superior hardness of iron above all other substances is alluded to in Dan. ii. 40. It was found among the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 22), and was part of the wealth distributed among the tribes at their location in the land (Josh. xxii. 8).

Iron is *metaphorically* alluded to in the following instances:—affliction is signified by the furnace for smelting it (Deut. iv. 20); under the same figure, chastisement (Ezek. xxii. 18, 20, 22); reducing the earth to total barrenness by turning it into iron (Deut. xxviii. 23); slavery, by a yoke of iron (Deut. xxviii. 48); strength, by a bar of it (Job xl. 18); the extreme of hardness (Job xli. 27); severity of government, by a rod of iron (Ps. ii. 9); affliction, by iron fetters (Ps. cvii. 10); prosperity, by giving silver for iron (Isa. lx. 17); political strength (Dan. ii. 33); obstinacy, by an iron sinew in the neck (Isa. xlviii. 4); giving supernatural fortitude to a prophet, making him an iron pillar (Jer. i. 18); destructive power of empires, by iron teeth (Dan. vii. 7); deterioration of character, by becoming iron (Jer. vi. 28; Ezek. xxii. 18), which resembles the idea of the iron age; a tiresome burden, by a mass of iron (Ecclus. xxii. 15); the greatest obstacles, by walls of iron (2 Macc. xi. 9); the certainty with which a real enemy will ever show his hatred, by the rust returning upon iron (Ecclus. xii. 10). Iron seems used, as by the Greek poets, metonymically for the sword (Isa. x. 34), and so the Sept. understands it, *μάχαιρα*. The following is selected as a *beautiful comparison* made to iron (Prov. xxvii. 17), 'Iron (literally) uniteth iron; so a man uniteth the countenance of his friend,' gives stability to his appearance by his presence. A most graphic *description of a smith at work* is found in Ecclus. xxxviii. 28.—J. F. D.

ISAAC (יִצְחָק; Sept. Ισαάκ), son of Abraham and Sarah, born in his parents' old age. The promise of a son had been made to them when Abraham was visited by the Lord in the plains of Mamre, and appeared so unlikely to be fulfilled, seeing that both Abraham and Sarah were 'well-stricken in years,' that its utterance caused the latter to laugh incredulously. Being reproved for her unbelief, she denied that she had laughed. The reason assigned for the special visitation thus promised was, in effect, that Abraham was pious, and would train his offspring in piety, so that he would become the founder of a great nation, and all the nations of the earth should be blessed in him.

In due time Sarah gave birth to a son, who received the name of Isaac. The reason assigned in Gen. xxi. 6 for the adoption of this name, has reference to the laughter occasioned by the announcement of the divine intention—'and Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh, all that hear will laugh with me'—the laugh of incredulity being changed into the laugh of joy (comp. Gen. xxi. 6; xviii. 12; xvii. 17). In the last passage Abraham is said to have laughed also when informed of God himself that he and Sarah should have a son, though he was a hundred and his wife ninety years old.

Some writers have seen a discrepancy in the passages before referred to, and have hence conjectured that we have here to do, not with history, but historical legends (Winer, *Handwörterb.*). We are unable to find anything of a nature to excite suspicion or abate confidence, there being scarcely any variations, and certainly none but such as might easily arise on a purely historical ground.

The first fact that we read of in the history of Isaac, is the command given to his father to offer the youth—'thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest'—for a burnt-offering on a mountain in the land of Moriah. Abraham proceeded to obey the divine direction, and was on the point of slaying Isaac, when his hand was withheld by the interposition of God, a ram for sacrifice being provided instead.

This event has found no few detractors. Eichhorn (*Bibl. f. Bibl. Lit.* i. 45, sq.) regarded the whole as a vision; Otmar (Henkes's *Mag.* ii. 517), as the explanation of an hieroglyph; Bruns (*Paulus Memorab.* vi. 1, sq.) finds the source of it in the Phœnician custom of sacrificing children. Some compare (Rosenmüller, *Morgenl.* i. 95) with this narrative the Grecian story of Iphigenia, and other fables of a similar kind. The general aim of certain writers has been, as they consider it, to relieve the Bible from the odium which the narrated circumstances are in their opinion fitted to occasion. That the passage is free from every possible objection, it may be too much to assert: it is, however, equally clear that many of the objections taken to it arise from viewing the facts from a wrong position, or under the discolouring medium of a foregone and adverse conclusion. The only proper way is to consider it as it is represented in the sacred page. The command, then, was expressly designed to try Abraham's faith. Destined as the patriarch was to be the father of the faithful, was he worthy of his high and dignified position? If his own obedience was weak, he could not train others in faith, trust, and love: hence a trial was necessary. That he was not without holy dispositions was already known, and indeed recognised in the divine favours of which he had been the object; but was he prepared to do and to suffer all God's will? Religious perfection and his position alike demanded a perfect heart: hence the kind of trial. If he were willing to surrender even his only child, and act himself both as offerer and priest in the sacrifice of the required victim, if he could so far conquer his natural affections, so subdue the father in his heart, then there could be no doubt that his will was wholly reconciled to God's, and that he was worthy of every trust, confidence, and honour. The trial was made, the fact was ascertained, the victim was not slain. What is there in this to which either religion or morality can take exception? This view is both confirmed and justified by the words of God (Gen. xxii. 16, sq.), '*because* thou hast not withheld thy only son, in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.'

We remark also that, not a part, but the entire, of the transaction must be taken under consideration, and especially the final result. If we dwell exclusively on the commencement of it, there appears to be some sanction given to human sacrifices; but the end, and the concluding and

ever-enduring fact, has the directly opposite bearing. Viewed as a whole, the transaction is in truth an express prohibition of human sacrifices.

Isaac passed his youthful days under the eye of his father, engaged in the care of flocks and herds up and down the plains of Canaan. At length his father wished to see him married. Abraham therefore gave a commission to his oldest and most trustworthy servant to the effect that, in order to prevent Isaac from taking a wife from among the daughters of the Canaanites, he should proceed into Mesopotamia, and, under the divine direction, choose a partner among his own relatives for his beloved son. Rebekah, in consequence, becomes Isaac's wife, when he was now forty years of age.

In connection with this marriage an event is recorded which displays the peculiar character of Isaac, while it is in keeping with the general tenor of the sacred record regarding him. Probably in expectation of the early return of his father's messenger, and somewhat solicitous as to the result of the embassy, he went out to meditate in the field at the eventide. While there engaged in tranquil thought, he chanced to raise his eyes, when lo! he beheld the retinue near at hand, and soon conducted his bride into his mother's tent. In unison with all this is the simple declaration of the history, that Isaac 'loved her.' Isaac was evidently a man of kind and gentle dispositions, of a calm and reflective turn of mind, simple in his habits, having few wants, good rather than great, fitted to receive impressions and follow a guide, not to originate important influences, or perform deeds of renown. If his character did not take a bent from the events connected with his father's readiness to offer him on Mount Moriah, certainly its passiveness is in entire agreement with the whole tenor of his conduct, as set forth in that narrative.

Isaac having, in conjunction with his half-brother Ishmael, buried Abraham his father, 'in a good old age, in the cave of Machpelah,' took up a somewhat permanent residence 'by the well Lahai-roi,' where, being blessed of God, he lived in prosperity and at ease. One source of regret, however, he deeply felt. Rebekah was barren. In time, two sons, Jacob and Esau, are granted to his prayers. As the boys grew, Isaac gave a preference to Esau, who seems to have possessed those robuster qualities of character in which his father was defective, and therefore gratified him by such dainties as the pursuits of the chace enabled the youth to offer; while Jacob, 'a plain man dwelling in tents,' was an object of special regard to Rebekah—a division of feeling and a kind of partiality which became the source of much domestic unhappiness, as well as of jealousy and hatred between the two sons.

A famine compels Isaac to seek food in some foreign land. Divinely warned not to go down to Egypt, the patriarch applies to a petty prince of Philistia, by name Abimelech, who permits him to dwell at Gerar. Here an event took place which has a parallel in the life of his father Abraham. Rebekah was his consin: afraid lest she should be violently taken from him, and his own life sacrificed to the lust of Abimelech, he represented her as his sister, employing a latitude of meaning which the word 'sister' admits in Oriental usage. The subterfuge was discovered, and is justified by Isaac on the grounds which prompted him to resort to it.

Another parallel event in the lives of Abraham and Isaac may be found by comparing together Gen. xxvi. 26, sq., and xxi. 22, sq. If these parallels should excite a doubt in the mind of any one as to the credibility of the narratives, let him carefully peruse them, and we think that the simplicity and naturalness which pervade and characterize them will effectually substantiate the reality of the recorded events, and explode the notion that fiction has had anything to do in bringing the narrative into its present shape.

Isaac, in his old age, was, by the practices of Rebekah and the art of Jacob, so imposed upon as to give his blessing to the younger son Jacob, instead of to the first-born Esau, and with that blessing to convey, as was usual, the right of headship in the family, together with his chief possessions. In the blessing which the aged patriarch pronounced on Jacob it deserves notice how entirely the wished-for good is of an earthly and temporal nature, while the imagery which is employed serves to show the extent to which the poetical element prevailed as a constituent part of the Hebrew character (Gen. xxvii. 27, sq.). Most natural, too, is the extreme agitation of the poor blind old man, on discovering the cheat which had been put upon him:—'And Isaac trembled very exceedingly, and said (to Esau), Who? where is he that hath taken venison and brought it me, and I have eaten, and have blessed him? Yea, and he shall be blessed.' Equally natural is the reply of Esau. The entire passage is of itself enough to vindicate the historical character and entire credibility of those sketches of the lives of the patriarchs which Genesis presents.

The stealing, on the part of Jacob, of his father's blessing having angered Esau, who seems to have looked forward to Isaac's death as affording an opportunity for taking vengeance on his unjust brother, the aged patriarch is induced, at his wife's entreaty, to send Jacob into Mesopotamia, that, after his own example, his son might take a wife from amongst his kindred and people, 'of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother.'

This is the last important act recorded of Isaac. Jacob having, agreeably to his father's command, married into Laban's family, returned, after some time, and found the old man at Mamre, in the city of Arbah, which is Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned. Here, 'being old and full of days' (180), Isaac 'gave up the ghost, and died, and was gathered unto his people, and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him' (Gen. xxxv. 27, sq.). On the subjects treated of in this article the following works may be consulted:—H. A. Zeibich, *Isaaci ortus in fab. Orionis Vestigia;* De Wette, *Krit. d. Is. Gesch.* p. 133, sq.; Niemeyer, *Charakteristik der Bibel*, 2nd part; Ewald's *Israeliten*, p. 338, sq.—J. R. B.

ISAIAH (יְשַׁעְיָה; Sept. Ἡσαΐας). I. *Times and circumstances of the Prophet Isaiah.*—The heading of this book places the prophet under the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah; and an examination of the prophecies themselves, independently of the heading, leads us to the same chronological results. Chapter vi., in which is related the call of Isaiah, not to his prophetic office, but to a higher

degree of it, is thus headed : 'In the year in which king Uzziah died I saw the Lord,' &c. The collection of prophecies is chronologically arranged, and the utterances in the preceding chapters (i. to vi.) belong, for chronological and other reasons, to an earlier period, preceding the last year of the reign of Uzziah, although the utterances in chapters ii. iii. iv. and v. have been erroneously assigned to the reign of Jotham. We have no document which can, with any degree of certainty, or even of probability, be assigned to that reign. We by no means assert that the prophetic ministry of Isaiah was suspended during the reign of Jotham, but merely that then apparently the circumstances of the times did not require Isaiah to utter predictions of importance for all ages of the church. We certainly learn from the examples of Nathan, Elijah, and Elisha, that a powerful prophetic ministration may be in operation, although the predictions uttered, finding their accomplishment within the times of the prophet, do not point to subsequent ages. As, however, the position of affairs was not materially changed under the reign of Jotham, we may say that the first two utterances have a bearing upon that reign also. These two prophecies contain the sum and substance of what Isaiah taught during twenty years of his life. If these prophetic utterances belonging to the reign of Uzziah had not been extant, there would, doubtless, have been written down and preserved similar discourses uttered under the reign of Jotham. As, however, the former utterances were applicable to that reign also, it was unnecessary to preserve such as were of similar import.

The continuation of prophetic authorship, or the writing down of uttered prophecies, depended upon the commencement of new historical developments, such as took place under the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah. Several prophecies in the seventh and following chapters belong to the reign of Ahaz; and most of the subsequent prophecies to the reign of Hezekiah. The prophetic ministry of Isaiah under Hezekiah is also described in an historical section contained in chapters xxxvi.-xxxix. The data which are contained in this section come down to the fifteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah; consequently we are in the possession of historical documents proving that the prophetic ministry of Isaiah was in operation during about forty-seven or fifty years, commencing in the year B.C. 763 or 759, and extending to the year B.C. 713. Of this period, from one to four years belong to the reign of Uzziah, sixteen to the reign of Jotham, sixteen to the reign of Ahaz, and fourteen to the reign of Hezekiah.

Stäudlein, Jahn, Bertholdt, and Gesenius, have, in modern times, advanced the opinion that Isaiah lived to a much later period, and that his life extended to the reign of Manasseh, the successor of Hezekiah. For this opinion, the following reasons are adduced :—

1. According to 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, Isaiah wrote the life of King Hezekiah. It would hence appear that he survived that king.

2. We find a tradition current in the Talmud, in the Fathers, and in Oriental literature, that Isaiah suffered martyrdom in the reign of Manasseh, by being sawn asunder. It is thought that an allusion to this tradition is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37), in the expression *they were sawn asunder* (ἐπρίσθησαν), which seems to harmonize with 2 Kings xxi. 16, 'moreover Manasseh shed innocent blood very much.'

3. The authenticity of the second portion of the prophecies of Isaiah being admitted, the nature of this portion would seem to confirm the idea that its author had lived under Manasseh. The style of the second portion, it is asserted, is so different from that of the first, that both could not well have been composed by the same author, except under the supposition that a considerable time intervened between the composition of the first and second portion. The contents of the latter—such as the complaints respecting gross idolatry, the sacrifice of children to idols, the wickedness of rulers, &c.—seem to be applicable neither to the times of the exile, into which the prophet might have transported himself in the spirit, nor to the period of the pious Hezekiah, but are quite applicable to the reign of Manasseh.

These arguments, however, do not stand a strict scrutiny. The first can only prove that Isaiah survived Hezekiah; but even this does not follow with certainty, because in 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, where Isaiah's biography of Hezekiah is mentioned, the important words 'first and last' are omitted; while in chap. xxvi. 22, we read, 'Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, FIRST AND LAST, did Isaiah, the son of Amoz, write.' If we take into consideration this important omission, we can easily believe that Isaiah died before Hezekiah, although he wrote his biography up to a certain point; more especially if we bear in mind that, according to the books of Kings and Chronicles, the latter years of the reign of Hezekiah were devoid of important events. We certainly find, in all ages of literature, biographies of persons written during their life-time.

We may well suppose that the history of Hezekiah terminated with the glorious aid granted to him in his war with the Assyrians, and with the events immediately consequent upon that war.

In reply to the second argument, we observe, that it is not certain that the word ἐπρίσθησαν, *they were sawn asunder*, is used in Hebrews with reference to Isaiah. The statement in the Fathers, and in Oriental writers, is entirely deduced from the Jewish tradition, which is throughout of so doubtful a character that no conclusive argument can be based upon it.

With regard to the third argument, we remark, that the difference discernible, if we compare the latter with the former portions of Isaiah, can, and ought to be, differently accounted for. Such merely external attempts at explanation, when applied to Holy Writ, always appear unsatisfactory if closely examined. We invariably find that the real cause of the external appearance lies deeper, and in the nature of the subject itself. For instance, the peculiarity of Deuteronomy arises from the special bearing of that book upon the other books of the Pentateuch, and the peculiar style of the Apocalypse arises from its relation to the gospel of St. John. The appeal to such merely external arguments always proceeds from an inability to understand the essence of the matter. In reference to the censures occurring in the later portion of Isaiah, we observe, that they might also have a bearing upon the corruptions prevalent in former reigns, and that they were

not necessarily confined to manifestations of wickedness occurring at the time when they were written down. These censures might also refer to the gross perversions under Ahaz; and it is also unlikely that the personal piety of Hezekiah entirely extinguished all abuses among his people. We certainly do not find that the personal piety of King Josiah had that effect upon all his subjects.

Several other arguments adduced against the opinion that Isaiah died during the reign of Manasseh, are certainly of little weight. For instance, the *argumentum e silentio*, or the proof derived from the silence of the historical books respecting Isaiah during the reign of Manasseh. This argument is of no importance at all, since, at any rate, the death of Isaiah is nowhere mentioned in the Bible; from which circumstance we infer, that, on account of his advanced age, he had retired from active life.

Of somewhat more weight is the objection that, according to the supposition that Isaiah died under Manasseh, too great an age would be ascribed to the prophet. Although we were to suppose that Isaiah, as well as Jeremiah, was called to the prophetic office at an early age—perhaps in his twentieth year—he, nevertheless, in the fifteenth year of Hezekiah, up to which date we can prove his ministrations by existing documents, would have reached quite or nearly to his seventieth year, which is the usual duration of human life; consequently, at the time of the accession of Manasseh he would have been about eighty-four years old; and if, with the defenders of the tradition, we allow that he exercised the prophetic functions for about seven or eight years during the reign of Manasseh, he must at the period of his martyrdom have attained to the age of ninety-two. This, indeed, is quite possible. The example of the prophet Hosea, who exercised his prophetic calling during sixty years, and that of the priest Jehoiada, who, according to 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, was a hundred and thirty years old when he died, prove the possibility of the age ascribed to Isaiah.

The chief argument against the tradition, however, is contained in the inscription of the book itself. According to this inscription all the prophecies of Isaiah in our collection are included within the period from Uzziah to Hezekiah. Not one of the prophecies which are headed by an inscription of their own is placed after the fifteenth year of Hezekiah; and the internal evidence leads us in none beyond this period. Hence we infer that the prophetic ministry of Isaiah terminated soon after its fullest development, to which it attained during the period of the Assyrian invasion, in the reign of Hezekiah.

According to these statements Isaiah belongs to the cycle of the most ancient prophets whose predictions have been preserved in writing. He was a contemporary of Hosea, Amos, and Jonah, although younger than those prophets, who belonged to the kingdom of Israel. He was likewise a contemporary and co-worker of the prophet Micah in the kingdom of Judah. We infer also from the circumstance that the prophecies of Joel are inserted among the books of the minor prophets before those of Micah, that Isaiah must have been a contemporary of Joel, since the minor prophets are chronologically arranged.

Micah entered upon his prophetic office under the reign of Jotham, consequently somewhat later than Isaiah commenced his prophetic career. Obadiah, who is placed among the minor prophets, between Joel and Micah, was likewise a contemporary of Isaiah. It is not accidental that Isaiah and all these prophets commence the series of those whose prophetic utterances were written down and preserved. Nor is there any reason to assert that the preceding age was neglectful of the preservation of prophetic literature, although even Ewald, in his *Propheten* (i. p. 54, Stuttgard, 1840), asserts that beyond the prophetic literature which we possess there lay an earlier, which was more comprehensive. There is, however, no one genuine proof sufficient to evince that there were written prophecies before Isaiah and his contemporaries. Hosea refers (viii. 12), not to earlier prophetic writings, but to the books of Moses. This has been proved by Hengstensberg (*Beiträge*, part ii. p. 604, sq.). Isaiah ii. and Micah iv. do not rest upon an earlier prophetic production which was lost; but Isaiah rests upon Micah as Jeremiah does upon Obadiah; and it is not the case that both prophets rest upon a third unknown prophet. At the period when these prophets commenced their career, prophetism itself had attained a new epoch, at which a great number of important prophets were ranged beside each other. The affairs of the Israelites became at this period more interwoven with those of the great Asiatic empires, which then began to bring about the threatened judgments of the Lord upon his people. Henceforward, also, the prophetic office was to be conducted on a grander scale. To the prophets it was now assigned to declare and to interpret the judgments of the Lord, in order to render the people conscious as well of his chastising justice as of his preserving mercy. A larger field was now opened to the strictly prophetic office, which consisted in uttering predictions of the future. The admonitions to repentance were now also supported by more powerful motives. The hopes of a coming Messiah were revived. To the worldly power, which threatens destruction to the external theocracy, is henceforth opposed the kingdom of God, destined to conquer and to govern the world through the Messiah. This consolation was offered to those who would otherwise have been driven to despair. Now only was prophetism able to develop its full power and become important for all subsequent ages. This persuasion induced the prophets to write their prophecies, and it caused these documents also to be carefully preserved. The reason why the earlier prophets did not commit their utterances to writing is the same that, with two exceptions, led Isaiah not to write under Uzziah, and to omit writing his utterances under Jotham altogether.

Little is known respecting the circumstances of Isaiah's life. His father's name was Amoz. The fathers of the church confound him with the prophet Amos, because they were unacquainted with Hebrew, and in Greek the two names are spelled alike. The opinion of the Rabbins, that Isaiah was a brother of King Amaziah, rests also on a mere etymological combination. Isaiah resided at Jerusalem, not far from the temple. We learn from chapters vii. and viii. that he was married. Two of his sons are mentioned,

Shear-jashub and Maher-shalal-hash-baz. These significant names, which he gave to his sons, prove how much Isaiah lived in his vocation. He did not consider his children to belong merely to himself, but rendered them living admonitions to the people. In their names were contained the two chief points of his prophetic utterances: one recalled to mind the severe and inevitable judgment wherewith the Lord was about to visit the world, and especially his people; the other, which signifies 'The remnant shall return,' pointed out the mercy with which the Lord would receive the elect, and with which, in the midst of apparent destruction, he would take care to preserve his people and his kingdom. Isaiah calls his wife נביאה, *prophetess*. This indicates that his marriage-life was not in opposition to his vocation, and also that it not only went along with his vocation, but that it was intimately interwoven with it. This name cannot mean the wife of a prophet, but indicates that the prophetess of Isaiah had a prophetic gift, like Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah. The appellation here given denotes the genuineness of their conjugal relation.

Even the dress of the prophet was subservient to his vocation. According to chap. xx. 2, he wore a garment of hair-cloth or sackcloth. This seems also to have been the costume of Elijah, according to 2 Kings i. 8; and it was the dress of John the Baptist. Hairy sackcloth is in the Bible the symbol of repentance (compare Isa. xx. 11, 12, and 1 Kings xxi. 27). This costume of the prophets was a *sermo propheticus realis*, a prophetic preaching by fact. The prophetic preacher comes forward in the form of personified repentance. What he does exhibits to the people what they should do. Before he has opened his lips his external appearance proclaims μετανοεῖτε, *repent*.

II. *On the Historical works of Isaiah.*—Besides the collection of prophecies which has been preserved to us, Isaiah also wrote two historical works. It was part of the vocation of the prophets to write the history of the kingdom of God, to exhibit in this history the workings of the law of retribution, and to exhort to the true worship of the Lord. History, as written by the prophets, is itself retroverted prophecy, and, as such, offers rich materials for prophecy strictly so-called. Since all the acts of God proceed from his essence, a complete understanding of the past implies also the future; and, *vice versâ*, a complete understanding of the future implies a knowledge of the past. Most of the historical books in the Old Testament have been written by prophets. The collectors of the Canon placed most of these books under the head נביאים, *prophets*; hence, it appears that, even when these historical works were re-modelled by later editors, these editors were themselves prophets. The Chronicles are not placed among the נביאים: we may, therefore, conclude that they were not written by a prophet. But their author constantly indicates that he composed his work from abstracts taken verbatim from historical monographies written by the prophets; consequently the books of Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, are the only historical books of the Old Testament which did not originate from prophets.

The first historical work of Isaiah was a biography of King Uzziah (comp. 2 Chron. xxvi. 22), 'Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, write.' The second historical work of Isaiah was a biography of King Hezekiah, which was subsequently inserted in the annals of Judah and Israel. These annals consisted of a series of prophetic monographies, which were received partly entire, partly in abstracts, and are the chief source from which the information contained in the Chronicles is derived. In this work of Isaiah, although its contents were chiefly historical, numerous prophecies were inserted. Hence it is called in 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, חזון ישעיהו, *The Vision of Isaiah*. In a similar manner the biography of Solomon by Ahijah, is called in 2 Chron. ix. 29, 'the prophecy of Ahijah.' The two historical works of Isaiah were lost, together with the annals of Judah and Israel, into which they were embodied. Whatever these annals contained that was of importance for all ages, has been preserved to us by being received into the historical books of the Old Testament, and the predictions of the most distinguished prophets have been formed into separate collections. After this was effected, less care was taken to preserve the more diffuse annals, which also comprehended many statements, of value only for particular times and places.

III. *The integral authenticity of the prophecies of Isaiah.*—The Jewish synagogue, and the Christian church during all ages, have considered it as an undoubted fact that the prophecies which bear the name of Isaiah really originated from that prophet. Even Spinoza did not expressly assert in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (viii. 8), that the book of Isaiah consisted of a collection originating from a variety of authors, although it is usually considered that he maintained this opinion. But in the last quarter of the eighteenth century this prevailing conviction appeared to some divines to be inconvenient. In the theology of the natural man it passed as certain, that nature was complete in itself, and that prophecies, as well as miracles, never had occurred, and were even impossible. Whoever is spell-bound within the limits of nature, and has never felt the influence of a supernatural principle upon his own heart, is incapable of understanding the supernatural in history, and feels a lively interest in setting it aside, not only on account of its appearing to him to be strange and awful, but also because supernatural events are facts of accusation against the merely natural man. The assumption of the impossibility of miracles necessarily demanded that the genuineness of the Pentateuch should be rejected; and, in a similar manner, the assumption of the impossibility of prophecy demanded that a great portion of the prophecies of Isaiah should be rejected likewise. Here also the wish was father to the thought, and interest led to the decision of critical questions, the arguments for which were subsequently discovered. All those who attack the integral authenticity of Isaiah agree in considering the book to be an anthology, or gleanings of prophecies, collected after the Babylonian exile, although they differ in their opinions respecting the origin of this collection. Koppe gave gentle hints of this view, which was first explicitly supported by Eichhorn in his *Introduction*. Eichhorn advances the hypothesis that a collection of Isaian prophecies (which might have been augmented, even before the Babylonian exile, by several not genuine additions) formed the basis of

the present anthology, and that the collectors, after the Babylonian exile, considering that the scroll on which they were written did not form a volume proportionate to the size of the three other prophetic scrolls, containing Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and the minor prophets, annexed to the Isaian collection all other oracles at hand whose authors were not known to the editors. In this supposition of the non-identity of date and authorship, most learned men, and lately also Hitzig and Ewald, followed Eichhorn. Gesenius, on the contrary, maintained, in his introduction to Isaiah, that all the non-Isaian prophecies extant in that book originated from one author and were of the same date. Umbreit and Köster on the main point follow Gesenius, considering chapters xl. to lxvi. to be a continuous whole, written by a pseudo-Isaiah who lived about the termination of the Babylonian exile. In reference to other portions of the book of Isaiah the authenticity of which has been questioned, Umbreit expresses himself doubtingly, and Köster assigns them to Isaiah. Gesenius declines to answer the question, how it happened that these portions were ascribed to Isaiah, but Hitzig felt that an answer to it might be expected. He accordingly attempts to explain why such additions were made to Isaiah and not to any of the other prophetical books, by the extraordinary veneration in which Isaiah was held. He says that the great authority of Isaiah occasioned important and distinguished prophecies to be placed in connection with his name. But he himself soon after destroys the force of this assertion by observing, that the great authority of Isaiah was especially owing to those prophecies which were falsely ascribed to him. A considerable degree of suspicion must, however, attach to the boasted certainty of such critical investigations, if we notice how widely these learned men differ in defining what is of Isaian origin and what is not, although they are all linked together by the same fundamental tendency and interest. There are very few portions in the whole collection whose authenticity has not been called in question by some one or other of the various impugners. Almost every part has been attacked either by Dœderlein, or by Eichhorn (who, especially in a later work entitled *Die Hebräischen Propheten*, Göttingen, 1816 to 1819, goes farther than all the others), or by Justi (who, among the earlier adversaries of the integral authenticity of Isaiah, uses, in his *Vermischte Schriften* (vols. i. and ii.), the most comprehensive and, apparently, the best grounded arguments), or by Paulus, Rosenmüller, Bauer, Bertholdt, De Wette, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, Umbreit, or others. The only portions left to Isaiah are chaps. i. 3-9, xvii., xx., xxviii., xxxi., and xxxiii. All the other chapters are defended by some and rejected by others; they are also referred to widely different dates. In the most modern criticism, however, we observe an inclination again to extend the sphere of Isaian authenticity as much as the dogmatic principle and system of the critics will allow. Modern criticism is inclined to admit the genuineness of chaps. i. to xxiii., with the only exception of the two prophecies against Babylon in chaps. xiii. and xiv., and in chap. xxi. 1-10. Chaps. xxviii.-xxxiii. are allowed to be Isaian by Ewald, Umbreit, and others.

Divines, who were not linked to these critics by the same dogmatical interest, undertook to defend the integrity of Isaiah, as Hensler, *Jesaias neu übersetzt*, 1788; Piper, *Integritas Jesaiæ*, 1793; Beckhaus, *Ueber die Integrität der Prophetischen Schriften*, 1796; Jahn, in his *Enleitung*, who was the most able among the earlier advocates; Dereser, in his *Bearbeitung des Jesaias* iv. 1; Greve, *Vaticinia Jesaiæ*, Amsterdam, 1810. All these works have at present only an historical value, because they have been surpassed by two recent monographies. The first is by Jo. Ulr. Mœller, *De Authentia Oraculorum Jesaiæ*, ch. xl.-lxvi., Copenhagen, 1825. Although this work professedly defends only the latter portion of the book of Isaiah, there occur in it many arguments applicable also to the first portion. The standard work on this subject is that of Kleinert, *De Aechtheit des Jesaias*, vol. i., Berlin, 1829. It is, however, very diffuse, and contains too many hypotheses. The comprehensive work of Schleier, *Würdigung der Einwürfe gegen die Altestamentlichen Weissagungen im Jesaias*, chap. xiii. and xiv., of course refers more especially to these chapters, but indirectly refers also to all the other portions whose authenticity has been attacked. Since the objections against the various parts of Isaiah are all of the same character, it is very inconsistent in Köster, in his work *Die Propheten des alten Testamentes*, to defend, in page 102, the genuineness of chaps. xiii., xiv., and xxi.; but, nevertheless, in pages 117 and 297, to ascribe chaps. xl.-lxvi. to a pseudo-Isaiah.

After this survey of the present state of the inquiry, we proceed to furnish, first, the external arguments for the integral authenticity of Isaiah.

1. The most ancient testimony in favour of Isaiah's being the author of all the portions of the collection which bears his name, is contained in the heading of the whole (i. 1), 'The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, kings of Judah.' It is here clearly stated that Isaiah was the author of the following prophecies, uttered during the reign of four successive kings. This inscription is of great importance, even if it originated not from Isaiah, but from a later compiler. If we adopt the latest date at which this compilation could have been made, we must fix it at the time of its reception into the canon in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. Consequently the compiler could not be separated by many years from the pseudo-Isaiah who is said to have prophesied just before Babylon was conquered, or who, according to most critics, wrote even after the fall of Babylon. It is not credible that a compiler living so near the times of the author, should have erroneously ascribed these prophecies to Isaiah, who lived so much earlier, especially if we bear in mind that this so-called pseudo-Isaiah must have been a very remarkable person in an age so devoid of the prophetic spirit as that in which he is said to have lived.

It is still less credible that a pseudo-Isaiah should himself have fraudulently ascribed his prophecies to Isaiah. None of the adversaries of the authenticity of the book make such an assertion.

If the compiler lived before the exile, the inscription appears to be of still greater importance. That the collection was made so early is very

likely, from the circumstance that Jeremiah and other prophets apparently made use of the prophecies of Isaiah. This fact indicates that the prophecies of Isaiah early excited a lively interest, and that the compiler must have lived at a period earlier than that which is ascribed to the pseudo-Isaiah himself. From all this we infer that the compiler lived before the exile. The adversaries themselves felt the weight of this argument. They, therefore, attempted to remove it by various hypotheses, which received a semblance of probability from the circumstance that even the considerate Vitringa had called in question the authenticity of the heading. Vitringa conjectured that this heading belonged originally to the first chapter alone. He further conjectured that it originally contained only the words, *prophecy of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.* The following words, he says, were added by the compiler, who enlarged the particular inscription of the first chapter to a general one of the whole collection. According to Vitringa the inscription does not suit the whole book, the contents of which are not confined to Judah and Jerusalem alone. This had been felt even by Kimchi, who, anticipating the objection, observes, *quæcunque contra gentes profert, ea omnia propter Judam dicit.* Whatsoever Isaiah utters against the nations, he says on account of Judah. Judah and Jerusalem are the chief subject, and, in a certain sense, the only subject of prophecy. There is no prophecy concerning other nations without a bearing upon the covenant-people. If this bearing should be wanting in any portion of prophecy, that portion would be a piece of divination and soothsaying. No prophet against foreign nations prophesied concerning them with the view to spread his predictions among them, because the mission of all prophets is to Israel. The predictions against foreign nations are intended to preserve the covenant-people from despair, and to strengthen their faith in the omnipotence and justice of their God. These predictions are intended to annihilate the reliance upon political combinations and human confederacies. They are intended to lead Israel to the question, 'If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?' If this is the punishment of those who are less intimately allied with God, what shall then become of us to whom He has more clearly revealed Himself? But they are also intended to indicate the future conversion of the heathen, and to open to the view of the faithful the future glory of the kingdom of God, and its final victory over the kingdoms of this world; and thus to extirpate all narrow-minded nationality. God shall be revealed not only as Jehovah but also as Elohim. His relation to Israel is misunderstood, if that relation is exclusively kept in view without any regard to the universe. Therefore the whole collection is justly entitled Prophecies concerning Judah and Jerusalem. No matter whether this inscription originated from Isaiah himself or from an ancient compiler. That the word חזון means not merely a vision, but also a collection of visions and prophecies, may be learned from 2 Chron. xxxii. 32, and Nah. i. 1. It means a collection of prophecies and visions united like a picture in an historical frame (comp. Jer. xiv. 14), although it may also denote one separate prophecy, as in Obadiah, verse 1. חזון has no plural (comp. Hitzig's *Commentary* on ch. i. 1; Ewald, *Propheten*, i. p. 59).

The inscription in ch. i. 1 has a general bearing upon the whole collection. Then follows the first portion, which contains, as it were, the general prophetic programme. Thereupon follows a series of prophecies directly bearing upon Judah and Jerusalem, commencing again with a particular heading (ii. 1). To this succeeds a series of prophecies indirectly bearing upon Judah and Jerusalem, but directly upon foreign nations. The first of this series has again its own heading (xiii. 1).

Gesenius, advancing in the direction to which Vitringa had pointed, although he grants the integral authenticity of ch. i. 1, nevertheless maintains that this heading belonged originally only to chs. i.-xii., in which were contained genuine prophecies of Isaiah. To this collection, he asserts, were afterwards subjoined the anthologies contained in the following chapters, and the heading was then misunderstood as applying to the whole volume. This opinion is more inconsistent than that of Vitringa, since there occur in the first twelve chapters two prophecies against foreign nations; one against the Assyrians, in ch. x. and another against Ephraim, in ch. ix.

Vitringa, Gesenius, and their followers, are also refuted by the parallel passage in the heading of Amos, 'The words of Amos, which he saw concerning Israel.' The prophecies of Amos in general are here said to be concerning Israel, although there are, as in Isaiah, several against foreign nations, a series of which stands even at the commencement of the book. To this we may add the similarity of the headings of other prophetical books. For instance, the commencement of Jeremiah, Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah.

Ewald spoils the argument of Vitringa still more than Gesenius, by extending the original collection to ch. xxiii., and thus introducing within the cycle headed by the inscription, whose genuineness he grants, most of the predictions against foreign nations. Whoever subjoined the subsequent portions to the so-called original collection, did it only because he perceived that these portions could be brought under the general heading. He could only have been induced to make the so-called additions, because he perceived that the heading applied to the whole: consequently neither Gesenius nor Ewald rid themselves of the troublesome authority of ch. i. 1; the words of which have the more weight, since all critics ascribe to the headings of the prophetical books a far greater authority than to the headings of the Psalms, and agree in saying that nothing but the most stringent arguments should induce us to reject the statements contained in these prophetical headings.

2. It cannot be proved that there ever existed any so-called prophetic anthology as has been supposed to exist in the book of Isaiah. We find nothing analogous in the whole range of prophetic literature. It is generally granted that the collections bearing the names of Jeremiah and Ezekiel contain only productions of those authors whose name they bear. In the book of the minor prophets, the property of each is strictly distinguished from the rest by headings. The authenticity of only the second portion of Zechariah has been attacked; and this with very feeble argu-

ments, which have been refuted. De Wette himself has, in the latest editions of his *Introduction*, confessed that on this point he is vanquished.

But even if it could be proved that the prophecies of Zechariah belonged to two different authors, namely, as Bertholdt and Gesenius suppose, to the two Zechariahs, each of whom happened to be the son of a Berechiah, this identity of names might be considered an inducement for uniting the productions of the two authors in one collection: still this case would not be analogous to what is asserted to be the fact in Isaiah. In Isaiah, it is alleged not only that a series of chapters belonging to a different author were subjoined, commencing about chap. xxxiv., but it is affirmed that, even in the first thirty-three chapters, the genuine and spurious portions are intermixed. Before we admit that the compilers proceeded here in a manner so unreasonable, and so contrary to their usual custom, we must expect some cogent proof to be adduced. Gesenius declares that he would not attempt to touch this problem. This is as much as to admit the validity of our objection. Eichhorn supposes that the spurious additions were made because the scroll otherwise would not have been filled up. But this *fuga vacui*, this abhorrence of a vacuum, does not explain the intermixture of the spurious with the genuine. It does not explain why the additions were not all subjoined at the end of the genuine portions. Dœderlein creates for himself a second Isaiah, son of Amoz, living at the conclusion of the exile. But even this fiction does not explain why the property of these two prophets was intermixed in spite of their being separated from each other by two centuries, and so intermixed that it is now difficult to say which belongs to which. Augusti supposes that the spurious pieces were added to the genuine on account of their being written entirely in the spirit and style of Isaiah. But in this he seems to contradict himself, since he bases his attack against their authenticity upon the assertion that they differed from Isaiah in spirit and manner. The style of Isaiah was certainly not the style of the age in which the pseudo-Isaiah is said to have lived. Justi supposes that the prediction concerning the Babylonian exile, in chap. xxxix., led to the addition of the whole of the second portion. But this hypothesis is improbable and without analogy, and it does not explain the intermixture of the genuine with the spurious in the first portion.

How untenable all these hypotheses are may be readily perceived from the fact that each of them remained the almost exclusive property of its author, and that each following *savant* felt himself prompted to discover a new hypothesis, until Gesenius endeavoured to stop them by cutting the Gordian knot. Hitzig, however, again attempted to unloose it, but, as we have already seen, unsuccessfully. Ewald maintains that the compiler never intended that chaps. xl.-lxvi. should belong to Isaiah, and that the last twenty-six chapters had been subjoined merely in order to preserve them the better. But it is untrue that the first portion is unconnected with these chapters. The first portion terminates with the prediction of the Babylonian exile, and the second commences with the announciation of a future redemption from this captivity. Chaps. xl.-lxvi. have no heading of their own; which proves that the compiler annexed them as Isaian, and intended them to be read as such. The so-called spurious portions in the first part of Isaiah were, according to the opinion of Ewald (p. 62), intermixed with the genuine, because the compiler really supposed them to belong to Isaiah. Thus Ewald admits that the intermixed pieces have the testimony of the compiler in favour of their authenticity. To deny that this testimony extends also to the second part, is an arbitrary assumption. Now, if this testimony is granted, we are content. With it we gain this much, that the attacked portions have the presumption of genuineness in their favour, and that, therefore, very substantial reasons are required for denying their Isaian origin. This is all that we want.

3. According to the opinion of several critics, all the spurious portions of Isaiah belong to one and the same author. But it so happens that the portion which is most emphatically declared to be spurious, namely, chaps. xiii. and xiv., bear an inscription which expressly ascribes them to Isaiah. Now, as the internal arguments against the authenticity of all the portions which are said to be spurious, are nearly identical, if the opposition to chaps. xiii. and xiv. is given up, it cannot with consistency be maintained against the other portions. This argument serves also as an answer to those who ascribe the portions which they consider spurious to several authors. The contents of these portions are similar. They contain predictions of the fall of Babylon, and of the redemption of Israel from captivity. Whatever proves the genuineness of one of these portions, indirectly proves the others also to be genuine.

4. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. c. 1, § 1, 2) Cyrus was induced by the prophecies of Isaiah respecting him to allow the return of the Jews, and to aid them in rebuilding the temple. The credibility of Josephus, who in regard to facts of ancient history is not always to be relied upon, is here supported by two circumstances. First, the favour shown by Cyrus to the Jews, which remains inexplicable except by the fact mentioned, in combination with the influence of Daniel. In modern times, the favour of Cyrus to the Jews has been called a prudential measure; but it does not appear what he could either hope or fear from a people so enfeebled as the Jews were at that period. It has been added that Cyrus was favourable to the Jews on account of the similarity between the Persian and the Jewish religion; but there is no historical proof that the Persians, on any other occasion, favoured the Jews on account of their religion. The favours shown to Nehemiah on behalf of Israel were only personal favours, owing to his position at the Persian court. We allow that all this would be insufficient to prove the correctness of the above statement in Josephus, but it must render us inclined to admit its truth.

The second argument is much stronger: it is, that the statement of Josephus is supported by the edict of Cyrus (Ezra i.). This edict pre-supposes the fact related by Josephus, so that Jahn calls the passage in Josephus a commentary on the first chapter of Ezra, in which we read that Cyrus announces in his edict, that he was commanded by Jehovah to build him a temple in Jerusalem,

and that he received all the conquered kingdoms of the earth as a gift from Jehovah. This cannot refer to any other predictions of the prophet, but only to what are called the spurious portions of Isaiah, in which the Lord grants to Cyrus all his future conquests, and appoints him to be the restorer of his temple (comp. xli. 2-4; xliv. 24-28; xlv. 1-13; xlvi. 11; xlviii. 13-15). The edict adopts almost the words of these passages (comp. the synopsis in the above-mentioned work of Kleinert, p. 142). In reply to this, our adversaries assert that Cyrus was deceived by pseudo-prophecies forged in the name of Isaiah; but if Cyrus could be deceived in so clumsy a manner, he was not the man that history represents him; and to have committed forgery is so contrary to what was to be expected from the author of chaps. xl.-lxvi., that even the feelings of our opponents revolt at the supposition that the pseudo-Isaiah should have forged *vaticinia post eventum* in the name of the prophets. Had these prophecies been written, as it is alleged, only in sight of the conquest of Babylon, Cyrus would have been deceived before the eyes of the author, and this could not have been effected without collusion on the part of the author. This collusion would be undeniable, since the author again and again repeats that he was proclaiming unheard-of facts, which were beyond all human calculation.

5. In the books of the prophets who lived after Isaiah, and before the period of the so-called pseudo-Isaiah, we find imitations of those prophecies which have been ascribed to the latter. Since Gesenius has demonstrated that all the portions which have been considered spurious are to be ascribed to only one author, it can be shown that they were all in existence before the time assigned to the pseudo-Isaiah, although we can produce the imitations of only some of these portions. But even those opponents who ascribe these portions to different authors must grant that their objections are invalidated, if it can be shown that later prophets have referred to these portions, because the arguments employed against them closely resemble each other: consequently these prophecies stand and fall together. The verbal coincidence between Jeremiah and the so-called pseudo-Isaiah is in this respect most important. Jeremiah frequently makes use of the earlier prophets, and he refers equally, and in the same manner, to the portions of Isaiah whose genuineness has been questioned, as to those which are deemed authentic (comp. Küper, *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, pp. 132-155). The most striking is the coincidence of Jeremiah l. 51, with the predictions against Babylon in Isaiah. Jeremiah here gives to God the appellation קדוש ישראל, *the Holy One of Israel*, which frequently occurs in Isaiah, especially in the portions whose authenticity is questioned, but is found only three times in the other books of the Old Testament. Isaiah uses the appellation ישראל קדוש with peculiar predilection, because it points out the omnipotent covenant-fidelity of the Lord; which was to be considered, especially as it guarantees the truth of the contents of those prophecies which are attacked by our opponents. This circumstance is so striking that Von Coelln and De Wette, on this account, and in contradiction to every argument, declare even the corresponding chapter of Jeremiah to be spurious. This is certainly a desperate stroke, because the chapter is otherwise written in the very characteristic style of that prophet. This desperation, however, gives us the advantage afforded by an involuntary testimony in favour of those portions of Isaiah which have been attacked. The words of Isaiah, in ch. li. 15, 'I am the Lord thy God who moves the sea that its waves roar,' are repeated in Jer. xxxi. 35. The image of the cup of fury in Isa. li. 17, is in Jer. xxv. 15-29, transformed into a symbolic act, according to his custom of embodying the imagery of earlier prophets, and especially that of Isaiah. In order to prove that other prophets also made a similar use of Isaiah, we refer to Zephaniah ii. 15, where we find Isaiah's address to Babylon applied to Nineveh, 'Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart I am, and none else beside me,' &c. Zephaniah, living towards the termination of prophetism, has, like Jeremiah, a dependent character, and has here even repeated the characteristic and difficult word אפסי. Küper (p. 138) has clearly demonstrated that the passage cannot be original in Zephaniah. The words of Isaiah (lii. 7), 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace,' are repeated by Nahum in ch. i. 15 (ii. 1); and what he adds, 'the wicked shall no more pass through thee,' agrees remarkably with Isa. lii. 1, 'for henceforth shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean.' Nahum iii. 7 contains an allusion to Isa. li. 19. Beside these references to the portions of Isaiah which are said to be spurious, we find others to the portions which are deemed genuine (compare, for instance, Nahum i. 13, with Isa. x. 27).

6. Again, the most ancient production of Jewish literature after the completion of the canon, furnishes proof of the integral authenticity of Isaiah. The book of Jesus Sirach, commonly called Ecclesiasticus, was written as early as the third century before Christ, as Hug has clearly demonstrated, in opposition to those who place it in the second century before Christ. In Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 22-25, Isaiah is thus praised: 'For Hezekiah had done the thing that pleased the Lord, and was strong in the ways of David his father, as Isaiah the prophet, who was great and faithful in his vision, had commanded him. In his time the sun went backward, and he lengthened the king's life. He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last, and he comforted them that mourned in Sion. He showed what should come to pass for ever, and secret things or ever they came.'

This commendation especially refers, as even Gesenius grants, to the disputed portions of the prophet, in which we find predictions of the most distant futurity. The comfort for Zion is found more particularly in the second part of Isaiah, which begins with the words 'Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people.' The author of this second part himself says (xlviii. 3), 'I have declared the former things from the beginning; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I showed them.' Thus we perceive that Jesus Sirach, the learned scribe, confidently attributes the debated passages to Isaiah, in such a manner as plainly indicates that there

was no doubt in his days respecting the integral authenticity of that book, which has the testimony of historical tradition in its favour. Jesus Sirach declares his intention (Ecclus. xliv.-l.) to praise the most celebrated men of his nation. The whole tenor of these chapters shows that he does not confine himself to celebrated authors. We therefore say that the praise which he bestows upon Isaiah is not intended for the book personified, but for the person of the prophet. If Jesus Sirach had entertained doubts respecting the genuineness of those prophecies on which, in particular, he bases his praise, he could not have so lauded the prophet.

In the Jewish synagogue the integral authenticity of Isaiah has always been recognised. This general recognition cannot be accounted for except by the power of tradition based upon truth; and it is supported as well by the New Testament, in which Isaiah is quoted as the author of the whole collection which bears his name, as also by the express testimony of Josephus, especially in his *Antiquities* (x. 2. 2, and xi. 1. 1). After such confirmation it would be superfluous to mention the Talmudists.

7. According to the hypothesis of our opponents, the author or authors of the spurious portions wrote at the end of the Babylonian exile. They confess that these portions belong to the finest productions of prophetism. Now it is very remarkable that in the far from scanty historical accounts of this period, considering all circumstances, no mention is made of any prophet to whom we could well ascribe these prophecies. This is the more remarkable, because at that period prophetism was on the wane, and the few prophets who still existed excited on that account the greater attention. What Ewald (p. 57) writes concerning the time about the conclusion of the Babylonian exile, is quite unhistorical. He says, 'In this highly excited period of liberty regained, and of a national church re-established, there were rapidly produced a great number of prophecies, circulated in a thousand pamphlets, many of which were of great poetical beauty.' What Ewald states about a new flood of prophetic writings which then poured forth, is likewise unhistorical. History shows that during the exile prophetism was on the wane. What we read in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel proves that these prophets were isolated; and from the book of Ezra we learn what was the spiritual condition of the new colony. If we compare with their predecessors the prophets who then prophesied, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, we cannot say much about a revival of the prophetic spirit towards the conclusion of the exile. Everything concurs to show that the efficiency of prophetism was drawing towards its end. The later the prophets are, the more do they lean upon the earlier prophets; so that we are enabled to trace the gradual transition of prophetism into the learning of scribes. Prophetism dug, as it were, its own grave. The authority which it demands for its earlier productions necessarily caused that the later were dependent upon the earlier; and the more this became the case during the progress of time, the more limited became the field for new productions. It is not only unhistorical, but, according to the condition of the later productions of prophecy, quite impossible, that about the conclusion of the exile there should have sprung up a fresh prophetic literature of great extent. In this period we hear only the echo of prophecy. That one of the later prophets of whom we possess most, namely Zechariah, leans entirely upon Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as upon his latest predecessors. There is not a vestige of an intervening prophetic literature. The feebleness of our opponents is manifested by their being obliged to have recourse to such unhistorical fictions in order to defend their opinions.

Thus we have seen that we possess a series of external arguments in favour of the integral authenticity of Isaiah. Each of these arguments is of importance, and, in their combination, they have a weight which could only be counterbalanced by insurmountable difficulties in the contents of these prophecies. We now proceed to show that there are no such difficulties, and that the internal arguments unite with the external in demonstrating the authenticity of Isaiah as a whole.

1. The portions of Isaiah which have been declared by our opponents to be spurious are, as we have already said, almost entirely such as contain prophecies of an especially definite character. It is this very definiteness which is brought forward as the chief argument against their genuineness. Those of our adversaries who go farthest assert in downright terms that predictions in the stricter sense, such, namely, as are more than a vague foreboding, are impossible. The more considerate of our opponents express this argument in milder terms, saying, that it was against the usage of the Hebrew prophets to prophesy with so much individuality, or to give to their prophecies so individual a bearing. They say that these prophecies were never anything more than general prophetic descriptions, and that, consequently, where we find a definite reference to historical facts quite beyond the horizon of a human being like Isaiah, we are enabled by analogy to declare those portions of the work in which they occur to be spurious.

Although this assertion is pronounced with great assurance, it is sufficiently refuted by an impartial examination of the prophetic writings. Our opponents have attempted to prove the spuriousness of whatever is in contradiction with this assertion, as, for instance, the book of Daniel; but there still remain a number of prophecies announcing future events with great definiteness. Micah, for example (iv. 8-10), announces the Babylonian exile, and the deliverance from that exile, one hundred and fifty years before its accomplishment, and before the commencement of any hostilities between Babylon and Judah, and even before Babylon was an independent state. All the prophets, commencing with the earliest, predict the coming destruction of their city and temple, and the exile of the people. All the prophets whose predictions refer to the Assyrian invasion, coincide in asserting that the Assyrians would NOT be instrumental in realising these predictions; that Judah should be delivered from those enemies, from whom to be delivered seemed impossible; and this not by Egyptian aid, which seemed to be the least unlikely, but by an immediate intervention of the Lord; and, on the contrary, all the prophets whose predictions refer to the successors of the Assyrians, the Chaldees, unanimously announce that these were to fulfil the

ancient prediction, and exhort to resignation to this inevitable fate. These are facts quite beyond human calculation. At the period when the Chaldæan empire had reached the summit of its power, Jeremiah not only predicts in general terms its fall, and the destruction of its chief city, but also details particular circumstances connected therewith; for instance, the conquest of the town by the Medes and their allies; the entrance which the enemy effected through the dry bed of the Euphrates, during a night of general revelry and intoxication; the return of the Israelites after the reduction of the town; the utter destruction and desolation of this city, which took place, although not at once, yet certainly in consequence of the first conquest, so that its site can scarcely be shown with certainty. In general, all those proud ornaments of the ancient world, whose destruction the prophets predicted—Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, Memphis, the chief cities of the Moabites and Ammonites, and many others—have perished, and the nations to whom the prophets threatened annihilation—the Ammonites, Moabites, Philistines, and Idumæans—have entirely disappeared from the stage of history. There is not a single city nor a single people, the fate of which has been at variance with prophecy. All this is not a casual coincidence. The ruins of all these cities, every vestige of the former existence of those once flourishing nations, are loud-speaking witnesses, testifying to the futility of the opinion which raises into a fact the subjective wish that prophecy might not exist. Zechariah clearly describes the conquests of Alexander (ix. 8). He foretells that the Persian empire, which he specifies by the symbolic name Hadrach, shall be ruined; that Damascus and Hamath shall be conquered; that the bulwarks of the mighty Tyre shall be smitten in the sea, and that the city shall be burned; that Gaza shall lose its king, and that Ashdod shall be peopled with the lowest rabble; and that Jerusalem shall be spared during all these troubles. These prophecies were fulfilled during the expedition of Alexander (comp. Jahn's *Einleitung*, vol. i. p. 84, sq.; vol. ii. p. 349, sq.). Eichhorn despaired of being able to explain the exact correspondence of the fulfilment with the predictions; he, therefore, in his work, *Die Hebräischen Propheten*, endeavours to prove that these prophecies were veiled historical descriptions. He has recourse to the most violent operations in order to support this hypothesis; which proves how fully he recognised the agreement of the prophecies with their fulfilment, and that the prophecies are more than general poetical descriptions. The Messianic predictions prove that the prophecies were more than veiled historical descriptions. There is scarcely any fact in Gospel history, from the birth of our Saviour at Bethlehem down to his death, which is unpredicted by a prophetical passage.

Eichhorn's hypothesis is also amply refuted by the unquestioned portion of Isaiah. How can it be explained that Isaiah confidently predicts the destruction of the empire of Israel by the Assyrians, and the preservation of the empire of Judah from these enemies, and that he with certainty knew beforehand that no help would be afforded to Judah from Egypt, that the Assyrians would advance to the gates of Jerusalem, and there be destroyed only by the judgment of the Lord? No human combinations can lead to such results. Savonarola, for instance, was a pious man, and an acute observer; but when he fancied himself to be a prophet, and ventured to predict events which should come to pass, he was immediately refuted by facts (comp. *Biographie Savonarola's*, von Rudelbach).

If we had nothing of prophetic literature, beside the portions of Isaiah which have been attacked, they alone would afford an ample refutation of our opponents, because they contain, in chapter liii., the most remarkable of Old Testament prophecies, predicting the passion, death, and glory of our Saviour. If it can be proved that this one prophecy necessarily refers to Christ, we can no longer feel tempted to reject other prophecies of Isaiah, on account of their referring too explicitly to some event, like that of the Babylonian exile. As soon as only one genuine prophecy has been proved, the whole argument of our opponents falls to the ground. This argument is also opposed by the authority of Christ and his apostles; and whoever will consistently maintain this opinion must reject the authority of Christ. The prophets are described in the New Testament not as acute politicians, or as poets full of a foreboding genius, but as messengers of God raised by His Spirit above the intellectual sphere of mere man. Christ repeatedly mentions that the events of his own life were also destined to realise the fulfilment of prophecy, saying, 'this must come to pass in order that the Scripture may be fulfilled.' And after his resurrection, he interprets to his disciples the prophecies concerning himself. Peter, speaking of the prophets, says, in his First Epistle (i. 11), 'Searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow;' and, in his Second Epistle (i. 21), 'For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost'—*ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι*.

Since we have shown that there are in the Holy Scriptures definite prophecies, the *à priori* argument of our opponents, who pretend that prophecy is useless, loses its significance. Even if we could not understand the purpose of prophecy, the inquiry respecting its reality should nevertheless be independent of such *à priori* reasoning, since the cause of our NOT understanding it might be in ourselves. We frequently find, after we have been raised to a higher position, the causes of facts which at an earlier period we could not comprehend. A later age frequently understands what was hidden to the preceding. However, the purpose of definite predictions is not hidden to those who recognise the reality of the divine scheme for human salvation.

There is one truth in the opinion of our opponents. The predictions of the future by the prophets are always on a general basis, by which they are characteristically distinguished from soothsaying. Real prophecy is based upon the idea of God. The acts of God are based upon his essence, and have therefore the character of necessity. The most elevated prerogative of the prophets is that they have possessed themselves of his idea, that they have penetrated into his essence, that they have become conscious of the

eternal laws by which the world is governed. For instance, if they demonstrate that sin is the perdition of man, that where the carcase is, the eagles will be assembled, the most important point in this prediction is not the HOW but the WHAT which first by them was clearly communicated to the people of God, and of which the lively remembrance is by them kept up. But if the prophets had merely kept to the THAT, and had never spoken about the HOW, or if, like Savonarola, they had erroneously described this HOW, they would be unfit effectually to teach the THAT to those people who have not yet acquired an independent idea of God. According to human weakness, the knowledge of the FORM is requisite in order to fertilize the knowledge of the ESSENCE, especially in a mission to a people among whom formality so much predominated as among the people of the Old Covenant. The position of the prophets depends upon these circumstances. They had not, like the priests, an external warrant. Therefore Moses (Deut. xviii.) directed them to produce true prophecies as their warrant. According to verse 22, the true and the false prophet are distinguished by the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of prophecy. This criterion is destroyed by the modern opinion respecting prophetism. Without this warrant, the principal point of prophetical preaching, the doctrine of the Messiah, could not be brought to the knowledge of the people, as being of primary importance. Without this fulfilment the prophets had no answer to those who declared that the hopes raised by them were fantastic and fanatical.

It is true that, according to what we have stated, the necessity of prophecy arises only from the weakness of man. Miracles also are necessary only on account of this weakness. Prophecy is necessary only under certain conditions; but these conditions were fully extant during the period of the ancient Covenant. During the New Covenant human weakness is supported by other and more powerful means, which were wanting during the time of the Old Covenant; especially by the operation of the Spirit of Christ upon the hearts of the faithful; which operation is by far more powerful than that of the Spirit of God during the Old Covenant; consequently, definite predictions can be dispensed with, especially since the faithful of the New Testament derive benefit also from the prophecies granted to the people of the Old Testament.

The predictions of futurity in the Old Testament have also a considerable bearing upon the contemporaries of the prophet. Consequently, they stand not so isolated and unconnected as our opponents assert. The Chaldæans, for instance, who are said to threaten destruction to Israel, were, in the days of Isaiah, already on the stage of history; and their juvenile power, if compared with the decline of the Assyrians, might lead to the conjecture that they would some time or other supplant the Assyrians in dominion over Asia. Babylon, certainly, was as yet under Assyrian government; but it was still during the lifetime of the prophet that this city tried to shake off their yoke. This attempt was unsuccessful, but the conditions under which it might succeed at a future period were already in existence. The future exaltation of this city might be foreseen from history, and its future fall from theology. In a pagan nation success is always the forerunner of pride, and all its consequences. And, according to the eternal laws by which God governs the world, an overbearing spirit is the certain forerunner of destruction. The future liberation of Israel might also be theologically foreseen; and we cannot look upon this prediction as so abrupt as a prediction of the deliverance of other nations would have been, and as, for instance, a false prediction of the deliverance of Moab would have appeared. Even the Pentateuch emphatically informs us that the covenant-people cannot be given up to final perdition, and that mercy is always concealed behind the judgments which befall them.

2. Attempts have been made to demonstrate the spuriousness of several portions from the circumstance that the author takes his position not in the period of Isaiah, but in much later times, namely, those of the exile. It has been said, 'Let it be granted that the prophet had a knowledge of futurity: in that case we cannot suppose that he would predict it otherwise than as future, and he cannot proclaim it as present.' The prophets, however, did not prophesy in a state of calculating reflection, but ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερομένοι, 'borne along by the Holy Ghost.' The objects offered themselves to their spiritual vision. On that account they are frequently called *seers*, to whom futurity appears as present. Even Hebrew grammar has long ago recognised this fact in the terms *præterita prophetica*. These prophetical præter tenses indicate a time ideally past, in contra-distinction to the time which is really past. Every chapter of Isaiah furnishes examples of this grammatical fact. Even in the first there is contained a remarkable instance of it. Interpreters frequently went astray, because they misunderstood the nature of prophecy, and took the *præterita prophetica* as real præterites; consequently, they could only by some inconsistency escape from Eichhorn's opinion, that the prophecies were veiled historical descriptions. The prophets have futurity always before their eyes. Prophetism, therefore, is subject to the laws of poetry more than to those of history (compare the ingenious remarks on the connection of poetry and prophetism in the work of Steinbeck, *Der Dichter ein Seher*, Leipzig, 1836). Prophetism places us *in medias res*, or rather the prophet is placed *in medias res*. The Spirit of God elevates him above the *terra firma* of common reality, and of common perception. The prophet beholds as connected, things externally separated, if they are linked together by their internal character. The prophet beholds what is distant as near, if its hidden basis, although concealed to the eyes of flesh, already exists. This was, for instance, the case with Israel's captivity and deliverance. Neither happened by chance. Both events proceeded from the justice and mercy of God, a living knowledge of which necessarily produced the beholding knowledge of the same. The prophet views things in the light of that God who calls the things that are not as though they were, and to whom the future is present.

3. What the prophet says about what is present to him (namely, about that which appears to him in the form of the present time), is correctly and minutely detailed; and what he describes as future, are ideal and animated hopes which far exceed terrene reality. Hence our opponents

attempt to prove that the present time in those portions which they reject, is not ideal but real; and that the author was actually an eye-witness of the exile, because, they say, if the prophet merely placed himself in the period of the exile, then this present time would be ideal, and in that case there could be no difference between this ideally present time and the more distant future. But we question this fact most decidedly. The descriptions of the person of Messiah in the second part of Isaiah are far more circumstantial than the descriptions of the person of Cyrus. Of Cyrus these prophecies furnish a very incomplete description. Whoever does not fill up from history what is wanting, obtains a very imperfect idea of Cyrus. But there is sufficient information to show the relation between history and prophecy; and nothing more was required than that the essence of prophecy should be clear. The form might remain obscure until it was cleared up by its historical fulfilment. The Messiah, on the contrary, is accurately depicted, especially in ch. liii., so that there is scarcely wanting any essential trait. It is quite natural that there should be greater clearness and definiteness here, because the anti-type of redemption stands in a far nearer relation to the ideal than is the case with Cyrus, so that form and essence less diverge.

The assertion that the animated hopes, expressed in the second part of Isaiah, had been very imperfectly fulfilled, proceeds from the erroneous supposition that these hopes were to be entirely fulfilled in the times immediately following the exile. But if we must grant that these prophecies refer both to the deliverance from captivity, and to the time of the Messiah in its whole extent, from the lowliness of Christ to the glorious completion of his kingdom, then the fulfilment is clearly placed before our eyes; and we may expect that whatever is yet unfulfilled, will, in due time, find its accomplishment. In this hope we are supported by the New Testament, and still more by the nature of the matter in question. If the prophecies of Isaiah were nothing but arbitrary predictions on his own external authority, without any internal warrant, one might speak here of an evasion of the difficulty; but as the matter stands, this objection proves only that those who make it are incapable of comprehending the idea which pervades the whole representation. The entire salvation which the Lord has destined to his people has been placed before the spiritual eye of the prophet. His prediction is not entirely fulfilled in history, so that we could say we have now done with it, but every isolated fulfilment is again a prediction *de facto*, supporting our hope of the final accomplishment of the whole word of prophecy.

4. Our opponents think that they have proved that a portion of Isaiah is not genuine, if they can show that there occur a few Aramaic words and forms of speech, which they endeavour to explain from the style prevalent in a period later than Isaiah.

That this argument is very feeble even our opponents have granted in instances where it can be adduced with by far greater stringency than in the questioned portions of Isaiah. This appears especially from the example of the Song of Solomon, in which there occur a considerable number of Aramaic words and expressions, said to belong to the later Hebrew style. Bertholdt, Umbreit, and others, base upon this their argument, that the Song of Solomon was written after the Babylonian exile. They even maintain that it could not have been written before that period. On the contrary, the two most recent commentators, Ewald and Doepke, say most decidedly that the Song of Solomon, in spite of its Aramaisms, was written in the days of Solomon.

Hirzel, in his work *De Chaldaismi Biblici origine*, Leipsic, 1830, has contributed considerably to the formation of a correct estimate of this argument. He has proved that in all the books of the Old Testament, even in the most ancient, there occur a few Chaldaisms. This may be explained by the fact that the patriarchs were surrounded by a population whose language was Chaldee. Such Chaldaisms are especially found in poetical language in which unusual expressions are preferred. Consequently, not a few isolated Chaldaisms, but only their decided prevalence, or a Chaldee tincture of the whole style, can prove that a book has been written after the exile. Nobody can assert that this is the case in those portions of Isaiah whose authenticity has been questioned. Even our opponents grant that the Chaldaisms in this portion are not numerous. After what have erroneously been called Chaldaisms are subtracted, we are led to a striking result, namely, that the unquestionable Chaldaisms are more numerous in the portions of Isaiah of which the genuineness is granted, than in the portions which have been called spurious. Hirzel, an entirely unsuspected witness, mentions in his work *De Chaldaismo*, p. 9, that there are found only four real Chaldaisms in the whole of Isaiah; and that these all occur in the portions which are declared genuine; namely, in vii. 14 (where, however, if the grammatical form is rightly understood, we need not admit a Chaldaism); xxix. 1; xviii. 7; xxi. 12.

5. The circumstance that the diction in the attacked portions of Isaiah belongs to the first, and not to the second period of the Hebrew language, must render us strongly inclined to admit their authenticity. It has been said that these portions were written during, and even after, the Babylonian exile, when the ancient Hebrew language fell into disuse, and the vanquished people began to adopt the language of their conquerors, and that thus many Chaldaisms penetrated into the works of authors who wrote in ancient Hebrew. Since this is not the case in the attacked portions of Isaiah, granting the assertions of our opponents to be correct, we should be compelled to suppose that their author or authors had intentionally abstained from the language of their times, and purposely imitated the purer diction of former ages. That this is not quite impossible we learn from the prophecies of Haggai, Malachi, and especially from those of Zechariah, which are nearly as free from Chaldaisms as the writings before the exile. But it is improbable, in this case, because the pseudo-Isaiah is stated to have been in a position very different from that of the prophets just mentioned, who belonged to the newly returned colony. The pseudo-Isaiah has been placed in a position similar to that of the strongly Chaldaizing Ezekiel and Daniel; and even more unfavourably for the attainment of purity of diction, because he had not, like these

prophets, spent his youth in Palestine, but is said to have grown up in a country in which the Aramæan language was spoken; consequently, it would have been more difficult for him to write pure Hebrew than for Ezekiel and Daniel. In addition to this it ought to be mentioned that an artificial abstinence from the language of their times occurs only in those prophets who entirely lean upon an earlier prophetic literature; but that union of purity in diction with independence, which is manifest in the attacked portions of Isaiah, is nowhere else to be found.

The force of this argument is still more increased when we observe that the pretended pseudo-Isaiah has, in other respects, the characteristics of the authors before the exile; namely, their clearness of perception, and their freshness and beauty of description. This belongs to him, even according to the opinion of all opponents. These excellences are not quite without example among the writers after the exile, but they occur in none of them in the same degree; not even in Zechariah, who, besides, ought not to be compared with the pseudo-Isaiah, because he does not manifest the same independence, but leans entirely upon the earlier prophets. To these characteristics of the writers before the exile belongs also the scarcity of visions and symbolic actions, and what is connected therewith (because it proceeds likewise from the government of the imagination), the naturalness and correctness of poetical images. What Umbreit says concerning the undisputedly genuine portions of Isaiah fully applies also to the disputed portions: 'Our prophet is more an orator than a symbolic seer. He has subjected the external imagery to the internal government of the word. The few symbols which he exhibits are simple and easy to be understood. In the prophets during and after the exile visions and symbolic actions prevail, and their images frequently bear a grotesque Babylonian impress. Only those authors, after the exile, have not this character, whose style, like that of Haggai and Malachi, does not rise much above prose. A combination of vivacity, originality, and vigour, with naturalness, simplicity, and correctness, is not found in any prophet during and after the exile.' Nothing but very strong arguments could induce us to ascribe to a later period prophecies which rank in language and style with the literary monuments of the earlier period. In all the attacked portions of Isaiah independence and originality are manifest in such a degree, as to make them harmonize not only with the prophets before the exile in general, but especially with the earliest cycle of these prophets. If these portions were spurious, they would form a perfectly isolated exception, which we cannot admit, since, as we have before shown, the leaning of the later prophets upon the earlier rests upon a deep-seated cause arising from the very nature of prophetism. A prophet forming such an exception would stand, as it were, without the cycle of the prophets. We cannot imagine such an exception.

6. A certain difference of style between the portions called genuine and those called spurious does not prove what our opponents assert. Such a difference may arise from various causes in the productions of one and the same author. It is frequently occasioned by a difference of the subject-matter, and by a difference of mood arising therefrom; for instance, in the prophecies of Jeremiah against foreign nations, the style is more elevated and elastic than in the home-prophecies. How little this difference of style can prove, we may learn by comparing with each other the prophecies which our opponents call genuine; for instance, ch. ix. 7-x. 4. The authenticity of this prophecy is not subject to any doubt, although it has not that swing which we find in many prophecies of the first part. The language has as much ease as that in the second part, with which this piece has several repetitions in common. The difference of style in the prophecies against foreign nations (which predictions are particularly distinguished by sublimity), from that in chapters i.-xii., which are now generally ascribed to Isaiah, appeared to Bertholdt a sufficient ground for assigning the former to another author. But in spite of this difference of style it is, at present, again generally admitted that they belong to one and the same author. It consequently appears that our opponents deem the difference of style alone not a sufficient argument for proving a difference of authorship; but only such a difference as does not arise from a difference of subjects and of moods, especially if this difference occurs in an author whose mind is so richly endowed as that of Isaiah, in whose works the form of the style is produced directly by the subject. Ewald correctly observes (p. 173), 'We cannot state that Isaiah had a peculiar colouring of style. He is neither the especially lyrical, nor the especially elegiacal, nor the especially oratorical, nor the especially admonitory prophet, as, perhaps, Joel, Hosea, or Micah, in whom a particular colouring more predominates. Isaiah is capable of adapting his style to the most different subject, and in this consists his greatness and his most distinguished excellence.'

The chief fault of our opponents is, that they judge without distinction of persons; and here distinction of persons would be proper. They measure the productions of Isaiah with the same measure that is adapted to the productions of less-gifted prophets. Jeremiah, for example, does not change his tone according to the difference of subject so much that it could be mistaken by an experienced Hebraist. Of Isaiah, above all, we might say what Fichte wrote in a letter to a friend in Königsberg: 'Strictly speaking, I have no style, because I have all styles' (Fichtes' *Leben von seinem Sohne*, th. i. p. 196). If we ask how the difference of style depends upon the difference of subject, the answer must be very favourable to Isaiah, in whose book the style does not so much differ according to the so-called genuineness or spuriousness, as rather according to the subjects of the first and second parts. The peculiarities of the second part arise from the subjects treated therein; and from the feelings to which these subjects give rise. Here the prophet addresses not so much the multitude who live around him, as the future people of the Lord, purified by his judgments, who are about to spring from the ἐκλογή, that is, the small number of the elect who were contemporaries of Isaiah. Here he does not speak to a mixed congregation, but to a congregation of brethren whom he comforts. The commencement, 'Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people,' is the theme of the whole. Hence arise the gentleness and tenderness of style, and

the frequent repetitions. Comforting love has many words. Hence the addition of many epithets to the name of God, which are so many shields by which the strokes of despair are warded off, and so many bulwarks against the attacks of the visible world which was driving to despair. The sublimity, abruptness, and thunders of the first part find no place here, where the object of Isaiah is not to terrify and to shake stout-hearted sinners, but rather to bring glad tidings to the meek; not to quench the smoking flax, nor to break the bruised reed. But wherever there is a similarity of hearers and of subject, there we meet also a remarkable similarity of style, in both the first and second part; as, for example, in the description of the times of Messiah, and of the punishments, in which (lvi.-lix.) the prophet has the whole nation before his eyes, and in which he addresses the careless sinners by whom he is surrounded.

We attach no importance to the collections of isolated words and expressions which some critics have gleaned from the disputed parts of Isaiah, and which are not found in other portions that are deemed genuine. We might here well apply what Krüger wrote on a similar question in profane history (*De authentia et integritate Anab. Xenophontis*, Halle, 1824, p. 27): *Hoc argumentandi genus perquam lubricum est. Si quid numerus valeret, urgeri posset, quod in his libris amplius quadraginta vocabula leguntur, quæ in reliquis Xenophontis operibus frustra quærantur. Si quis propter vocabula alibi ab hoc scriptore vel alia potestate, vel prorsus non usurpata, Anabasin ab eo profectam neget, hac ratione admissa quodvis aliud ejus opus injuria ei tribui, ostendi potest;* that is, 'This is a very slippery mode of reasoning. If number were of importance, it might be urged that in these books occur more than forty words for which one searches in vain in the other works of Xenophon. But if it should be denied on account of those words which this author has either employed in a different sense, or has not made use of at all, that the Anabasis was written by him, it could, by the same reasoning, be shown that every other work was falsely attributed to him.'

7. We find a number of characteristic peculiarities of style which occur both in what is accounted genuine and what is styled spurious in Isaiah, and which indicate the identity of the author. Certain very peculiar idioms occur again and again in all parts of the book. Two of them are particularly striking. The appellation of God, 'the Holy One of Israel,' occurs with equal frequency in what has been ascribed to Isaiah and in what has been attributed to a pseudo-Isaiah; it is found besides in two passages in which Isaiah imitates Jeremiah, and only three times in the whole of the remainder of the Old Testament. Another peculiar idiom is that 'to be called' stands constantly for 'to be.' These are phenomena of language which even our opponents do not consider casual; but they say that the later poet imitated Isaiah, or that they originated from the hand of a uniformising editor, who took an active part in modelling the whole. But there cannot be shown any motive for such interference; and we find nothing analogous to it in the whole of the Old Testament. Such a supposition cuts away the linguistic ground from under the feet of higher criticism, and deprives it of all power of demonstration. In this manner every linguistic phenomenon may easily be removed, when it is contrary to preconceived opinions. But everything in Isaiah appears so natural, bears so much the impress of originality, is so free from every vestige of patch-work, that no one can conscientiously maintain this hypothesis.

We have still to consider the other conjecture of our opponents. If we had before us a prophet strongly leaning, like Jeremiah and Zechariah, upon preceding prophets, that conjecture might be deemed admissible, in case there were other arguments affording a probability for denying that Isaiah was the author of these portions—a supposition which can here have no place. But here we have a prophet whose independence and originality are acknowledged even by our opponents. In him we cannot think of imitation, especially if we consider his peculiarities in connection with the other peculiar characteristics of Isaiah, and of what has been said to belong to a pseudo-Isaiah; we refer here to the above-mentioned works of Mœlle and of Kleinert (p. 231, sq.). In both portions of Isaiah there occur a number of words which are scarcely to be found in other places; also a frequent repetition of the same word in the parallel members of a verse. This repetition very seldom occurs in other writers (compare the examples collected by Kleinert, p. 239). Other writers usually employ synonymes in the parallel members of verses. It further belongs to the characteristics of Isaiah to employ words in extraordinary acceptations; for instance, זרע is used contemptuously for *brood;* אדם, for *rabble;* שרש, for *a shoot.* Isaiah also employs extraordinary constructions, and has the peculiar custom of explaining his figurative expressions by directly subjoining the prosaical equivalent. This custom has induced many interpreters to suppose that explanatory glosses have been inserted in Isaiah. Another peculiarity of Isaiah is that he intersperses his prophetic orations with hymns; that he seldom relates visions, strictly so-called, and seldom performs symbolic actions; and that he employs figurative expressions quite peculiar to himself, as, for example, *pasted-up eyes*, for spiritual darkness; *morning-red*, for approaching happiness; *the remnant of olive-trees, vineyards, and orchards*, for the remnant of the people which have been spared during the judgments of God; *rejected tendrils* or *branches*, for enemies which have been slain.

In addition to this we find an almost verbal harmony between entire passages; for instance, the Messianic description commencing xi. 6, compared with lxv. 25.

IV. *The origin of the present Collection, and its arrangement.*—No definite account respecting the method pursued in collecting into books the utterances of the Prophets has been handed down to us. Concerning Isaiah, as well as the rest, these accounts are wanting. We do not even know whether he collected his prophecies himself. But we have no decisive argument against this opinion. The argument of Kleinert, in his above-mentioned work (p. 112), is of slight importance. He says, If Isaiah himself had collected his prophecies, there would not be wanting some which are not to be found in the existing book. To this we

reply, that it can by no means be proved with any degree of probability that a single prophecy of Isaiah has been lost, the preservation of which would have been of importance to posterity, and which Isaiah himself would have deemed it necessary to preserve. Kleinert appeals to the fact, that there is no prophecy in our collection which can with certainty be ascribed to the days of Jotham; and he thinks it incredible that the prophet, soon after having been consecrated to his office, should have passed full sixteen years without any revelation from God. This, certainly, is unlikely; but it is by no means unlikely that during this time he uttered no prophecy which he thought proper to preserve. Nay, it appears very probable, if we compare the rather general character of chapters i.-v., the contents of which would apply to the days of Jotham also, since during his reign no considerable changes took place; consequently the prophetic utterances moved in the same sphere with those preserved to us from the reign of Uzziah. Hence it was natural that Isaiah should confine himself to the communication of some important prophetic addresses, which might as well represent the days of Jotham as those of the preceding reign. We must not too closely identify the utterances of the prophets with their writings. Many prophets have spoken much and written nothing. The minor prophets were generally content to write down the quintessence alone of their numerous utterances. Jeremiah likewise, of his numerous addresses under Josiah, gives us only what was most essential.

The critics who suppose that the present book of Isaiah was collected a considerable time after the death of the prophet, and perhaps after the exile, lay especial stress upon the assertion that the historical section in the 26th and following chapters was transcribed from 2 Kings xviii.-xx. This supposition, however, is perfectly unfounded.

According to Ewald (p. 39), the hand of a later compiler betrays itself in the headings. Ewald has not, however, adduced any argument sufficient to prove that Isaiah was not the author of these headings, the enigmatic character of which seems more to befit the author himself than a compiler. The only semblance of an argument is that the heading 'Oracle (better translated *burden*) concerning Damascus' (xvii. 1), does not agree with the prophecy that follows, which refers rather to Samaria. But we should consider that the headings of prophecies against foreign nations are always expressed as concisely as possible, and that it was incompatible with the usual brevity more fully to describe the subject of this prophecy. We should further consider that this prophecy refers to the connection of Damascus with Samaria, in which alliance Damascus was, according to chap. vii., the prevailing power, with which Ephraim stood and fell. If all this is taken into account, the above heading will be found to agree with the prophecy. According to the Talmudists, the book of Isaiah was collected by the men of Hezekiah. But this assertion rests merely upon Prov. xxv. 1, where the men of Hezekiah are said to have compiled the Proverbs. The Talmudists do not sufficiently distinguish between what might be and what is. They habitually state bare possibilities as historical facts.

To us it seems impossible that Isaiah left it to others to collect his prophecies into a volume, because we know that he was the author of historical works; and it is not likely that a man accustomed to literary occupation would have left to others to do what he could do much better himself.

Hitzig has of late recognised Isaiah as the collector and arranger of his own prophecies. But he supposes that a number of pieces were inserted at a later period. The chronological arrangement of these prophecies is a strong argument in favour of the opinion that Isaiah himself formed them into a volume. There is no deviation from this arrangement, except in a few instances where prophecies of similar contents are placed together; but there is no interruption which might appear attributable to either accident or ignorance. There is not a single piece in this collection which can satisfactorily be shown to belong to another place. All the portions, the date of which can be ascertained either by external or internal reasons, stand in the right place. This is generally granted with respect to the first twelve chapters, although many persons erroneously maintain that ch. vi. should stand at the beginning.

Chaps. i.-v. belong to the later years of Uzziah; chap. vi. to the year of his death. What follows next, up to chap. x. 4, belongs to the reign of Ahaz. Chaps. x.-xii. is the first portion appertaining to the reign of Hezekiah. Then follows a series of prophecies against foreign nations, in which, according to the opinions of many, the chronological arrangement has been departed from, and, instead of it, an arrangement according to contents has been adopted. But this is not the case. The predictions against foreign nations are also in their right chronological place. They all belong to the reign of Hezekiah, and are placed together because, according to their dates, they belong to the same period. In the days of Hezekiah the nations of Western Asia, dwelling on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, more and more resembled a threatening tempest. That the prophecies against foreign nations belong to this period is indicated by the home-prophecy in ch. xxii., which stands among the foreign prophecies. The assertion that the first twelve chapters are a collection of home-prophecies is likewise refuted by the fact that there occur in these chapters two foreign prophecies. The prophetic gift of Isaiah was more fully unfolded in sight of the Assyrian invasion under the reign of Hezekiah. Isaiah, in a series of visions, describes what Assyria would do, as a chastising rod in the hand of the Lord, and what the successors of the Assyrians, the Chaldees, would perform, according to the decree of God, in order to realise divine justice on earth, as well among Israel as among the heathen. The prophet shows that mercy is hidden behind the clouds of wrath. There is no argument to prove that the great prophetic picture in chaps. xxiv.-xxvii. was not depicted under Hezekiah. Chaps. xxviii.-xxxiii. manifestly belong to the same reign, but somewhat later than the time in which chaps. x., xi., and xii. were written. They were composed about the time when the result of the war against the Assyrians was decided. With the termination of this war terminated also the public life of Isaiah, who added an historical section in chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix., in order to facilitate the right understanding of the prophecies uttered by him during the most fertile period of his prophetic ministry. Then follows the conclusion

of his work on earth. The second part, which contains his prophetic legacy, is addressed to the small congregation of the faithful strictly so called. This part is analogous to the last speeches of Moses in the fields of Moab, and to the last speeches of Christ in the circle of his disciples, related by John. Thus we have everywhere order, and such an order as could scarcely have proceeded from any one but the author.

V. *Contents, Character, and Authority of the Book of Isaiah.*—It was not the vocation of the prophets to change anything in the religious constitution of Moses, which had been introduced by divine authority; and they were not called upon to substitute anything new in its place. They had only to point out the new covenant to be introduced by the Redeemer, and to prepare the minds of men for the reception of it. They themselves in all their doings were subject to the law of Moses. They were destined to be extraordinary ambassadors of God, whose reign in Israel was not a mere name, not a mere shadow of earthly royalty, but rather its substance and essence. They were to maintain the government of God, by punishing all, both high and low, who manifested contempt of the Lawgiver by offending against his laws. It was especially their vocation to counteract the very ancient delusion, according to which an external observance of rites was deemed sufficient to satisfy God. This opinion is contrary to many passages of the law itself, which admonish men to circumcise the heart, and describe the sum of the entire law to consist in loving God with the whole heart; which make salvation to depend upon being internally turned towards God, and which condemn not only the evil deed, but also the wicked desire. The law had, however, at the first assumed a form corresponding to the wants of the Israelites, and in accordance with the symbolical spirit of antiquity. But when this form, which was destined to be the living organ of the Spirit, was changed into a corpse by those who were themselves spiritually dead, it offered a point of coalescence for the error of those who contented themselves with external observances.

The prophets had also to oppose the delusion of those who looked upon the election of the people of God as a preservative against the divine judgments; who supposed that their descent from the patriarchs, with whom God had made a covenant, was an equivalent for the sanctification which they wanted. Even Moses had strongly opposed this delusion; for instance, in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxxii. David also, in the Psalms, as in xv. and xxiv., endeavours to counteract this error, which again and again sprang up. It was the vocation of the prophets to insist upon genuine piety, and to show that a true attachment to the Lord necessarily manifests itself by obedience to his precepts; that this obedience would lead to happiness, and disobedience to misfortune and distress. The prophets were appointed to comfort the faint-hearted, by announcing to them the succour of God, and to bring glad tidings to the faithful, in order to strengthen their fidelity. They were commissioned to invite the rebellious to return, by pointing out to them future salvation, and by teaching them that without conversion they could not be partakers of salvation; and in order that their admonitions and rebukes, their consolations and awakenings, might gain more attention, it was granted to them to behold futurity, and to foresee the blessings and judgments which would ultimately find their full accomplishment in the days of Messiah. The Hebrew appellation *nebiim* is by far more expressive than the Greek προφήτης, which denotes only a part of their office, and which has given rise to many misunderstandings. The word נביא (from the root נבא, which occurs in Arabic in the signification of *to inform, to explain, to speak*) means, according to the usual signification of the form קטיל, a person into whom God has spoken; that is, a person who communicates to the people what God has given to him. The Hebrew word indicates divine inspiration. What is most essential in the prophets is their speaking ἐν πνεύματι; consequently they were as much in their vocation when they rebuked and admonished as when they predicted future events. The correctness of our explanation may be seen in the definition contained in Deut. xviii. 18, where the Lord says, 'I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.'

The prophet here mentioned is an ideal person. It is prophetism itself personified. It is a characteristic mark that God gives his word into the mouth of the prophet, by means of which he is placed on an equality with the priest, who is likewise a bearer of the word of God. The prophet is at the same time distinguished from the priest, who receives the word of God from the Scriptures, while the prophet receives it without an intervening medium. The internal communications of God to the prophets are given to them only as being messengers to his people. By this circumstance the prophets are distinguished from mystics and theosophers, who lay claim to divine communications especially for themselves. Prophetism has an entirely practical and truly ecclesiastical character, remote from all idle contemplativeness, all fantastic trances, and all anchoretism.

In this description of the prophetical calling there is also contained a statement of the contents of the prophecies of Isaiah. He refers expressly in many places to the basis of the ancient covenant, that is, to the law of Moses; for instance, in viii. 16, 20, and xxx. 9, 10. In many other passages his utterance rests on the same basis, although he does not expressly state it. All his utterances are interwoven with references to the law. It is of importance to examine at least one chapter closely, in order to understand how prophecies are related to the law. Let us take as an example the first. The beginning 'Hear, O heavens, and give ear O earth,' is taken from Deut. xxxii. Thus the prophet points out that his prophecies are a commentary upon the Magna Charta of prophetism contained in the books of Moses. During the prosperous condition of the state under Uzziah and Jotham, luxury and immorality had sprung up. The impiety of Ahaz had exercised the worst influence upon the whole people. Great part of the nation had forsaken the religion of their fathers and embraced gross idolatry; and a great number of those who worshipped God externally had forsaken Him in their hearts. The divine judgments were approaching. The rising power of Assyria was appointed to be the instrument of divine justice.

Among the people of God internal demoralisation was always the forerunner of outward calamity. This position of affairs demanded an energetic intervention of prophetism. Without prophetism the ἐκλογή, the number of the elect, would have been constantly decreasing, and even the judgments of the Lord, if prophetism had not furnished their interpretation, would have been mere facts, which would have missed their aim, and, in many instances, might have had an effect opposite to that which was intended, because punishment which is not recognised to be punishment, necessarily leads away from God. The prophet attacks the distress of his nation, not at the surface, but at the root, by rebuking the prevailing corruption. Pride and arrogance appear to him to be the chief roots of all sins.

He inculcates again and again not to rely upon the creature, but upon the Creator, from whom all temporal and spiritual help proceeds; that in order to attain salvation, we should despair of our own and all human power, and rely upon God. He opposes those who expected help through foreign alliances with powerful neighbouring nations against foreign enemies of the state.

The people of God have only one enemy, and one ally, that is, God. It is foolish to seek for aid on earth against the power of heaven, and to fear man if God is our friend. The panacea against all distress and danger is true conversion. The politics of the prophets consist only in pointing out this remedy. The prophet connects with his rebuke and with his admonition, his threatenings of divine judgment upon the stiff-necked. These judgments are to be executed by the invasion of the Syrians, the oppression of the Assyrians, the Babylonian exile, and by the great final separation in the times of the Messiah. The idea which is the basis of all these threatenings, is pronounced even in the Pentateuch (Lev. x. 3), 'I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified;' and also in the words of Amos (iii. 2), 'You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities.' That is, if the people do not voluntarily glorify God, He glorifies Himself against them. Partly in order to recal the rebellions to obedience, partly to comfort the faithful, the prophet opens a prospect of those blessings which the faithful portion of the covenant-people shall inherit. In almost all prophetic utterances, we find in regular succession three elements—rebuke, threatening, and promise. The prophecies concerning the destruction of powerful neighbouring states, partly belong, as we have shown, to the promises, because they are intended to prevent despair, which, as well as false security, is a most dangerous hindrance to conversion.

In the direct promises of deliverance the purpose to comfort is still more evident. This deliverance refers either to burdens which pressed upon the people in the days of the prophet, or to burdens to come, which were already announced by the prophet; such, for instance, were the oppressions of the Syrians, the Assyrians, and finally, of the Chaldæans.

The proclamation of the Messiah is the inexhaustible source of consolation among the prophets. In Isaiah this consolation is so clear that some fathers of the church were inclined to style him rather *evangelist* than *prophet*. Ewald pointedly describes (p. 169) the human basis of Messianic expectations in general, and of those of Isaiah in particular:—'He who experienced in his own royal soul what infinite power could be granted to an individual spirit in order to influence and animate many, he who daily observed in Jerusalem the external vestiges of a spirit like that of David, could not imagine that the future new congregation of the Lord should originate from a mind belonging to another race than that of David, and that it should be maintained and supported by any other ruler than a divine ruler. Indeed every spiritual revival must proceed from the clearness and firmness of an elevated mind; and this especially applies to that most sublime revival for which ancient Israel longed and strove. This longing attained to clearness, and was preserved from losing itself in indefiniteness, by the certainty that such an elevated mind was to be expected.'

Isaiah, however, was not the first who attained to a knowledge of the personality of Messiah. Isaiah's vocation was to render the knowledge of this personality clearer and more definite, and to render it more efficacious upon the souls of the elect by giving it a greater individuality. The person of the Redeemer is mentioned even in Gen. xlix. 10, 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh (*the tranquilliser*) come; and unto Him shall the gathering of the people be' (i. e. *Him shall the nations obey*). The personality of Messiah occurs also in several psalms which were written before the times of Isaiah; for instance, in the 2nd and 110th, by David; in the 45th, by the sons of Korah; in the 72nd, by Solomon. Isaiah has especially developed the perception of the prophetic and the priestly office of the Redeemer, while in the earlier announciations of the Messiah the royal office is more prominent; although in Psalm cx. the priestly office also is pointed out. Of the two states of Christ, Isaiah has expressly described that of the exinanition of the suffering Christ, while, before him, his state of glory was made more prominent. In the Psalms the inseparable connection between justice and suffering, from which the doctrine of a suffering Messiah necessarily results, is not expressly applied to the Messiah. We must not say that Isaiah first perceived that the Messiah was to suffer, but we must grant that this knowledge was in him more vivid than in any earlier writer; and that this knowledge was first shown by Isaiah to be an integral portion of Old Testament doctrine.

The following are the outlines of Messianic prophecies in the book of Isaiah:—A scion of David, springing from his family, after it has fallen into a very low estate, but being also of divine nature, shall, at first in lowliness, but as a prophet filled with the spirit of God, proclaim the divine doctrine, develope the law in truth, and render it the animating principle of national life; he shall, as high priest, by his vicarious suffering and his death, remove the guilt of his nation, and that of other nations, and finally rule as a mighty king, not only over the covenant people, but over all nations of the earth who will subject themselves to his peaceful

sceptre, not by violent compulsion, but induced by love and gratitude. He will make both the moral and the physical consequences of sin to cease; the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, and all enmity, hatred, and destruction shall be removed even from the brute creation. This is the survey of the Messianic preaching by Isaiah, of which he constantly renders prominent those portions which were most calculated to impress the people under the then existing circumstances. The first part of Isaiah is directed to the whole people, consequently the glory of the Messiah is here dwelt upon. The fear lest the kingdom of God should be overwhelmed by the power of heathen nations, is removed by pointing out the glorious king to come, who would elevate the now despised and apparently mean kingdom of God above all the kingdoms of this world. In the second part, which is more particularly addressed to the ἐκλογή, *the elect*, than to the whole nation, the prophet exhibits the Messiah more as a divine teacher and high-priest. The prophet here preaches righteousness through the blood of the servant of God, who will support the weakness of sinners and take upon Himself their sorrows.

We may show, by an example in chap. xix. 18-25, that the views of futurity which were granted to Isaiah were great and comprehensive, and that the Spirit of God raised him above all narrow-minded nationality. It is there stated that a time should come when all the heathen, subdued by the judgments of the Lord, should be converted to him, and being placed on an equality with Israel, with equal laws, would equally partake of the kingdom of God, and form a brotherly alliance for his worship. Not the whole mass of Israel is destined, according to Isaiah, to future salvation, but only the small number of the converted. This truth he enounces most definitely in the sketch of his prophecies contained in chapter vi.

Isaiah describes with equal vivacity the divine justice which punishes the sins of the nation with inexorable severity. Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Sabaoth, is the key-note of his prophecies. He describes also the divine mercy and covenant-fidelity, by which there is always preserved a remnant among the people: to them punishment itself is a means of salvation, so that life everywhere proceeds from death, and the congregation itself is led to full victory and glory.

Isaiah saw the moral and religious degradation of his people, and also its external distress, both then present and to come (chap. vi.). But this did not break his courage; he confidently expected a better futurity, and raised himself in God above all that is visible. Isaiah is not afraid when the whole nation and its king tremble. Of this we see a remarkable instance in chapter vii., and another in the time of the Assyrian invasion under Hezekiah, during which the courage of his faith rendered him the saviour of the commonwealth, and the originator of that great religious revival which followed the preservation of the state. The faith of the king and of the people was roused by that of Isaiah.

Isaiah stands pre-eminent above all other prophets, as well in the contents and spirit of his predictions, as also in their form and style. Simplicity, clearness, sublimity, and freshness, are the never-failing characters of his prophecies. Even Eichhorn mentions, among the first merits of Isaiah, the concinnity of his expressions, the beautiful outline of his images, and the fine execution of his speeches. In reference to richness of imagery he stands between Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Symbolic actions, which frequently occur in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, seldom occur in Isaiah. The same is the case with visions, strictly so called, of which there is only one, namely, that in chapter vi.; and even it is distinguished by its simplicity and clearness above that of the later prophets. But one characteristic of Isaiah is, that he likes to give signs—that is, a fact then present, or near at hand—as a pledge for the more distant futurity; and that he thus supports the feebleness of man (comp. vii. 20; xxxvii. 30; xxxviii. 7, sqq.). The instances in chapters vii. and xxxviii. show how much he was convinced of his vocation, and in what intimacy he lived with the Lord, by whose assistance alone he could effect what he offers to do in the one passage, and what he grants in the other. The spiritual riches of the prophet are seen in the variety of his style, which always befits the subject. When he rebukes and threatens, it is like a storm, and, when he comforts, his language is as tender and mild as (to use his own words) that of a mother comforting her son. With regard to style, Isaiah is comprehensive, and the other prophets divide his riches.

Isaiah enjoyed an authority proportionate to his gifts. We learn from history how great this authority was during his life, especially under the reign of Hezekiah. Several of his most definite prophecies were fulfilled while he was yet alive; for instance, the overthrow of the kingdoms of Syria and Israel; the invasion of the Assyrians, and the divine deliverance from it; the prolongation of life granted to Hezekiah; and several predictions against foreign nations. Isaiah is honourably mentioned in the historical books. The later prophets, especially Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, clearly prove that his book was diligently read, and that his prophecies were attentively studied.

The authority of the prophet greatly increased after the fulfilment of his prophecies by the Babylonian exile, the victories of Cyrus, and the deliverance of the covenant-people. Even Cyrus (according to the above-mentioned account in Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 1. § 1, 2) was induced to set the Jews at liberty by the prophecies of Isaiah concerning himself. This prediction of Isaiah made so deep an impression upon him that he probably took from it the name by which he is generally known in history. Jesus Sirach (xlviii. 22-25) bestows splendid praise upon Isaiah, and both Philo and Josephus speak of him with great veneration. He attained the highest degree of authority after the times of the New Testament had proved the most important part of his prophecies, namely, the Messianic, to be divine. Christ and the apostles quote no prophecies so frequently as those of Isaiah, in order to prove that He who had appeared was one and the same with Him who had been promised. The fathers of the church abound in praises of Isaiah.—E. W. H.

ISHBI, or ISHBI-BENOB. [GIANTS.]

ISH-BOSHETH (אִישׁ בֹּשֶׁת, *man of shame*; Sept. Ἰεβοσθέ), a son of king Saul, and the only one who survived him. In 1 Chron. viii. 33, and ix. 39, this name is given as אִישְׁבַעַל *Eshbaal*. Baal was the name of an idol, accounted abominable by the Hebrews, and which scrupulous persons avoided pronouncing, using the word *bosheth*, 'shame' or 'vanity,' instead. This explains why the name Eshbaal is substituted for Ish-bosheth, Jerubbaal for Jerubbesheth (comp. Judg. viii. 35 with 2 Sam. xi. 21), and Merib-baal for Mephibosheth (comp. 2 Sam. iv. 4 with 1 Chron. viii. 34 and ix. 40). Ish-bosheth was not present in the disastrous battle at Gilboa, in which his father and brothers perished; and, too feeble of himself to seize the sceptre which had fallen from the hands of Saul, he owed the crown entirely to his uncle Abner, who conducted him to Mahanaim, beyond the Jordan, where he was recognised as king by ten of the twelve tribes. He reigned seven, or, as some will have it, two years—if a power so uncertain as his can be called a reign. Even the semblance of authority which he possessed he owed to the will and influence of Abner, who himself kept the real substance in his own hands. A sharp quarrel between them led at last to the ruin of Ish-bosheth. Although accustomed to tremble before Abner, even his meek temper was roused to resentment by the discovery that Abner had invaded the haram of his late father Saul, which was in a peculiar manner sacred under his care as a son and a king. By this act Abner exposed the king to public contempt; if it did not indeed leave himself open to the suspicion of intending to advance a claim to the crown on his own behalf. Abner highly resented the rebuke of Ish-bosheth, and from that time contemplated uniting all the tribes under the sceptre of David. Ish-bosheth, however, reverted to his ordinary timidity of character. At the first demand of David, he restored to him his sister Michal, who had been given in marriage to the son of Jesse by Saul, and had afterwards been taken from him and bestowed upon another. It is, perhaps, right to attribute this act to his weakness; although, as David allows that he was a righteous man, it may have been owing to his sense of justice. On the death of Abner Ish-bosheth lost all heart and hope, and perished miserably, being murdered in his own palace, while he took his mid-day sleep, by two of his officers, Baanah and Rechab. They sped with his head to David, expecting a great reward for their deed; but the monarch—as both right feeling and good policy required—testified the utmost horror and concern. He slew the murderers, and placed the head of Ish-bosheth with due respect in the sepulchre of Abner: B.C. 1048 (2 Sam. ii. 8-11; iii. 6-39; iv.). There is a serious difficulty in the chronology of this reign. In 2 Sam. ii. 10 Ish-bosheth is said to have reigned two years; which some understand as the whole amount of his reign. And as David reigned seven and a half years over Judah before he became king of all Israel upon the death of Ish-bosheth, it is conceived by the Jewish chronologer (*Seder Olam Rabba*, p. 37), as well as by Kimchi and others, that there was a vacancy of five years in the throne of Israel. It is not, however, agreed by those who entertain this opinion, whether this vacancy took place before or after the reign of Ish-bosheth. Some think it was before, it being then a matter of dispute whether he or Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, should be made king; but others hold that after his death five years elapsed before David was generally recognised as king of all Israel. If the reign of Ish-bosheth be limited to two years, the latter is doubtless the best way of accounting for the other five, since no ground of delay in the accession of Ish-bosheth is suggested in Scripture itself; for the claim of Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, which some have produced, being that of a lame boy five years old, whose father never reigned, against a king's son forty years of age, would have been deemed of little weight in Israel. Besides, our notions of Abner do not allow us to suppose that under him the question of the succession could have remained five years in abeyance. But it is the more usual, and perhaps the better course, to settle this question by supposing that the reigns of David over Judah, and of Ish-bosheth over Israel, were nearly contemporaneous, and that the two years are mentioned as those from which to date the commencement of the ensuing events—namely, the wars between the house of Saul and that of David.

1. ISHMAEL (יִשְׁמָעֵאל, *God hears*, Sept.; Ἰσμαήλ), Abraham's eldest son, born to him by Hagar; the circumstances of whose birth, early history, and final expulsion from his father's tents, are related in the articles Abraham, Hagar [See also Isaac, Inheritance]. He afterwards made the desert into which he had been cast his abode, and by attaching himself to, and acquiring influence over, the native tribes, rose to great authority and influence. It would seem to have been the original intention of his mother to have returned to Egypt, to which country she belonged; but this being prevented, she was content to obtain for her son wives from thence. Although their lots were cast apart, it does not appear that any serious alienation existed between Ishmael and Isaac; for we read that they both joined in the sepulchral rites of their father Abraham (Gen. xxv. 9). This fact has not been noticed as it deserves. It is full of suggestive matter. As funerals in the East take place almost immediately after death, it is evident that Ishmael must have been called from the desert to the death-bed of his father; which implies that relations of kindness and respect had been kept up, although the brevity of the sacred narrative prevents any special notice of this circumstance. Ishmael had, probably, long before received an endowment from his father's property, similar to that which had been bestowed upon the sons of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 6). Nothing more is recorded of him than that he died at the age of 137 years, and was the father of twelve sons, who gave their names to as many tribes (Gen. xvii. 20; xxvii. 9). He had also two daughters, one of whom became the wife of Esau.

It has been shown, in the article Arabia, that Ishmael has no claim to the honour, which is usually assigned to him, of being the founder of the Arabian nation. That nation existed before he was born. He merely joined it, and adopted its habits of life and character; and the tribes

which sprung from him formed eventually an important section of the tribes of which it was composed. The celebrated prophecy which describes the habits of life which he, and in him his descendants, would follow, is, therefore, to be regarded not as describing habits which he would first establish, but such as he would adopt. The description is contained in the address of the angel to Hagar, when, before the birth of Ishmael, she fled from the tents of Abraham:—'Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael *(God hears)*, because the Lord hath heard thine affliction. And he shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him, and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren' (Gen. xvi. 11, 12). This means, in short, that he and his descendants should lead the life of the Bedouins of the Arabian deserts; and how graphically this description portrays their habits, may be seen in the article ARABIA, in the notes on these verses in the 'Pictorial Bible,' and in the works of Niebuhr, Burckhardt, Lane, &c.; and, more particularly, in the Arabian romance of Antar, which presents the most perfect picture of real Bedouin manners now in existence. The last clause, 'He shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren,' is pointedly alluded to in the brief notice of his death, which states that 'he died in the presence of all his brethren' (Gen. xxv. 18). Of this expression various explanations have been given, but the plainest is the most probable: which is, that Ishmael and the tribes springing from him should always be located near the kindred tribes descended from Abraham. And this was a promise of benefit in that age of migration, when Abraham himself had come from beyond the Euphrates, and was a stranger and sojourner in the land of Canaan. There was thus, in fact, a relation of some importance between this promise and the promise of the heritage of Canaan to another branch of Abraham's offspring. It had seemingly some such force as this—The heritage of Canaan is, indeed, destined for another son of Abraham; but still the lot of Ishmael, and of those that spring from him, shall never be cast far apart from that of his brethren. This view is confirmed by the circumstance, that the Israelites did, in fact, occupy the country bordering on that in which the various tribes descended from Abraham or Terah had settled—the Israelites, Edomites, Midianites, Moabites, Ammonites, &c. Most interpreters find in this passage, a promise that the descendants of Ishmael should never be subdued. But we are unable to discover this in the text; and, moreover, such has not been the fact, whether we regard the Ishmaelites apart from the other Arabians, or consider the promise made to Ishmael as applicable to the whole Arabian family. The Arabian tribes are in a state of subjection at this moment; and the great Wahabee confederacy among them, which not many years ago filled Western Asia with alarm, is now no longer heard of.

2. ISHMAEL, a prince of the royal line of Judah, who found refuge among the Ammonites from the ruin which involved his family and nation. After the Chaldæans had departed he returned, and treacherously slew the too-confiding Gedaliah, who had been made governor of the miserable remnant left in the land [GEDALIAH]. Much more slaughter followed this, and Ishmael, with many people of consideration as captives, hastened to return to the Ammonites. But he was overtaken near the pool of Gibeon by Johanan, a friend of Gedaliah, and was compelled to abandon his prey and escape for his life, with only eight attendants, to Baalis, king of the Ammonites, with whom he appears to have had a secret understanding in these transactions: B.C. 588 (Jer. xli.).

ISLE, ISLAND (אִי; Sept. *νῆσος*, Vulg. *insula*). The Hebrew word is invariably translated, either by the former or by the latter of these English words, which, having the same meaning, will be considered as one. It occurs in the three following senses. First, that of dry land in opposition to water; as 'I will make the rivers islands' (Isa. xlii. 15). In Isa. xx. 6, the Isle of Ashdod means the country, and is so rendered in the margin. In Isa. xxiii. 2, 6, 'the isle' means the country of Tyre, and in Ezek. xxvii. 6, 7, that of Chittim and Elisha. (See also Job xxii. 30). Secondly; it is used both in Hebrew and English, according to its geographical meaning, for a country surrounded by water, as in Jer. xlvii. 4, 'the isle (margin) of Caphtor,' which is probably that of Cyprus. 'The isles of the sea' (Esth. x. 1) are evidently put in opposition to 'the land,' or continent. In Ps. xcvii. 1, 'the multitude of the isles' seem distinguished from the earth or continents, and are evidently added to complete the description of the whole world. Thirdly; the word is used by the Hebrews to designate all those countries divided from them by the sea. In Isa. xi. 11, after an enumeration of countries lying on their own continent, the words, 'and the islands of the sea,' are added in order to comprehend those situate beyond the ocean. The following are additional instances of this usage of the word, which is of very frequent occurrence (Isa. xlii. 10; lix. 18; lxvi. 19; Jer. xxv. 22; Ezek. xxvii. 3, 15; Zeph. ii. 11). It is observed by Sir I. Newton (*on Daniel*, p. 276), 'By the earth the Jews understood the great continent of all Asia and Africa, to which they had access by land; and by the isles of the sea they understood the places to which they sailed by sea, particularly all Europe.'—J. F. D.

ISRAEL (יִשְׂרָאֵל; Sept. Ἰσραήλ) is the sacred and divinely bestowed name of the patriarch Jacob, and is explained to mean, 'A prince with God,' from שָׂרָה, *principatum tenuit*. Winer (*Heb. Lexicon*) interprets it *pugnator Dei*, from another meaning of the same root. Although, as applied to Jacob personally, it is an honourable or poetical appellation, it is the common prose name of his descendants; while, on the contrary, the title Jacob is given to them only in poetry. In the latter division of Isaiah (after the 39th chapter), many instances occur of the two names used side by side, to subserve the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, as in ch. xl. 27; xli. 8, 14, 20, 21; xlii. 24; xliii. 1, 22, 28, &c.; so, indeed, in xiv. 1. The modern Jews, at least in the East, are fond of being named *Israĕli* in preference to *Yahûdi*, as more honourable.

The separation of the Hebrew nation into two parts, of which one was to embrace ten of the tribes, and be distinctively named Israel, had its origin in the early power and ambition of the tribe of Ephraim. The rivalry of Ephraim and Judah began almost from the first conquest of the land; nor is it unsignificant, that as Caleb belonged to the tribe of Judah, so did Joshua to that of Ephraim. From the very beginning Judah learned to act by itself; but the central position of Ephraim, with its fruitful and ample soil, and the long-continued authority of Joshua, must have taught most of the tribes west of the Jordan to look up to Ephraim as their head; and a still more important superiority was conferred on the same tribe by the fixed dwelling of the ark at Shiloh for so many generations (Josh. xviii. &c.). Judah could boast of Hebron, Macpelah, Bethlehem, names of traditional sanctity; yet so could Ephraim point to Shechem, the ancient abode of Jacob; and while Judah, being on the frontier, was more exposed to the attack of the powerful Philistines, Ephraim had to fear only those Canaanites from within who were not subdued or conciliated. The haughty behaviour of the Ephraimites towards Gideon, a man of Manasseh (Judg. viii. 1), sufficiently indicates the pretensions they made. Still fiercer language towards Jephthah the Gileadite (Jud. xii. 1) was retorted by less gentleness than Gideon had shown; and a bloody civil war was the result, in which their pride met with a severe punishment. This may in part explain their quiet submission, not only to the priestly rule of Eli and his sons, who had their centre of authority at Shiloh, but to Samuel, whose administration issued from three towns of Benjamin. Of course his prophetical character and personal excellence eminently contributed to this result; and it may seem that Ephraim, as well as all Israel besides, became habituated to the predominance of Benjamin, so that no serious resistance was made to the supremacy of Saul. At his death a new schism took place through their jealousy of Judah; yet, in a few years' time, by the splendour of David's victories, and afterwards by Solomon's peaceful power, a permanent national union might seem to have been effected. But the laws of inheritance in Israel, excellent as they were for preventing permanent alienation of landed property, and the degradation of the Hebrew poor into prædial slaves, necessarily impeded the perfect fusion of the tribes, by discouraging intermarriage, and hindering the union of distant estates in the same hands. Hence, when the sway of Solomon began to be felt as a tyranny, the old jealousies of the tribes revived, and Jeroboam, an Ephraimite (1 Kings xi. 26), being suspected of treason, fled to Shishak, king of Egypt. The death of Solomon was followed by a defection of ten of the tribes, which established the separation of *Israel* from *Judah* (B.C. 975).

This was the most important event which had befallen the Hebrew nation since their conquest of Canaan. The chief territory and population were now with Jeroboam, but the religious sanction, the legitimate descent, lay with the rival monarch. From the political danger of allowing the ten tribes to go up to the sanctuary of Jerusalem, the princes of *Israel*, as it were in self-defence, set up a sanctuary of their own; and the intimacy of Jeroboam with the king of Egypt may have determined his preference for the form of idolatry (the calves) which he established at Dan and Bethel. In whatever else his successors differed, they one and all agreed in upholding this worship, which, once established, appeared essential to their national unity. Nevertheless it is generally understood to have been a worship of Jehovah, though under unlawful and degrading forms. Worse by far was the worship of Baal, which came in under one monarch only, Ahab, and was destroyed after his son was slain, by Jehu. A secondary result of the revolution was the ejection of the tribe of Levi from their lands and cities in Israel; at least, such as remained were spiritually degraded by the compliances required, and could no longer offer any resistance to the kingly power by aid of their sacred character. When the priestly tribe had thus lost independence, it lost also the power to assist the crown. The succession of Jeroboam's family was hallowed by no religious blessing; and when his son was murdered, no Jehoiada was found to rally his supporters and ultimately avenge his cause. The example of successful usurpation was so often followed by the captains of the armies, that the kings in Israel present to us an irregular series of dynasties, with several short and tumultuous reigns. This was one cause of disorder and weakness to Israel, and hindered it from swallowing up Judah: another was found in the relations of Israel towards foreign powers, which will presently be dwelt upon.

We must first attend to the chronology; in discussing which Israel and Judah must be taken together. It lies on the face of the narrative that the years of reign assigned are generally only broken years: thus Nadab is said to have come to the throne in the second and to have been slain in the third year of Asa, and yet to have reigned *two* years (1 Kings xv. 25, 28); consequently every reign is liable to a deduction not exceeding eleven months. Instances will also appear in which reigns are *under*rated by a fraction of a year: it is doubtful whether this is another sort of phraseology, or is an error properly so called. Some have further maintained (as Mr. Greswell) that the reigns of kings were counted, at least occasionally, from the beginning of the Jewish year. To illustrate the effect of this: suppose a king of England to come to the throne in September, an event which happened in the following March might be assigned to the *second* year of his reign, though he would not have completed even a single year. The great objections to applying this principle are, 1. that we have no proof that it was actually used; 2. that it introduces great vagueness, since we do not once know at what *season* of the year any king began his reign; 3. that it solves none of the greater difficulties encountered, and that it is not worth while appealing to it for the smaller ones. Even if applied, the total effect of it on the chronology is almost inappreciable, for the limits of possible error remain perhaps exactly as without it. The once favourite system, of imagining a king to rule conjointly with his father, when it is not intimated in the Scripture, is now deservedly exploded by all the ablest chronologers.

The following table contains the materials for chronology furnished in the Scriptures:—

Accession of a king of Judah.	Years of Reign.	Year of preceding king of Israel.
Rehoboam	*17	—
Abijah	3	18th
Asa	41	20th
Jehoshaphat	*25	4th
Jehoram	8	5th
Ahaziah	1	12th
[Queen Athaliah]	7	—
Jehoash	40	7th
Amaziah	29	2nd
Uzziah	*52	†27th
Jotham	16	2nd
Ahaz	16	17th
Hezekiah	29	*3rd

Accession of a king of Israel.	Years of Reign.	Year of preceding king of Judah.
Jeroboam	22	—
Nadab	2	2nd
Baasha	24	3rd
Elah	2	26th
Zimri	7 days	27th
Omri	12	*(31st)
Ahab	*22	38th
Ahaziah	2	17th
Jehoram	12	18th
Jehu	*28	—
Jehoahaz	17	23rd
Jehoash	16	*37th
Jeroboam II.	†41	15th
Zachariah	½	38th
Shallum	1/12	39th
Menahem	*10	39th
Pekahiah	2	50th
Pekah	†20	52nd
Hoshea	9	12th
Samaria taken	—	6th

Some of these data are inconsistent with others, and it is important to decide *which* of them need correction. Of course (other things being equal), those changes are to be preferred which least disturb the system as a whole. But it is well to distinguish between the numbers marked with an *asterisk* (*) and those to which an *obelus* (†) is added. The former are wrong only by a unit or two, and therefore perhaps can be resolved by interpretation: the latter are quite untenable. These must be separately remarked upon.

I.—1. Rehoboam is said to have reigned 17 years; yet Abijah succeeded him in the 18th year of Jeroboam. We must then explain 17 to mean 17 and a fraction, which is contrary to the usual Hebrew method. 2. Ahab seems to have reigned less than 21 years, since Jehoshaphat succeeded in his 4th year, and Ahaziah followed in Jehoshaphat's 17th year. It is better to alter 22 to 21 than 4th to 5th, or 17th to 18th; for if 4th were changed to 5th, Asa's reign would become (more than) 42, not 41 years: if 17th were made 18th, the accession of Jehoram in the 18th year must be further disturbed. 3. The length of Jehoshaphat's reign involves a difficulty at first sight: since Jehoram of Israel came to the throne in his 18th year, and in Jehoram's 5th the other Jehoram followed, Jehoshaphat appears to have reigned *less* than 18 + 5 years. It is true that his son was installed in power during his life (2 Kings xviii. 16); but in the opinion of Mr. Clinton and others the son's reign could not be reckoned from that event, but from the father's death. If this be true, 25 must be altered to 23 or 22, as by far the simplest remedy. Nevertheless Mr. Clinton's opinion is here by no means self-evident. If Jehoram received not merely actual power, as Jotham did, who was regent for his father (2 Kings xv. 5), but a ceremonial installation, it is credible that his reign should have been dated from this event, although Jehoshaphat's reign would still be estimated from its commencement to his death. We may then neglect the 25 as insignificant to the chronology, regarding Jehoram in any case to have commenced his reign in the 22nd or 23rd of his father. [After these remarks a very simple process determines that from Jeroboam to Jehu includes *more* than 88 and less than 92 years. Thus—

	Years.	Mnths.		Years.	Mnths.
Jeroboam	0	0		0	0
Abijah	18	1	or	18	0
Asa	20	2	„	20	11
Jehoshaphat	60	3	„	61	10
Jehoram of Israel	77	4	„	79	9
Jehu	88	5	„	91	8

Hence no decisive result is attainable from the data.]

But further: 4. Jehu's reign exceeded 28 years, since Jehoash succeeded in his 7th year, and Jehoahaz in Jehoash's 23rd. We must interpret 28 to mean 28 and a fraction, as in Rehoboam's case. 5. Jehoash of Judah reigned *less* than 39 full years if his namesake of Israel began to reign in his 37th year, and in the 2nd year of

the latter Amaziah succeeded. The Sept. has 39 instead of 37 'in some copies,' says Mr. Clinton (the Vatican Sept. agrees with the received text, and so does Josephus); and though this is probably a mere correction, it seems to be right, since it is requisite to make good the 17 years of reign for Jehoahaz. 6. Uzziah reigned *more than* 52 full years, since Pekah came to the throne in his 52nd and Jotham in Pekah's 2nd year. Once more, then, 52 means 52 and a fraction. 7. Menahem, for a like reason, reigned not 10 years current, but 10 years and some months, since he succeeded in Uzziah's 39th, and Pekahiah followed in Uzziah's 50th. In all the cases where a whole number is thus used with the omission of a fraction, a cautious chronologer ought perhaps to add days less than a month, if that is enough to satisfy the other conditions. 8. Ahaz reigned not 16 years current, but less than 15 full years, if Hoshea succeeded in his 12th and Hezekiah in Hoshea's 3rd year; but which of the three numbers concerned is to be regarded as faulty is extremely doubtful. Winer and Clinton both make Hezekiah ascend the throne in the *fourth* year of Hoshea; but it would serve equally well to alter '12th of Ahaz' into 13th or 14th.

II.—Some greater deviations must now be noticed. 1. The accession of Omri is placed in the 31st year of Asa; but this must clearly be reckoned from his residence *in Samaria* (1 Kings xvi. 23). Even this is inconsistent with the statement that he reigned '*six* years in Tirzah;' for in the 31st of Asa *five* full years were not completed. 2. A great error, and not a mere numerical one, is found in 2 Kings i. 17, which makes Jehoram king of Israel come to the throne in the second year of his namesake of Judah, whom he really preceded by four full years (viii. 16). 3. Uzziah cannot have succeeded in the 27th year of Jeroboam II., otherwise his father's reign would be more than $14 + 26$ years. The number 27 is variously corrected to 14, 16, and 17. 4. The 41 years' reign of Jeroboam II. cannot be correct. Interpreters in general choose to imagine an interregnum of 11 years between Jeroboam and his son, which is contrary to the plain meaning of the text, and intrinsically improbable after an eminently prosperous reign. A well-known and able writer even dilates on the '11 years of anarchy and civil strife' as a proved fact of great moment in the history! But to invent facts of this sort in deference to a mere number, where so many numbers are not trustworthy, and with violence to the narrative, is highly objectionable. 5. Similar remarks apply to the interregnum invented after the death of Pekah. Of his murderer it is written (2 Kings xv. 30), 'he slew him and reigned in his stead;' which certainly does not hint at an anarchy of nine years between. If Hoshea could not immediately force himself into the vacant throne, he was not likely to survive his daring deed for so many years, and then effect his purpose. The *date*, however, in that verse is quite untenable. It places the murder in the 20th year of Jotham; but Jotham reigned only 16 years, and Pekah survived him (xvi. 5). The date in another text (xv. 27), which assigns to Pekah 20 years of reign, must also be rejected, in preference to tampering with the historical facts.

Counting downwards from Jehoash of Israel, and representing fractional parts of years by Greek letters:—

Jehoash of Israel	0
Amaziah	$1 + \alpha$
Jeroboam	$15 + \alpha + \beta$
Uzziah	$29 + \alpha + \gamma$
Zachariah	$66 + \alpha + \gamma + \delta$

It is hence easy to see that Jeroboam reigned more than 50 full years, and certainly less than 52: it is probable then that the 41 years assigned to him ought to be 51. Assuming this, it will follow that Uzziah followed Jeroboam by less than 14 full years; so that 'the 27th,' in 2 Kings xv. 1, will need to be corrected 'the 14th.' It cannot be made greater than 15th, consistently with the other date, even if Jeroboam's reign be prolonged into a 52nd or 53rd year, by throwing it as early as possible, and that of Zachariah as late as possible.

Pekah will have reigned more than 27 and less than 29 full years, if we correct the date of Hezekiah's accession, with Winer and Clinton, as above noticed. If, on the contrary, we alter the accession of Hoshea to the 13th or 14th year of Ahaz, Pekah's reign exceeds 28, but is less than 31 years. If we suppose 30 more likely to have been corrupted into 20, than 28 or 29, we may choose this alternative.

So much being premised, it readily appears that from Jehu to Uzziah is more than 73 years, and less than 76; thus:—

	Years.	Mnths.		Years.	Mnths.
Jehu	0	0		0	0
Jehoash	6	1	or	6	11
Amaziah	45	2	„	46	10
Uzziah	73	3	„	75	9

and that from Uzziah to the capture of Samaria is more than 88, and less than 91 years:—

	Years.	Mnths.		Years.	Mnths.
Uzziah	0	0		0	0
Jotham	52	2	or	52	11
Ahaz	67	3	„	68	10
Hezekiah	82	4	„	83	9
Samaria taken	88	5	„	90	8

From Jehu to the capture of Samaria then is more than 161 years, and less than 167: finally, the whole period of the Israelitish monarchy lies between the limits of 249 and 259 years. Since positive truth is here unattainable, it does not appear worth while to disturb (as a whole) any received chronological system: it is enough to mark (when possible) the limits of error. The date of the capture of Samaria now most received is B.C. 721; yet this is arrived at through the reigns of the early Persian kings, and without any very satisfactory check upon error.

The following scheme of chronology agrees with Winer in its total range, but has minor changes by a single unit in some of the kings:—

	B.C.	
Rehoboam	975	Jeroboam.
Abijah	957	
Asa	955	
	954	Nadab.
	952	Baasha.
	929	Elah.
	928	Zimri, Omri.

	B.C.	
	917	Ahab.
Jehoshaphat . .	914	
	897	Ahaziah.
	896	Jehoram.
Jehoram . . .	889	
Ahaziah . . .	885	
Queen Athaliah .	884	Jehu.
Jehoash . . .	878	
	855	Jehoahaz.
	840	Jehoash.
Amaziah . . .	838	
	824	Jeroboam II.
Uzziah	809	
	772	Zachariah.
	771	Shallum, Menahem.
	760	Pekahiah.
	758	Pekah.
Jotham . . .	757	
Ahaz	741	
	729	Hoshea.
Hezekiah . . .	726	
	721	Samaria captured.

The dynasties in Israel are denoted by brackets.

Leaving the subject of chronology, we pass to the substance of the history.

Jeroboam originally fixed on *Shechem* as the centre of his monarchy, and fortified it; moved perhaps not only by its natural suitability, but by the remembrances of Jacob which clove to it, and by the auspicious fact that here first Israel had decided for him against Rehoboam. But the natural delightfulness of *Tirzah* (Cant. vi. 4) led him, perhaps late in his reign, to erect a palace there (1 Kings xiv. 17). After the murder of Jeroboam's son, Baasha seems to have intended to fix his capital at *Ramah*, as a convenient place for annoying the king of Judah, whom he looked on as his only dangerous enemy; but when forced to renounce this plan (xv. 17, 21), he acquiesced in Tirzah, which continued to be the chief city of Israel, until Omri, who, since the palace at Tirzah had been burned during the civil war (1 Kings xvi. 18), built Samaria, with the ambition not uncommon in the founder of a new dynasty (xvi. 24). Samaria continued to the end of the monarchy to be the centre of administration; and its strength appears to have justified Omri's choice. For details, see SAMARIA; also TIRZAH and SHECHEM.

There is reason to believe that Jeroboam carried back with him into Israel the good will, if not the substantial assistance, of Shishak; and this will account for his escaping the storm from Egypt which swept over Rehoboam in his fifth year. During that first period Israel was far from quiet within. Although the ten tribes collectively had decided in favour of Jeroboam, great numbers of individuals remained attached to the family of David and to the worship at Jerusalem, and in the three first years of Rehoboam migrated into Judah (2 Chron. xi. 16, 17). Perhaps it was not until this process commenced, that Jeroboam was worked up to the desperate measure of erecting rival sanctuaries with visible idols (1 Kings xii. 27): a measure which met the usual ill-success of profane state-craft, and aggravated the evil which he feared. It set him at war with the whole order of priests and Levites, whose expulsion or subjugation, we may be certain, was not effected without convulsing his whole kingdom, and so occupying him as to free Rehoboam from any real danger, although no peace was made. The king of Judah improved the time by immense efforts in fortifying his territory (2 Chron. xi. 5-11); and, although Shishak soon after carried off the most valuable spoil, no great or definite impression could be made by Jeroboam. Israel having so far taken the place of heathen nations, and being already perhaps even in alliance with Egypt, at an early period—we know not how soon—sought and obtained the friendship of the kings of Damascus. A sense of the great advantage derivable from such a union seems to have led Ahab afterwards to behave with mildness and conciliation towards Benhadad, at a time when it could have been least expected (1 Kings xx. 31-34). From that transaction we learn that Benhadad I. had made in Damascus 'streets for Omri,' and Omri for Benhadad in Samaria. This, no doubt, implied that 'a quarter' was assigned for Syrian merchants in Samaria, which was probably fortified like the 'camp of the Tyrians' in Memphis, or the English factory at Calcutta; and in it, of course, Syrian worship would be tolerated. Against such intercourse the prophets, as might be expected, entered their protest (ver. 35-43); but it was in many ways too profitable to be renounced. In the reign of Baasha, Asa king of Judah, sensible of the dangerous advantage gained by his rival through the friendship of the Syrians, determined to buy them off at any price [see also under JUDAH]; and by sacrificing 'the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the king's house' (xv. 18), induced Benhadad I. to break his league with Baasha and to ravage all the northern district of Israel. This drew off the Israelitish monarch, and enabled Asa to destroy the fortifications of Ramah, which would have stopped the course of his trade (xv. 17), perhaps that with the sea-coast and with Tyre. Such was the beginning of the war *between Israel and Syria*, on which the safety of Judah at that time depended. Cordial union was not again restored between the two northern states until the days of Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, when Damascus must have already felt the rising power of Nineveh. The renewed alliance instantly proved so disastrous to Judah, which was reduced to extremest straits (Isa. vii. 2; 2 Kings xv. 37; 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, 6), as may seem to justify at least the *policy* of Asa's proceeding. Although it was impossible for a prophet to approve of it (2 Chron. xvi. 7), we may only so much the more infer that Judah was already brought into most pressing difficulties, and that the general course of the war, in spite of occasional reverses, was decidedly and increasingly favourable to Israel.

The wars of Syria and Israel were carried on chiefly under three reigns, those of Benhadad II., Hazael, and Benhadad III., the two first monarchs being generally prosperous, especially Hazael, the last being as decidedly unsuccessful. Although these results may have depended in part on personal qualities, there is high probability that the feebleness displayed by the Syrians against Jehoash and his son Jeroboam was occasioned by the pressure of the advancing empire of Nineveh. To make this clear, a small table of synchronisms

B.C.	Syria.	B.C.	Assyria.
1000?	Rezon.	1050	Nineveh unable to resist the king of Zobah, and quite unheard of in Palestine.
980?	Hizion.		
960?	Tabrimon.		
940	Benhadad I.	940	Nineveh still unable to interfere with the Syrians, but *perhaps* beginning to rise into empire by the conquest of Media and Babylon.
910?	Benhadad II.		
885	Hazael.		
845	Benhadad III.	850	Assyria undoubtedly coming forward into great power.
800?	[Damascus taken by Jeroboam II.]	800	Assyria probably in possession of Northern Syria.
758	Rezin.	765?	The king of Assyria marches for the first time into Israel.

representing the two heathen powers may be serviceable. The dates are only approximate.

Asa adhered, through the whole of his long reign, to the policy of encouraging hostility between the two northern kingdoms; and the first Benhadad had such a career of success that his son found himself in a condition to hope for an entire conquest of Israel. His formidable invasions wrought an entire change in the mind of Jehoshaphat (1 Kings xxii. 44), who saw that if Israel was swallowed up by Syria there would be no safety for Judah. We may conjecture that this consideration determined him to unite the two royal families; for no common cause would have induced so religious a king to select for his son's wife Athaliah the daughter of Jezebel. The age of Ahaziah, who was sprung from this marriage, forces us to place it as early as B.C. 912, which is the third year of Jehoshaphat and sixth of Ahab. Late in his reign Jehoshaphat threw himself most cordially (1 Kings xxii. 4) into the defence of Ahab, and by so doing probably saved Israel from a foreign yoke. Another mark of the low state into which both kingdoms were falling, is, that after Ahab's death the Moabites refused their usual tribute to Israel, and (as far as can be made out from the ambiguous words of 2 Kings iii. 27) the united force of the two kingdoms failed of doing more than irritate them. Soon after, in the reign of Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat, the Edomites followed the example, and established their independence. This event possibly engaged the whole force of Judah, and hindered it from succouring Samaria during the cruel siege which it sustained from Benhadad II., in the reign of Jehoram son of Ahab. The declining years and health of the king of Syria gave a short respite to Israel; but, in B.C. 885, Hazael, by defeating the united Hebrew armies, commenced the career of conquest and harassing invasion by which he 'made Israel like the dust by threshing.' Even under Jehu he subdued the trans-Jordanic tribes (2 Kings x. 32). Afterwards, since he took the town of Gath (2 Kings xii. 17) and prepared to attack Jerusalem — an attack which Jehoash king of Judah averted only by strictly following Asa's precedent—it is manifest that all the passes and chief forts of the country west of the Jordan must have been in his hand. Indeed, as he is said 'to have left to Jehoahaz only fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen,' it would seem that Israel was strictly a conquered province, in which Hazael dictated (as the English to the native rajahs of India) what military force should be kept up. From this thraldom Israel was delivered by some unexplained agency. We are told merely that 'Jehovah gave to Israel *a saviour*, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians; and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents as beforetime,' 2 Kings xiii. 5. It is allowable to conjecture that the (apparently unknown) deliverer was the Assyrian monarchy, which, assaulting Hazael towards the end of the reign of Jehoahaz, entirely drew away the Syrian armies. That it was some urgent, powerful, and continued pressure, considering the great strength which the empire of Damascus had attained, seems clear from the sudden weakness of Syria through the reigns of Jehoash and Jeroboam II., the former of whom thrice defeated Benhadad III. and 'recovered the cities of Israel;' the latter not only regained the full territory of the ten tribes, but made himself master (for a time at least) of Damascus and Hamath. How entirely the friendship of Israel and Judah had been caused and cemented by their common fear of Syria, is proved by the fact that no sooner is the power of Damascus broken than new war breaks out between the two kingdoms, which ended in the plunder of Jerusalem by Jehoash, who also broke down its walls and carried off hostages; after which there is no more alliance between Judah and Israel. The *empire* of Damascus seems to have been entirely dissolved under the son of Hazael, and no mention is made of its kings for eighty years or more. When Pekah, son of Remaliah, reigned in Samaria, Rezin, as king of Damascus, made a last but ineffectual effort for its independence.

The same Assyrian power which had doubtless so seriously shaken, and perhaps temporarily overturned, the kingdom of Damascus, was soon to be felt by Israel. Menahem was invaded by Pul (the first sovereign of Nineveh whose name we know), and was made tributary. His successor, Tiglath-pileser, in the reign of Pekah, son of

Remaliah, carried captive the eastern and northern tribes of Israel (*i. e.* perhaps all their chief men as hostages ?), and soon after slew Rezin, the ally of Pekah, and subdued Damascus. The following emperor, Shalmanezer, besieged and captured Samaria, and terminated the kingdom of Israel, B.C. 721.

This branch of the Hebrew monarchy suffered far greater and more rapid reverses than the other. From the accession of Jeroboam to the middle of Baasha's reign it probably increased in power; it then waned with the growth of the Damascene empire; it struggled hard against it under Ahab and Jehoram, but sank lower and lower; it was dismembered under Jehu, and made subject under Jehoahaz. From B.C. 940 to B.C. 850 is, as nearly as can be ascertained, the period of depression; and from B.C. 914 to B.C. 830 that of friendship or alliance with Judah. But after (about) B.C. 850 Syria began to decline, and Israel soon shot out rapidly; so that Joash and his son Jeroboam appear, of all Hebrew monarchs, to come next to David and Solomon. How long this burst of prosperity lasted does not distinctly appear; but it would seem that entire dominion over the ten tribes was held until Pekah received the first blow from the Assyrian conqueror.

Besides that which was a source of weakness to Israel from the beginning, viz. the schism of the crown with the whole ecclesiastical body, other causes may be discerned which made the ten tribes less powerful, in comparison with the two, than might have been expected. The marriage of Ahab to Jezebel brought with it no political advantages at all commensurate with the direct moral mischief, to say nothing of the spiritual evil; and the reaction against the worship of Baal was a most ruinous atonement for the sin. To suppress the monstrous iniquity, the prophets let loose the remorseless Jehu, who, not satisfied with the blood of Ahab's wife, grandson, and seventy sons, murdered first the king of Judah himself, and next forty-two youthful and innocent princes of his house; while, strange to tell, the daughter of Jezebel gained by his deed the throne of Judah, and perpetrated a new massacre. The horror of such crimes must have fallen heavily on Jehu, and have caused a wide-spread disaffection among his own subjects. Add to this, that the Phœnicians must have deeply resented his proceedings; so that we get a very sufficient clue to the prostration of Israel under the foot of Hazael during the reign of Jehu and his son.

Another and more abiding cause of political debility in the ten tribes was found in the imperfect consolidation of the inhabitants into a single nation. Since those who lived east of the Jordan retained, to a great extent at least, their pastoral habits, their union with the rest could never have been very firm; and when a king was neither strong independently of them, nor had good hereditary pretensions, they were not likely to contribute much to his power. After their conquest of the Hagarenes and the depression of the Moabites and Ammonites by David, they had free room to spread eastward; and many of their chief men may have become wealthy in flocks and herds (like Machir the son of Ammiel, of Lodebar, and Barzillai the Gileadite, 2 Sam. xvii. 27), over whom the authority of the Israelitish crown would naturally be precarious; while west of the Jordan the agrarian law of Moses made it difficult or impossible for a landed nobility to form itself, which could be formidable to the royal authority. That the Arab spirit of freedom was rooted in the eastern tribes, may perhaps be inferred from the case of the Rechabites, who would neither live in houses nor plant vines; undoubtedly, like some of the Nabathæans, lest by becoming settled and agricultural they should be enslaved. Yet the need of imposing this law on his descendants would not have been felt by Jonadab, had not an opposite tendency been rising,—that of agricultural settlement.

On another point our information is defective, viz. what proportion of the inhabitants of the land consisted of foreign slaves, or subject and degraded castes [SOLOMON]. Such as belonged to tribes who practised circumcision [CIRCUMCISION] would with less difficulty become incorporated with the Israelites; but the Philistines who were intermixed with Israel, by resisting this ordinance, must have continued heterogeneous. In 1 Kings xv. 27; xvi. 15, we find the town of Gibbethon in the hand of the Philistines during the reigns of Nadab, Baasha, and Zimri: nor is it stated that they were finally expelled. Gibbethon being a Levitical town, it might be conjectured that it had been occupied by the Philistines when the Levites emigrated into Judah; but the possibilities here are many.

Although the priests and Levites nearly disappeared out of Israel, prophets were perhaps even more numerous and active there than in Judah; and Abijah, whose prediction first endangered Jeroboam (1 Kings xi. 29-40), lived in honour at Shiloh to his dying day (xiv. 2). Obadiah alone saved one hundred prophets of Jehovah from the rage of Jezebel (xviii. 13). Possibly their extra-social character freed them from the restraint imposed on priests and Levites; and while they felt less bound to the formal rites of the Law, the kings of Israel were also less jealous of them. In fact, just as a great cathedral in Christendom tends to elevate the priestly above the prophetical functions, so, it is possible, did the proximity of Jerusalem; and the prophet may have moved most freely where he came least into contact with the priest. That most inauspicious event—the rupture of Israel with Judah—may thus have been overruled for the highest blessing of the world, by a fuller development of the prophetical spirit.

F. W. N.

1. ISSACHAR (יִשָּׂשכָר, Sept. Ἰσσάχαρ), a son of Jacob and Leah, born B.C. 1749, who gave name to one of the tribes of Israel (Gen. xxx. 18; Num. xxvi. 25).

2. The tribe called after Issachar. Jacob, on his death-bed, speaking metaphorically of the character and destinies of his sons, or rather of the tribes which should spring from them, said, 'Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens' (Gen. xlix. 14, 15). Remembering the character of the ass in eastern countries, we may be sure that this comparison was not intended in disparagement. The ass is anything but stupid; and the proverbial obstinacy which it sometimes exhibits in our own country, is rather the result of ill-treatment than a natural characteristic of the animal. Its true attributes are

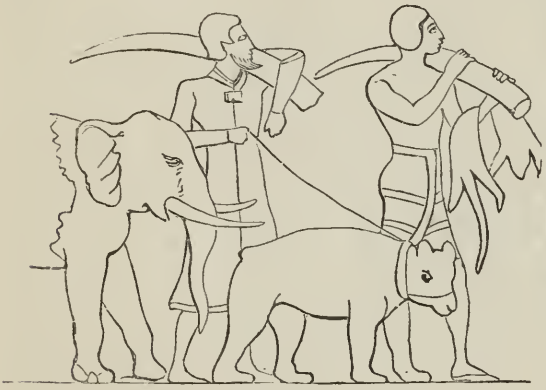
patience, gentleness, great capability of endurance, laborious exertion, and a meek submission to authority. Issachar, therefore, the progenitor of a race singularly docile, and distinguished for their patient industry, is exhibited under the similitude of the meekest and most laborious of quadrupeds. The descriptive character goes on: —'And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant, and he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute;' which probably does not imply that reproach upon Issachar, as addicted to ignominious ease, which some commentators find in it. It seems simply to mean that finding itself in possession of a most fertile portion of Palestine, the tribe devoted itself to the labours of agriculture, taking little interest in the public affairs of the nation. Accordingly Josephus says that the heritage of the tribe 'was fruitful to admiration, abounding in pastures and nurseries of all kinds, so that it would make any man in love with husbandry' (*Antiq.* v. 1. 22). But although a decided preference of agricultural over commercial or military pursuits is here indicated, there seems no reason to conclude, as some gather from the last clause, that the tribe would be willing to purchase exemption from war by the payment of a heavy tribute. The words do not necessarily imply this; and there is no evidence that the tribe ever declined any military service to which it was called. On the contrary, it is specially commended by Deborah for the promptitude with which it presented itself in the war with Jabin (Judg. v. 15); and in the days of David honourable testimony is borne to its character (1 Chron. xii. 32). In this passage the 'children of Issachar' are described as 'men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do:' which, compared with Esther i. 13, has been supposed to mean that they were skilled in the various practical applications of astronomy. But what need there was of astronomy on the occasion of calling David to the throne of Israel after the death of Abner and Ishbosheth, is not very easy to discover. It more probably means that they were men held in esteem for their prudence and wisdom, and who knew that the time was come when it was no longer safe to delay calling David to the throne of all Israel. On quitting Egypt the tribe of Issachar numbered 54,000 adult males, which gave it the fifth numerical rank among the twelve tribes, Judah, Simeon, Zebulun, and Dan being alone above it. In the wilderness it increased nearly 10,000, and then ranked as the third of the tribes, Judah and Dan only being more numerous (Num. i. xxvi.). The territory of the tribe comprehended the whole of the plain of Esdraelon and the neighbouring districts —the granary of Palestine. It was bounded on the east by the Jordan, on the west and south by Manasseh, and on the north by Asher and Zebulun. It contained the towns of Megiddo, Taanach, Shunem, Jezreel, and Bethshan, with the villages of Endor, Aphek, and Ibleam, all historical names: the mountains of Tabor and Gilboa, and the valley of Jezreel, were in the territory of this tribe, and the course of the river Kishon lay through it.

ITHAMAR (אִיתָמָר, *palm-island;* Sept. Ἰθάμαρ), fourth son of Aaron. He was consecrated to the priesthood along with his brothers (Exod. vi. 23; Num. iii. 2, 3). Nothing is individually recorded of him, except that the property of the tabernacle was placed under his charge (Exod. xxxviii. 21), and that he superintended all matters connected with its removal by the Levitical sections of Gershon and Merari (Num. iv. 28). The sacred utensils and their removal were entrusted to his elder brother Eleazar. Ithamar, with his descendants, occupied the position of common priests till the high-priesthood passed into his family in the person of Eli, under circumstances of which we are ignorant. Abiathar, whom Solomon deposed, was the last high-priest of that line; and the pontificate then reverted to the elder line of Eleazar in the person of Zadok (1 Kings ii. 27).

ITURÆA (Ἰτουραία), a district in the north-east of Palestine, forming the tetrarchy of Philip. The name is supposed to have originated with יְטוּר *Itur*, or *Jetur*, one of Ishmael's sons (1 Chron. i. 31). In 1 Chron. v. 19 this name is given as that of a tribe or nation with which Reuben (beyond the Jordan) warred; and from its being joined with the names of other of Ishmael's sons it is evident that a tribe descended from his son Jetur is intimated. In the latter text the Sept. takes this view, and for 'with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Nephish, and Nodab,' reads, 'with the Hagarites, and Ituræans, and Nephisæans and Nadabæans'—μετὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, καὶ Ἰτουραίων, καὶ Ναφισαίων, καὶ Ναδαβαίων. The old name seems to be still preserved in that of Jedur, which the same region, or a part of it, now bears. We may thus take the district to have been occupied by Ishmael's son, whose descendants were dispossessed or subdued by the Amorites, under whom it is supposed to have formed part of the kingdom of Bashan, and subsequently to have belonged to that half tribe of Manasseh which had its possessions east of the Jordan. From 1 Chron. v. 19, it appears that the sons of Jetur, whether under tribute to the Amorites, as some suppose, and forming part of the kingdom of Bashan, or not, were in actual occupation of the country, and were dispossessed by the tribes beyond the Jordan; which is a sufficient answer to those who allege that Ituræa lay too far to the north-east to have belonged to Manasseh. During the Exile this and other border countries were taken possession of by various tribes, whom, although they are called after the original names, as occupants of the countries which had received those names, we are not bound to regard as descendants of the original possessors. These new Ituræans were eventually subdued by King Aristobulus (B.C. 100); by whom they were constrained to embrace the Jewish religion, and were at the same time incorporated with the state (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3). Nevertheless the Ituræans were still recognizable as a distinct people in the time of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 23). As already intimated, Herod the Great, in dividing his dominions among his sons, bequeathed Ituræa to Philip, as part of a tetrarchy composed, according to Luke, of Trachonitis and Ituræa; and as Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 8. 8) mentions his territory as composed of Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanæa, it would appear as if the Evangelist regarded Auranitis and Paneas as comprehended under Ituræa. The name is indeed so loosely applied

by ancient writers that it is difficult to fix its boundaries with precision. Perhaps it may suffice for general purposes to describe it as a district of indeterminate extent, traversed by a line drawn from the Lake of Tiberias to Damascus; and by different writers, and under different circumstances, mentioned with extensions in various directions, beyond the proper limits of the name. The present Jedur probably comprehends the whole or greater part of the proper Ituræa. This is described by Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 286) as 'lying south of Jebelkessoue, east of Jebel es-Sheik (Mount Hermon), and west of the Hadj road.' He adds, that it now contains only twenty inhabited villages. By the help of these lights we may discover that Ituræa was a plain country, about thirty miles long from north to south, and twenty-four from east to west, having on the north Abilene and the Damascene district; on the south Auranitis and part of Bashan; on the east the stony region of Trachonitis; and on the west the hill country of Bashan.

IVORY (שֵׁנְהַבִּים *shenhabbim;* Chald. שֵׁן דְּפִיל *shin diphel;* Syr. *gremphila;* Sept. ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντινοι. New Test. ἐλεφάντινος; 1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21; Rev. xviii. 12). 'Elephant's tooth,' or simply 'elephant,' is a common name for ivory, not only in the Oriental languages and in Greek, but also in the Western tongues; although in all of them teeth of other species may be included. There can be no doubt, for example, that the harder and more accessible ivory obtained from the hippopotamus, was known in Egypt, at least as early as that obtained from the



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elephant. We have seen what appeared to be an ivory sword-handle of Egyptian workmanship, which was declared by dentists to be derived from the river-horse, and of the same texture as that which they now manufacture into false teeth to supply decayed teeth in the human mouth. This kind of ivory does not split, and therefore was anciently most useful for military instruments. Elephants' teeth were largely imported as merchandise, and also brought as tribute into Egypt. The processions of human figures bearing presents, &c., still extant on the walls of palaces and tombs, attest by the black crisp-haired bearers of huge teeth, that some of these came from Ethiopia or Central Africa; and by white men similarly laden, who also bring an Asiatic elephant and a white bear, that others came from the East. Phœnician traders had ivory in such abundance that the chief seats of their galleys were inlaid with it. In the Scriptures, according to the Chaldee Paraphrase, Jacob's bed was made of this substance (Gen. xlix. 33); we find king Solomon importing it from Tarshish (1 Kings x. 22); and if Psalm xlv. 8 was written before his reign, ivory was extensively used in the furniture of royal residences at a still earlier period. The same fact is corroborated by Homer, who notices this article of luxury in the splendid palace of Menelaus, when Greece had not yet formed that connection with Egypt and the East which the Hebrew people, from their geographical position, naturally cultivated. As an instance of the superabundant possession and barbarian use of elephants' teeth, may be mentioned the octagonal *ivory hunting-tower* built by Akbar, about twenty-four miles west of Agra: it is still standing, and bristles with 128 enormous tusks disposed in ascending lines, sixteen on each face. Mr. Roberts, remarking on the words of Amos (vi. 4), they 'that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches,' refers the last word, in conformity with the Tamul version, to swinging cots, often mentioned in the early tales of India, and still plentifully used by the wealthy. But it does not appear that they were known in Western Asia, or that figures of them occur on Egyptian bas-reliefs. It is more likely that 'palkies' (those luxurious travelling litters) are meant, which were borne on men's shoulders, whilst the person within was stretched at ease. They were in common use even among the Romans; for Cicero fell into his assassins' hands while he was attempting to escape in one of them towards Naples. The tusks of African elephants are generally much longer than those of the Asiatic; and it may be observed in this place, that the ancients, as well as the moderns, are mistaken when they assert elephants' tusks to be a kind of horns. They are genuine teeth, combining in themselves, and occupying, in the upper jaw, the whole mass of secretions which in other animals form the upper incisor and laniary teeth. They are useful for defence and offence, and for holding down green branches, or rooting up water-plants; but still they are not absolutely necessary, since there is a variety of elephant in the Indian forests entirely destitute of tusks, and the females in most of the races are either without them, or have them very small; not turned downwards, as Bochart states, but rather straight, as correctly described by Pliny [ELEPHANT].—C. H. S.

IYAR (אִיָּר; Ἰάρ, Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 3. 1; the Macedonian Ἀρτεμίσιος) is the late name of that month which was the second of the sacred, and the seventh of the civil year of the Jews, and which began with the new moon of May. The few memorable days in it are the 10th, as a fast for the death of Eli; the 14th, as the second or lesser Passover, for those whom uncleanness or absence prevented from celebrating the feast in Nisan (Num. ix. 11); the 23rd, as a feast instituted by Simon the Maccabee in memory of his taking the citadel Acra in Jerusalem (1 Macc. xiii. 51, 52); the 28th, as a fast for the death of Samuel.

Gesenius derives Iyar from the Hebrew root אוֹר, *to shine;* but Benfey and Stern, following out their theory of the source from which the Jews obtained such names, deduce it from the assumed Zend representative of the Persian *bahar*,

'spring' (*Monatsnamen*, p. 131). The name Iyar does not occur in the Old Testament, this month being always described as the second month, except in four places in which it is called Ziv (1 Kings v. 1, 37; Dan. ii. 31; iv. 33). Ziv, which is written זִו and זִיו, is not considered to be a proper name, but an appellative. It is derived from זָהַו, and is a curtailed form for זָהִיו, 'zehív,' *bright*, an appropriate epithet of the month of flowers.—J. N.

J.

JABAL (יָבָל, *a stream;* Sept. Ἰωβήλ), a descendant of Cain, son of Lamech and Adah, who is described in Gen. iv. 20, as 'the father of such as dwell in tents, and have cattle.' This obviously means that Jabal was the first who adopted that nomade life which is still followed by numerous Arabian and Tartar tribes in Asia. Abel had long before been a keeper of sheep; but Jabal invented such portable habitations (formed, doubtless, of skins) as enabled a pastoral people to remove their dwellings with them from one place to another, when they led their flocks to new pastures.

JABBOK (יַבֹּק; Sept. Ἰαβώκ), one of the streams which traverse the country east of the Jordan, and which, after a course nearly from east to west, falls into that river about thirty miles below the lake of Tiberias. It seems to rise in the Hauran mountains, and its whole course may be computed at sixty-five miles. It is mentioned in Scripture as the boundary which separated the kingdom of Sihon, king of the Amorites, from that of Og, king of Bashan (Josh. xii. 1-6); and it appears afterwards to have been the boundary between the tribe of Reuben and the half-tribe of Manasseh. The earliest notice of it occurs in Gen. xxxii. 22.

The Jabbok now bears the name of Zerka. In its passage westward across the plains, it more than once passes under ground; and in summer the upper portion of its channel becomes dry. But on entering the more hilly country immediately east of the Jordan, it receives tribute from several springs, which maintain it as a perennial stream, although very low in summer. From this it appears that not only its volume, but the length of its course, is much smaller in summer than in winter. On approaching the Jordan it flows through a deep ravine, the steep banks being overgrown with the *solanum furiosum*, which attains a considerable size. But the ravine is not so well wooded as the immediate neighbourhood. The water is pleasant, and the bed being rocky the stream runs clear (Burckhardt's *Syria*, p. 347; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 319; Buckingham, *Palestine*, ii. 109; Lindsay, ii. 123).

JABESH (יָבֵשׁ and יָבִישׁ; Sept. Ἰαβεῖς and Ἰαβίς), or Jabesh-Gilead, a town beyond the Jordan, in the land of Gilead.

Jabesh belonged to the half-tribe of Manasseh, and was sacked by the Israelites for refusing to join in the war against Benjamin (Judg. xxi. 8). It is chiefly memorable for the siege it sustained from Nahash, king of the Ammonites, the raising of which formed the first exploit of the newly-elected king, Saul, and procured his confirmation in the sovereignty. The inhabitants had agreed to surrender, and to have their right eyes put out (to incapacitate them from military service), but were allowed seven days to ratify the treaty. In the meantime Saul collected a large army, and came to their relief (1 Sam. xi.). This service was gratefully remembered by the Jabeshites; and, about forty years after, when the dead bodies of Saul and his sons were gibbeted on the walls of Bethshan, on the other side of the river, they made a forced march by night, took away the bodies, and gave them honourable burial (1 Sam. xxxi.).

Jabesh still existed as a town in the time of Eusebius, who places it six miles from Pella towards Gerasa; but the knowledge of the site is now lost, unless we accept the conclusion of Mr. Buckingham, who thinks it may be found in a place called Jehaz or Jejaz, marked by ruins upon a hill, in a spot not far from which, according to the above indications, Jabesh must have been situated (*Travels*, ii. 130-134).

1. JABIN (יָבִין, *discerner;* Sept. Ἰαβίν), king of Hazor, and one of the most powerful of all the princes who reigned in Canaan when it was invaded by the Israelites. His dominion seems to have extended over all the north part of the country; and after the ruin of the league formed against the Hebrews in the south by Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem, he assembled his tributaries near the waters of Merom (the lake Huleh), and called all the people to arms. This coalition was destroyed, as the one in the south had been, and Jabin himself perished in the sack of Hazor, his capital, B.C. 1450. This prince was the last powerful enemy with whom Joshua combated, and his overthrow seems to have been regarded as the crowning act in the conquest of the Promised Land (Josh. xi. 1—14).

2. JABIN, king of Hazor, and probably descended from the preceding. It appears that during one of the servitudes of the Israelites, probably when they lay under the yoke of Cushan or Eglon, the kingdom of Hazor was reconstructed. The narrative gives to this second Jabin even the title of 'king of Canaan;' and this, with the possession of 900 iron-armed war-chariots, implies unusual power and extent of dominion. The iniquities of the Israelites having lost them the Divine protection, Jabin gained the mastery over them; and, stimulated by the remembrance of ancient wrongs, oppressed them heavily for twenty years. From this thraldom they were relieved by the great victory won by Barak in the plain of Esdraelon, over the hosts of Jabin, commanded by Sisera, one of the most renowned generals of those times, B.C. 1285. The well-compacted power of the king of Hazor was not yet, however, entirely broken. The war was still prolonged for a time, but ended in the entire ruin of Jabin, and the subjugation of his territories by the Israelites (Judg. iv.).

This is the Jabin whose name occurs in Ps. lxxxiii. 10.

JACHIN AND BOAZ, the names of two brazen pillars in the porch of Solomon's temple [Temple].

JACINTH. [Leshem.]

JACOB (יַעֲקֹב; Sept. Ἰακώβ) was the second son of Isaac by his wife Rebekah. Her con-

ceiving is stated to have been supernatural. Led by peculiar feelings she went to inquire of the Lord, and was informed that she was indeed with child, that her offspring should be the founders of two nations, and that the elder should serve the younger: circumstances which ought to be borne in mind when a judgment is pronounced on her conduct in aiding Jacob to secure the privileges of birth to the exclusion of his elder brother Esau—conduct which these facts, connected with the birth of the boys, may well have influenced. Some have indeed denied the facts, and taken from them the colouring they bear in the Bible; and such persons may easily be led on to pronounce a severe and indiscriminate sentence of condemnation on Rebekah; but those who profess to receive and to respect the Biblical records are unjustifiable, if they view any part of them, or any event which they record, in any other light than that which the Bible supplies, in any other position than that which the Bible presents. It is as a whole that each separate character should be contemplated — under the entire assemblage of those circumstances which the Bible narrates. If we first maim an historical person we may very readily misrepresent him.

As the boys grew, Jacob appeared to partake of the gentle, quiet, and retiring character of his father, and was accordingly led to prefer the tranquil safety and pleasing occupations of a shepherd's life to the bold and daring enterprises of the hunter, for which Esau had an irresistible predilection. Jacob, therefore, passed his days in or near the paternal tent, simple and unpretending in his manner of life, and finding in the flocks and herds which he kept, images and emotions which both filled and satisfied his heart. His domestic habits and affections seem to have co-operated with the remarkable events that attended his birth, in winning for him the peculiar regard and undisguised preference of his mother, who probably in this merely yielded to impressions which she could scarcely account for, much less define, and who had not even a faint conception of the magnitude of influence to which her predilection was likely to rise, and the sad consequences to which it could hardly fail to lead.

That selfishness and a prudence which approached to cunning had a seat in the heart of the youth Jacob, appears but too plain in his dealing with Esau, when he exacted from a famishing brother so large a price for a mess of pottage, as the surrender of his birthright. Nor does the simple narrative of the Bible afford grounds by which this act can be well extenuated. Esau asks for food, alleging as his reason, 'for I am faint.' Jacob, unlike both a youth and a brother, answers, 'Sell me this day thy birthright.' What could Esau do? 'Behold,' he replies, 'I am at the point to die, and what profit (if by retaining my birthright I lose my life) shall this birthright do me?' Determined to have a safe bargain, the prudent Jacob, before he gave the needed refreshment, adds, 'Swear to me this day.' The oath was given, the food eaten, and Esau '*went his way*,' leaving a home where he had received so sorry a welcome.

The leaning which his mother had in favour of Jacob would naturally be augmented by the conduct of Esau in marrying, doubtless contrary to his parents' wishes, two Hittite women, who are recorded to have been a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

Circumstances thus prepared the way for procuring the transfer of the birthright, when Isaac being now old, proceeded to take steps to pronounce the irrevocable blessing which acted with all the force of a modern testamentary bequest. This blessing, then, it was essential that Jacob should receive in preference to Esau. Here Rebekah appears the chief agent; Jacob is a mere instrument in her hands. Isaac directs Esau to procure him some venison. This Rebekah hears, and urges her reluctant favourite to personate his elder brother. Jacob suggests difficulties: they are met by Rebekah, who is ready to incur any personal danger so that her object be gained. 'My father, peradventure, will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver, and I shall bring a curse upon me and not a blessing. His mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, my son, only obey my voice.' Her voice is obeyed, the venison is brought, Jacob is equipped for the deceit; he helps out his fraud by direct falsehood, and the old man, whose senses are now failing, is at last with difficulty deceived. It cannot be denied that this is a most reprehensible transaction, and presents a truly painful picture; in which a mother conspires with one son in order to cheat her aged husband, with a view to deprive another son of his rightful inheritance. Justification is here impossible; but it should not be forgotten in the estimate we form that there was a promise in favour of Jacob, that Jacob's qualities had endeared him to his mother, and that the prospect to her was dark and threatening which arose when she saw the neglected Esau at the head of the house, and his hateful wives assuming command over herself.

Punishment in this world always follows close upon the heels of transgression. Fear seized the guilty Jacob, who is sent by his father, at the suggestion of Rebekah, to the original seat of the family, in order that he might find a wife among his cousins, the daughters of his mother's brother, Laban the Syrian. Before he is dismissed Jacob again receives his father's blessing, the object obviously being to keep alive in the young man's mind the great promise given to Abraham, and thus to transmit that influence which, under the aid of divine providence, was to end in placing the family in possession of the land of Palestine, and in so doing to make it 'a multitude of people.' The language, however, employed by the aged father suggests the idea, that the religious light which had been kindled in the mind of Abraham had lost somewhat of its fulness, if not of its clearness also; since 'the blessing of Abraham,' which had originally embraced all nations, is now restricted to the descendants of this one patriarchal family. And so it appears, from the language which Jacob employs (Gen. xxviii. 16) in relation to the dream that he had when he tarried all night upon a certain plain on his journey eastward, that his idea of the Deity was little more than that of a local god—'Surely the Lord is in *this* place, and *I knew it not*.' Nor does the language which he immediately after employs show that his ideas of the relations between God and man were of an exalted and refined nature:—'If God will be with me, and will keep me in the way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on,

so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God.' The vision therefore with which Jacob was favoured was not without occasion, nor could the terms in which he was addressed by the Lord, fail to enlarge and correct his conceptions, and make his religion at once more comprehensive and more influential.

Jacob, on coming into the land of the people of the East, accidentally met with Rachel, Laban's daughter, to whom, with true eastern simplicity and politeness, he showed such courtesy as the duties of pastoral life suggest and admit. And here his gentle and affectionate nature displays itself under the influence of the bonds of kindred and the fair form of youth:—'Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice and wept.'

After he had been with his uncle the space of a month, Laban inquires of him what reward he expects for his services. He asks for the 'beautiful and well-favoured Rachel.' His request is granted on condition of a seven years' service—a long period truly, but to Jacob 'they seemed but a few days for the love he had to her.' When the time was expired, the crafty Laban availed himself of the customs of the country, in order to substitute his elder and 'tender-eyed' daughter Leah. In the morning Jacob found how he had been beguiled; but Laban excused himself, saying, 'It must not be done in our country, to give the younger before the first-born.' Another seven years' service gains for Jacob the beloved Rachel. Leah, however, has the compensatory privilege of being the mother of the first-born—Reuben; three other sons successively follow, namely, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, sons of Leah. This fruitfulness was a painful subject of reflection to the barren Rachel, who employed language on this occasion that called forth a reply from her husband which shows that, mild as was the character of Jacob, it was by no means wanting in force and energy (Gen. xxx. 2). An arrangement, however, took place, by which Rachel had children by means of her maid, Bilhah, of whom Dan and Naphtali were born. Two other sons—Gad and Asher—were born to Jacob of Leah's maid, Zilpah. Leah herself bare two more sons, namely, Issachar and Zebulun; she also bare a daughter, Dinah. At length Rachel herself bare a son, and she called his name Joseph.

Most faithfully, and with great success, had Jacob served his uncle for fourteen years, when he became desirous of returning to his parents. At the urgent request of Laban, however, he is induced to remain. The language employed upon this occasion (Gen. xxx. 25, sq.) shows that Jacob's character had gained considerably during his service both in strength and comprehensiveness; but the means which he employed in order to make his bargain with his uncle work so as to enrich himself, prove too clearly that his moral feelings had not undergone an equal improvement, and that the original taint of prudence, and the sad lessons of his mother in deceit, had produced some of their natural fruit in his bosom. Those who may wish to inquire into the nature and efficacy of the means which Jacob employed, may, in addition to the original narrative, consult Michaelis and Rosenmüller on the subject, as well as the following:—Hieron. *Quæst. in Gen.*; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 10; Oppian, *Cyneg.* i. 330, sq.; Hastfeer, *über Schafzucht*; Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 619. Winer, *Handwört.*, gives a parallel passage from Ælian (*Hist. Anim.* viii. 21).

The prosperity of Jacob displeased and grieved Laban, so that a separation seemed desirable. His wives are ready to accompany him. Accordingly he set out, with his family and his property, 'to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan.' It was not till the third day that Laban learned that Jacob had fled, when he immediately set out in pursuit of his nephew, and after seven days' journey overtook him in Mount Gilead. Laban, however, is divinely warned not to hinder Jacob's return. Reproach and recrimination ensued. Even a charge of theft is put forward by Laban —'Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?' In truth, Rachel had carried off certain images which were the objects of worship. Ignorant of this misdeed, Jacob boldly called for a search, adding, 'With whomsoever thou findest thy gods let him not live.' A crafty woman's cleverness eluded the keen eye of Laban. Rachel, by an appeal which one of her sex alone could make, deceived her father. Thus one sin begets another; superstition prompts to theft, and theft necessitates deceit.

Whatever opinion may be formed of the teraphim which Rachel stole, and which Laban was so anxious to discover, and whatever kind or degree of worship may in reality have been paid to them, their existence in the family suffices of itself to show how imperfectly instructed regarding the Creator were at this time those who were among the least ignorant on divine things.

Laban's conduct on this occasion called forth a reply from Jacob, from which it appears that his service had been most severe, and which also proves that however this severe service might have encouraged a certain servility, it had not prevented the development in Jacob's soul of a high and energetic spirit, which when roused could assert its rights and give utterance to sentiments both just, striking, and forcible, and in the most poetical phraseology.

Peace, however, being restored, Laban, on the ensuing morning, took a friendly, if not an affectionate farewell of his daughters and their sons, and returned home. Meanwhile Jacob, going on his way, had to pass near the land of Seir, in which Esau dwelt. Remembering his own conduct and his brother's threat, he was seized with fear, and sent messengers before in order to propitiate Esau, who, however, had no evil design against him; but, when he 'saw Jacob, ran to meet him and embraced him, and fell on his neck and kissed him, and they wept'—the one tears of joyful recognition, the other of gladness at unexpected escape.

The passage in which this meeting is recorded is very striking and picturesque. In moral qualities it exhibits Jacob the inferior of his generous, high-minded, and forgiving brother; for Jacob's bearing, whatever deduction may be made for Oriental politeness, is crouching and servile. Independently of the compellation, 'my lord,' which he repeatedly uses in addressing Esau, what can be said of the following terms:—'I have seen thy face as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me' (Gen. xxxiii. 10).

It was immediately preceding this interview that Jacob passed the night in wrestling with 'a

man,' who is afterwards recognised as God, and who at length overcame Jacob by touching the hollow of his thigh. His name also was on this event changed by the mysterious antagonist into Israel, 'for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed' (Gen. xxxii. 28). It is added that on this account his descendants abstained from eating the thigh of slaughtered animals.

This passage is one which we are not sure that we understand. The narrator did not, we think, intend it for the account of a dream. A literal interpretation would seem difficult, for this would make the Omnipotent vanquish one of his own creatures, not without a long struggle, and at last only by a sort of art or stratagem. At the same time it must be said that the only way to expound the narrative is to divest ourselves of our own modern associations, and endeavour to contemplate it from the position in which its author stood. Still the question recurs—what was the fact which he has set forth in these terms? (see De Wette, *Krit. d. Is. Gesch.* p. 132; Ewald's *Israeliten*, i. 405; Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, in loc.) The design (says Wellbeloved, in loc.) 'was to encourage Jacob, returning to his native land, and fearful of his brother's resentment, and to confirm his faith in the existence and providence of God. And who will venture to say that in that early period any other equally efficacious means could have been employed?' Compare the language already quoted (ver. 28). A very obvious end pursued throughout the history of Jacob, was the development of his religious convictions, and the event in question, no less than the altars he erected and the dreams he had, may have materially conduced to so important a result.

Having, by the misconduct of Hamor the Hivite and the hardy valour of his sons, been involved in danger from the natives of Shechem in Canaan, Jacob is divinely directed, and under the divine protection proceeds to Bethel, where he is to 'make an altar unto God that appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother.' Obedient to the divine command, he first purifies his family from 'strange gods,' which he hid under 'the oak which is by Shechem;' after which God appeared to him again with the important declaration, 'I am God Almighty,' and renewed the Abrahamic covenant. While journeying from Beth-el to Ephrath, his beloved Rachel lost her life in giving birth to her second son, Benjamin. At length Jacob came to his father Isaac at Mamre, the family residence, in time to pay the last attentions to the aged patriarch. Not long after this bereavement Jacob was robbed of his beloved son Joseph through the jealousy and bad faith of his brothers. This loss is the occasion of showing us how strong were Jacob's paternal feelings; for on seeing what appeared to be proofs that 'some evil beast had devoured Joseph,' the old man 'rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days, and refused to be comforted.'—'I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning' (Gen. xxxvii. 33).

A widely extended famine induced Jacob to send his sons down into Egypt, where he had heard there was corn, without knowing by whose instrumentality. The patriarch, however, retained his youngest son Benjamin, 'lest mischief should befall him,' as it had befallen Joseph. The young men returned with the needed supplies of corn. They related, however, that they had been taken for spies, and that there was but one way in which they could disprove the charge, namely, by carrying down Benjamin to 'the lord of the land.' This Jacob vehemently refused:—'Me have ye bereaved; Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin; my son shall not go down with you; if mischief befall him, then shall ye bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave' (Gen. xlii. 36). The pressure of the famine, however, at length forced Jacob to allow Benjamin to accompany his brothers on a second visit to Egypt; whence in due time they brought back to their father the pleasing intelligence, 'Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt.' How naturally is the effect of this on Jacob told—'and Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.' When, however, they had gone into particulars, he added, 'Enough, Joseph my son is yet alive; I will go and see him before I die.' Touches of nature like this suffice to show the reality of the history before us, and since they are not unfrequent in the book of Genesis, they will of themselves avail to sustain its credibility against all that the enemy can do. Each competent and unprejudiced judge, on reading these gems of truth, may well exclaim, 'This is history, not mythology; reality, not fiction.' The passage, too, with others recently cited, strongly proves how much the character of the patriarch had improved. In the entire of the latter part of Jacob's life, he seems to have gradually parted with many less desirable qualities, and to have become at once more truthful, more energetic, more earnest, affectionate, and, in the largest sense of the word, religious.

Encouraged 'in the visions of the night,' Jacob goes down to Egypt. 'And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself unto him; and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou art yet alive' (Gen. xlvi. 29). Joseph proceeded to conduct his father into the presence of the Egyptian monarch, when the man of God, with that self-consciousness and dignity which religion gives, instead of offering slavish adulation, 'blessed Pharaoh.' Struck with the patriarch's venerable air, the king asked, 'How old art thou?' What composure and elevation is there in the reply, 'The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years; few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage: and Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from before Pharaoh' (Gen. xlvii. 8-10). This fine passage has been travestied after his own manner by Voltaire (*Diction. Philosoph.*): 'That which the good man Jacob replied to Joseph must forcibly strike those *who can read.* How old are you? said the king. I am a hundred and thirty years of age, answered the old man, and *I have not yet had one happy day in this short pilgrimage:*'—'A proof this,' says Niemeyer (*Charak. der Bibel*, ii. 196), 'how faithfully Voltaire, who is always complaining of the quotations of others, cites the Bible; so that

one may almost conclude that he himself must not be ranked among those *who can read.*'

Jacob, with his sons, now entered into possession of some of the best land of Egypt, where they carried on their pastoral occupations, and enjoyed a very large share of earthly prosperity. The aged patriarch, after being strangely tossed about on a very rough ocean, found at last a tranquil harbour, where all the best affections of his nature were gently exercised and largely unfolded. After a lapse of time Joseph, being informed that his father was sick, went to him, when 'Israel strengthened himself, and sat up in his bed.' He acquainted Joseph with the divine promise of the land of Canaan which yet remained to be fulfilled, and took Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, in place of Reuben and Simeon, whom he had lost. How impressive is his benediction in Joseph's family! 'And Israel said unto Joseph, I had not thought to see thy face: and, lo, God hath showed me also thy seed' (Gen. xlviii. 11). 'God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; and let my name be named on them, and the name of my fathers; and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth' (ver. 15, 16). 'And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold I die; but God will be with you and bring you again unto the land of your fathers' (ver. 21). Then having convened his sons, the venerable patriarch pronounced on them also a blessing, which is full of the loftiest thought, expressed in the most poetical diction, and adorned by the most vividly descriptive and engaging imagery, showing how deeply religious his character had become, how freshly it retained its fervour to the last, and how greatly it had increased in strength, elevation, and dignity:—'And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed and yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people' (Gen. xlix. 33).—J. R. B.

JAEL (יָעֵל *wild goat;* Sept. Ἰαήλ), wife of Heber, the Kenite. When Sisera, the general of Jabin, had been defeated, he alighted from his chariot, hoping to escape best on foot from the hot pursuit of the victorious Israelites. On reaching the tents of the nomade chief, he remembered that there was peace between his sovereign and the house of Heber; and, therefore, applied for the hospitality and protection to which he was thus entitled. This request was very cordially granted by the wife of the absent chief, who received the vanquished warrior into the inner part of the tent, where he could not be discovered by strangers without such an intrusion as eastern customs would not warrant. She also brought him milk to drink, when he asked only water; and then covered him from view, that he might enjoy repose the more securely. As he slept, a horrid thought occurred to Jael, which she hastened too promptly to execute. She took one of the tent nails, and with a mallet, at one fell blow, drove it through the temples of the sleeping Sisera. Soon after, Barak and his people arrived in pursuit, and were shown the lifeless body of the man they sought. This deed drew much attention to Jael, and preserved the camp from molestation by the victors; and there is no disputing that her act is mentioned with great praise in the triumphal song wherein Deborah and Barak celebrated the deliverance of Israel (Judg. v. 24).

It does not seem difficult to understand the object of Jael in this painful transaction. Her motives seem to have been entirely prudential, and, on prudential grounds, the very circumstance which renders her act the more odious—the peace subsisting between the nomade chief and the king of Hazor—must, to her, have seemed to make it the more expedient. She saw that the Israelites had now the upper hand, and was aware that, as being in alliance with the oppressors of Israel, the camp might expect very rough treatment from the pursuing force; which would be greatly aggravated if Sisera were found sheltered within it. This calamity she sought to avert, and to place the house of Heber in a favourable position with the victorious party. She probably justified the act to herself, by the consideration that as Sisera would certainly be taken and slain, she might as well make a benefit out of his inevitable doom, as incur utter ruin in the attempt to protect him. We have been grieved to see the act vindicated as authorized by the usages of ancient warfare, of rude times, and of ferocious manners. There was not warfare, but peace between the house of Heber and the prince of Hazor; and, for the rest, we will venture to affirm that there does not now, and never did exist, in any country, a set of usages under which the act of Jael would be deemed right.

It is much easier to explain the conduct of Jael than to account for the praise which it receives in the triumphal ode of Deborah and Barak. But the following remarks will go far to remove the difficulty:—There is no doubt that Sisera would have been put to death, if he had been taken alive by the Israelites. The war usages of the time warranted such treatment, and there are numerous examples of it. They had, therefore, no regard to her private motives, or to the particular relations between Heber and Jabin, but beheld her only as the instrument of accomplishing what was usually regarded as the final and crowning act of a great victory. And the unusual circumstance that this act was performed by a woman's hand, was, according to the notions of the time, so great a humiliation, that it could hardly fail to be dwelt upon, in contrasting the result with the proud confidence of victory which had at the outset been entertained (Josh. iv. 5).

1. JAIR (יָאִיר, *enlightener;* Sept. Ἰαΐρ), son of Segub, of the tribe of Manasseh by his mother, and of Judah by his father. He appears to have distinguished himself in an expedition against the kingdom of Bashan, the time of which is disputed, but may probably be referred to the last year of the life of Moses, B.C. 1451. It seems to have formed part of the operations connected with the conquest of the country east of the Jordan. He settled in the part of Argob bordering on Gilead, where we find twenty-three villages named collectively Havoth-jair, or 'Jair's villages' (Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 30; 1 Chron. ii. 22).

2. JAIR, eighth judge of Israel, of Gilead, in in Manasseh, beyond the Jordan; and therefore, probably descended from the preceding, with whom, indeed, he is sometimes confounded. He ruled

twenty-two years, and his opulence is indicated in a manner characteristic of the age in which he lived. 'He had thirty sons, that rode on thirty ass-colts, and they had thirty cities, which are called Havoth-jair, in the land of Gilead.' A young ass was the most valuable beast for riding then known to the Hebrews; and that Jair had so many of them, and was able to assign a village to every one of his thirty sons, is very striking evidence of his wealth. The twenty-three villages of the more ancient Jair were probably among the thirty which this Jair possessed (Judg. x. 3). B.C. 1210.

JAIRUS (Ἰάειρος), a ruler of the synagogue at Capernaum, whose daughter Jesus restored to life (Mark v. 22; Luke viii. 41).

JAMBRES AND JANNES (Ἰαμβρῆς καὶ Ἰαννῆς), two of the Egyptian magicians who attempted by their enchantments (לטים, *occultæ artes*, Gesenius) to counteract the influence on Pharaoh's mind of the miracles wrought by Moses. Their names occur nowhere in the Hebrew Scriptures, and only once in the New Testament (2 Tim. iii. 8). The Apostle Paul became acquainted with them, most probably, from an ancient Jewish tradition, or, as Theodoret expresses it, 'from the unwritten teaching of the Jews' (τῆς ἀγράφου τῶν Ἰουδαίων διδασκαλίας). They are found frequently in the Talmudical and Rabbinical writings, but with some variations. Thus, for Jannes we meet with יונום, יניס, יואני, יוחני, יוחנא. Of these, the three last are forms of the Hebrew יוחנן, which has led to the supposition that Ἰαννῆς is a contracted form of the Greek Ἰωάννης. Some critics consider that these names were of Egyptian origin, and, in that case, the Jewish writers must have been misled by a similarity of sound to adopt the forms abovementioned. For Jambres we find ממרא, ממרי, יומברום, יומברים, and in the Shalsheleth Hakkabala the two names are given יואני ואמברוסיאו, *i. e.* Johannes and Ambrosius! The Targum of Jonathan inserts them in Exod. vii. 11. The same writer also gives as a reason for Pharaoh's edict for the destruction of the Israelitish male children, that 'this monarch had a dream in which the land of Egypt appeared in one scale and a lamb in another; that on awakening he sought for its interpretation from his wise men; whereupon Jannes and Jambres (יניס ויומברים) said—'A son is to be born in the congregation of Israel who will desolate the whole land of Egypt.' Several of the Jewish writers speak of Jannes and Jambres as the two sons of Balaam, and assert that they were the youths (נערי, *servants*, Auth. Vers.) who went with him to the king of Moab (Num. xxii. 22). The Pythagorean philosopher Numenius mentions these persons in a passage preserved by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* ix. 8), and by Origen (*c. Cels.* iv. p. 198, ed. Spencer); also Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxx. 1). There was an ancient apocryphal writing entitled *Jannes and Mambres*, which is referred to by Origen (*in Matt. Comment.* § 117; *Opera*, v. 29), and by Ambrosiaster, or Hilary the Deacon: it was condemned by Pope Gelasius (Wetstenii *Nov. Test. Græc.* ii. 362; Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm. Rabb.* col. 945; Lightfoot's *Sermon on Jannes and Jambres; Works*, vii. 89; *Erubhin, or Miscellanies*, ch. xxiv.; *Works*, iv. 33; Lardner's *Credibility*, pt. ii. ch. 35; *Works*, vii. 381.)—J. E. R.

JAMES, Ἰάκωβος. Two, if not three persons of this name are mentioned in the New Testament.

1. James, *the son of Zebedee* (Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου), and brother of the evangelist John. Their occupation was that of fishermen, probably at Bethsaida, in partnership with Simon Peter (Luke v. 10). On comparing the account given in Matt. iv. 21, Mark i. 19, with that in John i., it would appear that James and John had been acquainted with our Lord, and had received him as the Messiah, some time before he called them to attend upon him statedly—a call with which they immediately complied. Their mother's name was Salome. We find James, John, and Peter associated on several interesting occasions in the Saviour's life. They alone were present at the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2; Luke ix. 28); at the restoration to life of Jairus's daughter (Mark v. 42; Luke viii. 51); and in the garden of Gethsemane during the agony (Mark xiv. 33; Matt. xxvi. 37; Luke xxi. 37). With Andrew they listened in private to our Lord's discourse on the fall of Jerusalem (Mark xiii. 3). James and his brother appear to have indulged in false notions of the kingdom of the Messiah, and were led by ambitious views to join in the request made to Jesus by their mother (Matt. xx. 20-23; Mark x. 35). From Luke ix. 52, we may infer that their temperament was warm and impetuous. On account, probably, of their boldness and energy in discharging their Apostleship, they received from their Lord the appellation of Boanerges, or *Sons of Thunder* (For the various explanations of this title given by the fathers see Suiceri *Thes. Eccles.* s. v. Βροντή, and Lücke's *Commentar*, Bonn, 1840; *Einleitung*, c. i. § 2, p. 17). James was the first martyr among the Apostles. Clement of Alexandria, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 9), reports that the officer who conducted James to the tribunal was so influenced by the bold declaration of his faith as to embrace the Gospel and avow himself also a Christian; in consequence of which he was beheaded at the same time.

2. James, *the son of Alphæus* (Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου), one of the twelve Apostles (Mark iii. 18; Matt. x. 3; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13). His mother's name was Mary (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40); in the latter passage he is called James *the Less* (ὁ μικρός, the Little), either as being younger than James the son of Alphæus, or on account of his low stature (Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 10).

3. James, *the brother of the Lord* (ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου; Gal. i. 19). Whether this James is identical with the son of Alphæus, is a question which Dr. Neander pronounces to be the most difficult in the Apostolic history, and which cannot yet be considered as decided. We read in Matt. xiii. 55, 'Is not his mother called Mary, and his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?' and in Mark vi. 3, 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and brother of James and Joses, and of Juda and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us?' Those critics who suppose the terms of affinity in these and parallel passages to be used in the laxer sense of near relations, have remarked that in Mark xv. 40, mention

is made of 'Mary, the mother of James the less and of Joses;' and that in John xix. 25, it is said, 'there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother and his mother's sister, Mary, the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene:' they therefore infer that the wife of Cleophas is the same as the sister of the mother of Jesus, and, consequently, that James (supposing Cleophas and Alphæus to be the same name, the former according to the Hebrew, the latter according to the Greek orthography) was a *first cousin* of our Lord, and, on that account, termed his *brother*, and that the other individuals called the brethren of Jesus stood in the same relation. It is also urged that in the Acts, after the death of James the son of Zebedee, we read only of one James; and, moreover, that it is improbable that our Lord would have committed his mother to the care of the beloved disciple, had there been sons of Joseph living, whether the offspring of Mary or of a former marriage. Against this view it has been alleged that in several early Christian writers James, the brother of the Lord, is distinguished from the son of Alphæus; that the identity of the names Alphæus and Cleophas is somewhat uncertain; and that it is doubtful whether the words 'his mother's sister,' in John xix. 21, are to be considered in apposition with those immediately following—'Mary, the wife of Cleophas,' or intended to designate a different individual; since it is highly improbable that two sisters should have had the same name. Wieseler (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1840, iii. 618) maintains that not three, but four persons are mentioned in this passage, and that since in Matt. xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40, besides Mary of Magdala, and Mary, the mother of James and Joses, Salome also (or the mother of the sons of Zebedee) is named as present at the Crucifixion, it follows that she must have been the sister of our Lord's mother. This would obviate the difficulty arising from the sameness of the names of the two sisters, and would set aside the proof that James, the Lord's brother, was the son of Alphæus. But even allowing that the sons of Alphæus were related to our Lord, the narrative in the Evangelists and the Acts presents some reasons for suspecting that they were not the persons described as 'the brethren of Jesus.' 1. The brethren of Jesus are associated with his mother in a manner that strongly indicates their standing in the filial relation to her (Matt. xii. 46; Mark iii. 31; Luke viii. 19; Matt. xiii. 56, where 'sisters' are also mentioned; they appear constantly together as forming one family, John ii. 12). 'After this he went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, and his brethren, and his disciples' (Kuinoel, *Comment. in Matt.* xii. 46). 2. It is explicitly stated, that at a period posterior to the appointment of the twelve Apostles, among whom we find 'the son of Alphæus,' 'neither did his brethren believe on him' (John vii. 5; Lücke's *Commentar*). Attempts, indeed, have been made by Grotius and Lardner to dilute the force of this language, as if it meant merely that their faith was imperfect or wavering—'that they did not believe as they should;' but the language of Jesus is decisive:—'My time is not yet come, but your time is always ready; the world cannot hate you, but me it hateth' (compare this with John xv. 18, 19: 'If the world hate you,' &c.). This appears to overthrow the argument for the identity of the brethren of Jesus with the sons of Alphæus, drawn from the sameness of the names; for as to the supposition that what is affirmed in John's Gospel might apply to only some of his brethren, it is evident that, admitting the identity, only *one* brother of Jesus would be left out of the 'company of the Apostles.' 3. Luke's language in Acts i. 13, 14, is opposed to the identity in question; for, after enumerating the Apostles, among whom, as usual, is 'James, the son of Alphæus,' he adds, 'they all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication with the women, and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and *with his brethren*.' From this passage, however, we learn that, by this time, his brethren had received him as the Messiah. That after the death of the son of Zebedee we find only one James mentioned, may easily be accounted for on the ground that probably only one, 'the brother of the Lord,' remained at Jerusalem; and, under such circumstances, the silence of the historian respecting the son of Alphæus is not more strange than respecting several of the other Apostles, whose names never occur after the catalogue in ch. i. 13. Paul's language in Gal. i. 19, has been adduced to prove the identity of the Lord's brother with the son of Alphæus, by its ranking him among the Apostles, but Neander and Winer have shown that it is by no means decisive. (Winer's *Grammatik*, 4th ed. p. 517; Neander's *History of the Planting*, &c. vol. ii. p. 5, Eng. transl.). If we examine the early Christian writers, we shall meet with a variety of opinions on this subject. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 1) says that James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, brother of the Lord, son of Joseph, the husband of Mary, was surnamed the Just by the ancients, on account of his eminent virtue. He uses similar language in his *Evangelical Demonstration* (iii. 5). In his commentary on Isaiah he reckons fourteen Apostles; namely, the twelve, Paul, and James, the brother of our Lord. A similar enumeration is made in the 'Apostolic Constitutions' (vi. 14). Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and Theophylact speak of James, the Lord's brother, as being the same as the son of Cleopas. They suppose that Joseph and Cleopas were brothers, and that the latter dying without issue, Joseph married his widow for his first wife, according to the Jewish custom, and that James and his brethren were the offspring of this marriage (Lardner's *Credibility*, pt. ii. ch. 118, *Works*, iv. 548; ch. i. 163, *Works*, v. 160; *History of Heresies*, c. xi. § 11, *Works*, viii. 527; *Supplement to the Credibility*, ch. 17, *Works*, vi. 188). A passage from Josephus is quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 23), in which James, the brother of 'him who is called Christ,' is mentioned; but in the opinion of Dr. Lardner and other eminent critics this clause is an interpolation (Lardner's *Jewish Testimonies*, ch. iv.; *Works*, vi. 496). According to Hegesippus (a converted Jew of the second century), James, the brother of the Lord, undertook the government of the church along with the Apostles (*μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων*). He describes him as leading a life of ascetic strictness, and as held in the highest veneration by the Jews. But in the account he gives of his martyrdom some circumstances are highly improbable. In the Apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews, he is said to have been precipitated from a pinnacle of the temple, and then assaulted with stones;

and at last dispatched by a blow on the head with a fuller's pole (Lardner's *Supplement*, ch. xvi., *Works*, vi. p. 174; Neander, *History of the Planting*, &c. vol. ii. pp. 9, 22, Eng. transl.). Dr. Niemeyer enumerates not less than five persons of this name, by distinguishing the son of Alphæus from James the less, and assuming that the James last mentioned in Acts i. 13 was not the brother, but the father of Judas (*Charakteristik der Bibel*. Halle, 1830, i. 399).—J. E. R.

JAMES, EPISTLE OF [ANTILEGOMENA]. This is called by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 23) the first of the Catholic Epistles. As the writer simply styles himself *James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ*, doubts have existed, both in ancient and modern times, respecting the true

Author of this Epistle.—It has been ascribed to no less than four different persons, viz. James, the son of Zebedee; James, the son of Alphæus (who were both of the number of the twelve apostles); James, our Lord's brother (Gal. i. 19); and to an anonymous author who assumed the name of James in order to procure authority to a supposititious writing.

The chief authority for ascribing this epistle to James the son of Zebedee, is the inscription to the Syriac manuscript, published by Widmandstadt, wherein it is termed 'the earliest writing in the New Testament,' and to an Arabic MS. cited by Cornelius a Lapide. Isidore of Seville, and other Spanish writers interested in maintaining that James travelled into Spain (Calmet's *Commentary*), assert that James the son of Zebedee visited in person the 'twelve tribes scattered' through that as well as other countries, and afterwards addressed to them this epistle. The Mozarabic liturgy also supports the same view, and the old Italic, published by Martianay, contains the inscription *Explicit Epistola Jacobi fil. Zebedæi.* But this opinion has obtained very few suffrages; for, as Calmet has observed (*Pref. to his Commentary*), it is not credible that so great progress had been made among the dispersed Jews before the martyrdom of James, which took place at Jerusalem about A.D. 42; and if the author, as has been commonly supposed, alludes to St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans (A.D. 58) and Galatians (A.D. 55), it would be a manifest anachronism to ascribe this epistle to the son of Zebedee.

The claim to the authorship of the epistle, therefore, rests between James 'the Lord's brother,' and James the son of Alphæus. In the preceding article the difficult question, whether these names do not, in fact, refer to the same person, has been examined: it suffices, in this place, to state that no writer who regards James 'the Lord's brother' as distinct from James the son of Alphæus, has held the latter to be the author of the epistle: and therefore, if no claim be advanced for the son of Zebedee, James 'the brother of the Lord' remains the only person whom the name at the head of this epistle could be intended to designate.

Hegesippus, cited by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 23), acquaints us that James, the brother of Jesus, who obtained the surname of the Just, governed the church of Jerusalem along with, or after the apostles (μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων). Eusebius (*l. c.*) relates that he was the first who held the episcopate of Jerusalem (Jerome says for thirty years); and both he and Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 9. 1) give an account of his martyrdom. To him, therefore, is the authorship of an epistle addressed to the Jewish Christians with good reason ascribed.

The other opinion, which considers the epistle as pseudepigraphal, we shall consider in treating of its

Authenticity and Canonical Authority.—Eusebius (*ut supra*) observes that 'James, the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ, is said to have written the first of the Catholic epistles; but it is to be observed, that it is considered spurious (νοθεύεται). Not many of the ancients have mentioned it, nor that called the Epistle of Jude. . . . Nevertheless, we know that these, with the rest, are publicly read in most of the churches.' To the same effect St. Jérome:—'St. James, surnamed the Just, who is called the Lord's brother, is the author of only one epistle, one of the seven called Catholic, which, however, is said to have been published by some other who assumed his name, although in the progress of time it gradually acquired authority.' Dr. Lardner is of opinion that this statement of St. Jerome is a mere repetition of that of Eusebius. It was also rejected in the fourth century by Theodore of Mopsuestia, and in the sixth by Cosmas Indicopleustes [ANTILEGOMENA]. It is, however, cited by Clemens Romanus in his first or genuine *Epistle to the Corinthians* (ch. x., comp. with James ii. 21, 23; and ch. xi., comp. with James ii. 25, and Heb. xi. 31). It seems to be alluded to in the Shepherd of Hermas, 'Resist the devil, and he will be confounded and flee from you.' It is also generally believed to be referred to by Irenæus (*Hær.* iv. 16, 2), 'Abraham believed God, and it was,' &c. Origen cites it in his *Comment. on John* i. xix. iv. 306, calling it, however, the *reputed* epistle of James [ANTILEGOMENA]. We have the authority of Cassiodorus for the fact that Clemens Alexandrinus commented on this epistle; and it is not only expressly cited by Ephrem Syrus (*Opp. Græc.* iii. 51, 'James the brother of our Lord says "weep and howl,"' together with other references), but it forms part of the ancient Syriac version, a work of the second century, and which contains no other of the *Antilegomena*, except the Epistle to the Hebrews. But though 'not quoted expressly by any of the Latin fathers before the fourth century' (Hug's *Introduction*), it was, soon after the time of the Council of Nice, received both in the eastern and western churches without any marks of doubt, and was admitted into the canon along with the other Scriptures by the Councils of Hippo and Carthage. Nor (with the above exceptions) does there appear to have been a voice raised against it since that period until the era of the Reformation, when the ancient doubts were revived by Erasmus (who maintains that the author was not an apostle, *Annot. in N. T.*), Cardinal Cajetan (*Comment. in 7 Canonic. Epist.*, 1532), and Luther. Cajetan observes that 'the salutation is unlike that of any other of the apostolical salutations, containing nothing of God, of grace, or peace, but sending greetings after the profane manner, from which, and his not naming himself an apostle, the author is rendered uncertain.' We have already referred to Luther's opinion [ANTILEGOMENA], who is generally accused of calling this an *epistle of straw.* The following are his words:—'This epistle, in comparison with the writings of John,

Paul, and Peter, is a right strawy epistle (eine rechte stroherne epistel), being destitute of an evangelic character' (*Præf. to N. T.*). And again (*Præf. to James and John*),—'This epistle, although rejected by the ancients, I notwithstanding praise and esteem, as it teaches no doctrines of men, and strenuously urges the law of God. But, to give my opinion frankly, though without prejudice to any other person, I do not hold it to be the writing of an apostle—and these are my reasons; first, it directly opposes St. Paul and other Scriptures in ascribing justification to works, saying that Abraham was justified by works, whereas St. Paul teaches that Abraham was justified by faith without works; .... but this James does nothing but urge on to the law and its works, and writes so confusedly and unconnectedly that it appears to me like as if some good pious man got hold of a number of sayings from the apostles' followers, and thus flung them on paper; or it is probably written by some one after the apostle's preaching.' The centuriators of Magdeburg follow the same train of thought. 'In addition to the argument derived from the testimony of antiquity, there are other and by no means obscure indications from which it may be collected that the authors of these epistles (James and Jude) were not apostles. The Epistle of James differs not slightly from the analogy of doctrine, in ascribing justification not to faith alone, but to works, and calls the law "a law of liberty," whereas the law "generates to bondage." .... Nor is it unlikely that it was written by some disciple of the apostles at the close of this (the first) century, or even later' (*Cent.* i. l. 2. c. 4 col. 54). The same sentiments are followed by Cheunits, Brentius, and others among the Lutherans, and among the Greeks by Cyril Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople in the seventeenth century (*Lettres Anecdotes de Cyrille Lucar*, Amst. 1718, Letter vii. p. 85).

As Luther was the first who separated the canonical from the deutero-canonical or apocryphal books in the Old Testament [DEUTERO-CANONICAL], he also desired to make a similar distinction in the New [ANTILEGOMENA; HAGIOGRAPHA]; but the only variation which he actually adopted consisted in his placing the Epistle to the Hebrews between the Epistles of John and James [JUDE].

The Calvinists, who never questioned the authority of this epistle, followed the arrangement of the Council of Laodicea, in which the Epistle of James ranks as the first of the Catholic epistles; while the Council of Trent followed the order of the Council of Carthage and of the apostolical canons, viz., four Gospels, Acts, fourteen epistles of Paul (viz., Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews), 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, James, Jude, Apocalypse. The Lutherans themselves soon acquiesced in the decisions of the universal church in regard to the canon of the New Testament, until the controversy, which had long slept, was again revived in Germany in modern times (De Wette, *Einleitung*). De Wette maintains that although this epistle was anterior to the Clementine, it could not have been written so early as the time of James, principally because the degree of tranquillity and comfort which appears to have been enjoyed by those to whom the epistle was addressed, seems to him to be inconsistent with the state of persecution which the Christians were subject to during the lifetime of St. James. He conceives it to have been written by some one who assumed the name of James in order to give authority to his arguments against Paul's doctrine of justification. Dr. Kern also, in his *Essay on the Origin of the Epistle of St. James* (in the Tubingen *Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1835), took the same view, which, however, he has lately abandoned in his *Commentary*. But no one in modern times has combated this opinion with greater success than Neander (*History of the First Planting of the Christian Church*, vol. ii.). Neander (whose reasonings will not admit of abridgment) maintains that there is no discrepancy whatever between St. Paul and St. James; that it was not even the design of the latter to oppose any misapprehension respecting St. Paul's doctrine, but that they each addressed different classes of people from different standing points, using the same familiar examples. 'Paul,' he says, 'was obliged to point out to those who placed their dependence on the justifying power of the works of the law, the futility of such works in reference to justification, and to demonstrate that justification and sanctification could proceed only from the faith of the gospel: James, on the other hand, found it necessary to declare to those who imagined that they could be justified in God's sight by faith in the Jewish sense .... that this was completely valueless if their course of life were not conformed to it.' And in another place he observes that James 'received the new spirit under the old forms, similarly to many Catholics who have attained to free evangelical convictions, and yet have not been able to disengage themselves from the old ecclesiastical forms; or, like Luther, when he had already attained a knowledge of justification by faith, but before he was aware of the consequences flowing from it as opposed to the prevalent doctrines of the church.'

Age of the Epistle.—By those who consider James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem, to have been the author of this epistle, it is generally believed to have been written shortly before his martyrdom, which took place A.D. 62, six years before the destruction of Jerusalem, whose impending fate is alluded to in chap. v. Neander fixes its date at a time preceding the separate formation of Gentile Christian churches, before the relation of Gentiles and Jews to one another in the Christian Church had been brought under discussion, in the period of the first spread of Christianity in Syria, Cilicia, and the adjacent regions. It is addressed to Jewish Christians, the descendants of the twelve tribes; but the fact of its being written in Greek exhibits the author's desire to make it generally available to Christians.

Contents and Character of the Epistle.—This epistle commences with consolations addressed to the faithful converts, with exhortations to patience, humility, and practical piety (ch. i. 1-27). Undue respect to persons is then condemned, and love enjoined (ch. ii.). Erroneous ideas on justification are corrected (ii. 13-26), the temerity of new teachers is repressed (iii. 12); an unbridled tongue is inveighed against, and

heavenly wisdom contrasted with a spirit of covetousness (13-18). Swearing is prohibited (v. 12). The efficacy of prayer is proved by examples, and the unction of the sick by the Presbyters, together with prayer and mutual confession, are enjoined as instruments of recovery and of forgiveness of sins (v. 14-18). The approaching advent of the Lord is foretold (v. 7).

The style of this epistle is close and sententious, and is characterized by Calmet as consisting of 'expressions thrown together without connection, and adorned by poetical similitudes.' It has, however, been illustrated by no one with greater felicity than by the late learned and pious Bishop of Limerick, who has adduced many examples from James of poetical parallelism—which was the principal characteristic of Hebrew poetry. In reference to one of these passages (iii. 1-12) the bishop observes that 'its topics are so various, and, at first sight, so unconnected, not to say incongruous, that it may be thought a rash undertaking to explore the writer's train of thought, and to investigate the probable source and the orderly progress of his ideas—an evidence at once most brilliant and satisfactory that the easy flow of a great mind, when concentrated on a great object, will be found at least as logically just as it may be poetically beautiful.' 'His general manner,' he observes, 'combines the plainest and most practical good sense with the most vivid and poetical conception; the imagery various and luxuriant; the sentiments chastened and sober; his images, in truth, are so many analogical arguments, and if, at the first view, we are disposed to recreate ourselves with the poet, we soon feel that we must exert our hardier powers to keep pace with the logician' (Jebb's *Sacred Literature*). Seiler designates the style of this epistle as 'sometimes sublime and prophetical, nervous, and full of imagery' (*Biblical Hermeneutics*, § 315; Wright's translation, p. 548). Wetstein (note to ch. iv. 5) conceives the author to have been familiar with the book of Wisdom. In ch. i. 17 and iv. 4 the following perfect hexameters have been noticed—

Πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον

and

Μοιχοὶ καὶ μοιχαλίδες οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι φιλία.

The eloquence and persuasiveness of St. James's Epistle, as an ethical composition, are such as must command universal admiration.—W. W.

JAPHETH (יֶפֶת; Sept. Ἰάφεθ), a son of Noah. In Gen. v. 32 he is mentioned third in order; but some think, from Gen. x. 21 (comp. ix. 24), that he was the eldest of Noah's sons, begotten one hundred years before the flood (Michael. *Spicil.* ii. 66). In Gen. x. 2, sq. he is called the progenitor of the extensive tribes in the west (of Europe) and north (of Asia), of the Armenians, Medes, Greeks, Thracians, &c. De Wette (*Kritik*, p. 72) justly repudiates the opinion of the *Targumim*, both Jonath. and Hieros., who make Japheth the progenitor of the African tribes also. The Arabian traditions (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*) rank Japheth among the prophets, and enumerate eleven of his sons, the progenitors of as many Asiatic nations, viz. Gin or Dshin (Chinese), Seklab (Slavonians), Manshuge, Gomari, Turk (Turks), Khalage, Khozar, Ros (Russians), Sussan, Gaz, and Torage. In these traditions he is therefore simply called progenitor of the Turks and Barbarians (ابو الترك والاعجم). To the seven sons of Japheth, mentioned in Gen. x. 2 and 1 Chron. i. 5, the Sept. and Eusebius add an eighth, *Elisha*, though not found in the text. Some (Battmann, Bochart, and Hasse) identify Japheth with the Ἰάπετος of Greek fable, the depository of many ethnographical traditions; while others, again, connect him with Hereus, mentioned in the ancient historian Sanchoniathon.—E. M.

JARHA (יַרְחָע; Sept. Ἰωχήλ), the Egyptian slave of a Hebrew named Sheshan, who married the daughter of his master, and was, of course, made free. As Sheshan had no sons, his posterity is traced through this connection (1 Chron. ii. 34-41), which is the only one of the kind mentioned in Scripture. Jarha was doubtless a proselyte, and the anecdote seems to belong to the period of the sojourn in Egypt, although it is not easy to see how an Egyptian could there be slave to an Israelite.

JASHER, BOOK OF (סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר), a work no longer extant, but cited in Josh. x. 13, and 2 Sam. i. 18. In the former it is thus introduced: 'And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day,' &c. And in the passage referred to in 2 Sam. i. it stands thus: ver. 17. 'And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son:' ver. 18. '(Also he bade them teach the children of Judah [the use of] the bow: behold it is written in the book of Jasher).' After which follows the lamentation of David. As the word Jasher signifies *just* or *upright*, by which word it is rendered in the margin of our Bibles, this book has been generally considered to have been so entitled as containing a history of *just men*. Bishop Lowth, however (*Prælect.* pp. 306, 307), conceives, from the poetical character of the two passages cited from it, that it was most probably a collection of national songs written at various times, and that it derived its name from *jashar*, 'he sang,' as Exod. xv. 1, *az Jashir Mosheh*, 'then sang Moses,' &c.; or from the circumstance of its having commenced with the word *Az Jashar*, as the different books of the Bible derived the names which they bore among the Jews from the initial word. It is, at the same time, by no means an improbable conjecture, that the book was so called from the name of its author. Josephus (*Antiq.* v. 1. 17) speaks of the book of Jasher as one of the 'books laid up in the temple.'

De Wette (*Einleitung*, § 169) endeavours to deduce an argument in favour of the late composition of the book of Joshua from the circumstances of its citing a work (viz. the book of Jasher) which 'points to the time of David, inasmuch as his lamentation over Saul and Jonathan is contained in it.' But it has been supposed by others (although the American translator of De Wette's *Introduction* looks upon this as quite improbable) that the book may, as a collection of poems, have received accessions at various periods,

and, nevertheless, been still quoted by its original name. Dr. Palfrey, who adopts this view of the book of Jasher in his *Lectures*, still refers the composition of Joshua to the time of Saul. Among the fathers, Theodoret (see Carpzov's *Introd.* p. 150) thinks the whole book of Joshua to be an extract from the book of Jasher, and that the author, 'fearing that his assertion of the standing still of the sun would not be credited,' therefore referred to the book itself as his authority for the account of the miracle (*Quæst.* xiv. *in Josh.*, t. i. part i. p. 202); whence, he adds, it is plain that some other person of a later date wrote this, taking the occasion from another book. Jerome is of opinion (*in Ezek.* xviii. p. 819) that the book of Jasher is no other than the book of Genesis, which is also the opinion of some Jewish authors. Others suppose it to include the Pentateuch (see Calmet's *Comment.* in loc.). Mr. Horne (*Introd.* vol. i.) asserts that 'some understand by the book of Jasher the book of Judges, as mention is therein made of the standing still of the sun.' [?] From the passage above referred to, 2 Sam. i. 18—'Also he bade them teach the children of Israel [the use of] the bow'—it has been supposed by some (see Dr. Adam Clarke's *Comment.* in loc., and Horne's *Introd.* vol. i.) that the book of Jasher contained a treatise on archery; but it has been observed (see Parker's translation of De Wette's *Introd.* vol. i. p. 301) that, according to the ancient mode of citation, which consisted in referring to some particular word in the document, 'the bow,' which the children of Israel were to be taught, indicated the poetical passage from the book of Jasher in which the 'bow of Jonathan' is mentioned (2 Sam. i. 22). De Wette's translator supposes that our English translators of the Bible were, perhaps, ignorant of this manner of reference, and he instances this as a 'ludicrous instance.'

The Book of Jasher is also the title of two Rabbinical works, one of which was written by Rabbi Tham in the thirteenth century, and printed at Cracow in 1617. It is a treatise on Jewish laws. The other was printed in 1625, and contains (see Batolocci's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, and Horne's *Introd.* vol. ii., *Bibliogr. App.*) some curious but many fabulous narrations; among other things, that it was discovered at the destruction of the temple in possession of an old man, who was found shut up in some place of concealment, and who had a great number of Hebrew books. It was brought to Spain, preserved at Seville, and published at Naples.

In the year 1751 there was published in London, by a type-founder of Bristol named Jacob Ilive, a book entitled '*The Book of Jasher, with Testimonies and Notes explanatory of the Text: to which is prefixed Various Readings:* translated into English from the Hebrew by Alcuin of Britain, who went a pilgrimage into the Holy Land.' This book was noticed in the *Monthly Review* for December 1751, which describes it as 'a palpable piece of contrivance, intended to impose upon the credulous and ignorant, to sap the credit of the books of Moses, and to blacken the character of Moses himself.' The reviewer adds that 'the *Book of Jasher* appears to have been constructed in part from the apocryphal writings of the Rabbins; in part from a cento of various scraps stolen from the Pentateuch; and in the remainder from the crazy imaginings of the author' (Ilive). Prefixed to this work is a narrative professing to be from the pen of Alcuin himself, giving a detailed account of his discovery of the Hebrew book of Jasher, in the city of Gazna in Persia, during a pilgrimage which he made from Bristol to the Holy Land, and of his translation of the same into English. This clumsy forgery in modern English, which appeared with the chapters of the thirteenth century, and the numerical versicular divisions of the sixteenth, having been exposed at the time of its appearance, and sunk into well-merited oblivion, was again revived in 1827, when it was reprinted at Bristol, and published in London as a new discovery of the *Book of Jasher*. A prospectus of a second edition of this reprint was issued in 1833 by the editor, who herein styles himself the *Rev.* C. R. Bond. Both Ilive's and Bond's edition contain the following pretended testimony to the value of the work from the celebrated Wickliffe:—'I have read the book of Jasher twice over, and I much approve of it, as a piece of great antiquity and curiosity, but I cannot assent that it should be made a part of the canon of Scripture.' They also contain a statement, from the pen of Alcuin, to the effect that he (Alcuin, not Jasher, as Mr. Horne supposes) gave the book before his death to a clergyman in Yorkshire (see Horne's *Introd.* vol. ii., *Bibliogr. App.*). It is further asserted by the new editor that the book was discovered in 1721, in the north of England; and that again, after the year 1750, it passed through various hands, until, in 1829, the *manuscript* came into his possession. The fraud was now again exposed in the Dublin *Christian Examiner* for 1831, wherein, among other curious letters relating to the pretended *Book of Jasher*, is a communication from the 'vicar of Donagh' in Ireland, who states that he had been himself favoured, in 1806, with the sight of a copy of this 'curious piece of antiquity,' which was in the possession of the Rev. R. Alexander, D.D., who then resided at New Ross in Ireland. Dr. Alexander, it appears, had made his transcript from 'a rare copy,' which he supposed to have been unique, then in possession of a Welsh clergyman, but refused the same favour to the 'vicar of Donagh.' The original work was published at 2*s.*, and the unacknowledged reprint was sold by the editor for £1. per copy. From a review of this work, inserted in the *British Critic* for January, 1834, it appears that several copies of this impudent and stupid fabrication were purchased by the 'simple, the charitable, the good-natured, or the careless.' This fraudulent literary hoax has obtained a notoriety far beyond its merits in consequence of the able critiques to which it gave rise, and of an elaborate refutation from the pen of Mr. Horne (*Introd.* vol. ii. *ut supra*). It seems to have been republished in New York in 1840.

The chief interest connected with the Scriptural book of Jasher arises from the circumstance that it is referred to as the authority for the standing still of the sun and moon. There are few passages in Biblical literature the explanation of which has more exercised the skill of commentators than this celebrated one. We shall here give a brief account of the most generally received interpretations.

The first is that which maintains that the account of the miracle is to be *literally* understood. According to this interpretation, which is the most ancient, the sun itself, which was then believed to have revolved round the earth, stayed his course for a day. Those who take this view argue that the theory of the *diurnal motion of the earth*, which has been the generally received one since the time of Galileo and Copernicus, is inconsistent with the Scripture narrative. Notwithstanding the general reception of the Copernican system of the universe, this view continued to be held by many divines, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, and was strenuously maintained by Buddeus (*Hist. Eccles. V. T.* Halle, 1715, 1744, p. 828, sq.) and others in the last century.

But in more recent times the miracle has been explained so as to make it accord with the now received opinion respecting the earth's motion, and the Scripture narrative supposed to contain rather an optical and popular, than a literal account of what took place on this occasion. So that it was in reality the earth, and not the sun, which stood still at the command of Joshua.

Another opinion is that first suggested by Spinoza (*Tract. Theolog.-Politic.* c. ii. p. 22, and c. vi.), and afterwards maintained by Le Clerc (*Comment.* in loc.), that the miracle was produced by refraction only, causing the sun to appear above the horizon after its setting, or by some other atmospherical phenomena, which produced sufficient light to enable Joshua to pursue and discomfit his enemies.

The last opinion we shall mention is that of the learned Jew Maimonides (*More Nevo.* ii. c. 53), viz. that Joshua only asked of the Almighty to grant that he might defeat his enemies before the going down of the sun, and that God heard his prayer, inasmuch as before the close of day the five kings with their armies were cut in pieces. This opinion is favoured by Vatablus, in the marginal note to this passage (see Robert Stephens' edition of the Bible, fol. 1557), 'Lord, permit that the light of the sun and moon fail us not before our enemies are defeated.' Grotius, while he admitted that there was no difficulty in the Almighty's arresting the course of the sun, or making it reappear by refraction, approved of the explanation of Maimonides, which has been since that period adopted by many divines, including Jahn, among the Roman Catholics (who explains the whole as a sublime poetical trope, *Introd.* p. ii. § 30), and among orthodox Protestants, by a writer in the Berlin *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, Nov. 1832, supposed to be the editor, Professor Hengstenberg. Robinson's *Biblical Repository*, 1833, vol. iii. p. 791, sqq.) See Seiler's *Biblical Hermeneutics*, English Translator's note, pp. 175, 176.—W. W.

JASHOBEAM (יָשָׁבְעָם; Sept. Ἰεσεβαδά), son of Hachmoni, one of David's worthies, and the first named in the two lists which are given of them (2 Sam. xxiii 8; 1 Chron. xi. 11). One of these texts is held to have suffered through the negligence of copyists, and as Jashobeam is not historically known, commentators have been much embarrassed in comparing them. The former attributes to him the defeat of 800, the latter of 300 Philistines; and the question has been whether there is a mistake of figures in one of these accounts, or whether two different exploits are recorded. Further difficulties will appear in comparing the two texts. We have assumed Jashobeam to be intended in both; but this is open to question. In Chronicles we read, 'Jashobeam, the Hachmonite, chief of the captains: he lifted up his spear against 300 men, slain by him at one time;' but in Samuel [margin], 'Joseb-basebeth the Tachmonite, chief among the three, Adino, of Ezni, who lifted up his spear against 800 men whom he slew.' That Jashobeam the Hachmonite, and Joseb-besheth the Tachmonite, are the same person is clear; but may not Adino of Ezni, whose name forms the immediate antecedent of the exploit, which, as related here, constitutes the sole discrepancy between the two texts, be another person? Many so explain it, and thus obtain a solution of the difficulty. But a further comparison of the two verses will again suggest that the whole of the last cited must belong to Jashobeam; for not only is the parallel incomplete, if we take the last clause from him and assign it to another, but in doing this we leave the 'chief among the captains' without an exploit, in a list which records some feat of every hero. We incline, therefore, to the opinion of those who suppose that Jashobeam, or Joseb-besebeth, was the title as chief, Adino the proper name, and Hachmonite the patronymic of the same person; and the discrepancy which thus remains, we account for, not on the supposition of different exploits, but of one of those corruptions of numbers of which several will be found in comparing the books of Chronicles with those of Samuel and Kings.

The exploit of breaking through the host of the Philistines to procure David a draught of water from the well of Bethlehem, is ascribed to the three chief heroes, and therefore to Jashobeam, who was the first of the three (2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17; 1 Chron. xi. 15-19).

A Jashobeam is named among the Korhites who came to David at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 6); but this could scarcely have been the same with the preceding.

We also find a Jashobeam who commanded 24,000, and did duty in David's court in the month Nisan (1 Chron. xxvii. 2). He was the son of Zabdiel; if, therefore, he was the same as the first Jashobeam, his patronymic of 'the Hachmonite' must be referred to his race rather than to his immediate father. This seems likely.

JASON (Ἰάσων), a kinsman of St. Paul, and his host at Thessalonica, where the Jews forced his house in order to seize the Apostle. Not finding the apostle, they dragged Jason himself and some other converts before the magistrates, who released them with an admonition (A.D. 53). Jason appears to have accompanied the Apostle to Corinth (Acts xvii. 5-9; Rom. xvi. 21).

JASPER. [YASHPEH.]

JAVAN, the fourth son of Japhet. The interest connected with his name arises from his being the supposed progenitor of the original settlers in Greece and its isles [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF].

JAVELIN. [ARMS.]

JEBUSITES (יְבוּסִי; Sept. Ἰεβουσαῖοι), one of the most powerful of the nations of Canaan, who settled about Mount Moriah, where they built Jerusalem, and called it Jebus, after the name of their founder (1 Chron. xi. 4). Although

they were defeated with much slaughter, and Adonizedek, their king, slain by Joshua (Josh. x.), they were not wholly subdued, but were able to retain their city till after his death (Judg. i. 8), and were not entirely dispossessed of it till the time of David (2 Sam. v.). By that time the inveteracy of the enmity between the Hebrews and such of the original inhabitants as remained in the land had much abated, and the rights of private property were respected by the conquerors. This we discover from the fact that the site on which the Temple afterwards stood belonged to a Jebusite, named Araunah, from whom it was purchased by king David, who declined to accept it as a free gift from the owner (2 Sam. xxiv.). This is the last we hear of the Jebusites.

JEDUTHUN (יְדוּתוּן, *praise-giver;* Sept. Ἰδιθούν), a Levite of Merari's family, and one of the four great masters of the temple music (1 Chron. xvi. 41, 42). This name is also put for his descendants, who occur later as singers and players on instruments (2 Chron. xxxv. 15; Neh. xi. 17). In the latter signification it occurs in the superscriptions to Ps. xxxix., lxii., lxxvii.; but Aben Ezra supposes it to denote here—the requiring of a song, and Jarchi, of a musical instrument.

1. JEHOAHAZ (יְהוֹאָחָז, *God-sustained;* Sept. Ἰωάχαζ), son of Jehu, king of Israel, who succeeded his father in B.C. 856, and reigned seventeen years. As he followed the evil courses of the house of Jeroboam, the Syrians under Hazael and Benhadad were suffered to prevail over him; so that, at length, he had only left of all his forces fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and 10,000 foot. Overwhelmed by his calamities, Jehoahaz at length acknowledged the authority of Jehovah over Israel, and humbled himself before him; in consideration of which a deliverer was raised up for Israel in the person of Joash, this king's son, who was enabled to expel the Syrians and re-establish the affairs of the kingdom (2 Kings xiii. 1-9, 25).

2. JEHOAHAZ, otherwise called SHALLUM, seventeenth king of Judah, son of Josiah, whose reign began and ended in the year B.C. 608. After his father had been slain in resisting the progress of Pharaoh Necho, Jehoahaz, who was then twenty-three years of age, was raised to the throne by the people, and received at Jerusalem the regal anointing, which seems to have been usually omitted in times of order and of regular succession. He found the land full of trouble, but free from idolatry. Instead, however, of following the excellent example of his father, Jehoahaz fell into the accustomed crimes of his predecessors; and under the encouragements which his example or indifference offered, the idols soon re-appeared. It seems strange that in a time so short, and which must have been much occupied in arranging plans for resisting or pacifying the Egyptian king, he should have been able to deserve the stigma which the sacred record has left upon his name. But there is no limit except in the greatness of the divine power to the activity of evil dispositions. The sway of Jehoahaz was terminated in three months, when Pharaoh Necho, on his victorious return from the Euphrates, thinking it politic to reject a king not nominated by himself, removed him from the throne, and set thereon his brother Jehoiakim. This reign was the shortest in the kingdom of Judah, although in that of Israel there were several shorter. The deposed king was at first taken as a prisoner to Riblah in Syria; but was eventually carried to Egypt, where he died (2 Kings xxiii. 30-35; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1-4; 1 Chron. iii. 15; Jer. xxii. 10-12).

The anointing of this king has drawn attention to the defect of his title as the reason for the addition of that solemn ceremony. It appears from 1 Chron. iii. 15 that Josiah had four sons, of whom Johanan is expressly said to have been 'the first-born.' But he seems to have died before his father, as we nowhere find his name historically mentioned, while those of the other brothers are familiar to us. If, therefore, he died childless, and Jehoahaz were the next son, his claim would have been good. But he was not the next son. His name, as Shallum, occurs last of the four in 1 Chron. iii. 15; and from the historical notices in 2 Kings xxiii. and 1 Chron. xxxvi. we ascertain that when Josiah died the ages of the three surviving sons were, Eliakim (Jehoiakim) twenty-five years, Jehoahaz (Shallum) twenty-three years, Mattaniah (Zedekiah) ten years; consequently Jehoahaz was preferred by the popular favour above his elder brother Jehoiakim, and the anointing, therefore, was doubtless intended to give to his imperfect claim the weight of that solemn ceremony. It was also probably suspected that, as actually took place, the Egyptian king would seek to annul a popular election unsanctioned by himself; but as the Egyptians anointed their own kings, and attached much importance to the ceremony, the possibility that he would hesitate more to remove an anointed than an unanointed king might afford a further reason for the anointing of Jehoahaz [ANOINTING].

Jehoahaz is supposed to be the person who is designated under the emblem of a young lion carried in chains to Egypt (Ezek. xix. 3, 4).

JEHOASH. [JOASH.]

JEHOIACHIN (יְהוֹיָכִין, *God-appointed;* Sept. Ἰωαχίμ), by contraction JECONIAH and CONIAH, nineteenth king of Judah, and son of Jehoiakim. When his father was slain, B.C. 599, the King of Babylon allowed him, as the rightful heir, to succeed. He was then eighteen years of age according to 2 Kings xxiv. 8; but only eight according to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. Many attempts have been made to reconcile these dates, the most usual solution being that he had reigned ten years in conjunction with his father, so that he was eight when he began his joint reign, but eighteen when he began to reign alone. There are, however, difficulties in this view, which, perhaps, leave it the safest course to conclude that 'eight' in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, is a corruption of the text, such as might easily occur from the relation of the numbers eight and eighteen.

Jehoiachin followed the evil courses which had already brought so much disaster upon the royal house of David, and upon the people under its sway. He seems to have very speedily indicated a political bias adverse to the interests of the Chaldæan empire; for in three months after his accession we find the generals of Nebuchadnezzar again laying siege to Jerusalem, according to the predictions of Jeremiah (xxii. 18—xxiv. 30). Convinced of the futility of resistance, Jehoiachin

went out and surrendered as soon as Nebuchadnezzar arrived in person before the city. He was sent away as a captive to Babylon, with his mother, his generals, and his troops, together with the artificers and other inhabitants of Jerusalem, to the number of ten thousand. Few were left but the poorer sort of people and the unskilled labourers, few, indeed, whose presence could be useful in Babylon or dangerous in Palestine. Neither did the Babylonian king neglect to remove the treasures which could yet be gleaned from the palace or the temple; and he now made spoil of those sacred vessels of gold which had been spared on former occasions. These were cut up for present use of the metal or for more convenient transport; whereas those formerly taken had been sent to Babylon entire, and there laid up as trophies of victory. Thus ended an unhappy reign of three months and ten days. If the Chaldæan king had then put an end to the show of a monarchy and annexed the country to his own dominions, the event would probably have been less unhappy for the nation. But still adhering to his former policy, he placed on the throne Mattaniah, the only surviving son of Josiah, whose named he changed to Zedekiah (2 Kings xxiv. 1-16; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10; Jer. xxix. 2; xxxvii. 1).

Jehoiachin remained in prison at Babylon during the lifetime of Nebuchadnezzar; but when that prince died, his son, Evil-merodach, not only released him, but gave him an honourable seat at his own table, with precedence over all the other dethroned kings who were kept at Babylon, and an allowance for the support of his rank (2 Kings xxv. 27-30; Jer. lii. 31-34). To what he owed this favour we are not told; but the Jewish commentators allege that Evil-merodach had himself been put into prison by his father during the last year of his reign, and had there contracted an intimate friendship with the deposed king of Judah.

The name of Jechoniah re-appears to fix the epoch of several of the prophecies of Ezekiel (Ezek. i. 2), and of the deportation which terminated his reign (Esth. ii. vi). In the genealogy of Christ (Matt. i. 11) he is named as the 'son of Josias' his uncle.

JEHOIADA (יְהוֹיָדָע, *God-known;* Sept. Ἰωδαέ), high-priest in the times of Ahaziah and Athaliah. He is only known from the part which he took in recovering the throne of Judah for the young Joash, who had been saved by his wife Jehoshehah from the massacre by which Athaliah sought to exterminate the royal line of David. The particulars of this transaction are related under other heads [ATHALIAH; JOASH]. Jehoiada manifested much decision and forecast on this occasion; and he used for good the great power which devolved upon him during the minority of the young king, and the influence which he continued to enjoy as long as he lived. The value of this influence is shown by the misconduct and the disorders of the kingdom after his death. He died in B.C. 834, at the age of 130, and his remains were honoured with a place in the sepulchre of the kings at Jerusalem (2 Kings xi. 12; 2 Chron. xxiii. xxiv.).

JEHOIAKIM (יְהוֹיָקִים, *God-established;* Sept. Ἰωακίμ), originally ELIAKIM, second son of Josiah, and eighteenth king of Judah. On the death of his father the people raised to the throne his younger brother Jehoahaz; but three months after, when the Egyptian king returned from the Euphrates, he removed Jehoahaz, and gave the crown to the rightful heir, Eliakim, whose name he changed to Jehoiakim. This change of name often took place in similar circumstances; and the altered name was in fact the badge of a tributary prince. Jehoiakim began to reign in B.C. 608, and reigned eleven years. He of course occupied the position of a vassal of the Egyptian empire, and in that capacity had to lay upon the people heavy imposts to pay the appointed tribute, in addition to the ordinary expenses of government. But, as if this were not enough, it would seem from various passages in Jeremiah (Jer. xxii. 13, &c.) that Jehoiakim aggravated the public charges, and consequently the public calamities, by a degree of luxury and magnificence in his establishments and structures very ill-suited to the condition of his kingdom and the position which he occupied. Hence much extortion and wrongdoing, much privation and deceit; and when we add to this a general forgetfulness of God and proneness to idolatry, we have the outlines of that picture which the prophet Jeremiah has drawn in the most sombre hues.

However heavy may have been the Egyptian yoke, Jehoiakim was destined to pass under one heavier still. In his time the empire of Western Asia was disputed between the kings of Egypt and Babylon; and the kingdom of Judah, pressed between these mighty rivals, and necessarily either the tributary or very feeble enemy of the one or the other, could not but suffer nearly equally, whichever proved the conqueror. The kings of Judah were therefore placed in a position of peculiar difficulty, out of which they could only escape with safety by the exercise of great discretion, and through the special mercies of the God of Israel, who had by his high covenant engaged to protect them so long as they walked uprightly. This they did not, and were in consequence abandoned to their doom.

In the third year of his reign Jehoiakim, being besieged in Jerusalem, was forced to submit to Nebuchadnezzar, and was by his order laden with chains, with the intention of sending him captive to Babylon (1 Chron. xxxvi. 6); but eventually the conqueror changed his mind and restored the crown to him. Many persons, however, of high family, and some even of the royal blood, were sent away to Babylon. Among these was Daniel, then a mere youth. A large proportion of the treasures and sacred vessels of the temple were also taken away and deposited in the idol-temple at Babylon (Dan. i. 1, 2). The year following the Egyptians were defeated upon the Euphrates (Jer. xlvi. 2), and Jehoiakim, when he saw the remains of the defeated army pass by his territory, could not but perceive how vain had been that reliance upon Egypt against which he had been constantly cautioned by Jeremiah (Jer. xxxi. 1; xlv. 1). In the same year the prophet caused a collection of his prophecies to be written out by his faithful Baruch, and to be read publicly by him in the court of the temple. This coming to the knowledge of the king, he sent for it and had it read before him. But he heard not much of the bitter denunciations

with which it was charged, before he took the roll from the reader, and after cutting it in pieces threw it into the brasier which, it being winter, was burning before him in the hall. The counsel of God against him, however, stood sure; a fresh roll was written, with the addition of a further and most awful denunciation against the king, occasioned by this foolish and sacrilegious act. 'He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David: and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat and in the night to the frost' (Jer. xxxvi.). All this, however, appears to have made little impression upon Jehoiakim, who still walked in his old paths.

The condition of the kingdom as tributary to the Chaldæans probably differed little from that in which it stood as tributary to the Egyptians, except that its resources were more exhausted by the course of time, and that its gold went to the east instead of the south. But at length, after three years of subjection, Jehoiakim, finding the king of Babylon fully engaged elsewhere, and deluded by the Egyptian party in his court, ventured to withhold his tribute, and thereby to throw off the Chaldæan yoke. This step, taken contrary to the earnest remonstrances of Jeremiah, was the ruin of Jehoiakim. It might seem successful for a little, from the Chaldæans not then having leisure to attend to the affairs of this quarter. In due time, however, the land was invaded by their armies, accompanied by a vast number of auxiliaries from the neighbouring countries, the Edomites, Moabites, and others, who were for the most part actuated by a fierce hatred against the Jewish name and nation. The events of the war are not related. Jerusalem was taken, or rather surrendered on terms, which Josephus alleges were little heeded by Nebuchadnezzar. It is certain that Jehoiakim was slain, but whether in one of the actions, or, as Josephus says, after the surrender, we cannot determine. His body remained exposed and unlamented without the city, under the circumstances foretold by the prophet—'They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah, my brother! or, Ah, sister! They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah, lord! or, Ah, his glory! He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem' (Jer. xxii. 18, 19; 1 Chron. iii. 15; 2 Kings xxiii. 34-37; xxiv. 1-7; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4-8).

It was not the object of Nebuchadnezzar to destroy altogether a power which, as tributary to him, formed a serviceable outpost towards Egypt, which seems to have been the great final object of all his designs in this quarter. He therefore still maintained the throne of Judah, and placed on it Jehoiachin, the son of the late king. He, however, sent away another body, a second corps of the nobles and chief persons of the nation, three thousand in number, among whom was Ezekiel, afterwards called to prophesy in the land of his exile.

JEHONADAB. [Jonadab.]

JEHORAM (יְהוֹרָם, *God-exalted*; Sept. Ἰωράμ), eldest son and successor of Jehoshaphat, and fifth king of Judah, who began to reign (separately) in B.C. 889, at the age of thirty-five years, and reigned five years. It is indeed said in the general account that he began to reign at the age of thirty-two, and that he reigned eight years; but the conclusions deducible from the fact that his reign began in the seventh year of Joram, king of Israel, show that the reign thus stated dates back three years into the reign of his father, who from this is seen to have associated his eldest son with him in the later years of his reign.

Jehoram profited little by this association. He had unhappily been married to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel; and her influence seems to have neutralized all the good he might have derived from the example of his father. One of the first acts of his reign was to put his brothers to death and seize the valuable appanages which their father had in his lifetime bestowed upon them. After this we are not surprised to find him giving way to the gross idolatries of that new and strange kind—the Phœnician—which had been brought into Israel by Jezebel, and into Judah by her daughter Athaliah. For these atrocities the Lord let forth his anger against Jehoram and his kingdom. The Edomites revolted, and, according to old prophecies (Gen. xxvii. 40), shook off the yoke of Judah. The Philistines on one side, and the Arabians and Cushites on the other, also grew bold against a king forsaken of God, and in repeated invasions spoiled the land of all its substance; they even ravaged the royal palaces, and took away the wives and children of the king, leaving him only one son, Ahaziah. Nor was this all; Jehoram was in his last days afflicted with a frightful disease in his bowels, which, from the terms employed in describing it, appears to have been malignant dysentery in its most shocking and tormenting form. After a disgraceful reign, and a most painful death, public opinion inflicted the posthumous dishonour of refusing him a place in the sepulchre of the kings. Jehoram was by far the most impious and cruel tyrant that had as yet occupied the throne of Judah, though he was rivalled or surpassed by some of his successors (2 Kings viii. 16-24; 2 Chron. xxi.).

2. JEHORAM, King of Israel [Joram].

JEHOSHAPHAT (יְהוֹשָׁפָט, *God-judged*; Sept. Ἰωσαφάτ), fourteenth king of Judah, and son of Asa, whom he succeeded in B.C. 914, at the age of thirty-five, and reigned twenty-five years. He commenced his reign by fortifying his kingdom against Israel; and having thus secured himself against surprise from the quarter which gave most disturbance to him, he proceeded to purge the land from the idolatries and idolatrous monuments by which it was still tainted. Even the high places and groves, which former well-disposed kings had suffered to remain, were by the zeal of Jehoshaphat in a great measure destroyed. The chiefs, with priests and Levites, proceeded from town to town, with the book of the law in their hands, instructing the people, and calling back their wandering affections to the religion of their fathers. This was a beautiful and interesting circumstance in the operations of the young king. Other good princes had been content to smite down the outward show of idolatry by force of hand; but Jehoshaphat saw that this was not of itself sufficient, and that the basis of a solid reformation must be laid by providing for the better instruction of the people in their religious duties and privileges.

Jehoshaphat was too well instructed in the great principles of the theocracy not to know that his faithful conduct had entitled him to expect the divine protection. Of that protection he soon had manifest proofs. At home he enjoyed peace and abundance, and abroad security and honour. His treasuries were filled with the 'presents' which the blessing of God upon the people, 'in their basket and their store,' enabled them to bring. His renown extended into the neighbouring nations, and the Philistines, as well as the adjoining Arabian tribes, paid him rich tributes in silver and in cattle. He was thus enabled to put all his towns in good condition, to erect fortresses, to organize a powerful army, and to raise his kingdom to a degree of importance and splendour which it had not enjoyed since the revolt of the ten tribes.

The weak and impious Ahab at that time occupied the throne of Israel; and Jehoshaphat, having nothing to fear from his power, sought, or at least did not repel, an alliance with him. This is alleged to have been the grand mistake of his reign; and that it was such is proved by the consequences. Ahab might be benefited by the connection, but under no circumstance could it be of service to Jehoshaphat or his kingdom, and it might, as it actually did, involve him in much disgrace and disaster, and bring bloodshed and trouble into his house. His fault seems to have been the result of that easiness of temper and overflowing amiability of disposition, which the careful student may trace in his character; and which, although very engaging attributes in private life, are not always among the safest or most valuable qualities which a king in his public capacity might possess.

After a few years we find Jehoshaphat on a visit to Ahab, in Samaria, being the first time any of the kings of Israel and Judah had met in peace. He here experienced a reception worthy of his greatness; but Ahab failed not to take advantage of the occasion, and so worked upon the weak points of his character as to prevail upon him to take arms with him against the Syrians, with whom, hitherto, the kingdom of Judah never had had any war or occasion of quarrel. However, Jehoshaphat was not so far infatuated as to proceed to the war without consulting God, who, according to the principles of the theocratic government, was the final arbiter of war and peace. The false prophets of Ahab poured forth ample promises of success, and one of them, named Zedekiah, resorting to material symbols, made him horns of iron, saying, 'Thus saith the Lord, with these shalt thou smite the Syrians till they be consumed.' Still Jehoshaphat was not satisfied; and the answer to his further inquiries extorted from him a rebuke of the reluctance which Ahab manifested to call Micah, 'the prophet of the Lord.' The fearless words of this prophet did not make the impression upon the king of Judah which might have been expected; or, probably, he then felt himself too deeply bound in honour to recede. He went to the fatal battle of Ramoth-Gilead, and there nearly became the victim of a plan which Ahab had laid for his own safety at the expense of his too-confiding ally. He persuaded Jehoshaphat to appear as king, while he himself went disguised to the battle. This brought the heat of the contest around him, as the Syrians took him for Ahab; and if they had not in time discovered their mistake, he would certainly have been slain. Ahab was killed, and the battle lost [Ahab]; but Jehoshaphat escaped, and returned to Jerusalem.

On his return from this imprudent expedition he was met by the just reproaches of the prophet Jehu. The best atonement he could make for this error was by the course he actually took. He resumed his labours in the further extirpation of idolatry, in the instruction of the people, and the improvement of his realm. He now made a tour of his kingdom in person, that he might see the ordinances of God duly established, and witness the due execution of his intentions respecting the instruction of the people in the divine law. This tour enabled him to discern many defects in the local administration of justice, which he then applied himself to remedy. He appointed magistrates in every city, for the determination of causes civil and ecclesiastical; and the nature of the abuses to which the administration of justice was in those days exposed, may be gathered from his excellent charge to them:— 'Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you; take heed and do it: for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts.' Then he established a supreme council of justice at Jerusalem, composed of priests, Levites, and 'the chiefs of the fathers;' to which difficult cases were referred, and appeals brought from the provincial tribunals. This tribunal also was inducted by a weighty but short charge from the king, whose conduct in this and other matters places him at the very head of the monarchs who reigned over Judah as a separate kingdom.

The activity of Jehoshaphat's mind was then turned towards the revival of that maritime commerce which had been established by Solomon. The land of Edom and the ports of the Elanitic Gulf were still under the power of Judah; and in them the king prepared a fleet for the voyage to Ophir. Unhappily, however, he yielded to the wish of the king of Israel, and allowed him to take part in the enterprise. For this the expedition was doomed of God, and the vessels were wrecked almost as soon as they quitted port. Instructed by Eliezer, the prophet, as to the cause of this disaster, Jehoshaphat equipped a new fleet, and having this time declined the co-operation of the king of Israel, the voyage prospered. The trade was not, however, prosecuted with any zeal, and was soon abandoned [Commerce].

In accounting for the disposition of Jehoshaphat to contract alliances with the king of Israel, we are to remember that there existed a powerful tie between the two courts in the marriage of Jehoshaphat's eldest son with Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab; and, when we advert to the part in public affairs which that princess afterwards took, it may well be conceived that even thus early she possessed an influence for evil in the court of Judah.

After the death of Ahaziah, king of Israel, Joram, his successor, persuaded Jehoshaphat to join him in an expedition against Moab. This alliance was, however, on political grounds, more excusable than the two former, as the Moabites, who were under tribute to Israel, might draw into

their cause the Edomites, who were tributary to Judah. Besides, Moab could be invaded with most advantage from the south, round by the end of the Dead Sea; and the king of Israel could not gain access to them in that quarter but by marching through the territories of Jehoshaphat. The latter not only joined Joram with his own army, but required his tributary, the king of Edom, to bring his forces into the field. During seven days' march through the wilderness of Edom, the army suffered much from want of water; and by the time the allies came in sight of the army of Moab, they were ready to perish from thirst. In this emergency the pious Jehoshaphat thought, as usual, of consulting the Lord; and hearing that the prophet Elisha was in the camp, the three kings proceeded to his tent. For the sake of Jehoshaphat, and for his sake only, deliverance was promised; and it came during the ensuing night, in the shape of an abundant supply of water, which rolled down the exhausted wadys, and filled the pools and hollow grounds. Afterwards Jehoshaphat took his full part in the operations of the campaign, till the armies were induced to withdraw in horror, by witnessing the dreadful act of Mesha, king of Moab, in offering up his eldest son in sacrifice upon the wall of the town in which he was shut up.

This war kindled another much more dangerous to Jehoshaphat. The Moabites, being highly exasperated at the part he had taken against them, turned all their wrath upon him. They induced their kindred, the Ammonites, to join them, obtained auxiliaries from the Syrians, and even drew over the Edomites; so that the strength of all the neighbouring nations may be said to have been united for this great enterprise. The allied forces entered the land of Judah and encamped at Engedi, near the western border of the Dead Sea. In this extremity Jehoshaphat felt that all his defence lay with God. A solemn fast was held, and the people repaired from the towns to Jerusalem to seek help of the Lord. In the presence of the assembled multitude the king, in the court of the temple, offered up a fervent prayer to God, concluding with—'O our God, wilt *thou* not judge them, for *we* have no might against this great company that cometh against us, neither know we what to do; but our eyes are upon thee.' He ceased; and in the midst of the silence which ensued, a voice was raised pronouncing deliverance in the name of the Lord, and telling them to go out on the morrow to the cliffs overlooking the camp of the enemy, and see them all overthrown without a blow from them. The voice was that of Jahaziel, one of the Levites. His words came to pass. The allies quarrelled among themselves and destroyed each other; so that when the Judahites came the next day they found their dreaded enemies all dead, and nothing was left for them but to take the rich spoils of the slain. This done, they returned with triumphal songs to Jerusalem. This great event was recognised even by the neighbouring nations as the act of God; and so strong was the impression which it made upon them, that the remainder of the good king's reign was altogether undisturbed. His death, however, took place not very long after this, at the age of sixty, after having reigned twenty-five years, B.C. 896. He left the kingdom in a prosperous condition to his eldest son Jehoram, whom he had in the last years of his life associated with him in the government.

'Jehoshaphat, who sought the Lord with all his heart,' was the character given to this king by Jehu, when, on that account, he gave to his grandsire an honourable grave (2 Chron. xxii. 9). And this, in fact, was the sum and substance of his character. The Hebrew annals offer the example of no king who more carefully squared all his conduct by the principles of the theocracy. He kept the Lord always before his eyes, and was in all things obedient to his will when made known to him by the prophets. Few of the kings of Judah manifested so much zeal for the real welfare of his people, or took measures so judicious to promote it. His good talents, the benevolence of his disposition, and his generally sound judgment are shown not only in the great measures of domestic policy which distinguished his reign, but by the manner in which they were executed. No trace can be found in him of that pride which dishonoured some and ruined others of the kings who preceded and followed him. Most of his errors arose from that dangerous facility of temper which sometimes led him to act against the dictates of his naturally sound judgment, or prevented that judgment from being fairly exercised. The kingdom of Judah was never happier or more prosperous than under his reign; and this, perhaps, is the highest praise that can be given to any king.

JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF, the name now given to the valley which bounds Jerusalem on the east, and separates it from the Mount of Olives [JERUSALEM].

In Joel iii. 2, 12, we read, 'the Lord will gather all nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and plead with them there.' Many interpreters, Jewish and Christian, conclude from this that the last judgment is to take place in the above-mentioned valley. But there is no reason to suppose that the valley then bore any such name; and more discreet interpreters understand the text to denote a valley in which some great victory was to be won, most probably by Nebuchadnezzar, which should utterly discomfit the ancient enemies of Israel, and resemble the victory which Jehoshaphat obtained over the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites (2 Chron. xx. 22-26). Others *translate* the name Jehoshaphat into *God's judgment*, and thus read, 'the valley of God's judgment,' which is doubtless symbolical, like 'the valley of decision,' *i. e.* of punishment, in the same chapter.

JEHOSHEBA, daughter of Jehoram, sister of Ahaziah, and aunt of Joash, kings of Judah. The last of these owed his life to her, and his crown to her husband, the high-priest Jehoiada [JEHOIADA].

JEHOVAH (יְהוָה), or rather perhaps JAHVEH (יַהְוֶה), according to the reading suggested by Ewald, Havernick, and others—the name by which God was pleased to make himself known, under the covenant, to the ancient Hebrews (Exod. vi. 2, 3). The import of this name has been considered under the head GOD.

JEHU (יֵהוּא, *God is;* Sept. Ἰηοῦ; Cod. Alex. Ἐηοῦ), tenth king of Israel, and founder of its

fourth dynasty, who began to reign in B.C. 884, and reigned twenty-eight years.

Jehu held a command in the Israelite army posted at Ramoth Gilead to hold in check the Syrians, who of late years had made strenuous efforts to extend their frontier to the Jordan, and had possessed themselves of much of the territory of the Israelites east of that river. The contest was in fact still carried on which had begun many years before in the reign of Ahab, the present king's father, who had lost his life in battle before this very Ramoth Gilead. Ahaziah, king of Judah, had taken part with Joram, king of Israel, in this war; and as the latter had been severely wounded in a recent action, and had gone to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds, Ahaziah had also gone thither on a visit of sympathy to him.

In this state of affairs a council of war was held among the military commanders in camp, when very unexpectedly one of the disciples of the prophets, known for such by his garb, appeared at the door of the tent, and called forth Jehu, declaring that he had a message to deliver to him. He had been sent by Elisha the prophet, in discharge of a duty which long before had been confided by the Lord to Elijah (1 Kings xix. 16), and from him had devolved on his successor. When they were alone the young man drew forth a horn of oil and poured it upon Jehu's head, with the words, 'Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I have anointed thee king over the people of the Lord, even over Israel. And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master, that I may avenge the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the Lord, at the hand of Jezebel' (2 Kings ix. 7, 8). Surprising as this message must have been, and awful the duty which it imposed, Jehu was fully equal to the task and the occasion. He returned to the council, probably with an altered air, for he was asked what had been the communication of the young prophet to him. He told them plainly; and they were obviously ripe for defection from the house of Ahab, for they were all delighted at the news, and taking him in triumph to 'the top of the stairs,' they spread their mantles beneath his feet, and proclaimed him king by sound of trumpet in the presence of all the troops.

Jehu was not a man to lose any advantage through remissness. He immediately entered his chariot, in order that his presence at Jezreel should be the first announcement which Joram could receive of this revolution.

As soon as the advance of Jehu and his party was seen in the distance by the watchmen upon the palace-tower in Jezreel, two messengers were successively sent forth to meet him, and were commanded by Jehu to follow in his rear. But when the watchman reported that he could now recognise the furious driving of Jehu, Joram went forth himself to meet him, and was accompanied by the king of Judah. They met in the field of Naboth, so fatal to the house of Ahab. The king saluted him with 'Is it peace, Jehu?' and received the answer, 'What peace, so long as the whoredoms (idolatries) of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?' This completely opened the eyes of Joram, who exclaimed to the king of Judah, 'There is treachery, O Ahaziah!' and turned to flee. But Jehu felt no infirmity of purpose, and knew that the slightest wavering might be fatal to him. He therefore drew a bow with his full strength and sent forth an arrow which passed through the king's heart. Jehu caused the body to be thrown back into the field of Naboth, out of which he had passed in his attempt at flight, and grimly remarked to Bidkar his captain, 'Remember how that, when I and thou rode together after Ahab his father, the Lord laid *this* burden upon him.' The king of Judah contrived to escape, but not without a wound, of which he afterwards died at Megiddo [AHAZIAH]. Jehu then entered the city, whither the news of this transaction had already preceded him. As he passed under the walls of the palace Jezebel herself, studiously arrayed for effect, appeared at one of the windows, and saluted him with a question such as might have shaken a man of weaker nerves, 'Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?' But Jehu was unmoved, and instead of answering her, called out, 'Who is on my side, who?' when several eunuchs made their appearance at the window, to whom he cried, 'Throw her down!' and immediately this proud and guilty woman lay a blood-stained corpse in the road, and was trodden under foot by the horses [JEZEBEL]. Jehu then went in and took possession of the palace.

He was now master of Jezreel, which was, next to Samaria, the chief town of the kingdom; but he could not feel secure while the capital itself was in the hands of the royal family, and of those who might be supposed to feel strong attachment to the house of Ahab. The force of the blow which he had struck was, however, felt even in Samaria. When therefore he wrote to the persons in authority there the somewhat ironical but designedly intimidating counsel, to set up one of the young princes in Samaria as king and fight out the matter which lay between them, they sent a very submissive answer, giving in their adhesion, and professing their readiness to obey in all things his commands. A second letter from Jehu tested this profession in a truly horrid and exceedingly Oriental manner, requiring them to appear before him on the morrow, bringing with them the heads of all the royal princes in Samaria. A fallen house meets with little pity in the East; and when the new king left his palace the next morning, he found seventy human heads piled up in two heaps at his gate. There, in the sight of these heaps, Jehu took occasion to explain his conduct, declaring that he must be regarded as the appointed minister of the divine decrees, pronounced long since against the house of Ahab by the prophets, not one of whose words should fall to the ground. He then continued his proscriptions by exterminating in Jezreel not only all in whose veins the blood of the condemned race flowed, but also—by a considerable stretch of his commission—those officers, ministers, and creatures of the late government, who, if suffered to live, would most likely be disturbers of his own reign. He then proceeded to Samaria. So rapid had been these proceedings that he met some of the nephews of the king of Judah, who were going to join their uncle at Jezreel, and had as yet heard nothing of the revolution which had taken place. These also perished under Jehu's now fully-awakened thirst for blood, to the number of forty-two persons.

On the way he took up into his chariot the pious Jehonadab the Rechabite, whose austere virtue and respected character would, as he felt, go far to hallow his proceedings in the eyes of the multitude. At Samaria he continued the extirpation of the persons more intimately connected with the late government. This, far from being in any way singular, is a common circumstance in eastern revolutions. But the great object of Jehu was to exterminate the ministers and more devoted adherents of Baal, who had been much encouraged by Jezebel. There was even a temple to this idol in Samaria; and Jehu, never scrupulous about the means of reaching objects which he believed to be good, laid a snare by which he hoped to cut off the main body of Baal's ministers at one blow. He professed to be a more zealous servant of Baal than Ahab had been, and proclaimed a great festival in his honour, at which none but his true servants were to be present. The prophets, priests, and officers of Baal assembled from all parts for this great sacrifice, and sacerdotal vestments were given to them, that none of Jehovah's worshippers might be taken for them. When the temple was full, soldiers were posted so that none might escape; and so soon as the sacrifice had been offered, the word was given by the king, the soldiers entered the temple, and put all the worshippers to the sword. The temple itself was then demolished, the images overthrown, and the site turned into a common jakes.

Notwithstanding this zeal of Jehu in exterminating the grosser idolatries which had grown up under his immediate predecessors, he was not prepared to subvert the policy which had led Jeroboam and his successors to maintain the schismatic establishment of the golden calves in Dan and Beth-el. The grounds of this policy are explained in the article JEROBOAM, a reference to which will show the grounds of Jehu's hesitation in this matter. This was, however, a crime in him—the worship rendered to the golden calves being plainly contrary to the law; and he should have felt that He who had appointed him to the throne would have maintained him in it, notwithstanding the apparent dangers which might seem likely to ensue from permitting his subjects to repair at the great festivals to the metropolis of the rival kingdom, which was the centre of the theocratical worship and of sacerdotal service. Here Jehu fell short: and this very policy, apparently so prudent and far-sighted, by which he hoped to secure the stability and independence of his kingdom, was that on account of which the term of rule granted to his dynasty was shortened. For this, it was foretold that his dynasty should extend only to four generations; and for this, the divine aid was withheld from him in his wars with the Syrians under Hazael on the eastern frontier. Hence the war was disastrous to him, and the Syrians were able to maintain themselves in the possession of a great part of his territories beyond the Jordan. He died in B.C. 856, and was buried in Samaria, leaving the throne to his son Jehoahaz.

There is nothing difficult to understand in the character of Jehu. He was one of those decisive, terrible, and ambitious, yet prudent, calculating, and passionless men, whom God from time to time raises up to change the fate of empires and execute his judgments on the earth. He boasted of his zeal —'come and see my zeal for the Lord'—but at the bottom it was zeal for Jehu. His zeal was great so long as it led to acts which squared with his own interests, but it cooled marvellously when required to take a direction in his judgment less favourable to them. Even his zeal in extirpating the idolatry of Baal is not free from suspicion. The altar of Baal was that which Ahab had associated with his throne, and in overturning the latter he could not prudently let the former stand, surrounded as it was by attached adherents of the house which he had extirpated (2 Kings ix.-x.).

2. JEHU, son of Hanani, a prophet, who was sent to pronounce upon Baasha, king of Israel, and his house, the same awful doom which had been already executed upon the house of Jeroboam (1 Kings xvi. 1-7). The same prophet was, many years after, commissioned to reprove Jehoshaphat for his dangerous connection with the house of Ahab (2 Chron. xix. 2).

JEPHTHAH (יִפְתָּח, *opener*; Sept. Ἰεφθάε), ninth judge of Israel, of the tribe of Manasseh. He was the son of a person named Gilead by a concubine. After the death of his father he was expelled from his home by the envy of his brothers, who refused him any share of the heritage, and he withdrew to the land of Tob, beyond the frontier of the Hebrew territories. It is clear that he had before this distinguished himself by his daring character and skill in arms; for no sooner was his withdrawment known than a great number of men of desperate fortunes repaired to him, and he became their chief. His position was now very similar to that of David when he withdrew from the court of Saul. To maintain the people who had thus linked their fortunes with his, there was no other resource than that sort of brigandage which is accounted honourable in the East, so long as it is exercised against public or private enemies, and is not marked by needless cruelty or outrage. Even our different climate and manners afford some parallel in the Robin Hoods of former days; in the border forays, when England and Scotland were ostensibly at peace; and—in principle, however great the formal difference—in the authorized and popular piracies of Drake, Raleigh, and the other naval heroes of the Elizabethan era. So Jephthah confined his aggressions to the borders of the small neighbouring nations, who were in some sort regarded as the natural enemies of Israel, even when there was no actual war between them.

Jephthah led this kind of life for some years, during which his dashing exploits and successful enterprises procured him a higher military reputation than any other man of his time enjoyed. The qualities required to ensure success in such operations were little different from those required in actual warfare, as warfare was conducted in the East before fire-arms came into general use; and hence the reputation which might be thus acquired was more truly military than is easily conceivable by modern and occidental readers.

After the death of Jair the Israelites gradually fell into their favourite idolatries, and were punished by subjection to the Philistines on the west of the Jordan, and to the Ammonites on the east of that river. The oppression which they

sustained for eighteen years became at length so heavy that they recovered their senses and returned to the God of their fathers with humiliation and tears; and he was appeased, and promised them deliverance from their affliction (B.C. 1143).

The tribes beyond the Jordan having resolved to oppose the Ammonites, Jephthah seems to occur to every one as the most fitting leader. A deputation was accordingly sent to invite him to take the command. After some demur, on account of the treatment he had formerly received, he consented. The rude hero commenced his operations with a degree of diplomatic consideration and dignity for which we are not prepared. The Ammonites being assembled in force for one of those ravaging incursions by which they had repeatedly desolated the land, he sent to their camp a formal complaint of the invasion, and a demand of the ground of their proceeding. This is highly interesting, because it shows that even in that age a cause for war was judged necessary—no one being supposed to war without provocation; and in this case Jephthah demanded what cause the Ammonites alleged to justify their aggressive operations. Their answer was, that the land of the Israelites beyond the Jordan was theirs. It had originally belonged to them, from whom it had been taken by the Amorites, who had been dispossessed by the Israelites: and on this ground they claimed the restitution of these lands. Jephthah's reply laid down the just principle which has been followed out in the practice of civilized nations, and is maintained by all the great writers on the law of nations. The land belonged to the Israelites by right of conquest from the *actual* possessors; and they could not be expected to recognise any antecedent claim of former possessors, for whom they had not acted, who had rendered them no assistance, and who had themselves displayed hostility against the Israelites. It was not to be expected that they would conquer the country from the powerful kings who had it in possession, for the mere purpose of restoring it to the ancient occupants, of whom they had no favourable knowledge, and of whose previous claims they were scarcely cognizant. But the Ammonites re-asserted their former views, and on this issue they took the field.

When Jephthah set forth against the Ammonites he solemnly vowed to the Lord, 'If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into my hands, then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt offering.' He *was* victorious. The Ammonites sustained a terrible overthrow. He *did* return in peace to his house in Mizpeh. As he drew nigh his house, the one that came forth to meet him was his own daughter, his only child, in whom his heart was bound up. She, with her fair companions, came to greet the triumphant hero 'with timbrels and with dances.' But he no sooner saw her than he rent his robes, and cried, 'Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low; . . . for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and cannot go back.' Nor did she ask it. She replied, 'My father, if thou hast opened thy mouth unto the Lord, do to me according to that which has proceeded out of thy mouth; forasmuch as the Lord hath taken vengeance for thee of thine enemies, the children of Ammon.' But after a pause she added, 'Let this thing be done for me: let me alone two months, that I may go up and down upon the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows.' Her father of course assented; and when the time expired she returned, and, we are told, 'he did with her according to his vow.' It is then added that it became 'a custom in Israel, that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite three days in the year.'

The victory over the Ammonites was followed by a quarrel with the proud and powerful Ephraimites on the west of the Jordan. This tribe was displeased at having had no share in the glory of the recent victory, and a large body of men belonging to it, who had crossed the river to share in the action, used very high and threatening language when they found their services were not required. Jephthah, finding his remonstrances had no effect, re-assembled some of his disbanded troops and gave the Ephraimites battle, when they were defeated with much loss. The victors seized the fords of the Jordan, and when any one came to pass over, they made him pronounce the word *Shibboleth* [an ear of corn], but if he could not give the aspiration, and pronounced the word as *Sibboleth*, they knew him for an Ephraimite, and slew him on the spot. This is a remarkable instance of the dialectical differences, answering to the varieties in our provincialisms, which had already sprung up among the tribes, and of which other instances occur in Scripture.

Jephthah judged Israel six years, during which we have reason to conclude that the exercise of his authority was almost if not altogether confined to the country east of the Jordan.

Volumes have been written on the subject of 'Jephthah's rash vow;' the question being whether, in doing to his daughter 'according to his vow,' he really did offer her in sacrifice or not. The negative has been stoutly maintained by many able pens, from a natural anxiety to clear the character of one of the heroes in Israel from so dark a stain. But the more the plain rules of common sense have been exercised in our view of biblical transactions; and the better we have succeeded in realizing a distinct idea of the times in which Jephthah lived and of the position which he occupied, the less reluctance there has been to admit the interpretation which the first view of the passage suggests to every reader, which is, that he really did offer her in sacrifice. The explanation which denies this maintains that she was rather doomed to perpetual celibacy; and this, as it appears to us, on the strength of phrases which, to one who really understands the character of the Hebrew people and their language, suggest nothing more than that it was considered a lamentable thing for any daughter of Israel to die childless. To *live* unmarried was required by no law, custom, or devotement among the Jews: no one had a right to impose so odious a condition on another, nor is any such condition implied or expressed in the vow which Jephthah uttered. To get rid of a difficulty which has no place in the text, but arises from our reluctance to receive that text in its obvious meaning—we invent a new thing in Israel, a thing never heard of among the Hebrews in ancient or modern times, and more entirely

opposed to their peculiar notions than any thing which the wit of man ever devised—such as that a damsel should be consecrated to perpetual virginity in consequence of a vow of her father, which vow itself says nothing of the kind. If people allow themselves to be influenced in their interpretations of Scripture by dislike to take the words in their obvious meaning, we might at least expect that the explanations they would have us receive should be in accordance with the notions of the Hebrew people, instead of being entirely and obviously opposed to them. The Jewish commentators themselves generally admit that Jephthah really sacrificed his daughter; and even go so far as to allege that the change in the pontifical dynasty from the house of Eleazar to that of Ithamar was caused by the high-priest of the time having suffered this transaction to take place.

It is very true that human sacrifices were forbidden by the law. But in the rude and unsettled age in which the judges lived, when the Israelites had adopted a vast number of erroneous notions and practices from their heathen neighbours, many things were done, even by good men, which the law forbade quite as positively as human sacrifice. Such, for instance, was the setting up of the altar by Gideon at his native Ophrah, in direct but undesigned opposition to one of the most stringent enactments of the Mosaical code.

It is certain that human sacrifice was deemed meritorious and propitiatory by the neighbouring nations [Sacrifice]; and, considering the manner of life the hero had led, the recent idolatries in which the people had been plunged, and the peculiarly vague notions of the tribes beyond the Jordan, it is highly probable that he contemplated from the first a human sacrifice, as the most costly offering to God known to him. It is difficult to conceive that he could expect any other creature than a human being to come forth *out of the door of his house* to meet him on his return. His house was surely not a place for flocks and herds, nor could any animal be expected to come forth 'to meet him,' *i. e.* with the purpose of meeting him, on his return. We think it likely that he even contemplated the possibility that his daughter might be the person to come forth, and that he took merit to himself for not expressly withholding even his only child from the operation of a vow which he deemed likely to promote the success of his arms. His affliction when his daughter actually came forth is quite compatible with this notion; and the depth of that affliction is scarcely reconcilable with any other alternative than the actual sacrifice.

If we again look at the text, Jephthah vows that whatsoever came forth from the door of his house to meet him 'shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering,' which, in fact, was the regular way of making a thing wholly the Lord's. Afterwards we are told that 'he did with her according to his vow,' that is, according to the plain meaning of plain words, offered her for a burnt-offering. Then follows the intimation that the daughters of Israel lamented her four days every year. People lament the dead, not the living. The whole story is consistent and intelligible, while the sacrifice is understood to have actually taken place; but becomes perplexed and difficult as soon as we begin to turn aside from this obvious meaning in search of recondite explanations.

The circumstances of this immolation we can never know. It probably took place at some one of the altars beyond the Jordan. That it took place at the altar of the tabernacle, and that the high-priest was the sacrificer, as painters usually represent the scene, and even as some Jewish writers believe, is outrageously contrary to all the probabilities of the case.

Professor Bush, in his elaborate note on the text, maintains with us that a human sacrifice was all along contemplated. But he suggests that during the two months, Jephthah might have obtained better information respecting the nature of vows, by which he would have learned that his daughter could not be legally offered, but might be redeemed at a valuation (Lev. xxvii. 2-12). This is possible, and is much more likely than the popular alternative of perpetual celibacy; but we have serious doubts whether even this meets the conclusion that 'he did with her according to his vow.' Besides, in this case, where was the ground for the annual 'lamentations' of the daughters of Israel, or even for the 'celebrations' which some understand the word to mean? See the Notes of the *Pictorial Bible* and Bush's *Notes on Judges;* comp. Calmet's *Dissertation sur le Vœu de Jephte*, in *Comment. Littéral*, tom. ii.; Dresde, *Votum Jephthæ ex Antiq. Judaica illustr.* 1778; Randolf, *Erklär. d. Gelubdes Jephtha*, in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, viii. 13; Lightfoot's *Harmony*, under Judges xi., *Erubhin*, cap. xvi., *Sermon* on Judges xi. 39; Bp. Russell's *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, i. 479-492.

JEREMIAH (יִרְמְיָהוּ and יִרְמְיָה, *raised up* or *appointed by God;* Sept. Ἱερεμίας) was the son of Hilkiah, a priest of Anathoth, in the land of Benjamin [Anathoth]. Many have supposed that his father was the high-priest of the same name (2 Kings xxii. 8), who found the book of the law in the eighteenth year of Josiah (Umbreit, *Praktischer Commentar über den Jeremia*, p. x.; see Carpzov, *Introd.* part iii. p. 130). This, however, seems improbable on several grounds:—first, there is nothing in the writings of Jeremiah to lead us to think that his father was more than an ordinary priest ('Hilkiah [one] of the priests,' Jer. i. 1);—again, the name Hilkiah was common amongst the Jews (see 2 Kings xviii. 13; 1 Chron. vi. 45, xxvi. 11; Neh. viii. 4; Jer. xxix. 3);—and lastly, his residence at Anathoth is evidence that he belonged to the line of Abiathar (1 Kings ii. 26-35), who was deposed from the high-priest's office by Solomon: after which time the office appears to have remained in the line of Zadok. Jeremiah was very young when the word of the Lord first came to him (ch. i. 6). This event took place in the thirteenth year of Josiah (B.C. 629), whilst the youthful prophet still lived at Anathoth. It would seem that he remained in his native city several years, but at length, in order to escape the persecution of his fellow townsmen (ch. xi. 21), and even of his own family (ch. xii. 6), as well as to have a wider field for his exertions, he left Anathoth and took up his residence at Jerusalem. The finding of the book of the law, five years after the commencement of his predictions, must have produced a powerful influence on the mind

of Jeremiah, and king Josiah no doubt found him a powerful ally in carrying into effect the reformation of religious worship (2 Kings xxiii. 1-25). During the reign of this monarch, we may readily believe that Jeremiah would be in no way molested in his work; and that from the time of his quitting Anathoth to the eighteenth year of his ministry, he probably uttered his warnings without interruption, though with little success (see ch. xi.). Indeed, the reformation itself was nothing more than the forcible repression of idolatrous and heathen rites, and the re-establishment of the external service of God, by the command of the king. No sooner, therefore, was the influence of the court on behalf of the true religion withdrawn, than it was evident that no real improvement had taken place in the minds of the people. Jeremiah, who hitherto was at least protected by the influence of the pious king Josiah, soon became the object of attack, as he must doubtless have long been the object of dislike, to those whose interests were identified with the corruptions of religion. We hear nothing of the prophet during the three months which constituted the short reign of Jehoahaz; but 'in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim' the prophet was interrupted in his ministry by 'the priests and the prophets,' who with the populace brought him before the civil authorities, urging that capital punishment should be inflicted on him for his threatenings of evil on the city unless the people amended their ways (ch. xxvi). The princes seem to have been in some degree aware of the results which the general corruption was bringing on the state, and if they did not themselves yield to the exhortations of the prophet, they acknowledged that he spoke in the name of the Lord, and were quite averse from so openly renouncing His authority as to put His messenger to death. It appears, however, that it was rather owing to the personal influence of one or two, especially Ahikam, than to any general feeling favourable to Jeremiah, that his life was preserved; and it would seem that he was then either placed under restraint, or else was in so much danger from the animosity of his adversaries as to make it prudent for him not to appear in public. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim (B.C. 606) he was commanded to write the predictions which had been given through him, and to read them to the people. From the cause, probably, which we have intimated above, he was, as he says, 'shut up,' and could not himself go into the house of the Lord (ch. xxxvi. 5). He therefore deputed Baruch to write the predictions after him, and to read them publicly on the fast-day. These threatenings being thus anew made public, Baruch was summoned before the princes to give an account of the manner in which the roll containing them had come into his possession. The princes, who, without strength of principle to oppose the wickedness of the king, had sufficient respect for religion, as well as sagacity enough to discern the importance of listening to the voice of God's prophet, advised both Baruch and Jeremiah to conceal themselves, whilst they endeavoured to influence the mind of the king by reading the roll to him. The result showed that their precautions were not needless. The bold self-will and reckless daring of the monarch refused to listen to any advice, even though coming with the professed sanction of the Most High. Having read three or four leaves 'he cut the roll with the penknife and cast it into the fire that was on the hearth, until all the roll was consumed,' and gave immediate orders for the apprehension of Jeremiah and Baruch, who, however, were both preserved from the vindictive monarch. Of the history of Jeremiah during the eight or nine remaining years of the reign of Jehoiakim we have no certain account. At the command of God he procured another roll, in which he wrote all that was in the roll destroyed by the king, 'and added besides unto them many like words' (ch. xxxvi. 32). In the short reign of his successor Jehoiachin or Jeconiah, we find him still uttering his voice of warning (see ch. xiii. 18; comp. 2 Kings xxiv. 12, and ch. xxii. 24-30), though without effect. It was probably either during this reign, or at the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah, that he was put in confinement by Pashur, the 'chief governor of the house of the Lord.' He seems, however, soon to have been liberated, as we find that 'they had not put him into prison' when the army of Nebuchadnezzar commenced the siege of Jerusalem. The Chaldæans drew off their army for a time, on the report of help coming from Egypt to the besieged city; and now feeling the danger to be imminent, and yet a ray of hope brightening their prospects, the king entreated Jeremiah to pray to the Lord for them. The hopes of the king were not responded to in the message which Jeremiah received from God. He was assured that the Egyptian army should return to their own land, that the Chaldæans should come again, and that they should take the city and burn it with fire (ch. xxxvii. 7, 8). The princes, apparently irritated by a message so contrary to their wishes, made the departure of Jeremiah from the city, during the short respite, the pretext for accusing him of deserting to the Chaldæans, and he was forthwith cast into prison. The king seems to have been throughout inclined to favour the prophet, and sought to know from him the word of the Lord; but he was wholly under the influence of the princes, and dared not communicate with him except in secret (ch. xxxviii. 14, 28); much less could he follow advice so obnoxious to their views as that which the prophet gave. Jeremiah, therefore, more from the hostility of the princes than the inclination of the king, was still in confinement when the city was taken. Nebuchadnezzar formed a more just estimate of his character and of the value of his counsels, and gave a special charge to his captain Nebuzar-adan, not only to provide for him but to follow his advice (ch. xxxix. 12). He was accordingly taken from the prison and allowed free choice either to go to Babylon, where doubtless he would have been held in honour in the royal court, or to remain with his own people. We need scarcely be told that he who had devoted more than forty years of unrequited service to the welfare of his falling country, should choose to remain with the remnant of his people rather than seek the precarious fame which might await him at the court of the King of Babylon. Accordingly he went to Mizpah with Gedaliah, whom the Babylonian monarch had appointed governor of Judæa; and after his murder, sought to persuade Johanan, who was then the recognised leader of the people, to remain in the land, assur-

ing him and the people, by a message from God in answer to their inquiries, that if they did so the Lord would build them up, but if they went to Egypt the evils which they sought to escape should come upon them there (ch. xlii.). The people refused to attend to the divine message, and under the command of Johanan went into Egypt, taking Jeremiah and Baruch along with them (ch. xliii. 6). In Egypt the prophet still sought to turn the people to the Lord, from whom they had so long and so deeply revolted (ch. xliv.); but his writings give us no subsequent information respecting his personal history. Ancient traditions assert that he spent the remainder of his life in Egypt. According to the pseudo-Epiphanius he was stoned by the people at Taphnæ (ἐν Τάφναις), the same as Tahpanhes, where the Jews were settled (*De Vitis Prophet.* t. ii. p. 239, quoted by Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T.* t. i. p. 1110). It is said that his bones were removed by Alexander the Great to Alexandria (Carpzov, *Introd.* part iii. p. 138, where other traditions respecting him will be found).

Jeremiah was contemporary with Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, and Daniel. None of these, however, are in any remarkable way connected with him, except Ezekiel. The writings and character of these two eminent prophets furnish many very interesting points both of comparison and contrast. Both, during a long series of years, were labouring at the same time and for the same object. The representations of both, far separated as they were from each other, are in substance singularly accordant; yet there is at the same time a marked difference in their modes of statement, and a still more striking diversity in the character and natural disposition of the two. No one who compares them can fail to perceive that the mind of Jeremiah was of a softer and more delicate texture than that of his illustrious contemporary. His whole history convinces us that he was by nature mild and retiring (Ewald, *Propheten des Alt. Bund.* p. 2), highly susceptible and sensitive, especially to sorrowful emotions, and rather inclined, as we should imagine, to shrink from danger than to brave it. Yet, with this acute perception of injury, and natural repugnance from being 'a man of strife,' he never in the least degree shrinks from publicity; nor is he at all intimidated by reproach or insult, or even by actual punishment and threatened death, when he has the message of God to deliver. Kings and priests, princes and people are opposed with the most resolute determination, and threatened, if they disobey, in the most emphatic terms. When he is alone, we hear him lamenting the hard lot which compelled him to sustain a character so alien to his natural temper; but no sooner does the divine call summon him to bear testimony for God and against the evils which surrounded him, than he forgets his fears and complaints, and stands forth in the might of the Lord. He is, in truth, as remarkable an instance, though in a different way, of the overpowering influence of the divine energy, as Ezekiel. The one presents the spectacle of the power of divine inspiration acting on a mind naturally of the firmest texture, and at once subduing to itself every element of the soul; whilst the other furnishes an example, not less memorable, of moral courage sustained by the same divine inspiration against the constantly opposing influence of a love of retirement and strong susceptibility to impressions of outward evil. Ezekiel views the conduct of his countrymen as opposed to righteousness and truth, Jeremiah thinks of it rather as productive of evil and misery to themselves—Ezekiel's indignation is roused at the sins of his people, Jeremiah's pity is excited by the consequences of their sins—the former takes an objective, the latter a subjective view of the evils by which both were surrounded.

The style of Jeremiah corresponds with this view of the character of his mind; though not deficient in power, it is peculiarly marked by pathos. He delights in the expression of the tender emotions, and employs all the resources of his imagination to excite corresponding feelings in his readers. He has an irresistible sympathy with the miserable, which finds utterance in the most touching descriptions of their condition. He seizes with wonderful tact those circumstances which point out the objects of his pity as the objects of sympathy, and founds his expostulations on the miseries which are thus exhibited. His book of Lamentations is an astonishing exhibition of his power to accumulate images of sorrow. The whole series of elegies has but one object—the expression of sorrow for the forlorn condition of his country; and yet he presents this to us in so many lights, alludes to it by so many figures, that not only are his mournful strains not felt to be tedious reiterations, but the reader is captivated by the plaintive melancholy which pervades the whole. 'Nullum, opinor,' says Lowth (*De Sacra Poesi Heb.*, ed. Michaelis, p. 458) 'aliud extat poema ubi intra tam breve spatium tanta, tam felix, tam lecta, tam illustris adjunctorum atque imaginum varietas eluceat. Quid tam elegans et poëticum, ac urbs illa florentissima pridem et inter gentes princeps, nunc sola sedens, afflicta, vidua; deserta ab amicis, prodita a necessariis; frustra tendens manus, nec inveniens qui eam consoletur. . . . . Verum omnes locos elegantes proferre, id sane esset totum poema exscribere.' The style of Jeremiah is marked by the peculiarities which belong to the later Hebrew, and by the introduction of Aramaic forms (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol. iii. p. 122; Gesenius, *Geschichte der Heb. Sprache*, p. 35). It was, we imagine, on this account that Jerome complained of a certain rusticity in Jeremiah's style. Lowth, however, says he can discover no traces of it, and regards Jeremiah as nearly equal in sublimity in many parts to Isaiah (*De Sacra Poesi Heb.*, p. 426).

The genuineness and canonicity of the writings of Jeremiah in general are established both by the testimony of ancient writers, and by quotations and references which occur in the New Testament. Thus the son of Sirach refers to him as a prophet consecrated from the womb, and quotes from Jer. i. 10, the commission with which he was intrusted ('αὐτὸς ἐν μήτρᾳ ἡγιάσθη προφήτης ἐκριζοῦν καὶ κακοῦν καὶ ἀπολλύειν, ἀσαίτως οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν,' Ecclus. xlix. 7). In 2 Macc. ii. 1-8, there is a tradition respecting his hiding the tabernacle and the ark in a rock, in which he is called Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης. Philo speaks of him as προφήτης, μύστης, ἱεροφάντης, and calls a passage which he quotes from Jer.

iii. 4, an oracle, χρησμόν (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol. i. p. 95). Josephus refers to him by name as the prophet who predicted the evils which were coming on the city, and speaks of him as the author of Lamentations (μέλος θρηνητικόν) which are still existing (*Antiq.*, lib. x. 5. 1). His writings are included in the list of canonical books given by Melito, Origen (whose words are remarkable, Ἱερεμίας σὺν θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐν ἑνί), Jerome, and the Talmud (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol. iii. p. 184). In the New Testament Jeremiah is referred to by name in Matt ii. 17, where a passage is quoted from Jer. xxxi. 15, and in Matt. xvi. 14; in Heb. viii. 8-12, a passage is quoted from Jer. xxxi. 31-34. There is one other place in which the name of Jeremiah occurs, Matt. xxvii. 9, which has occasioned considerable difficulty, because the passage there quoted is not found in the extant writings of the prophet. Jerome affirms that he found the exact passage in a Hebrew apocryphal book (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep.* i. 1103); but there is no proof that that book was in existence before the time of Christ. It is probable that the passage intended by Matthew is Zech. xi. 12, 13, which in part corresponds with the quotation he gives, and that the name is a gloss which has found its way into the text (see Olshausen, *Commentar über N. T.*, vol. ii. p. 493).

Much difficulty has arisen in reference to the writings of Jeremiah from the apparent disorder in which they stand in our present copies, and from the many disagreements between the Hebrew text and that found in the Septuagint version; and many conjectures have been hazarded respecting the occasion of this disorder. The following are the principal diversities between the two texts :— 1. The prophecies against foreign nations, which in the Hebrew occupy chs. xlvi.-li. at the close of the book, are in the Greek placed after ch. xxv. 14, forming chs. xxvi.-xxxi.; the remainder of ch. xxv. of the Heb. is ch. xxxii. of the Sept. The following chapters proceed in the same order in both chs. xliv. and xlv. of the Heb. forming ch. li. of the Sept.; and the historical appendix, ch. lii. is placed at the close in both. 2. The prophecies against the heathen nations stand in a different order in the two editions, as is shown in the following table :—

Hebrew.	Sept.
Egypt.	Elam.
Philistines.	Egypt.
Moab.	Babylon.
Ammon.	Philistines.
Edom.	Edom.
Damascus.	Ammon.
Kedar.	Kedar.
Elam.	Damascus.
Babylon.	Moab.

3. Various passages which exist in the Hebrew are not found in the Greek copies (*e. g.* ch. xxvii. 19-22; xxxiii. 14-26; xxxix. 4-14; xlviii. 45-47). Besides these discrepancies, there are numerous omissions and frequent variations of single words and phrases (Movers, *De utriusque Vaticiniorum Jeremiæ recensionis indole et origine*, pp. 8-32). To explain these diversities recourse has been had to the hypothesis of a double recension, an hypothesis which, with various modifications, is held by most modern critics (Movers, *ut supra;* De Wette, *Lehrbuch der Hist.-Crit. Einleitung in A.T.*, p. 303; Ewald, *Propheten des Alt. Bund.* vol. ii. p. 23).

The genuineness of some portions of the book has been of late disputed by German critics. Movers, whose views have been adopted by De Wette and Hitzig, attributes ch. x. 1-16, and chs. xxx., xxxi., and xxxiii. to the author of the concluding portion of the book of Isaiah. His fundamental argument against the last-named portion is, that the prophet Zechariah (ch. viii. 7, 8) quotes from Jer. xxxi. 7, 8, 33, and in ver. 9 speaks of the author as one who lived 'in the day that the foundation of the house of the Lord of hosts was laid.' He must, therefore, have been contemporary with Zechariah himself. This view obliges him, of course, to consider ch. xxx. 1, with which he joins the three following verses, as a later addition. By an elaborate comparison of the peculiarities of style he endeavours to show that the author of these chapters was the so-called pseudo-Isaiah. He acknowledges, however, that there are many expressions peculiar to Jeremiah, and supposes that it was in consequence of these that the prediction was placed among his writings. These similarities he accounts for by assuming that the later unknown prophet accommodated the writings of the earlier to his own use. Every one will see how slight is the external ground on which Movers' argument rests; for there is nothing in ver. 7, 8, of Zechariah to prove that it is intended to be a quotation from any written prophecy, much less from this portion of Jeremiah. The quotation, if it be such, is made up by joining together phrases of frequent recurrence in the prophets picked out from amongst many others. Then, again, the mention of *prophets* is evidence that Zechariah was not referring to the writings of one individual; and, lastly, the necessity of rejecting the exordium, without any positive ground for suspecting its integrity, is a strong argument against the position of Movers. Hitzig (*Jeremia*, p. 230) is induced, by the force of these considerations, to give up the external evidence on which Movers had relied. The internal evidence arising from the examination of particular words and phrases—a species of proof which, when standing alone, is always to be received with great caution —is rendered of still less weight by the evidence of an opposite kind, the existence of which Movers himself acknowledges, 'quumque indicia usus loquendi tantummodo Jeremiæ peculiaris haud raro inveniantur' (p. 42). And this evidence becomes absolutely nothing, if the authenticity of the latter portion of Isaiah is maintained;* for it is quite likely that prophecies of Jeremiah would, when relating to the same subjects, bear marks of similarity to those of his illustrious predecessor. We may mention also that Ewald, who is by no means accustomed to acquiesce in received opinions as such, agrees that the chapters in question, as well as the other passage mentioned ch. x. 1-16, are the work of Jeremiah. The authenticity of this latter portion is denied solely on internal grounds, and the remarks we have already made will, in substance, apply also to these verses. It

* For a proof of its authenticity, see Hengstenberg's *Christologie*, vol. i. c. 2, pp. 168-206, translated in the *Am. Biblical Repository*, vol. i. pp. 700-733; see also the article Isaiah.

seems, however, not improbable that the Chaldee of ver. 11 is a gloss which has crept into the text—both because it is (apparently without reason) in another language, and because it seems to interrupt the progress of thought. The predictions against Babylon in chs. l. and li. are objected to by Movers, De Wette, and others, on the ground that they contain many interpolations. Ewald attributes them to some unknown prophet who imitated the style of Jeremiah. Their authenticity is maintained by Hitzig (p. 391), and by Umbreit (pp. 290-293), to whom we must refer for an answer to the objections made against them. The last chapter is generally regarded as an appendix added by some later author. It is almost verbally the same as the account in 2 Kings xxiv. 18; xxv. 30, and it carries the history down to a later period probably than that of the death of Jeremiah: that it is not his work seems to be indicated in the last verse of ch. li.

It is impossible, within the limits assigned to this article, even to notice all the attempts which have been made to account for the apparent disorder of Jeremiah's prophecies. Blayney speaks of their present disposition as a 'preposterous jumbling together of the prophecies of the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah,' and concludes that 'the original order has, most probably, by some accident or other been disturbed' (Notes, p. 3). Eichhorn says that no other explanation can be given than that the prophet wrote his oracles on single rolls, larger or smaller as they came to his hand, and that, as he was desirous to give his countrymen a copy of them when they went into captivity, he dictated them to an amanuensis from the separate rolls without attending to the order of time, and then preserved the rolls in the same order (*Einl.* iii. 134). Later critics have attempted in different ways to trace some plan in the present arrangement. Thus Movers supposes the whole collection to have consisted of six books—the longest being that written by Baruch (Jer. xxxvi. 2, 32), which was taken by the collector as his foundation, into which he inserted the other books in such places as seemed, on a very slight glance at their contents, to be suitable. All such theories, however, proceed on the presumption that the present arrangement is the work of a compiler, which, therefore, we are at liberty to alter at pleasure; and though they offer boundless scope for ingenuity in suggesting a better arrangement, they serve us very little in respect to the explanation of the book itself. Ewald adopts another principle, which, if it be found valid, cannot fail to throw much light on the connection and meaning of the predictions. He maintains that the book, in its present form, is, from ch. i. to ch. xlix., substantially the same as it came from the hand of the prophet, or his amanuensis, and seeks to discover in the present arrangement some plan according to which it is disposed. He finds that various portions are prefaced by the same formula, 'The word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord' (vii. 1; xi. 1; xviii. 1; xxi. 1; xxv. 1; xxx. 1; xxxii. 1; xxxiv. 1, 8; xxxv. 1; xl. 1; xliv. 1), or by the very similar expression, 'The word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah' (xiv. 1; xlvi. 1; xlvii. 1; xlix. 34). The notices of time distinctly mark some other divisions which are more or less historical (xxvi. 1; xxvii. 1; xxxvi. 1; xxxvii. 1). Two other portions are in themselves sufficiently distinct without such indication (xxix. 1; xlv. 1), whilst the general introduction to the book serves for the section contained in ch. i. There are left two sections (ch. ii., iii.), the former of which has only the shorter introduction, which generally designates the commencement of a strophe; while the latter, as it now stands, seems to be imperfect, having as an introduction merely the word 'saying.' Thus the book is divided into twenty-three separate and independent sections, which, in the poetical parts, are again divided into strophes of from seven to nine verses, frequently distinguished by such a phrase as 'The Lord said also unto me.' These separate sections are arranged by Ewald so as to form five distinct books:—I. The introduction, ch. i.;—II. Reproofs of the sins of the Jews, ch. ii.-xxiv., consisting of seven sections, viz. 1. ch. ii., 2. ch. iii.-vi., 3. vii.-x, 4. ch. xi.-xiii., 5. ch. xiv.-xvii. 18, 6. ch. xvii. 19*-xx., 7. ch. xxi.-xxiv.;—III. A general review of all nations, the heathen as well as the people of Israel, consisting of two sections, 1. ch. xlvi.-xlix. (which he thinks have been transposed), 2. ch. xxv., and an historical appendix of three sections, 1. ch. xxvi., 2. ch. xxvii., and 3. ch. xxviii. xxix.;—IV. Two sections picturing the hopes of brighter times, 1. ch. xxx. xxxi., and 2. ch. xxxii. xxxiii., to which, as in the last book, is added an historical appendix in three sections, 1. ch. xxxiv. 1-7, 2. ch. xxxiv. 8-22, 3. ch. xxxv.;—V. The conclusion, in two sections, 1. ch. xxxvi., 2. ch. xlv. All this, he supposes, was arranged in Palestine, during the short interval of rest between the taking of the city and the departure of Jeremiah with the remnant of the Jews, to Egypt. In Egypt, after some interval, Jeremiah added three sections, viz. ch. xxxvii.-xxxix., xl.-xliii. and xliv. At the same time, probably, he added ch. xlvi. 13-26 to the previous prophecy respecting Egypt, and, perhaps, made some additions to other parts previously written. We do not profess to agree with Ewald in all the details of this arrangement, but we certainly prefer the principle he adopts to that of any former critic. We may add that Umbreit (*Praktischer Comm. üb. d. Jeremia*, p. xxvii.) states, that he has found himself more nearly in agreement with Ewald, as to arrangement, than with any one else.

The principal predictions relating to the Messiah are found in ch. xxiii. 1-8; xxx. 31-40; xxxiii. 14-26 (Hengstenberg's *Christologie*, vol. iii. pp. 495-619).

Besides the commentaries which have been referred to in the course of the article, we may add Venema, *Commentarius ad Librum Jeremiæ*; Dahler, *Jérémie*; Schmurrer, *Observationes ad Vaticin. Jerem.*, in Velthusen's *Commentationes Theolog.*, vol. iii.; Spohn, *Jeremias Vates e Vers. Alex. emend.*; Rosenmüller, *Scholia in V. T.*, part viii.—F. W. G.

JERICHO (יְרִיחוֹ and יְרֵחוֹ; Sept. Ἱεριχώ; Josephus, Ἱεριχοῦς), a town in the plain of the same name, not far from the river Jordan, at the point where it enters the Dead Sea. It lay before the Israelites when they crossed the river, on first entering the Promised Land; and the

* Ewald supposes that the proper place of the introductory formula to ch. xviii. 1, is ch. xvii. 19.

account which the spies who were sent by them into the city received from their hostess Rahab, tended much to encourage their subsequent operations, as it showed that the inhabitants of the country were greatly alarmed at their advance, and the signal miracles which had marked their course from the Nile to the Jordan. The strange manner in which Jericho itself was taken must have strengthened this impression in the country, and appears, indeed, to have been designed for that effect. The town was utterly destroyed by the Israelites, who pronounced an awful curse upon whoever should rebuild it; and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, except Rahab and her family (Josh. ii. vi.). In these accounts Jericho is repeatedly called 'the city of palm-trees;' which shows that the hot and dry plain, so similar to the land of Egypt, was noted beyond other parts of Palestine for the tree which abounds in that *country*, but which was and is less common in the land of Canaan than general readers and painters suppose. It has now almost disappeared even from the plain of Jericho, although specimens remain in the plain of the Mediterranean coast.

Notwithstanding the curse, Jericho was soon rebuilt [Hiel], and became a school of the prophets (Judg. iii. 13; 1 Kings xvi. 34; 2 Kings ii. 4, 5). Its inhabitants returned after the exile, and it was eventually fortified by the Syrian general Bacchides (Ezra ii. 34; Neh. iii. 2; 1 Macc. ix. 50). Pompey marched from Scythopolis, along the valley of the Jordan, to Jericho, and thence to Jerusalem; and Strabo speaks of the castles Thrax and Taurus, in or near Jericho, as having been destroyed by him (Joseph. *Antiq.*



362. [Jericho.]

xiv. 4. 1; Strabo, xvi. 2. 40). Herod the Great, in the beginning of his career, captured and sacked Jericho, but afterwards strengthened and adorned it, when he had redeemed its revenues from Cleopatra, on whom the plain had been bestowed by Antony (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 4. 1, 2). He appears to have often resided here, probably in winter: he built over the city a fortress called Cypros, between which and the former palace he erected other palaces, and called them by the names of his friends (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 2; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 4, 9). Here also was a hippodrome or circus, in which the same tyrant, when lying at Jericho on his death-bed, caused the nobles of the land to be shut up, for massacre after his death. He died here; but his bloody intention was not executed (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 6-8). The palace at this place was afterwards rebuilt more magnificently by Archelaus (*Antiq.* xvii. 31). By this it will be seen that the Jericho which existed in the time of our Saviour was a great and important city—probably more so than it had ever been since its foundation. It was once visited by him, when he lodged with Zaccheus, and healed the blind man (Luke xviii. 35-43; xix. 1-7; Matt. xx. 29-34; Mark x. 46-52). Jericho was afterwards made the head of one of the toparchies, and was visited by Vespasian before he left the country, who stationed there the tenth legion in garrison (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 5; iv. 8. 1; v. 2. 3). Eusebius and Jerome describe Jericho as having been destroyed during the siege of Jerusalem, on account of the perfidy of the inhabitants, but add that it was afterwards rebuilt; but, as Josephus is silent respecting this event, Dr. Robinson regards it as doubtful. That the town continued to exist as a place of importance, appears from the names of five bishops of Jericho which have been collected (*Oriens Christ.*

iii. 654). The emperor Justinian built here a Xenodochium, apparently for pilgrims, and also a church, dedicated to the Virgin; and the monastery of St. John, near the Jordan, was already in existence (Procop. *De Ædific. Justiniani*, v. 9). The town, however, appears to have been overthrown during the Mohammedan conquest; for Adamnanus, at the close of the seventh century, describes the site as without human habitations, and covered with corn and vines. The celebrated palm-groves still existed. In the next century a church is mentioned; and in the ninth century several monasteries appear. About the same time the plain of Jericho is again noticed for its fertility and peculiar products; and it appears to have been brought under cultivation by the Saracens, for the sake of the sugar and other products for which the soil and climate were more suitable than any other in Palestine. Ruins of extensive aqueducts, with pointed Saracenic arches, remain in evidence of the elaborate irrigation and culture of this fine plain—which is nothing without water, and everything with it—at a period long subsequent to the occupation of the country by the Jews. It is to this age that we may probably refer the origin of the castle and village, which have since been regarded as representing Jericho. The place has been mentioned by travellers and pilgrims down to the present time as a poor hamlet consisting of a few houses. In the fifteenth century the square castle or tower began to pass among pilgrims as the house of Zaccheus, a title which it bears to the present day.

The village thus identified with Jericho now bears the name of Rihah, and is situated about the middle of the plain, six miles west from the Jordan, in N. lat. 31° 57′, and E. long. 35° 33′. Dr. Olin describes the present village as 'the meanest and foulest of Palestine.' It may perhaps contain forty dwellings, formed of small loose stones. The walls, which threaten to tumble down at a touch, are covered with flat roofs, composed of reed or straw plastered over with mud. Around most of these dwellings a little yard is inclosed with dry thorn-bushes. The village has a similar bulwark, which, insufficient as it appears to offer resistance to an invader, is quite effectual against the maranding Bedonins, with their bare feet and legs, or any other enemy in too great haste to burn it. The most important object is the castle or tower already mentioned, which Dr. Robinson supposes to have been constructed to protect the cultivation of the plain under the Saracens. It is thirty or forty feet square, and about the same height, and is now in a dilapidated condition. The pilgrims, as we have seen, regard it as the house of Zaccheus; and they also point to a solitary *palm-tree*, the only survivor of the groves which once gave the town one of its distinguishing names, as the identical *sycamore* which was climbed by the same personage to view the Saviour as he passed.

Rihah may contain about two hundred inhabitants, who have a sickly aspect, and are reckoned vicious and indolent. They keep a few cattle and sheep, and till a little land for grain as well as for gardens. A small degree of industry and skill bestowed on this prolific soil, favoured as it is with abundant water for irrigation, would amply reward the labour. But this is wanting; and everything bears the mark of abject, and, which is unusual in the East, of squalid poverty. There are some fine fig-trees near the village, and some vines in the gardens. But the most distinguishing feature of the whole plain is a noble grove of trees which borders the village on the west, and stretches away northward to the distance of two miles or more.

This grove owes its existence to the waters of one of the fountains, the careful distribution of which over the plain by canals and aqueducts did once, and might still, cover it with abundance. One of these fountains is called by the natives Ain es-Sultan, but by pilgrims the Fountain of Elias, being supposed to be the same whose bitter waters were cured by that prophet. Dr. Robinson thinks there is reason for this conclusion. It lies almost two miles N.W. from the village. It bursts forth at the foot of a high double mound, situated a mile or more in front of the mountain Quarantana. It is a large and beautiful fountain of sweet and pleasant water. The principal stream runs towards the village, and the rest of the water finds its way at random in various streams down the plain. Beyond the fountain rises up the bold perpendicular face of the mountain Quarantana (Kuruntul), from the foot of which a line of low hills runs out N.N.E. in front of the mountains, and forms the ascent to a narrow tract of tableland along their base. On this tract, at the foot of the mountains, about two and a half miles N.N.W. from the Ain es-Sultan, is the still larger fountain of Duk, the waters of which are brought along the base of Quarantana in a canal to the top of the declivity at the back of Ain es-Sultan, whence they were formerly distributed to several mills, and scattered over the upper part of the plain (Robinson's *Bib. Researches*, ii. 284, 285).

Under the mountains on the western confine of the plain, about two miles west of Rihah, and just where the road from Jerusalem comes down into the plain, are considerable ruins, extending both on the north and south side of the road. There is nothing massive or imposing in these remains, although they doubtless mark the site of an important ancient town. The stones are small and unwrought, and have the appearance of being merely the refuse, which was left as worthless by those who bore away the more valuable materials to be employed in the erection of new buildings. Mr. Buckingham was the first to suspect that these were the ruins of the ancient Jericho. He shows that the situation agrees better with the ancient intimations than does that of the modern village, near which no trace of ancient ruins can be found (*Travels in Palestine*, p. 293). Since this idea was started the matter has been examined by other travellers; and the conclusion seems to be that Rihah is certainly not the ancient Jericho, and that there is no site of ancient ruins on the plain which so well answers to the intimations as that now described; although even here some drawback to a satisfactory conclusion is felt, in the absence of any traces of those great buildings which belonged to the Jericho of king Herod. We should like to examine this matter more in detail than would be satisfactory to any but an antiquarian reader; but shall be content to introduce the concise and clear view of the question which has

been given by Dr. Olin in his very useful *Travels in the East.* 'Travellers concur in calling this wretched place (Rihah) Jericho, though I am not aware that any reason exists for believing that it occupies the site of the ancient city of that name. Here are no ruins to indicate the former presence of a considerable town; nothing but the tower to induce a suspicion that anything much better than the present filthy village ever existed upon the spot. The situation does not agree with that of the ancient city, which, according to Josephus, was close to the mountain, and nearer, by several miles, to Jerusalem. The ruins already described, at the foot of the mountain, where the Jerusalem road enters the plain, not improbably mark the site of ancient Jericho. Their distance from the Jordan and from Jerusalem agrees well with that of the Jericho of the age of Josephus, which he states to have been sixty furlongs from the river, and one hundred and fifty from the capital. This site also satisfies his description in being situated "in the plain, while a naked and barren mountain hangs over it." The exact position of the ancient city is not definitely stated in the Bible, though it is always spoken of as at a considerable distance from the Jordan. The position at the foot of the mountain was in accordance with the customs of that early age, and of Palestine especially, where nearly all the cities of which mention is made in its early history occupied strong positions, either embracing or adjacent to a mountain elevation, on which a citadel was erected for defence. The language of Josephus seems, indeed, to imply that Jericho, in his day, did not occupy the same ground as the city destroyed by Joshua, and that the description quoted above refers to the later city. He says, in describing the fountain healed by Elisha, that it "arises near the old city, which Joshua, the son of Nun, took;" language which must, perhaps, be understood to imply that the later town occupied a different site. It was highly probable, after the terrible malediction pronounced against those who should rebuild the accursed place, that some change should be made in the location, though not so great as to lose the peculiar advantages of the ancient site. Hiel, the Bethelite, as we know, braved the prophetic curse, and rebuilt the city upon its old foundations; but the same cause might still operate, and with additional effect, after his punishment, to induce more pious or scrupulous men to prefer a place less obnoxious to the divine displeasure. Both sites, that near the fountain and the one upon the Jerusalem road, give evidence of having been anciently covered with buildings. They were probably occupied successively, or both may have been embraced at once within the compass of a large city and its suburbs. In order to render the several notices of Jericho contained in the Bible consistent with each other, and with the description in Josephus, it seems necessary to suppose more than one change of situation. Joshua "burned the city with fire, and all that was therein," and said, "Cursed be the man before the Lord that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates thereof." It was about 520 years after this, in the impious reign of Ahab, that Hiel rebuilt the city, and suffered the fearful penalty that had been denounced against such an act of daring impiety. "He laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord which he spake by Joshua, the son of Nun" (1 Kings xvi. 34). Previous to this, however, and almost immediately after the death of Joshua, reference is made to the city of palm-trees, which was captured by Eglon, king of Moab (Judg. iii. 13), and it was nearly 100 years before the rebuilding by Hiel that David's ambassadors, who had been so grievously insulted by the king of Ammon, were directed "to tarry at Jericho until their beards were grown" (2 Sam. x. 5). We are to infer, from these several statements, that Jericho was rebuilt soon after its destruction by Joshua, but not upon its ancient foundations—a change by which the penalty was avoided. The malediction had probably fallen into oblivion, or, if remembered, was likely to be treated with contempt in the infidel and idolatrous age when Hiel restored the original city. It was, according to the common chronology, about thirty years subsequent to this restoration that Elisha healed the fountain from which the city derived its supply of water. It is probable that the accursed site had been again abandoned, upon the catastrophe that followed the impious attempt of Hiel, for the existing city seems to have been at some distance from "the spring of the waters," which produced sterility and disease (2 Kings ii. 21). It may have occupied, at the era of Elisha's miracle, the same site as it did when visited by our Saviour, and described by Josephus.'

JEROBOAM (יָרָבְעָם; Sept. Ἱεροβοάμ), son of Nebat, and first king of Israel, who became king B.C. 975, and reigned 22 years.

He was of the tribe of Ephraim, the son of a widow named Zeruiah, when he was noticed by Solomon as a clever and active young man, and was appointed one of the superintendents of the works which that magnificent king was carrying on at Jerusalem. This appointment, the reward of his merits, might have satisfied his ambition had not the declaration of the prophet Ahijah given him higher hopes. When informed that, by the divine appointment, he was to become king over the ten tribes about to be rent from the house of David, he was not content to wait patiently for the death of Solomon, but began to form plots and conspiracies, the discovery of which constrained him to flee to Egypt to escape condign punishment. The king of that country was but too ready to encourage one whose success must necessarily weaken the kingdom which had become great and formidable under David and Solomon, and which had already pushed its frontier to the Red Sea (1 Kings xi. 20-40).

When Solomon died, the ten tribes sent to call Jeroboam from Egypt; and he appears to have headed the deputation which came before the son of Solomon with a demand of new securities for the rights which the measures of the late king had compromised. It may somewhat excuse the harsh answer of Rehoboam, that the demand was urged by a body of men headed by one whose pretensions were so well known and so odious to the house of David. It cannot be denied, that in making their applications thus offensively, they struck the first



W. Hughes, 1844.

Scale of English Feet
0 500 1000 2000 3000

References to modern sites

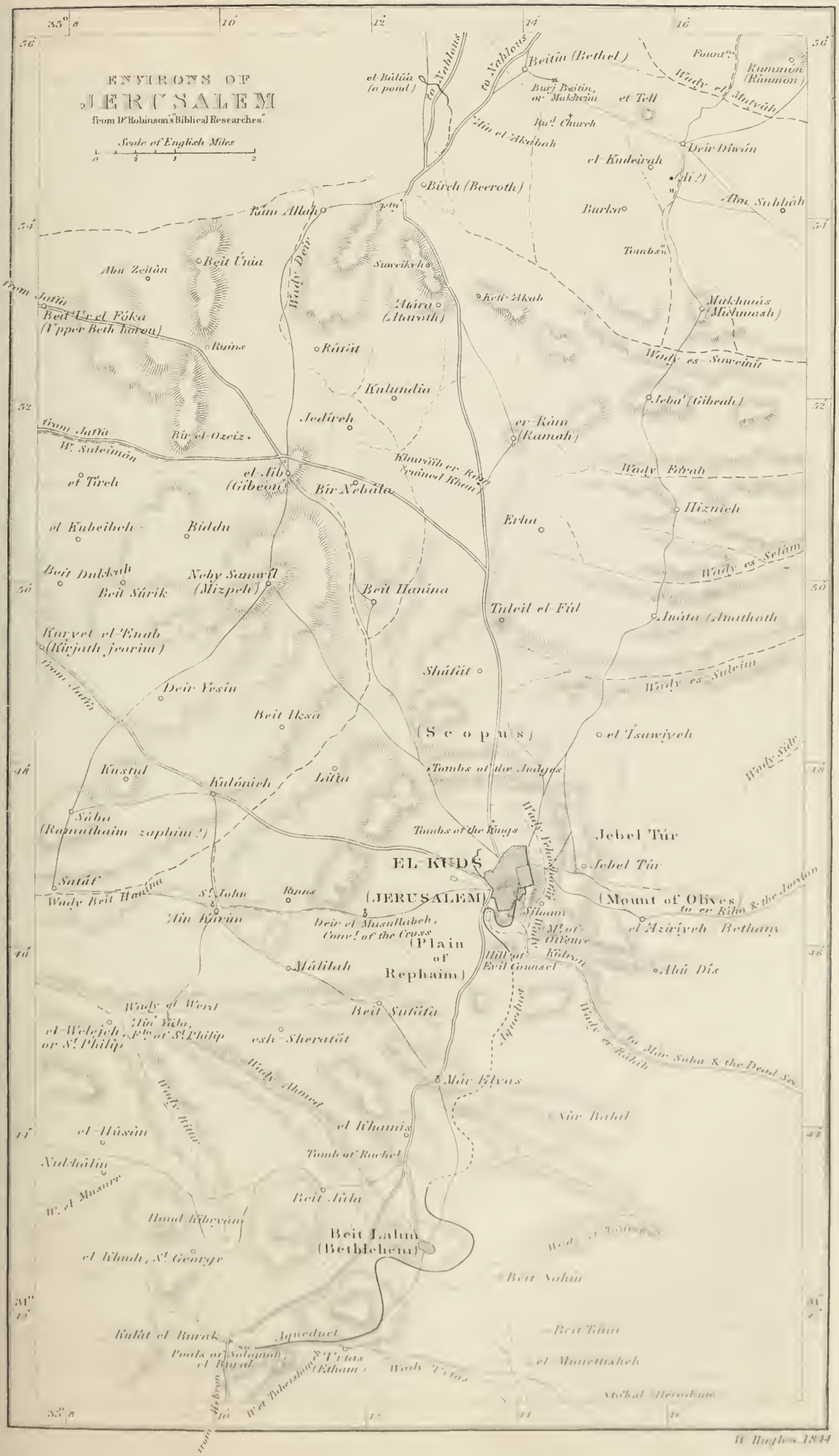
1 Church of the Holy Sepulchre
2 Greek Convent
3 Coptic Convent
4 Latin Convent
5 Pool of the Bath (Hezekiah?)
6 Ruined Palace of Hospitallers
7 Hospital of Helena
8 College of Dervishes
9 Church of St. Anne
10 Pool of Bethesda
11 English Church
12 Syrian Convent
13 Church of St. James
14 Armenian Convent
15 Jews place of wailing
16 Mosque ex Sakhrá
17 Mosque el Aksa

References to ancient sites, &c.

Probable course of the First Wall
d° d° Second Wall (excluding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, regarded as Golgotha)
d° d° of the Second Wall (including the above site)
d° d° Third Wall

a Tower of Ecphinas
b Tower of Hippicus
c Tower of Phasaëlus
d Tower of Mariamne
e The Agrippeum
f Gate of Gennath

Edinburgh, Published by A. & C. Black, 1844.



Edinburgh Published by A & C Black, 1844

blow; although it is possible that they, in the first instance, intended to use the presence of Jeroboam for no other purpose than to frighten the king into compliance. The imprudent answer of Rehoboam rendered a revolution inevitable, and Jeroboam was then called to reign over the ten tribes, by the style of 'King of Israel' (1 Kings xii. 1-20).

The general course of his conduct on the throne has already been indicated in the article ISRAEL, and need not be repeated in this place. The leading object of his policy was to widen the breach between the two kingdoms, and to rend asunder those common interests among all the descendants of Jacob, which it was one great object of the law to combine and interlace. To this end he scrupled not to sacrifice the most sacred and inviolable interests and obligations of the covenant people, by forbidding his subjects to resort to the one temple and altar of Jehovah at Jerusalem, and by establishing shrines at Dan and Beth-el—the extremities of his kingdom—where 'golden calves' were set up as the symbols of Jehovah, to which the people were enjoined to resort and bring their offerings. The pontificate of the new establishment he united to his crown, in imitation of the Egyptian kings. He was officiating in that capacity at Beth-el, offering incense, when a prophet appeared, and in the name of the Lord announced a coming time, as yet far off, in which a king of the house of David, Josiah by name, should burn upon that unholy altar the bones of its ministers. He was then preparing to verify, by a commissioned prodigy, the truth of the oracle he had delivered, when the king attempted to arrest him, but was smitten with palsy in the arm he stretched forth. At the same moment the threatened prodigy took place, the altar was rent asunder, and the ashes strewed far around. This measure had, however, no abiding effect. The policy on which he acted lay too deep in what he deemed the vital interests of his separate kingdom, to be even thus abandoned: and the force of the considerations which determined his conduct may in part be appreciated from the fact that no subsequent king of Israel, however well disposed in other respects, ever ventured to lay a finger on this schismatical establishment. Hence 'the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he sinned and made Israel to sin,' became a standing phrase in describing that iniquity from which no king of Israel departed (1 Kings xii. 25-33; xiii.).

The contumacy of Jeroboam eventually brought upon him the doom which he probably dreaded beyond all others—the speedy extinction of the dynasty which he had taken so much pains and incurred so much guilt to establish on firm foundations. His son Abijah being sick, he sent his wife disguised to consult the prophet Ahijah, who had predicted that he should be king of Israel. The prophet, although he had become blind with age, knew the queen, and saluted her with—'Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam, for I am sent to thee with heavy tidings.' These were not merely that the son should die—for that was intended in mercy to one who alone, of all the house of Jeroboam, had remained faithful to his God, and was the only one who should obtain an honoured grave—but that his race should be violently and utterly extinguished: 'I will take away the remnant of the house of Jeroboam as a man taketh away dung, till it be all gone' (1 Kings xiv. 1-18).

The son died so soon as the mother crossed the threshold on her return; and as the death of Jeroboam himself is the next event recorded, it would seem that he did not long survive his son. He died in B.C. 954 (1 Kings xiv. 20).

Jeroboam was perhaps a less remarkable man than the circumstance of his being the founder of a new kingdom might lead us to expect. The tribes would have revolted without him; and he was chosen king merely because he had been pointed out by previous circumstances. His government exhibits but one idea—that of raising a barrier against the re-union of the tribes. Of this idea he was the slave and victim; and although the barrier which he raised was effectual for its purpose, it only served to show the weakness of the man who could deem needful the protection for his separate interests which such a barrier offered.

2. JEROBOAM, thirteenth king of Israel, son of Joash, whom, in B.C. 824, he succeeded on the throne, and reigned forty-one years. He followed the example of the first Jeroboam in keeping up the idolatry of the golden calves. Nevertheless the Lord had pity upon Israel, the time of its ruin was not yet come, and this reign was long and flourishing. Jeroboam brought to a successful result the wars which his father had undertaken, and was always victorious over the Syrians. He even took their chief cities of Damascus and Hamath, which had formerly been subject to the sceptre of David, and restored to the realm of Israel the ancient eastern limits from Lebanon to the Dead Sea. He died in B.C. 783 (2 Kings xiii. 15; xiv. 16, 23-29).

The Scriptural account of this reign is too short to enable us to judge of the character of a prince under whom the kingdom of Israel seems to have reached a degree of prosperity which it had never before enjoyed, and was not able long to preserve.

JERUB-BAAL. [GIDEON.]

JERUSALEM (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, *habitation of peace*; Sept. Ἱερουσαλήμ; Vulg. *Hierosolyma*; Arab. *El Kuds*), the Jewish capital of Palestine. It is mentioned very early in Scripture, being usually supposed to be the Salem of which Melchizedek was king. Such was the opinion of the Jews themselves; for Josephus, who calls Melchizedek king of Solyma, observes that this name was afterwards changed into Hierosolyma. All the fathers of the church, Jerome excepted, agree with Josephus, and understand Jerusalem and Salem to indicate the same place. The Psalmist also says (lxxvi. 2): 'In Salem is his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in Sion.'

The mountain of the land of Moriah, which Abraham (Gen. xxii. 2) reached on the third day from Beersheba, there to offer Isaac, is, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 13. 2), the mountain on which Solomon afterwards built the temple (2 Chron. iii. 1).

The name Jerusalem first occurs in Josh. x. 1, where Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, is mentioned as having entered into an alliance with other kings against Joshua, by whom they were all overcome (comp. Josh. xii. 10).

In drawing the northern border of Judah, we find

Jerusalem again mentioned (Josh. xv. 8; comp. Josh. xviii. 16). This border ran through the valley of Ben Hinnom; the country on the south of it, as Bethlehem, belonged to Judah; but the mountain of Zion, forming the northern wall of the valley, and occupied by the Jebusites, appertained to Benjamin. Among the cities of Benjamin, therefore, is also mentioned (Josh. xviii. 28) 'Jebus, which is Jerusalem' (comp. Judg. xix. 10; 1 Chron. xi. 4).

After the death of Joshua, when there remained for the children of Israel much to conquer in Canaan, the Lord directed Judah to fight against the Canaanites; and they took Jerusalem, smote it with the edge of the sword, and set it on fire (Judg. i. 1-8). After that, the Judahites and the Benjamites dwelt with the Jebusites at Jerusalem; for it is recorded (Josh. xv. 63) that the children of Judah could not drive out the Jebusites inhabiting Jerusalem; and we are farther informed (Judg. i. 21) that the children of Benjamin did not expel them from Jerusalem. Probably the Jebusites were removed by Judah only from the lower city, but kept possession of the mountain of Zion, which David conquered at a later period. Jerusalem is not again mentioned till the time of Saul, when it is stated (1 Sam. xvii. 54) that David took the head of Goliath and brought it to Jerusalem. After David, who had previously reigned over Judah alone in Hebron, was called to rule over all Israel, he led his forces against the Jebusites, and conquered the castle of Zion, which Joab first scaled (1 Sam. v. 5-9; 1 Chron. xii. 4-8). He then fixed his abode on this mountain, and called it 'the city of David.' Thither he carried the ark of the cove-



363. [Jerusalem.]

nant; and there he built unto the Lord an altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, on the place where the angel stood who threatened Jerusalem with pestilence (2 Sam. xxiv. 15-25). But David could not build a house unto the name of the Lord his God for the wars which were about him on every side (2 Sam. vii. 13; 1 Kings v. 3-5). Still the Lord announced to him, through the prophet Nathan (2 Sam. vii. 10), 'I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own and move no more.' From this it would seem that even David had, then at least, no assurance that Jerusalem in particular was to be the place which had so often been spoken of as that which God would choose for the central seat of the theocratical monarchy, and which it became after Solomon's temple had been built.

The reasons which led David to fix upon Jerusalem as the metropolis of his kingdom have been alluded to elsewhere [Israel; Judah]; being, chiefly, that it was in his own tribe of Judah, in which his influence was the strongest, while it was the nearest to the other tribes of any site he could have chosen in Judah. The peculiar strength also of the situation, enclosed on three sides by a natural trench of valleys, could not be without weight. Its great strength, according to the military notions of that age, is shown by the length of time the Jebusites were able to keep possession of it against the force of all Israel. David was doubtless the best judge of his own interests in this matter; but if those interests had not come into play, and if he had only considered the best situation for a metropolis of the whole kingdom, it is doubtful whether a more centrical situation with respect to *all* the tribes would not have been far preferable, especially as the law required all the adult males of Israel to repair three times in the year to the place of the Divine presence. Indeed, the burdensome character of this obligation to the more distant tribes, seems to have

been one of the excuses for the revolt of the ten tribes; as it certainly was for the establishment of schismatic altars in Dan and Beth-el (1 Kings xii. 28). Many travellers have suggested that Samaria, which afterwards became the metropolis of the separated kingdom, was far preferable to Jerusalem for the site of a capital city: and its centrical situation would also have been in its favour as a metropolis for all the tribes. But as the choice of David was subsequently confirmed by the Divine appointment, which made Mount Moriah the site of the temple, we are bound to consider the choice as having been providentially ordered with reference to the contingencies that afterwards arose, by which Jerusalem was made the capital of the separate kingdom of Judah, for which it was well adapted.

The promise made to David received its accomplishment when Solomon built his temple upon Mount Moriah. By him and his father Jerusalem had been made the imperial residence of the king of all Israel: and the temple, often called 'the house of Jehovah,' constituted it at the same time the residence of the King of kings, the supreme head of the theocratical state, whose vicegerents the human kings were taught to regard themselves. It now belonged, even less than a town of the Levites, to a particular tribe: it was the centre of all civil and religious affairs, the very place of which Moses spoke, Deut. xii. 5: 'The place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come' (comp. ix. 6; xiii. 14; xiv. 23; xvi. 11-16; Ps. cxxii.).

Jerusalem was not, indeed, politically important: it was not the capital of a powerful empire directing the affairs of other states, but it stood high in the bright prospects foretold by David when declaring his faith in the coming of a Messiah (Ps. ii. 6; l. 2; lxxxvii.; cii. 16-22; cx. 2). In all these passages the name Zion is used, which, although properly applied to the southernmost part of the site of Jerusalem, is often in Scripture put poetically for Jerusalem generally, and sometimes for Mount Moriah and its temple.

The importance and splendour of Jerusalem were considerably lessened after the death of Solomon; under whose son, Rehoboam, ten of the tribes rebelled, Judah and Benjamin only remaining in their allegiance. Jerusalem was then only the capital of the very small state of Judah. And when Jeroboam instituted the worship of golden calves in Beth-el and Dan, the ten tribes went no longer up to Jerusalem to worship and sacrifice in the house of the Lord (1 Kings xii. 26-30).

After this time the history of Jerusalem is continued in the history of Judah, for which the second book of the Kings and of the Chronicles are the principal sources of information.

After the time of Solomon, the kingdom of Judah was almost alternately ruled by good kings, 'who did that which was right in the sight of the Lord,' and by such as were idolatrous and evil disposed; and the reign of the same king often varied, and was by turns good or evil. The condition of the kingdom, and of Jerusalem in particular as its metropolis, was very much affected by these mutations. Under good kings the city flourished, and under bad kings it suffered greatly. Under Rehoboam (B.C. 973) it was conquered by Shishak, king of Egypt, who pillaged the treasures of the temple (2 Chron. xii. 9). Under Amaziah it was taken by Jehoash, king of Israel, who broke down 400 cubits of the wall of the city, and took all the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the temple (2 Kings xiv. 13, 14). Uzziah, son of Amaziah, who at first reigned well, built towers in Jerusalem at the corner-gate, at the valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them (2 Chron. xvi. 9). His son, Jotham, built the high gate of the temple, and reared up many other structures (2 Chron. xvii. 3, 4). Hezekiah (B.C. 728) added to the other honours of his reign that of an improver of Jerusalem. His most eminent work in that character was the stopping of the upper course of Gihon, and bringing its waters by a subterraneous aqueduct to the west side of the city (2 Chron. xxxii. 30). This work is inferred, from 2 Kings xx., to have been of great importance to Jerusalem, as it cut off a supply of water from any besieging enemy, and bestowed it upon the inhabitants of the city. Hezekiah's son, Manasseh, in his later and best years, built a strong and very high wall on the west-side of Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14). The works in the city connected with the names of the succeeding kings of Judah were, so far as recorded, confined to the defilement of the house of the Lord by bad kings, and its purgation by good kings, till about 100 years after Manasseh, when, for the abounding iniquities of the nation, the city and temple were abandoned to destruction. After a siege of three years, Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, who razed its walls, and destroyed its temple and palaces with fire (2 Kings xxv.; 2 Chron. xxxvi.; Jer. xxxix.). Thus was Jerusalem smitten with the calamity which Moses had prophesied would befal it, if the people would not keep the commandments of the Lord, but broke his covenant (Lev. xxvi. 14; Deut. xxviii.).

The ten tribes forming the kingdom of Israel had been already upwards of 130 years transported to Assyria, when Judah also was exiled to Babylon. The castle of David, the temple of Solomon, and the entire city, lay in ruins, and to all appearance there was an end of the people as well as of the holy city, which the Lord had chosen to himself. But God, before whom a thousand years are as one day, gave to the afflicted people a glimpse beyond the present calamity and retributive judgment, into a distant futurity. The same prophets who foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, also announced the consolations of a coming time.

Moses had long before predicted that if in the land of their captivity they repented of their evil, they should be brought back again to the land out of which they had been cast (Deut. xxx. 1-5; comp. 1 Kings viii. 46-53; Neh. i. 8, 9). The Lord also, through Isaiah, condescended to point out the agency through which the restoration of the holy city was to be accomplished, and even named long before his birth the very person, Cyrus, under whose orders this was to be effected. 'Thus saith the Lord of Cyrus: He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, Thou

shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid' (Isa. xliv. 28; comp. Jer. iii. 2, 7, 8; xxiii. 3; xxxi. 10; xxxii. 36, 37).

Among the remarkably precise indications should be mentioned that in which Jeremiah (xxv. 9-12) limits the duration of Judah's captivity to 70 years.

These encouragements were continued through the prophets, who themselves shared the captivity. Of this number was Daniel, who thus prayed: 'O Lord, let thine anger be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us. O Lord, hear, forgive; defer not, for thine own sake, for thy city and thy people are called by thy name' (Dan. ix. 16. 19). While the prophet was yet speaking it was revealed to him, that the streets and the walls of Jerusalem should be built again, even in troublous times (ver. 25).

Daniel lived to see the reign of Cyrus, king of Persia (Dan. x. i.), and the fulfilment of his prayer. It was in the year B.C. 536, 'in the first year of Cyrus,' that in accomplishment of the prophecy of Jeremiah, the Lord stirred up the spirit of this prince, who made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, expressed in these remarkable words: 'The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and *he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah.* Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel' (Ezra i. 2, 3). This important call was answered by a considerable number of persons, particularly priests and Levites; and the many who declined to quit their houses and possessions in Babylonia, committed valuable gifts to the hands of their more zealous brethren. Cyrus also caused the sacred vessels of gold and silver which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the temple to be restored to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah, who took them to Jerusalem, followed by 42,360 people, beside their servants, of whom there were 7337' (Ezra i. 5-11).

On their arrival at Jerusalem they contributed according to their ability to rebuild the temple; Jeshua, the priest, and Zerubbabel, reared up an altar to offer burnt-offerings thereon; and when in the following year the foundation was laid of the new house of God, 'the people shouted for joy, but many of the Levites who had seen the first temple, wept with a loud voice' (Ezra iii. 2, 12). When the Samaritans expressed a wish to share in the pious labour, Zerubbabel declined the offer; and in revenge the Samaritans sent a deputation to king Artaxerxes of Persia, carrying a presentment in which Jerusalem was described as a rebellious city of old time, which, if rebuilt, and its walls set up again, would not pay toll, tribute, and custom, and would thus endamage the public revenue. The deputation succeeded, and Artaxerxes ordered that the building of the temple should cease. The interruption thus caused lasted to the second year of the reign of Darius (Ezra iv. 24), when Zerubbabel and Jeshua, supported by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, again resumed the work, and would not cease though cautioned by the Persian governor of Judæa. On the matter coming before Darius Hystaspis, and the Jews reminding him of the permission given by Cyrus, he decided in their favour, and also ordered that the expenses of the work should be defrayed out of the public revenue (Ezra vi. 8). In the sixth year of the reign of Darius the temple was finished, when they kept the Feast of Dedication with great joy, and next celebrated the Passover (Ezra vi. 15, 16, 19). Afterwards, in the seventh year of the second Artaxerxes, Ezra, a descendant of Aaron, came up to Jerusalem, accompanied by a large number of Jews who had remained in Babylon. He was highly patronised by the king, who not only made him a large present in gold and silver, but published a decree enjoining all treasurers of Judæa speedily to do whatever Ezra should require of them; allowing him to collect money throughout the whole province of Babylon for the wants of the temple at Jerusalem; and also giving him full power to appoint magistrates in his country to judge the people (Ezra vii. viii.) At a later period, in the twentieth year of king Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, who was his cupbearer, obtained permission to proceed to Jerusalem, and to complete the rebuilding of the city and its wall, which he happily accomplished, despite of all the opposition which he received from the enemies of Israel (Neh. i. ii. iv. vi.). The city was then capacious and large, but the people in it were few, and many houses lay still in ruins (Neh. vii. 4). At Jerusalem dwelt the rulers of the people and 'certain of the children of Judah and of the children of Benjamin;' but it was now determined that the rest of the people should cast lots to bring one of ten to the capital (Neh. xi. 1-4). All strangers, Samaritans, Ammonites, Moabites, &c., were removed, to keep the chosen people from pollution; ministers were appointed to the temple, and the service was performed according to the law of Moses (Ezra x.; Neh. viii., x., xii., xiii.). Of the Jerusalem thus by such great and long-continued exertions restored, very splendid prophecies were uttered by those prophets who flourished after the exile: the general purport of which was to describe the temple and city as destined to be glorified far beyond the former, by the advent of the long and eagerly expected Messiah, 'the desire of all nations' (Zech. ix. 9; xii. 10; xiii. 3; Hagg. ii. 6, 7; Mal. iii. 11).

Thus far the Old Testament has been our guide in the notices of Jerusalem. For what follows, down to its destruction by the Romans, we must draw chiefly upon Josephus, and the books of the Maccabees. The difficulty here, as before, is to separate what properly belongs to Jerusalem from that which belongs to the country at large. For as Jerusalem was invariably affected by whatever movement took place in the country of which it was the capital, its history might be made, and often has been made, the history of Palestine.

It is said by Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 8), that when the dominion of this part of the world passed from the Persians to the Greeks, Alexander the Great advanced against Jerusalem to punish it for the fidelity to the Persians which it had manifested while he was engaged in the siege of Tyre. His hostile purposes, however, were averted by the appearance of the high-priest Jaddua at the head of a train of priests in their sacred vestments. Alexander recognised in him the figure which in

a dream had encouraged him to undertake the conquest of Asia. He therefore treated him with respect and reverence, spared the city against which his wrath had been kindled, and granted to the Jews high and important privileges. The historian adds that the high-priest failed not to apprise the conqueror of those prophecies in Daniel by which his successes had been predicted. The whole of this story is, however, liable to suspicion, from the absence of any notice of the circumstance in the histories of this campaign which we possess.

After the death of Alexander at Babylon (B.C. 324), Ptolemy surprised Jerusalem on the Sabbath day, when the Jews would not fight, plundered the city, and carried away a great number of the inhabitants to Egypt, where, however, from the estimation in which the Jews of this period were held as citizens, important privileges were bestowed upon them (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 1). In the contests which afterwards followed for the possession of Syria (including Palestine), Jerusalem does not appear to have been directly injured, and was even spared when Ptolemy gave up Samaria, Acco, Joppa, and Gaza to pillage. The contest was ended by the treaty in B.C. 302, which annexed the whole of Palestine, together with Arabia Petræa and Cœle-Syria, to Egypt. Under easy subjection to the Ptolemies the Jews remained in much tranquillity for more than a hundred years, in which the principal incident, as regards Jerusalem itself, was the visit which was paid to it, in B.C. 245, by Ptolemy Euergetes, on his return from his victories in the East. He offered many sacrifices, and made magnificent presents to the temple. In the wars between Antiochus the Great and the kings of Egypt, from B.C. 221 to 197, Judæa could not fail to suffer severely; but we are not acquainted with any incident in which Jerusalem was principally concerned, till the alleged visit of Ptolemy Philopator in B.C. 211. He offered sacrifices, and gave rich gifts to the temple, but venturing to enter the sanctuary, in spite of the remonstrances of the high-priest, he was seized with a supernatural dread, and fled in terror from the place. It is said that on his return to Egypt he vented his rage on the Jews of Alexandria in a very barbarous manner [ALEXANDRIA]. But the whole story of his visit and its results rests upon the sole authority of the third book of Maccabees (chaps. i. and ii.), and is therefore not entitled to implicit credit. Towards the end of this war the Jews seemed to favour the cause of Antiochus; and after he had subdued the neighbouring country, they voluntarily tendered their submission, and rendered their assistance in expelling the Egyptian garrison from Mount Zion. For this conduct they were rewarded by many important privileges by Antiochus. He issued decrees directing, among other things, that the outworks of the temple should be completed, and that all the materials for needful repairs should be exempted from taxes. The peculiar sanctity of the temple was also to be respected. No foreigner was to pass the sacred walls; and the city itself was to be protected from pollution: it being strictly forbidden that the flesh or skins of any beasts which the Jews accounted unclean should be brought into it (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3). These were very liberal concessions to what the king himself must have regarded as the prejudices of the Jewish people.

Under their new masters the Jews enjoyed for a time nearly as much tranquillity as under the generally benign and liberal government of the Ptolemies. But in B.C. 176, Seleucus Philopator, hearing that great treasures were hoarded up in the temple, and being distressed for money to carry on his wars, sent his treasurer, Heliodorus, to bring away these treasures. But this personage is reported to have been so frightened and stricken by an apparition that he relinquished the attempt; and Seleucus left the Jews in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights (2 Macc. iii. 4-40; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3). His brother and successor, Antiochus Epiphanes, however, was of another mind. He took up the design of reducing them to a conformity of manners and religion with other nations; or, in other words, of abolishing those distinctive features which made the Jews a peculiar people, socially separated from all others. This design was odious to the great body of the people, although there were many among the higher classes who regarded it with favour. Of this way of thinking was Menelaus, whom Antiochus had made high-priest, and who was expelled by the orthodox Jews with ignominy, in B.C. 169, when they heard the joyful news that Antiochus had been slain in Egypt. The rumour proved untrue, and Antiochus on his return punished them by plundering and profaning the temple. Worse evils befel them two years after: for Antiochus, out of humour at being compelled by the Romans to abandon his designs upon Egypt, sent his chief collector of tribute, Apollonius, with a detachment of 22,000 men, to vent his rage on Jerusalem. This person plundered the city, and razed its walls, with the stones of which he built a citadel that commanded the temple mount. A statue of Jupiter was set up in the temple; the peculiar observances of the Jewish law were abolished; and a persecution was commenced against all who adhered to these observances, and refused to sacrifice to idols. Jerusalem was deserted by priests and people, and the daily sacrifice at the altar was entirely discontinued (1 Macc. i. 29-40; 2 Macc. v. 24-26; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 5. 4).

This led to the celebrated revolt of the Maccabees, who, after an arduous and sanguinary struggle, obtained possession of Jerusalem (B.C. 163), and repaired and purified the temple, which was then dilapidated and deserted. New utensils were provided for the sacred services: the old altar, which had been polluted by heathen abominations, was taken away, and a new one erected. The sacrifices were then recommenced, exactly three years after the temple had been dedicated to Jupiter Olympius. The castle, however, remained in the hands of the Syrians, and long proved a sore annoyance to the Jews, although Judas Maccabæus surrounded the temple with a high and strong wall, furnished with towers, in which soldiers were stationed to protect the worshippers from the Syrian garrison (1 Macc. i. 36, 37; Joseph. *Antiq.* vii. 7). Eventually the annoyance grew so intolerable that Judas laid siege to the castle. This attempt brought a powerful army into the country under the command of the regent Lysias, who, however, being constrained to turn his arms elsewhere, made peace with the Jews; but when he was ad-

mitted into the city, and observed the strength of the place, he threw down the walls, in violation of the treaty (1 Macc. vi. 48-65). In the ensuing war with Bacchides, the general of Demetrius Soter, in which Judas was slain, the Syrians strengthened their citadel, and placed in it the sons of the principal Jewish families as hostages (1 Macc. ix. 52, 53; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 1. 3). The year after (B.C. 159) the temporising high-priest Alcimus directed the wall which separated the court of Israel from that of the Gentiles to be cast down, to afford the latter free access to the temple: but he was seized with palsy as soon as the work commenced, and died in great agony (1 Macc. ix. 51-57). When, a few years after, Demetrius and Alexander Balas sought to outbid each other for the support of Jonathan, the hostages in the castle were released; and subsequently all the Syrian garrisons in Judæa were evacuated, excepting those of Jerusalem and Bethzur, which were chiefly occupied by apostate Jews, who were afraid to leave their places of refuge. Jonathan then rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, and repaired the buildings of the city, besides erecting a palace for his own residence (1 Macc. x. 2-4; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 2. 1). The particular history of Jerusalem for several years following is little more than an account of the efforts of the Maccabæan princes to obtain possession of the castle, and of the Syrian kings to retain it in their hands. At length, in B.C. 142, the garrison was forced to surrender by Simon, who demolished it altogether, that it might not again be used against the Jews by their enemies. Simon then strengthened the fortifications of the mountain on which the temple stood, and built there a palace for himself (1 Macc. xiii. 43-52; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 6). This building was afterwards turned into a regular fortress by John Hyrcanus, and was ever after the residence of the Maccabæan princes (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11. 4). It is called by Josephus 'the castle of Baris,' in his history of the Jews; till it was strengthened and enlarged by Herod the Great, who called it the castle of Antonia, under which name it makes a conspicuous figure in the Jewish wars with the Romans.

Of Jerusalem itself we find nothing of consequence, till it was taken by Pompey in the summer of B.C. 63, and on the very day observed by the Jews as one of lamentation and fasting, in commemoration of the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Twelve thousand Jews were massacred in the temple courts, including many priests, who died at the very altar rather than suspend the sacred rites (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 1-4). On this occasion Pompey, attended by his generals, went into the temple and viewed the sanctuary; but he left untouched all its treasures and sacred things, while the walls of the city itself were demolished. From this time the Jews are to be considered as under the dominion of the Romans (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 5). The treasures which Pompey had spared were seized a few years after (B.C. 51) by Crassus. In the year B.C. 43, the walls of the city, which Pompey had demolished, were rebuilt by Antipater, the father of that Herod the Great under whom Jerusalem was destined to assume the new and more magnificent aspect which it bore in the time of Christ, and which constituted the Jerusalem which Josephus describes. This Jerusalem—the Jerusalem as improved by the magnificent tastes and profuse expenditure of Herod—was probably as different from the Jerusalem before his time as the London of 1844 is from the London of 1800. And perhaps the difference was even greater, for our great fanes still exist; whereas the temple, which always formed the great architectural glory of Jerusalem, was taken down and rebuilt by Herod the Great, with a magnificence exceeding that of Solomon's (Mark xiii. 1; John ii. 20; see TEMPLE). It was in the courts of the temple as thus rebuilt, and in the streets of the city as thus improved, that the Saviour of men walked up and down. Here he taught, here he wrought miracles, here he suffered; and this was the temple whose 'goodly stones' the apostle admired (Mark xiii. 1), and of which he foretold that ere the existing generation had passed away not one stone should be left upon another. Nor was the city in this state admired by Jews only. Pliny calls it 'longe clarissimam urbium orientis, non Judææ modo' (*Hist. Nat.* v. 16).

Jerusalem seems to have been raised to this greatness, as if to enhance the misery of its overthrow. So soon as the Jews had set the seal to their formal rejection of Christ, by putting him to death, and invoking the responsibility of his blood upon the heads of themselves and of their children (Matt. xxvii. 25), its doom went forth. After having been the scene of horrors without example, it was, in A.D. 70, abandoned to the Romans, who razed the city and temple to the ground, leaving only three of the towers and a part of the western wall to show how strong a place the Roman arms had overthrown. Since then the holy city has lain at the mercy of the Gentiles, and will so remain 'until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.'

MODERN HISTORY.—The destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans did not cause the site to be utterly forsaken. Titus left there in garrison the whole of the tenth legion, besides several squadrons of cavalry and cohorts of foot. For these troops, and for those who ministered to their wants, there must have been dwellings; and there is no reason to suppose that such Jews or Christians as appeared to have taken no part in the war were forbidden to make their abode among the ruins, and building them up so far as their necessities might require. But nothing like a restoration of the city could have arisen from this, as it was not likely that any but poor people, who found an interest in supplying the wants of the garrison, were likely to resort to the ruins under such circumstances. However, we learn from Jerome that for fifty years after its destruction, until the time of Adrian, there still existed remnants of the city. But during all this period there is no mention of it in history.

Up to A.D. 131 the Jews remained tolerably quiet, although apparently waiting any favourable opportunity of shaking off the Roman yoke. The then emperor, Adrian, seems to have been aware of this state of feeling, and, among other measures of precaution, ordered Jerusalem to be rebuilt as a fortified place wherewith to keep in check the whole Jewish population. The works had made some progress, when the Jews, unable to endure the idea that their holy city should be occupied by foreigners, and that strange gods

should be set up within it, broke out into open rebellion under the notorious Barchochebas, who claimed to be the Messiah. His success was at first very great; but he was crushed before the tremendous power of the Romans, so soon as it could be brought to bear upon him; and a war scarcely inferior in horror to that under Vespasian and Titus was, like it, brought to a close by the capture of Jerusalem, of which the Jews had obtained possession. This was in A.D. 135, from which period the final dispersion of the Jews has been often dated. The Romans then finished the city according to their first intention. It was made a Roman colony, inhabited wholly by foreigners, the Jews being forbidden to approach it on pain of death: a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus was erected on Mount Moriah, and the old name of Jerusalem was sought to be supplanted by that of Ælia Capitolina, conferred upon it in honour of the emperor, Ælius Adrianus, and Jupiter Capitolinus. By this name was the city known till the time of Constantine, when that of Jerusalem again became current, although Ælia was still its public designation, and remained such so late as A.D. 536, when it appears in the acts of a synod held there. This name even passed to the Mohammedans, by whom it was long retained; and it was not till after they recovered the city from the Crusaders that it became generally known among them by the name of El-Khuds—the holy—which it still bears.

From the rebuilding by Adrian the history of Jerusalem is almost a blank till the time of Constantine, when its history, as a place of extreme solicitude and interest to the Christian church, properly begins. Pilgrimages to the Holy City now became common and popular. Such a pilgrimage was undertaken in A.D. 326 by the emperor's mother Helena, then in the 80th year of her age, who built churches on the alleged site of the nativity at Bethlehem, and of the resurrection on the Mount of Olives. This example may probably have excited her son to the discovery of the site of the holy sepulchre, and to the erection of a church thereon. He removed the temple of Venus, with which, in studied insult, the site had been encumbered. The holy sepulchre was then purified, and a magnificent church was, by his order, built over and around the sacred spot. This temple was completed and dedicated with great solemnity in A.D. 335. There is no doubt that the spot thus singled out is the same which has ever since been regarded as the place in which Christ was entombed; but the correctness of the identification then made has been of late years much disputed, on grounds which have been examined in the article GOLGOTHA. The very cross on which our Lord suffered was also, in the course of these explorations, believed to have been discovered, under the circumstances which have already been described [CROSS].

By Constantine the edict, excluding the Jews from the city of their fathers' sepulchres, was so far repealed that they were allowed to enter it once a-year to wail over the desolation of 'the holy and beautiful house,' in which their fathers worshipped God. When the nephew of Constantine, the Emperor Julian, abandoned Christianity for the old Paganism, he endeavoured, as a matter of policy, to conciliate the Jews. He allowed them free access to the city, and permitted them to rebuild their temple. They accordingly began to lay the foundations in A.D. 362; but the speedy death of the emperor probably occasioned that abandonment of the attempt, which contemporary writers ascribe to supernatural hindrances. The edicts seem then to have been renewed which excluded the Jews from the city, except on the day of annual wailing.

In the following centuries the roads to Zion were thronged with pilgrims from all parts of Christendom, and the land abounded in monasteries, occupied by persons who wished to lead a religious life amid the scenes which had been sanctified by the Saviour's presence. After much struggle of conflicting dignities Jerusalem was, in A.D. 451, declared a patriarchate by the council of Chalcedon. In the next century it found a second Constantine in Justinian, who ascended the throne A.D. 527. He repaired and enriched the former structures, and built upon Mount Moriah a magnificent church to the Virgin, as a memorial of the persecution of Jesus in the temple. He also founded ten or eleven convents in and about Jerusalem and Jericho, and established an hospital for pilgrims in each of those cities.

But these prosperous days were soon to end. The Persians, who had long harassed the empire of the East, penetrated into Syria in A.D. 614, and after defeating the forces of the Emperor Heraclius, took Jerusalem by storm. Many thousands of the inhabitants were slain, and much of the city, including the finest churches—that of the holy sepulchre among them—was destroyed. When the conquerors withdrew they took away the principal inhabitants, the patriarch, and the true cross; but when, the year after, peace was concluded, these were restored, and the Emperor Heraclius entered Jerusalem in solemn state, bearing the cross upon his shoulders.

The damage occasioned by the Persians was speedily repaired. But Arabia soon furnished a more formidable enemy in the Khalif Omar, whose troops appeared before the city in A.D. 636, Arabia, Syria, and Egypt having already been brought under the Moslem yoke. After a long siege the austere khalif himself came to the camp, and the city was at length surrendered to him in A.D. 637. The conqueror of mighty kings entered the holy city in his garment of camel's hair, and conducted himself with much discretion and generous forbearance. By his orders the magnificent mosque which still bears his name was built upon Mount Moriah, upon the site of the Jewish temple.

Jerusalem remained in possession of the Arabians, and was occasionally visited by Christian pilgrims from Europe till towards the year 1000, when a general belief that the second coming of the Saviour was near at hand, drew pilgrims in unwonted crowds to the Holy Land, and created an impulse for pilgrimages thither, which ceased not to act after the first exciting cause had been forgotten. The Moslem government, in order to derive some profit from this enthusiasm, imposed the tribute of a piece of gold as the price of entrance into the holy city. The sight, by such large numbers, of the holy place in the hands of infidels, the exaction of tribute, and the insults to which the pilgrims, often of the highest rank, were exposed from the Moslem rabble, excited an extraordinary ferment in Europe, and led

to those remarkable expeditions for recovering the Holy Sepulchre from the Mohammedans, which, under the name of the Crusades, will always fill a most important and curious chapter in the history of the world.

The dominion over Palestine had passed in A.D. 960 from the khalifs of Bagdad to the Fatemite khalifs of Egypt, who, in their turn, were dispossessed in A.D. 1073 by the Turkmans, who had usurped the powers of the eastern khalifat. The severities exercised by these more fierce and uncivilized Moslems upon both the native Christians and the European pilgrims supplied the immediate impulse to the first eastern expedition. But by the time the crusaders, under Godfrey of Bouillon, appeared before Jerusalem, on the 17th of June, 1099, the Egyptian khalifs had recovered possession of Palestine and driven the Turkmans beyond the Euphrates.

After a siege of forty days, the holy city was taken by storm on the 15th day of July; and a dreadful massacre of the Moslem inhabitants followed, without distinction of age or sex. As soon as order was restored, and the city cleared of the dead, a regular government was established by the election of Godfrey as king of Jerusalem. One of the first cares of the new monarch was to dedicate anew to the Lord the place where His Presence had once abode; and the mosque of Omar became a Christian cathedral, which the historians of the time distinguish as 'the temple of the Lord' (*Templum Domini*). The Christians kept possession of Jerusalem eighty-eight years. During this long period they appear to have erected several churches and many convents. Of the latter few, if any, traces remain; and of the former, save one or two ruins, the church of the holy sepulchre, which they rebuilt, is the only memorial which attests the existence of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. In A.D. 1187 the holy city was wrested from the hands of the Christians by the Sultan Saladin, and the order of things was then reversed. The cross was removed with ignominy from the sacred dome, the holy places were purified from Christian stain with rose-water brought from Damascus, and the call to prayer by the muezzin once more sounded over the city. From that time to the present day the holy city has remained, with slight interruption, in the hands of the Moslems. On the threatened siege by Richard of England in 1192, Saladin took great pains in strengthening its defences. New walls and bulwarks were erected, and deep trenches cut, and in six months the town was stronger than it ever had been, and the works had the firmness and solidity of a rock. But in A.D. 1219, the Sultan Melek el Moaddin of Damascus, who then had possession of Jerusalem, ordered all the walls and towers to be demolished, except the citadel and the enclosure of the mosque, lest the Franks should again become masters of the city and find it a place of strength. In this defenceless state Jerusalem continued till it was delivered over to the Christians in consequence of a treaty with the emperor Frederick II., in A.D. 1229, with the understanding that the walls should not be rebuilt. Yet ten years later (A.D. 1239) the barons and knights of Jerusalem began to build the walls anew, and to erect a strong fortress on the west of the city. But the works were interrupted by the emir David of Kerek, who seized the city, strangled the Christian inhabitants, and cast down the newly erected walls and fortress. Four years after, however (A.D. 1243), Jerusalem was again made over to the Christians without any restriction, and the works appear to have been restored and completed; for they are mentioned as existing when the city was stormed by the wild Kharismian hordes in the following year; shortly after which the city reverted for the last time into the hands of its Mohammedan masters, who have kept it to the present day.

From this time Jerusalem appears to have sunk very much in political and military importance; and it is scarcely named in the history of the Memluk sultans who reigned over Egypt and the greater part of Syria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At length, with the rest of Syria and Egypt, it passed under the sway of the Turkish sultan Selim I., who paid a hasty visit to the holy city from Damascus after his return from Egypt. From that time Jerusalem has formed a part of the Ottoman empire, and during this period has been subject to few vicissitudes: its history is accordingly barren of incident. The present walls of the city were erected by Suleiman the Magnificent, the successor of Selim, in A.D. 1542, as is attested by an inscription over the Jaffa gate. So lately as A.D. 1808, the church of the holy sepulchre was partially consumed by fire; but the damage was repaired with great labour and expense by September, 1810, and the traveller now finds in this imposing fabric no traces of the recent calamity.

In A.D. 1832, Jerusalem became subject to Mohammed Ali, the pasha of Egypt, the holy city opening its gates to him without a siege. During the great insurrection in the districts of Jerusalem and Nabulus, in 1834, the insurgents seized upon Jerusalem, and held possession of it for a time; but by the vigorous operations of the government order was soon restored, and the city reverted quietly to its allegiance on the approach of Ibrahim Pasha with his troops. In 1841 Mohammed Ali was deprived of all his Syrian possessions by European interference, and Jerusalem was again subjected to the Turkish government, under which it now remains. It is not, perhaps, the happier for the change. The only subsequent event of interest has been the establishment of a Protestant bishopric at Jerusalem by the English and Prussian governments, and the erection upon Mount Zion of a church, calculated to hold 500 persons, for the celebration of divine worship according to the ritual of the English church. For the history of Jerusalem see *History von Jerusalem*, Strasbourg, 1518; Spalding, *Gesch. d. Christl. Königsreichs Jerusalem*, Berlin, 1803; Deyling, *Æliæ Capitolinæ Origg. et Historia*, Lips. 1743; Poujoulat, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, Brux. 1842; Raumer's *Palästina;* Robinson's *Bib. Researches in Palestine*.

Before proceeding to inquire into the ancient state of the city, and to describe its present condition, it will be well to furnish the reader with a general description of the site, that he may be enabled to follow the details with the more precision. For this purpose we shall avail ourselves of the able sketch given by Professor Robinson in his *Researches* (i. 380-384).

GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY.—'Jerusalem lies near

the summit of a broad mountain-ridge. This ridge, or mountainous tract, extends, without interruption, from the plain of Esdraelon to a line drawn between the south end of the Dead Sea and the south-east corner of the Mediterranean; or, more properly, perhaps, it may be regarded as extending as far south as to Jebel Arâif in the Desert, where it sinks down at once to the level of the great western plateau. This tract, which is everywhere not less than from 20 to 25 geographical miles in breadth, is, in fact, high uneven tableland. It everywhere forms the precipitous western wall of the great valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea; while towards the west it sinks down by an off-set, into a range of lower hills, which lie between it and the great plain along the coast of the Mediterranean. The surface of this upper region is everywhere rocky, uneven, and mountainous; and is, moreover, cut up by deep valleys which run east or west on either side towards the Jordan or the Mediterranean. The line of division, or water-shed, between the waters of these valleys —a term which here applies almost exclusively to the waters of the rainy season—follows for the most part the height of land along the ridge; yet not so but that the heads of the valleys, which run off in different directions, often interlap for a considerable distance. Thus, for example, a valley which descends to the Jordan, often has its head a mile or two westward of the commencement of other valleys which run to the western sea.

From the great plain of Esdraelon onwards towards the south, the mountainous country rises gradually, forming the tract anciently known as the mountains of Ephraim and Judah; until, in the vicinity of Hebron, it attains an elevation of nearly 3000 Paris feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. Further north, on a line drawn from the north end of the Dead Sea towards the true west, the ridge has an elevation of only about 2500 Paris feet; and here, close upon the water-shed, lies the city of Jerusalem. Its mean geographical position is in lat. 31° 46′ 43″ N., and long. 35° 13′ E. from Greenwich.

Six or seven miles N. and N.W. of the city is spread out the open plain or basin round about el-Jib (Gibeon), extending also towards el-Bîreh (Beeroth); the waters of which flow off at its S.E. part through the deep valley here called by the Arabs Wady Beit Hanîna; but to which the monks and travellers have usually given the name of the 'Valley of Turpentine,' or of the Terebinth, on the mistaken supposition that it is the ancient Valley of Elah. This great valley passes along in a S.W. direction, an hour or more west of Jerusalem; and finally opens out from the mountains into the western plain, at the distance of six or eight hours S.W. from the city, under the name of Wady es Sŭrâr. The traveller, on his way from Ramleh to Jerusalem, descends into and crosses this deep valley at the village of Kulônieh on its western side, an hour and a half from the latter city. On again reaching the high ground on its eastern side, he enters upon an open tract sloping gradually downwards towards the east; and sees before him, at the distance of about two miles, the walls and domes of the holy city, and beyond them the higher ridge or summit of the Mount of Olives. The traveller now descends gradually towards the city along a broad swell of ground, having at some distance on his left the shallow northern part of the valley of Jehoshaphat; close at hand on his right the basin which forms the beginning of the Valley of Hinnom. Further down both these valleys become deep, narrow, and precipitous; that of Hinnom bends south and again east nearly at right angles, and unites with the other, which then continues its course to the Dead Sea. Upon the broad and elevated promontory within the fork of these two valleys lies the holy city. All around are higher hills; on the east the Mount of Olives; on the south the Hill of Evil Counsel, so called, rising directly from the Vale of Hinnom; on the west the ground rises gently, as above described, to the borders of the great Wady; while on the north, a bend of the ridge, connected with the Mount of Olives, bounds the prospect at the distance of more than a mile. Towards the S.W. the view is somewhat more open; for here lies the plain of Rephaim, commencing just at the southern brink of the valley of Hinnom, and stretching off S.W., where it runs to the western sea. In the N.W. too, the eye reaches up along the upper part of the valley of Jehoshaphat; and from many points can discern the mosque of Neby Samwîl, situated on a lofty ridge beyond the great Wady, at the distance of two hours.

The surface of the elevated promontory itself, on which the city stands, slopes somewhat steeply towards the east, terminating on the brink of the valley of Jehoshaphat. From the northern part, near the present Damascus gate, a depression or shallow wady runs in a southern direction, having on the west the ancient hills of Akra and Zion, and on the east the lower ones of Bezetha and Moriah. Between the hills of Akra and Zion another depression or shallow wady (still easy to be traced) comes down from near the Jaffa gate, and joins the former. It then continues obliquely down the slope, but with a deeper bed, in a southern direction, quite to the pool of Siloam and the valley of Jehoshaphat. This is the ancient Tyropœon. West of its lower part Zion rises loftily, lying mostly without the modern city; while on the east of the Tyropœon and the valley first mentioned, lie Bezetha, Moriah, and Ophel, the last a long and comparatively narrow ridge, also outside of the modern city, and terminating in a rocky point over the pool of Siloam. These three last hills may strictly be taken as only parts of one and the same ridge. The breadth of the whole site of Jerusalem, from the brow of the valley of Hinnom, near the Jaffa gate, to the brink of the valley of Jehoshaphat, is about 1020 yards, or nearly half a geographical mile; of which distance 318 yards are occupied by the area of the great mosque el-Haram esh-Sherîf. North of the Jaffa gate the city wall sweeps round more to the west, and increases the breadth of the city in that part.

The country around Jerusalem is all of limestone formation, and not particularly fertile. The rocks everywhere come out above the surface, which in many parts is also thickly strewed with loose stones; and the aspect of the whole region is barren and dreary; yet the olive thrives here abundantly, and fields of grain are seen in the valleys and level places, but they are less productive than in the region of Hebron and Nablus. Neither vineyards nor fig-trees flourish on

the high ground around the city, though the latter are found in the gardens below Siloam, and very frequently in the vicinity of Bethlehem.'

Ancient Jerusalem.—Every reader of Scripture feels a natural anxiety to form some notion of the appearance and condition of Jerusalem, as it existed in the time of Jesus, or rather as it stood before its destruction by the Romans. There are unusual difficulties in the way of satisfying this desire, although it need not be left altogether ungratified. The principal sources of these difficulties have been indicated by different travellers, and by none more forcibly than by Richardson (*Travels*, ii. 251). 'It is a tantalizing circumstance, however, for the traveller who wishes to recognise in his walks the site of particular buildings, or the scenes of memorable events, that the greater part of the objects mentioned in the description, both of the inspired and of the Jewish historian, are entirely razed from their foundation, without leaving a single trace or name behind to point out where they stood. Not an ancient tower, or gate, or wall, or hardly even a stone remains. The foundations are not only broken up, but every fragment of which they were composed is swept away, and the spectator looks upon the bare rock with hardly a sprinkling of earth to point out her gardens of pleasure, or groves of idolatrous devotion. A few gardens still remain on the sloping base of Mount Zion, watered from the pool of Siloam: the gardens of Gethsemane are still in a sort of ruined cultivation; the fences are broken down and the olive-trees decaying, as if the hand which dressed and fed them were withdrawn: the Mount of Olives still retains a languishing verdure, and nourishes a few of those trees from which it derives its name; but all round about Jerusalem the general aspect is blighted and barren: the grass is withered: the bare rock looks through the scanty sward, and the grain itself, like the starving progeny of famine, seems in doubt whether to come to maturity or die in the ear. Jerusalem has heard the voice of David and Solomon, of prophets and apostles; and He who spake as man never spake has taught in her synagogues and in her streets. Before her legislators, her poets, and her apostles, those of all other countries became dumb, and cast down their crowns, as unworthy to stand in their presence. Once she was very rich in every blessing, victorious over all her enemies, and resting in peace, with every man sitting under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, with none to disturb or to make him afraid. Jerusalem was the brightest of all the cities of the east, and fortified above all other towns; so strong that the Roman conqueror thereof, and the master of the whole world besides, exclaimed, on entering the city of David, and looking up at the towers which the Jews had abandoned, "Surely, we have had God for our assistance in the war: for what could human hands or human machines do against these towers? It is no other than God who has expelled the Jews from their fortifications." It is impossible for the Christian traveller to look upon Jerusalem with the same feelings with which he would set himself to contemplate the ruins of Thebes, of Athens, or of Rome, or of any other city which the world ever saw. There is in all the doings of the Jews, their virtues and their vices, their wisdom and their folly, a height and a depth, a breadth and a length that angels cannot fathom; their whole history is a history of miracles; the precepts of their sacred book are the most profound, and the best adapted to every station in which man can be placed: they moderate him in prosperity, sustain him in adversity, guide him in health, console him in sickness, support him at the close of life, travel on with him through death, live with him throughout endless ages of eternity, and Jerusalem lends its name to the eternal mansions of the blessed in heaven which man is admitted to enjoy through the atonement of Christ Jesus, who was born of a descendant of Judah.'

If writers who have actually visited Jerusalem have encountered such difficulties, to those who never saw the place it must be still more difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at definite conclusions respecting the ancient city. It is certain that our knowledge of its ancient state must proceed upon an accurate knowledge of its present condition. But if we compare the accounts of different travellers, and the plans which many of them have laid down, the irreconcilable differences between them produce a discouraging conviction of the insufficiency of the basis thus offered for the foundation of any fixed conclusions. And even if there were agreement in the accounts of the superficies, something more than this would be required—something more than ever perhaps will be realized while the site continues to be trodden under foot by the Gentiles. Much was done by Dr. Robinson and others during the period of the rule of the Pasha of Egypt, in which greater facilities were offered for exploration than are likely to be soon again obtained. But a far more minute and searching examination of the site than was even then realized is necessary for the purposes of antiquarian comparison. For instance, the surface is in many parts covered to a vast depth, and the character and properties of particular spots are necessarily much altered, by the accumulated rubbish of ages. Some notion of this may be formed from the fact that in seeking a foundation for the Protestant church on Mount Zion, superincumbent rubbish to the depth of fifty feet was dug through before reaching the solid rock (Olin, ii. 254). It would therefore appear that not only a very minute survey, but numerous excavations, would be necessary to the ends of a really satisfactory investigation.

To the obscurity originating in these causes may be added that which arises from the many ambiguities in the description left by Josephus, the only one which we possess, and which must form the ground-work of most of our notices respecting the ancient city. There are indeed some manifest errors in his account, which the critical reader is able to detect without having the means to rectify.

In describing Jerusalem as it stood just before its destruction by the Romans, Josephus states that the city was built upon two hills, between which lay the valley Tyropœon (Cheesemonger's Valley), to which the buildings on both hills came down. This valley extended to the fountain of Siloam. The hill on which the upper town stood was much higher than the other, and straighter in its extent. On account of its fortifications, David called it the Fortress or Castle; but in the time of Josephus it was known by the name of the Upper Market. The other hill, on which was situated the lower

town, was called Akra. It was in the form of a horseshoe or crescent. Opposite to Akra was a third, and naturally lower hill (Moriah), on which the temple was built; and between this and Akra was originally a broad valley, which the inhabitants of Jerusalem filled up in the time of Simon Maccabæus for the purpose of connecting the town with the temple. At the same time they lowered the hill Akra, so as to make the temple rise above it. Both the hills on which the upper and lower towns stood were externally surrounded by deep valleys, and here there was no approach because of the precipices on every side.

The single wall which enclosed that part of the city skirted by precipitous valleys, began at the tower of Hippicus. On the west it extended (southward) to a place called Bethso, and the gate of the Essenes; thence it kept along on the south to a point over against Siloam; and thence on the east was carried along by Solomon's Pool and Ophla (Ophel), till it terminated at the eastern portico of the temple. Of the triple walls, we are told that the first and oldest of these began at the tower of Hippicus, on the northern part, and extending (along the northern brow of Zion) to the Xystus, afterwards terminated at the western portico of the temple. The second wall began at the gate of Gennath (apparently near Hippicus), and encircling only the northern part of the city, extended to the castle of Antonia at the north-west corner of the area of the temple. The third wall was built by Agrippa at a later period: it also had its beginning at the tower of Hippicus, ran northward as far as the tower Psephinos; and thence sweeping round towards the north-east by east, it turned afterwards towards the south, and was joined to the ancient wall at or in the valley of the Kidron. This wall enclosed the hill Bezetha.

From other passages we learn that the Xystus, named in the above descriptions, was an open place in the extreme part of the upper city, where the people sometimes assembled, and that a bridge connected it with the temple (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. 3; vi. 6. 2; vi. 8. 1; comp. *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 2). Further, we are informed that on the western side of the temple area were four gates; one leading over the valley to the royal palace (on Zion) adjacent to the Xystus, probably by the bridge just mentioned; two conducting to the suburb (or new city) on the north; and the remaining one leading to 'the other city,' first by steps down into the intervening valley, and then by an ascent (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11. 5; xx. 8. 11). By this 'other city' can be meant only the lower city or Akra. The hill Bezetha, which was last enclosed, lay quite near on the north of the temple (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 8). From the account of the operations of the Romans under Titus, it may also be collected that the interior and most ancient of the three walls on the north lay between Akra and the upper city, forming the defence of the latter in this part. It was, doubtless, the same wall which ran along the northern brow of Zion.

It would be only going over this statement in other words to explain the results which it offers; and there is the less need of doing so, as they only serve to support the conclusions which have long been regarded as established. Dr. Robinson, in comparing the information derived from Josephus with his own more detailed account, declares that the main features depicted by the Jewish historian may still be recognised. 'True,' he says, 'the valley of the Tyropœon, and that between Akra and Moriah, have been greatly filled up with the rubbish accumulated from the repeated desolations of nearly eighteen centuries. Yet they are still distinctly to be traced: the hills of Zion, Akra, Moriah, and Bezetha, are not to be mistaken; while the deep valleys of the Kidron, and of Hinnom, and the Mount of Olives, are permanent natural features, too prominent and gigantic indeed to be forgotten, or to undergo any perceptible change' (*Bibl. Researches*, i. 414).

The details embraced in this general notice must be more particularly examined in connection with modern observations; for it is to be remembered that the chief or only value of these observations consists in the light which they throw on the ancient condition and history of the site.

The Walls.—Some questions of much interest are connected with the attempt to determine the course and extent of the ancient walls of Jerusalem. These questions chiefly relate to the site of the crucifixion of our Lord, and of the sepulchre in which he was laid. If the site at present indicated be the right one, then certainly there has been much alteration; for it is considerably within the modern walls, although we know that our Lord suffered and was entombed without the gate. This part of the subject has, however, been examined in the article Golgotha; and the conclusion there maintained on the point of chief interest connected with the walls, limits the inquiry to which the present notice must be directed.

The first, or most ancient wall, appears to have enclosed the whole of Mount Zion. The greater part of it, therefore, must have formed the exterior and sole wall on the south, overlooking the deep valleys below Mount Zion; and the northern part evidently passed from the tower of Hippicus on the west side, along the northern brow of Zion, and across the valley, to the western side of the temple area. It probably nearly coincided with the ancient wall which existed before the time of David, and which enabled the Jebusites to maintain themselves in possession of the upper city, long after the lower city had been in the hands of the Israelites. Mount Zion is now unwalled, and is excluded from the modern city. Some traces of this wall were visible in the time of Benjamin of Tudela, who says that the stones of the foundation were then taken away for building (*Itiner.* ed. Asher. i. 73). No trace of it can now be perceived, but by digging through the rubbish, the foundations might perhaps be discovered.

The account given by Josephus, of the second wall, is very short and unsatisfactory. This is the more to be regretted, as on the course taken by the eastern part of that wall rests the question, whether that which is now shown as the site of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre was anciently beyond the wall or not. The difficulties of this question are very great, the historical evidence being just as strongly in favour of the present site as the topographical evidence is against it. It cannot be denied that the breadth of the city, in a site limited by nature, and where, therefore, every foot of ground was precious, would be greatly and

inconveniently narrowed by drawing the line so as to place the present holy sepulchre beyond the walls. But on the other hand it must be admitted that the phrase 'beyond the walls' is often interpreted with a larger meaning than necessary. When applied to executions, gibbetings, or any purpose not allowable within the walls, we have always understood, from the analogous usages in all walled towns, that it denotes the slope or any other practicable space *immediately under* the wall, and so near to it that a slight advance of the wall would include the site. The fastening of the bodies of Saul and his sons *to* the wall of Beth-shan may illustrate this view of the case, which tends in some degree to lessen the difficulty of the question. For our present purpose it is sufficient to indicate the evident fact that this second wall enclosed the whole of the lower city, or Akra, excepting that part of the eastern side of it which fronted the Temple area on Mount Moriah, and the southern side, towards the valley which separated the lower from the upper city. In short, it was a continuation of the external wall, so far as necessary, on the west and north, and on so much of the east as was not already protected by the strong wall of the Temple area. The precise course of this wall might perhaps be determined by excavations. It is indeed our strong conviction that one good excavation along one of the two streets which intersect the Via Dolorosa would go far to settle for ever the only question of real interest connected with the subject. It is likely that the foundations of the old wall still exist; and if it lay at any point *within* the present wall, those foundations must pass under this street, and an excavation of not greater extent than those which are made every day in London for sewerage, would bring them to light, and show whether the alleged site of Calvary lay within or without the wall.

Although these were the only walls that existed in the time of our Saviour, we are not to infer that the habitable city was confined within their limits. On the contrary, it was because the city had extended northward far beyond the second wall that a third was built to cover the defenceless suburb: and there is no reason to doubt that this unprotected suburb, called Bezetha, existed in the time of Christ. This wall is described as having also begun at the tower of Hippicus: it ran northward as far as to the tower Psephinos, then passed down opposite the sepulchre of Helena (queen of Adiabene), and being carried along through the royal sepulchres, turned at the corner tower by the Fullers' monument, and ended by making a junction with the ancient wall at the valley of the Kidron. It was begun ten or twelve years after our Lord's crucifixion by the elder Herod Agrippa, who desisted from completing it for fear of offending the Emperor Claudius. But the design was afterwards taken up and completed by the Jews themselves, although on a scale of less strength and magnificence. Dr. Robinson thinks that he discovered some traces of this wall, which are described in his great work (*Bibl. Researches*, i. 466), and are indicated in our plan of Jerusalem.

The same writer thinks that the wall of the new city, the Ælia of Adrian, nearly coincided with that of the present Jerusalem: and the portion of Mount Zion which now lies outside, would seem then also to have been excluded; for Eusebius and Cyrill, in the fourth century, speak of the denunciation of the prophet being fulfilled, and describes Zion as 'a ploughed field' (Mich. iii. 2).

We know from Josephus that the circumference of the ancient city was 33 stadia, equivalent to nearly three and a half geographical miles. The circumference of the present walls does not exceed two and a half geographical miles; but the extent of Mount Zion, now without the walls, and the tract on the north formerly enclosed, or partly so, by the third wall, sufficiently account for the difference.

The history of the modern walls has already been given in the sketch of the modern history of the city. The present walls have a solid and formidable appearance, especially when cursorily observed from without; and they are strengthened, or rather ornamented, with towers and battlements after the Saracenic style. They are built of limestone, the stones being not commonly more than a foot or fifteen inches square. The height varies with the various elevations of the ground. The lower parts are probably about twenty-five feet high, while in more exposed localities, where the ravines contribute less to the security of the city, they have an elevation of sixty or seventy feet.

Gates. Much uncertainty exists respecting the ancient gates of Jerusalem. Many gates are named in Scripture; and it has been objected that they are more in number than a town of the size of Jerusalem could require—especially as they all occur within the extent embraced by the first and second walls, the third not then existing. It has, therefore, been suggested as more than probable that some of these gates were within the city, in the walls which separated the town from the temple, and the upper town from the lower, in which gates certainly existed. On the other hand, considering the circumstances under which the wall was rebuilt in the time of Nehemiah, it is difficult to suppose that more than the outer wall was then constructed, and certainly it was in the wall then built that the ten or twelve gates mentioned by Nehemiah occur. But these may be considerably reduced by supposing that two or more of the names mentioned were applied to the same gate. If this view of the matter be taken, no better distribution of these gates can be given than that suggested by Raumer.

A. On the north side.

1. The *Old Gate*, probably at the north-east corner (Neh. iii. 6; xii. 39).

2. The *Gate of Ephraim* or *Benjamin* (Jer. xxxviii. 7; xxxvii. 13; Neh. xii. 9; 2 Chron. xxv. 23). This gate doubtless derived its names from its leading to the territory of Ephraim and Benjamin; and Dr. Robinson supposes it may possibly be represented by some traces of ruins which he found on the site of the present gate of Damascus.

3. The *Corner-gate*, 300 cubits from the former, and apparently at the north-west corner (2 Chron. xxv. 9; 2 Kings xiv. 13; Zech. xiv. 10). Probably the *Gate of the Furnaces* is the same (Neh. iii. 2; xii. 38).

B. On the west side.

4. The *Valley-gate*, over against the Dragon-fountain of Gihon (Neh. ii. 13; iii. 13; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9). It was probably about the north-west

corner of Zion, where there appears to have been always a gate, and Dr. Robinson supposes it to be the same with the Gennath of Josephus.

c. On the south side.

5. The *Dung-gate*, perhaps the same as Josephus's Gate of the Essenes (Neh. ii. 13; xii. 31). It was 1000 cubits from the valley-gate (Neh. iii. 14), and the dragon-well was between them (Neh. ii. 13). This gate is probably also identical with 'the gate between two walls' (2 Kings xxv. 4; Jer. xxxix. 4; Lam. ii. 7).

6. The *Gate of the Fountain*, to the south-east (Neh. ii. 14; iii. 15); the gate of the fountain near the king's pool (Neh. ii. 14); the gate of the fountain near 'the pool of Siloah by the king's garden' (Neh. iii. 15). The same gate is probably denoted in all these instances, and the pools seem to have been also the same. It is also possible that this fountain-gate was the same otherwise distinguished as the brick-gate (or potter's gate), leading to the valley of Hinnom (Jer. xix. 2, where the Auth. Ver. has 'east-gate').

d. On the east side.

7. The *Water-gate* (Neh. iii. 26).

8. The *Prison-gate*, otherwise the *Horse-gate*, near the temple (Neh. iii. 28; xii. 39, 40).

9. The *Sheep-gate*, probably near the sheep-pool (Neh. iii. 1-32; xii. 29).

10. The *Fish-gate* was quite at the north-east (Neh. iii. 3; xii. 39; Zeph. i. 10; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14).

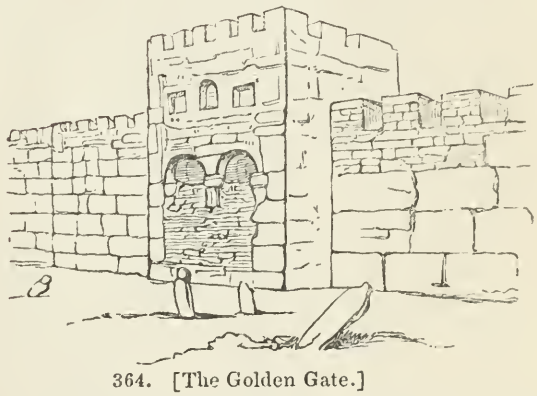
It will be observed that in two of the cases the distances of the gates from each other are mentioned. Thus the corner-gate (3) was only 300 cubits from the gate of Ephraim (2), and the dung-gate (5) was 1000 cubits from the valley-gate (4). This suggests that the gates were really nearer to each other than the objections already stated would assume, and the 'hundred-gated Thebes' may be recollected as warranting a doubt whether the ancient Orientals had the same objection to gates which are now entertained. At all events, if the circumference of the wall of Jerusalem, before the third wall was added, be assumed to have been two miles and a half, or equal to the present wall, then this extent would have allowed ten gates at the *highest* named distance of 1000 cubits apart, and more than thrice that number at the lowest named distance of 300 cubits.

In the middle ages there appear to have been two gates on each side of the city, making eight in all; and this number, being only two short of those assigned in the above estimate to the ancient Jerusalem, seems to vindicate that estimate from the objections which have been urged against it.

On the west side were two gates, of which the principal was the *Porta David*, Gate of David, often mentioned by the writers on the Crusades. It was called by the Arabs *Bab el-Mihrab*, and corresponds to the present Jaffa gate, or *Bab el-Khulil*. The other was the gate of the Fuller's Field (*Porta Villæ Fullonis*), so called from Isa. vii. 3. This seems to be the same which others call *Porta Judiciaria*, and which is described as being in the wall over against the church of the holy sepulchre, leading to Silo (Neby Samwîl) and Gibeon. This seems to be that which the Arabian writers call *Serb*. There is no trace of it in the present wall.

On the north there were also two gates; and all the middle-age writers speak of the principal of them as the gate of St. Stephen, from the notion that the death of the protomartyr took place near it. This was also called the gate of Ephraim, in reference to its probable ancient name. Arabic writers called it *Bab 'Amud el-Ghurab*, of which the present name, *Bab el-'Amud*, is only a contraction. The present gate of St. Stephen is on the *east* of the city, and the scene of the martyrdom is now placed near it; but there is no account of the change. Further east was the gate of Benjamin (*Porta Benjaminis*), corresponding apparently to what is now called the gate of Herod.

On the east there seem to have been at least two gates. The northernmost is described by Adamnanus as a small portal leading down to the valley of Jehoshaphat. It was called the gate of Jehoshaphat, from the valley to which it led. It seems to be represented by the present gate of St. Stephen. The Arabian writers call it *Bab el-Usbat*, Gate of the tribes, being another form of the modern Arabic name *Bab es-Subat*. The present gate of St. Stephen has four lions sculptured over it on the outside, which, as well as the architecture, show that it existed before the present walls. Dr. Robinson suggests that the original 'small portal' was rebuilt on a larger scale by the Franks, when they built up the walls of the city, either in A.D. 1178 or 1239. The other gate is the famous Golden Gate (*Porta*



364. [The Golden Gate.]

aurea) in the eastern wall of the temple area. It is now called by the Arabs *Bab ed-Dahariyeh*, but formerly *Bab er-Rahmeh*, 'Gate of Mercy.' The name Golden Gate appears to have come from a supposed connection with one of the ancient gates of the temple, which are said to have been covered with gold; but this name cannot be traced back beyond the historians of the Crusades. This gate is, from its architecture, obviously of Roman origin, and is conjectured to have belonged to the enclosure of the temple of Jupiter which was built by Adrian upon Mount Moriah. The exterior is now walled up; but being double, the interior forms within the area a recess, which is used for prayer by the Moslem worshipper. Different reasons are given for the closing of this gate. It was probably because it was found inconvenient that a gate to the mosque should be open in the exterior wall. Although not walled up, it was kept closed even when the Crusaders were in possession of the city, and only opened once a year on Palm Sunday, in celebration of our Lord's supposed triumphal entry through it to the temple.

On the south side were also two gates. The easternmost is now called by the Franks the Dung-gate, and by the natives *Bab el-Mugharibeh*. The earliest mention of this gate is by Brocard, about A.D. 1283, who regards it as the ancient Water-gate. Further west, between the eastern brow of Zion and the gate of David, the Crusaders found a gate which they call the Gate of Zion, corresponding to one which now bears the same name.

It thus appears that before the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by the Turks in the sixteenth century, the principal gates of the city were much the same as at the present day. But of the seven gates mentioned as still existing, three, the Dung Gate, the Golden Gate, and Herod's Gate, are closed. Thus there are only four gates now in use, one on each side of the town, all of which have been enumerated. St. Stephen's, on the east, leads to the Mount of Olives, Bethany, and Jericho. From the nature of the ground, taken in connection with the situation of the temple, a little south, there must always have been a great thoroughfare here. Zion Gate, on the south side of the city, connects the populous quarter around the Armenian convent with that part of Mount Zion which is outside the walls, and which is much resorted to as being the great field of Christian burial, as well as for its traditionary sanctity as the site of David's tomb, the house of Caiaphas, house of Mary, &c. The Jaffa Gate, on the west, is the termination of the important routes from Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Hebron. The formation of the ground suggests this as one of the great thoroughfares of the ancient city, which could here be approached from the quarters just indicated much more conveniently than at any other point. The Damascus Gate, on the north, is also planted in a vale, which in every age of Jerusalem must have been a great public way, and the easiest approach from Samaria and Galilee.

Towers.—The towers of Jerusalem are often mentioned in Scripture and in Josephus. There is, indeed, no general account of them ; but some of the principal are described, and we may reasonably infer that the others resembled them, more or less, in form and arrangement. Most of the towers mentioned by Josephus were erected by Herod the Great, and were, consequently, standing in the time of Christ. It was on these, therefore, that his eyes often rested when he approached Jerusalem, or viewed its walls and towers from the Mount of Olives. Of all these towers, the most important is that of Hippicus, which Josephus, as we have already seen, assumed as the starting-point in his description of all the walls of the city. Herod gave to it the name of a friend who was slain in battle. It was a quadrangular structure, twenty-five cubits on each side, and built up entirely solid to the height of thirty cubits. Above this solid part was a cistern twenty cubits; and then, for twenty-five cubits more, were chambers of various kinds, with a breastwork of two cubits, and battlements of three cubits upon the top. The altitude of the whole tower was consequently eighty cubits. The stones of which it was built were very large, twenty cubits long by ten broad and five high, and (probably in the upper part) were of white marble. Dr. Robinson has shown that this tower should be sought at the north-west corner of the upper city, or Mount Zion. This part, a little to the south of the Jaffa Gate, is now occupied by the citadel. It is an irregular assemblage of square towers, surrounded on the inner side towards the city by a low wall, and having on the outer or west side a deep fosse. The towers which rise from the brink of the fosse are protected on that side by a low sloping bulwark or buttress, which rises from the bottom of the trench at an angle of forty-five degrees. This part bears evident marks of antiquity, and Dr. Robinson is inclined to ascribe these massive outworks to the time of the rebuilding and fortifying of the city by Adrian. This fortress is described by the middle age historians as the tower or citadel of David. Within it, as the traveller enters the city by the Jaffa Gate, the north-eastern tower attracts his notice as bearing evident marks of higher antiquity than any of the others. The upper part is, indeed, modern, but the lower part is built of larger stones, bevelled at the edges, and apparently still occupying their original places. This tower has been singled out by the Franks, and bears among them the name of the Tower of David, while they sometimes give to the whole fortress the name of the Castle of David. Taking all the circumstances into account, Dr. Robinson thinks that the antique lower portion of this tower is in all probability a remnant of the tower of Hippicus, which, as Josephus states, was left standing by Titus when he destroyed the city. This discovery, however, is not new: the identity having been advocated by Raumer and others before Dr. Robinson travelled.

Josephus describes two other towers—those of Phasaëlus and Mariamne, both built by Herod, one of them being named after a friend, and the other after his favourite wife. They stood not far from Hippicus, upon the first or most ancient wall, which ran from the latter tower eastward, along the northern brow of Zion. Connected with these towers and Hippicus was the royal castle or palace of the first Herod, which was enclosed by this wall on the north, and on the other sides by a wall thirty cubits high. The whole was furnished with great strength and regal splendour, and furnished with halls, and galleries, and cisterns, and apartments without number (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 3, 4; v. 4. 4). These were the three mighty towers which Titus left standing as monuments of the strength of the place which had yielded to his arms. But nothing now remains save the above-mentioned supposed remnant of the tower of Hippicus.

A fourth tower, called Psephinos, is mentioned by Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 2, 3). It stood at the north-west corner of the third or exterior wall of the city. It did not, consequently, exist in the time of Christ, seeing that the wall itself was built by Herod Agrippa, to whom also the tower may be ascribed. It was of an octagonal form, seventy cubits high, and from it could be seen Arabia towards the rising sun, and the inheritance of the Hebrews quite to the sea. This shows that it must have stood upon the high swell of ground which extends up north-north-west from the north-west corner of the present city. In this quarter there are ancient substructions, apparently of towers and other fortifications, and although none of them may be actually those of Psephinos, Dr. Robinson conceives that the tower stood somewhere in this vicinity.

The above are the only towers which the historian particularly mentions. But in describing the outer or third wall of Agrippa, he states that it had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits more: and as the wall was twenty cubits high, this would make the turrets of the height of twenty-five cubits or nearly thirty-eight feet. Many loftier and more substantial towers than these were erected on each of the walls at regulated distances, and furnished with every requisite for convenience or defence. Of those on the third or outer wall are enumerated ninety; on the middle or second wall, forty; and on the inner or ancient wall, sixty.

Public Buildings.—The temple was in all ages the great glory and principal public building of Jerusalem, as the heathen temple, church, or mosque, successively occupying the same site, has been ever since the Jewish temple was destroyed. That temple is reserved for a separate article [Temple], and there are few other public edifices which require a particular description. Those most connected with Scripture history are the palace of Herod and the tower of Antonia. The former has already been noticed. In the time of Christ it was the residence of the Roman procurators while in Jerusalem; and as such provincial residences were called by the Romans *Prætoria*, this was the prætorium or judgment-hall of Pilate (Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28). In front of the palace was the tribunal or 'judgment-seat,' where the procurator sat to hear and determine the causes; and where Pilate was seated when our Lord was brought before him. It was a raised pavement of mosaic work (λιθόστρωτον), called in the Hebrew *Gabbatha*, or 'an elevated place' [Judgment-Hall].

The tower or castle of Antonia stood on a steep rock adjoining the north-west corner of the temple. It has already been mentioned (p. 94) that it originated under the Maccabees, who resided in it. The name of *Baris* (בִּירָא, Βαρύς or Βαρεῖς), which it obtained, was originally the Persian name of a royal palace; but which, according to Jerome (*Epist. ad Princip.* ii. 639), was afterwards adopted in Palestine, and applied to all the large quadrangular dwellings built with turrets and walls. As improved by Herod, who gave it the name of Antonia, after his patron Mark Antony, this fortress had all the extent and appearance of a palace, being divided into apartments of every kind, with galleries and baths, and also broad halls or barracks for soldiers; so that, as having every thing necessary within itself, it seemed a city, while in its magnificence it was a palace. At each of the four corners was a tower, one of which was seventy cubits high, and overlooked the whole temple with its courts. The fortress communicated with the cloisters of the temple by secret passages, through which the soldiers could enter and quell any tumults, which were always apprehended at the time of the great festivals. It was to a guard of these soldiers that Pilate referred the Jews as a 'watch' for the sepulchre of Christ. This tower was also 'the castle' into which St. Paul was carried when the Jews rose against him in the temple, and were about to kill him; and where he gave his able and manly account of his conversion and conduct (Acts xxi. 27-40; xxii.). This tower was, in fact, the citadel of Jerusalem.

Waters of Jerusalem.—In his account of the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey, Strabo says that the town was well provided with water within the walls, but that there was none in the environs (*Geog.* xvi. 2, 10). Probably the Roman troops then suffered from want of water, as did other armies which laid siege to Jerusalem. In the narratives of all such sieges we never read of the besieged suffering from thirst, although driven to the most dreadful extremities and resources by hunger, while the besiegers are frequently described as suffering greatly from want of water, and as being obliged to fetch it from a great distance. The agonies of thirst sustained by the first crusaders in their siege of Jerusalem will be remembered by most readers from the vivid picture drawn by Tasso, if not from the account furnished by William of Tyre. Yet when the town was taken plenty of water was found within it. This is a very singular circumstance, and is perhaps only in part explained by reference to the system of preserving water in cisterns, as at this day, in Jerusalem.

Solomon's aqueduct near Bethlehem to Jerusalem could have been no dependence, as its waters might easily have been cut off by the besiegers. All the wells also are now outside the town; and no interior fountain is mentioned save that of Hezekiah, which is scarcely fit for drinking. At the siege by Titus the well of Siloam may have been in possession of the Jews, *i. e.* within the walls; but at the siege by the Crusaders it was certainly held by the besieging Franks; and yet the latter perished from thirst, while the besieged had 'ingentes copias aquæ.' We cannot here go through the evidence which by combination and comparison might throw some light on this remarkable question. There is, however, good ground to conclude that from very ancient times there has been under the temple an unfailing source of water, derived by secret and subterraneous channels from springs to the west of the town, and communicating by other subterraneous passages with the pool of Siloam and the fountain of the Virgin in the east of the town, whether they were within or without the walls of the town.

The existence of a perennial source of water below the temple has always been admitted. Tacitus knew of it (*Hist.* v. 12); and Aristeas, in describing the ancient temple, informs us that 'the supply of water was unfailing, inasmuch as there was an abundant natural fountain flowing in the interior, and reservoirs of admirable construction under ground, extending five stadia round the temple, with pipes and conduits unknown to all except those to whom the service was entrusted, by which the water was brought to various parts of the temple and again conducted off.' The Moslems also have constantly affirmed the existence of this fountain or cistern. But a reserve has always been kept up as to the means by which it is supplied. This reserve seems to have been maintained by the successive occupants of Jerusalem as a point of civic honour; and this fact alone intimates that there was danger to the town in its becoming known, and points to the fact that the supply came from without the city by secret channels, which it was of importance not to disclose. Yet we are plainly told in the Bible that Hezekiah 'stopped the upper water-course of Gihon,

and brought it down to the west side of the city of David' (1 Kings i. 33, 38): from 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, it seems that all the neighbouring fountains were thus 'stopped' or covered, and the brook which they had formed diverted by subterraneous channels into the town, for the express purpose of preventing besiegers from finding the 'much water' which previously existed outside the walls (comp. also Ecclus. xlviii. 17). Perhaps, likewise, the prophet Ezekiel (xlvii. 1-12) alludes to this secret fountain under the temple when he speaks of waters issuing from the threshold of the temple towards the east, and flowing down towards the desert as an abundant and beautiful stream. This figure may be drawn from the waters of the inner source under the temple, being at the time of overflow discharged by the outlets at Siloam, into the Kidron, which takes the eastward course thus described.

There are certainly wells, or rather shafts, in and near the temple area, which are alleged to derive their waters through a passage of masonry four or five feet high, from a chamber or reservoir cut in the solid rock under the grand mosque, in which the water is said to rise from the rock into a basin at the bottom. The existence of this reservoir and source of water is affirmed by all Moslems, and coincides with the preceding intimations, but it must be left for future explorers to clear up all the obscurities in which the matter is involved.

The ordinary means taken by the inhabitants to secure a supply of water have been described under the article Cistern; and the reader may be referred for interesting details to Raumer's *Palästina*, pp. 329-333; Robinson's *Researches*, i. 479-516; and Olin's *Travels*, ii. 168-181.

Modern Jerusalem.—In proceeding to furnish a description of the present Jerusalem, we shall, for the most part, place ourselves under the guidance of Dr. Olin, whose account is not only the most recent, but is by far the most complete and satisfactory which has of late years been produced.

The general view of the city from the Mount of Olives is mentioned more or less by all travellers as that from which they derive their most distinct and abiding impression of Jerusalem.

The summit of the Mount of Olives is about half a mile east from the city, which it completely overlooks, every considerable edifice and almost every house being visible. The city seen from this point appears to be a regular inclined plain, sloping gently and uniformly from west to east, or towards the observer, and indented by a slight depression or shallow vale, running nearly through the centre, in the same direction. The south-east corner of the quadrangle—for that may be assumed as the figure formed by the rocks—that which is nearest to the observer, is occupied by the mosque of Omar and its extensive and beautiful grounds. This is Mount Moriah, the site of Solomon's temple, and the ground embraced in the sacred enclosure, which conforms to that of the ancient temple, occupies about an eighth of the whole modern city. It is covered with green sward and planted sparingly with olive, cypress, and other trees, and it is certainly the most lovely feature of the town, whether we have reference to the splendid structures or the beautiful lawn spread out around them.

The south-west quarter, embracing that part of Mount Zion which is within the modern town, is to a great extent occupied by the Armenian convent, an enormous edifice, which is the only conspicuous object in this neighbourhood. The north-west is largely occupied by the Latin convent, another very extensive establishment. About midway between these two convents is the castle or citadel, close to the Bethlehem gate, already mentioned. The north-east quarter of Jerusalem is but partially built up, and it has more the aspect of a rambling agricultural village than that of a crowded city. The vacant spots here are green with gardens and olive-trees. There is another large vacant tract along the southern wall, and west of the Haram, also covered with verdure. Near the centre of the city also appear two or three green spots, which are small gardens. The church of the Holy Sepulchre is the only conspicuous edifice in this vicinity, and its domes are striking objects. There are no buildings which, either from their size or beauty, are likely to engage the attention. Eight or ten minarets mark the position of so many mosques in different parts of the town, but they are only noticed because of their elevation above the surrounding edifices. Upon the same principle the eye rests for a moment upon a great number of low domes, which form the roofs of the principal dwellings, and relieve the heavy uniformity of the flat plastered roofs which cover the greater mass of more humble habitations. Many ruinous piles and a thousand disgusting objects are concealed or disguised by the distance. Many inequalities of surface, which exist to so great an extent that there is not a level street of any length in Jerusalem, are also unperceived.

From the same commanding point of view a few olive and fig-trees are seen in the lower part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and scattered over the side of Olivet from its base to the summit. They are sprinkled yet more sparingly on the southern side of the city on Mounts Zion and Ophel. North of Jerusalem the olive plantations appear more numerous as well as thriving, and thus offer a grateful contrast to the sun-burnt fields and bare rocks which predominate in this landscape. The region west of the city appears to be destitute of trees. Fields of stunted wheat, yellow with the drought rather than white for the harvest, are seen on all sides of the town.

Jerusalem, as seen from Mount Olivet, is a plain inclining gently and equably to the East. Once enter its gates, however, and it is found to be full of inequalities. The passenger is always ascending or descending. There are no level streets, and little skill or labour has been employed to remove or diminish the inequalities which nature or time has produced. Houses are built upon mountains of rubbish, which are probably twenty, thirty, or fifty feet above the natural level, and the streets are constructed with the same disregard to convenience, with this difference, that some slight attention is paid to the possibility of carrying off surplus water. The latter are, without exception, narrow, seldom exceeding eight or ten feet in breadth. The houses often meet, and in some instances a building occupies both sides of the street, which runs under a succession of arches barely high

enough to permit an equestrian to pass under them. A canopy of old mats or of plank is suspended over the principal streets when not arched. This custom had its origin, no doubt, in the heat of the climate, which is very intense in summer, and it gives a gloomy aspect to all the most thronged and lively parts of the city. These covered ways are often pervaded by currents of air when a perfect calm prevails in other places. The principal streets of Jerusalem run nearly at right angles to each other. Very few if any of them bear names among the native population. They are badly paved, being merely laid irregularly with raised stones, with a deep square channel, for beasts of burden, in the middle; but the steepness of the ground contributes to keep them cleaner than in most Oriental cities.

The houses of Jerusalem are substantially built of the limestone of which the whole of this part of Palestine is composed: not usually hewn, but broken into regular forms, and making a solid wall of very respectable appearance. For the most part there are no windows next to the street, and the few which exist for the purposes of light or ventilation are completely masked by casements and lattice-work. The apartments receive their light from the open courts within. The ground plot is usually surrounded by a high enclosure, commonly forming the walls of the house only, but sometimes embracing a small garden and some vacant ground. The rain-water which falls upon the pavement is carefully conducted, by means of gutters, into cisterns, where it is preserved for domestic uses. The people of Jerusalem rely chiefly upon these reservoirs for their supply of this indispensable article. Every house has its cistern, and the larger habitations are provided with a considerable number of them, which occupy the ground-story or cells formed for the purpose below it. Stone is employed in building for all the purposes to which it can possibly be applied, and Jerusalem is hardly more exposed to accidents by fire than a quarry or subterranean cavern. The floors, stairs, &c. are of stone, and the ceiling is usually formed by a coat of plaster laid upon the stones, which at the same time form the roof and the vaulted top of the room. Doors, sashes, and a few other appurtenances, are all that can usually be afforded of a material so expensive as wood. The little timber which is used is mostly brought from Mount Lebanon, as in the time of Solomon. A rough, crooked stick of the fig-tree, or some gnarled, twisted planks made of the olive—the growth of Palestine—are occasionally seen. In other respects the description in the article HOUSE will afford a sufficient notion of those in Jerusalem. A large number of houses in Jerusalem are in a dilapidated and ruinous state. Nobody seems to make repairs so long as his dwelling does not absolutely refuse him shelter and safety. If one room tumbles about his ears he removes into another, and permits rubbish and vermin to accumulate as they will in the deserted halls. Tottering staircases are propped to prevent their fall; and when the edifice becomes untenable, the occupant seeks another a little less ruinous, leaving the wreck to a smaller or more wretched family, or, more probably, to a goatherd and his flock. Habitations which have a very respectable appearance as seen from the street, are often found, upon entering them, to be little better than heaps of ruins.

Nothing of this would be suspected from the general appearance of the city as seen from the various commanding points without the walls, nor from anything that meets the eye in the streets. Few towns in the East offer a more imposing spectacle to the view of the approaching stranger. He is struck with the height and massiveness of the walls, which are kept in perfect repair, and naturally produce a favourable opinion of the wealth and comfort which they are designed to protect. Upon entering the gates, he is apt, after all that has been published about the solitude that reigns in the streets, to be surprised at meeting large numbers of people in the chief thoroughfares, almost without exception decently clad. A longer and more intimate acquaintance with Jerusalem, however, does not fail to correct this too favourable impression, and demonstrate the existence and general prevalence of the poverty and even wretchedness which must result in every country from oppression, from the absence of trade, and the utter stagnation of all branches of industry. Considerable activity is displayed in the bazaars, which are supplied scantily, like those of other Eastern towns, with provisions, tobacco, coarse cottons, and other articles of prime necessity. A considerable business is still done in beads, crosses, and other sacred trinkets, which are purchased to a vast amount by the pilgrims who annually throng the holy city. The support and even the existence of the considerable population of Jerusalem depend upon this transient patronage—a circumstance to which a great part of the prevailing poverty and degradation is justly ascribed. The worthless articles employed in this pitiful trade are, almost without exception, brought from other places, especially Hebron and Bethlehem—the former celebrated for its baubles of glass, the latter chiefly for rosaries, crucifixes, and other toys made of mother-of-pearl, olive-wood, black stones from the Dead Sea, &c. These are eagerly bought up by the ignorant pilgrims, sprinkled with holy water by the priests, or consecrated by some other religious mummery, and carried off in triumph and worn as ornaments to charm away disease and misfortune, and probably to be buried with the deluded enthusiast in his coffin, as a sure passport to eternal blessedness. With the departure of the swarms of pilgrims, however, even this poor semblance of active industry and prosperity deserts the city. With the exception of some establishments for soap making, a tannery, and a very few weavers of coarse cottons, there do not appear to be any manufactures properly belonging to the place. Agriculture is almost equally wretched, and can only give employment to a few hundred people. The masses really seem to be without any regular employment. A considerable number, especially of the Jews, profoundly live on charity. Many Christian pilgrims annually find their way hither on similar resources, and the approaches to the holy places are thronged with beggars, who in piteous tones demand alms in the name of Christ and the Blessed Virgin. The general condition of the population is that of abject poverty. A few Turkish officials, ecclesiastical, civil, and military; some remains of the old Mohammedan aristocracy—once powerful and rich, but now much impoverished and nearly extinct; to-

gether with a few tradesmen in easy circumstances, form almost the only exceptions to the prevailing indigence. There is not a single broker among the whole population, and not the smallest sum can be obtained on the best bills of exchange short of Jaffa or Beirout.

Inhabitants.—The number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem has been variously estimated by different travellers, some making it as high as 30,000, others as low as 12,000. An average of these estimates would make it somewhere between 12,000 and 15,000; but the Egyptian system of taxation and of military conscription in Syria has lately furnished more accurate data than had previously been obtainable, and on these Dr. Robinson estimates the population at not more than 11,500, distributed thus—

Mohammedans . . .	4,500
Jews	3,000
Christians . . .	3,500
	11,000

If to this be added something for possible omissions, and the inmates of the convents, the standing population, exclusive of the garrison, cannot well exceed 11,500. The Moslems, it will be seen, exceed in number the Jews or Christians respectively, but are much fewer than these two bodies united. To all these classes Jerusalem is holy; and is the only city in the world which peoples of such different origin, races, language, and religions agree to regard with nearly equal veneration.

The language most generally spoken among them is the Arabic. Schools are rare, and consequently facility in reading is not often met with. The general condition of the inhabitants has already been indicated.

The Turkish governor of the town holds the rank of Pasha, but is responsible to the Pasha of Beirout. The government is somewhat milder than before the period of the Egyptian dominion; but it is said that the Jewish and Christian inhabitants at least have ample cause to regret the change of masters, and the American missionaries lament that change without reserve (*Am. Bib. Repos.* for 1843). Yet the Moslems reverence the same spots which the Jews and Christians account holy, the holy sepulchre only excepted; and this exception arises from their disbelief that Christ was crucified, or buried, or rose again. Formerly there were in Palestine monks of the Benedictine and Augustine orders, and of those of St. Basil and St. Anthony; but since 1304 there have been none but Franciscans, who have charge of the Latin convent and the holy places. They resided on Mount Zion till A.D. 1561, when the Turks allowed them the monastery of St. Salvador, which they now occupy. They had formerly a handsome revenue out of all Roman Catholic countries, but these sources have fallen off since the French revolution, and the establishment is said to be poor and deeply in debt. The expenses arise from the duty imposed upon the convent of entertaining pilgrims; and the cost of maintaining the twenty convents belonging to the establishment of the Terra Santa is estimated at 40,000 Spanish dollars a year. Formerly it was much higher, in consequence of the heavy exactions of the Turkish government. Burckhardt says that the brotherhood paid annually 12,000*l.* to the Pasha of Damascus. But the Egyptian government relieved them from these heavy charges, and imposed instead a regular tax on the property possessed. For the buildings and lands in and around Jerusalem the annual tax was fixed at 7000 piastres, or 350 Spanish dollars. It is probable that the restored Turkish government has not yet, in this respect, recurred to its old oppressions. The convent contains fifty monks, half Italians and half Spaniards. In it resides the Intendant or the Principal of all the convents, with the rank of abbot, and the title of Guardian of Mount Zion and Custos of the Holy Land. He is always an Italian, and has charge of all the spiritual affairs of the Roman Catholics in the Holy Land. There is also a president or vicar, who takes the place of the guardian in case of absence or death: he was formerly a Frenchman, but is now either an Italian or Spaniard. The procurator, who manages their temporal affairs, is always a Spaniard. A council, called Discretorium, composed of these officials and three other monks, has the general management of both spiritual and temporal matters. Much of the attention of the order is occupied, and much of its expense incurred, in entertaining pilgrims and in the distribution of alms. The native Roman Catholics live around the convent, on which they are wholly dependant. They are native Arabs, and are said to be descended from converts in the times of the Crusades.

There is a Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, but he usually resides at Constantinople, and is represented in the holy city by one or more vicars, who are bishops residing in the great convent near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At present the vicars are the bishops of Lydda, Nazareth, and Kerek (Petra), assisted by the other bishops resident in the convent. In addition to thirteen monasteries in Jerusalem, they possess the convent of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem, that of St. Helena between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and that of St. John, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. All the monks of the convents are foreigners. The Christians of the Greek rite who are not monks are all native Arabs, with their native priests, who are allowed to perform the church services in their mother tongue—the Arabic.

The Armenians in Jerusalem have a patriarch, with three convents and 100 monks. They have also convents at Bethlehem, Ramleh, and Jaffa. Few of the Armenians are natives: they are mostly merchants, and among the wealthiest inhabitants of the place; and their convent in Jerusalem is deemed the richest in the Levant. Their church of St. James upon Mount Zion is very showy in its decorations, but void of taste. The Coptic Christians at Jerusalem are only some monks residing in the convent of Es-Sultan, on the north side of the pool of Hezekiah. There is also a convent of the Abyssinians, and one belonging to the Jacobite Syrians.

The estimate of the number of the Jews in Jerusalem at 3000 is given by Dr. Robinson on the authority of Mr. Nicolayson, the resident missionary to the Jews; yet in the following year (1839) the Scottish deputation set them down at six or seven thousand on the same authority. On referring this difficulty to the Rev. R. S. Herschell (lately returned from Jerusalem), he con-

firms the lower estimate of the number of Jews, but is inclined to reckon the entire population at 15,000. They inhabit a distinct quarter of the town between Mount Zion and Mount Moriah. This is the worst and dirtiest part of the holy city, and that in which the plague never fails to make its first appearance. Few of the Jerusalem Jews are natives; and most of them come from foreign parts to die in the city of their fathers' sepulchres. The greater proportion of them are from different parts of the Levant, and appear to be mostly of Spanish and Polish origin. Few are from Germany, or understand the German language. They are for the most part wretchedly poor, and depend in a great degree for their subsistence upon the contributions of their brethren in different countries. These contributions have of late years been smaller than usual; and when they arrive are the occasion of much heartburning and strife. The Scottish Deputation (*Narrative*, p. 148) say, 'They are always quarrelling, and frequently apply to the consul to settle their disputes. The expectation of support from the annual European contributions leads many of them to live in idleness. Hence there are in Jerusalem 500 acknowledged paupers, and 500 more who receive charity in a quiet way. Many are so poor that, if not relieved, they would not stand out the winter season. A few are shopkeepers, and a few more hawkers, and a very few are operatives. None of them are agriculturists—not a single Jew cultivates the soil of his fathers.' Reisner, *Icrusalem Vetustissima Descripta*, Francof. 1563; Olshausen, *Zur Topographie d. alten Jerusalem*, Kiel, 1833; Adrichomius, *Jerusalem sicut Christi tempore floruit*, Colon. 1593; Chrysanthi (Beat. Patr. Hierosolymorum) *Historia et Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ, Urbisque Sanctæ Hierusalem*, Venet. 1728 (this work is in Greek); D'Anville, *Dissert. sur l'Etendue de l'Ancienne Jerusalem*, Paris, 1747: the articles on Jerusalem in Ersch and Grüber's *Encyclopädie;* in Raumer's *Palästina;* in Winer's *Realwörterbuch;* in Eugene Roger's *La Terre Saincte, ou Descript. Topographique très-particulière des Sainctes Lieux, et de la Terre de Promission*, Paris, 1646; and in Dr. Robinson's *Bibl. Researches in Palestine;* with the additions since published in the *Biblical Repository* and *Bibliotheca Sacra:* also, the notices of Jerusalem in various books of travels, particularly those of Cotovicus, Zuallart, Radzivil, Morison, Nau, Sandys, Doubdan, D'Arvieux, Maundrell, Pococke, Niebuhr, Clarke, Turner, Buckingham, Richardson, Richter, Jolliffe, Jowett, Prokesch, Scholz, Monro, Hardy, Stephens, Paxton, Schubert, Olin, Stent, Formby, and the Scottish Deputation. Less important notices may be found in other books of travels; and the Journals of Missionaries, printed in the *Missionary Register*, *American Missionary Herald*, and *Jewish Expositor*, have occasionally contained interesting notices of the Holy City.

JESHUA, or Joshua, son of Jozedech, and high-priest of the Jews when they returned, under Zerubbabel, from the Babylonian exile (B.C. 536). He was, doubtless, born during the exile. His presence and exhortations greatly promoted the rebuilding of the city and temple. The altar of the latter being first erected, enabled him to sanctify their labour by the religious ceremonies and offerings which the law required. Jeshua joined with Zerubbabel in opposing the machinations of the Samaritans (Ezra iv. 3); and he was not found wanting in zeal when the works, after having been interrupted, were resumed in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (Ezra v. 2; Hagg. i. 12). Several of the prophet Haggai's utterances are addressed to Jeshua (Hagg. i. 1; ii. 2), and his name occurs in two of the symbolical prophecies of Zechariah (iii. 1-10; vi. 11-15). In the first of these passages Jeshua, as pontiff, represents the Jewish people covered at first with the garb of slaves, and afterwards with the new and glorious vestures of deliverance. In the second he wears for a moment crowns of silver and gold, as symbols of the sacerdotal and regal crowns of Israel, which were to be united on the head of the Messiah.

JESHURUN (יְשֻׁרוּן; Sept. *ἠγαπημένος*; Vulg. *dilectus* in Deut., *rectissimus* in Isaiah), a name poetically applied to Israel in Deut. xxxii. 15; xxxiii. 5, 26; Isa. xliv. 2. It has been very variously understood, but it is generally agreed to be a poetical diminutive expressive of affection. The root is ישר = אשר, *to be straight, right, upright, righteous.* In this character, as entirely upright (for the termination is intensitive), Jehovah recognises his people in consideration of their covenant relation to him, whereby, while they observed the terms of that covenant, they stood legally righteous before him and clean in his sight. It is in this sense that the ancient kings are said to have done הַיָּשָׁר, 'that which was right' in the eyes of Jehovah.

JESSE (יִשַׁי, *firm;* Sept. Ἰεσσαί), a descendant of Obed, the son of Boaz and Ruth. He was the father of eight sons: from the youngest of whom, David, is reflected all the distinction which belongs to the name. He seems to have been a person of some note and substance at Bethlehem, his property being chiefly in sheep. It would seem from 1 Sam. xvi. 10, that he must have been aware of the high destinies which awaited his son; but it is doubtful if he ever lived to see them realized. The last historical mention of Jesse is in relation to the asylum which David procured for him with the king of Moab (1 Sam. xxii. 3).

JESUS CHRIST (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός), the ordinary designation of the incarnate Son of God, and Saviour of mankind. This double designation is not, like Simon Peter, John Mark, Joses Barnabas, composed of a name and a surname, but, like John the Baptist, Simon Magus, Bar-Jesus Elymas, of a proper name, and an official title. Jesus was our Lord's proper name, just as Peter, James, and John were the proper names of three of his disciples. The name seems not to have been an uncommon one among the Jews. The apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus is attributed to Jesus the son of Sirach; and, in the New Testament, we read of Jesus, the father of Elymas the sorcerer (Acts xiii. 6), and of 'Jesus, which is called Justus of the circumcision' (Col. iv. 11), one of Paul's 'fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God which had been a comfort to him.' To distinguish our Lord from others bearing the name, he was termed Jesus of Nazareth (John xviii. 7, &c.), Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος, and Jesus the son of Joseph (John vi. 12, &c.).

Some of the fathers, from their ignorance of the Hebrew language, have given a Greek etymology to the name. They derive it from the noun ἴασις, healing. Thus Eusebius, 'Ιησοῦς ὠνομάζετο παρ' ὅσον τῆς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν ἰάσεώς τε καὶ θεραπείας χαρίν τὴν πάροδον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐποιεῖτο (*Demonst. Evang.* lib. iv.); and Cyril of Jerusalem, 'Ιησοῦς καλεῖται φερωνύμως, ἐκ τῆς σωτηριώδεος ἰάσεως ἔχων τὴν προσηγορίαν (*Catech. Illum.* x.).*

There can be no doubt that Jesus is the Greek form of a Hebrew name, which had been borne by two illustrious individuals in former periods of the Jewish history,—the successor of Moses and introducer of Israel into the promised land (Exod. xxiv. 13), and the high-priest who, along with Zerubbabel (Zech. iii. 1), took so active a part in the re-establishment of the civil and religious polity of the Jews on their return from the Babylonish captivity. Its original and full form is Jehoshua (Num. xiii. 16). By contraction it became Joshua, or Jeshua; and when transferred into Greek, by taking the termination characteristic of that language, it assumed the form Jesus. It is thus the names of the illustrious individuals referred to are uniformly written in the Sept.; and the first of them is twice mentioned in the New Testament by this name (Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8).

The conferring of this name on our Lord was not the result of accident, or of the ordinary course of things, there being 'none of his kindred,' so far as we can trace from the two genealogies, 'called by that name' (Luke i. 61). It was the consequence of a twofold miraculous interposition. The angel who announced to his virgin mother that she was to be 'the most honoured of women,' in giving birth to the Son of God and the Saviour of men, intimated also to her the name by which the holy child was to be called: 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus' (Luke i. 31). And it was probably the same heavenly messenger who appeared to Joseph, and, to remove his suspicions and quiet his fears, said to him, 'That which is conceived in thy wife Mary is of the Holy Ghost, and she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus' (Matt. i. 20, 21). The pious pair were 'not disobedient to the heavenly vision.' 'When eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus, which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb' (Luke ii. 21).

The name Jesus, like most of Jewish proper names, was significant; and, as might well be expected, when we consider who imposed it, its meaning is at once important and appropriate. The *precise* import of the word has been a subject of doubt and debate among interpreters. As to its *general* meaning there is all but an unanimous concurrence. It was intended to denote that he who bore it was to be a Deliverer or Saviour. This, whatever more, is indicated in the original word; and the reason given by the angel for the imposition of this name on the Virgin's son was 'because he shall save his people from their sins' (Matt. i. 21). But while some interpreters hold that it is just a part of the verb signifying to save, in the form Hiphil, slightly modified, and that it signifies 'he shall save,' others hold that it is a compound word formed by the addition of two letters of the incommunicable name of the divinity, יהוה, to that verb, and that it is equivalent to 'The Salvation of the Lord,' or 'The Lord the Saviour.' It is not a matter of vital importance. The following circumstances seem to give probability to the latter opinion It does not appear likely that Moses would have changed the name of his destined successor from Oshea, which signifies 'saviour,' into Jehoshua (Num. xiii. 16), if the latter signified merely he shall save; whereas, if the word be a compound term, embodying in it the name Jehovah, we see an adequate reason for the change. In the first chapter of the Gospel by Matthew (Matt. i. 22, 23), the most natural interpretation of the words (though they admit of another exegesis) seems to imply that the prediction of Isaiah, that the Virgin's son should be called Immanuel, was fulfilled in the imposition of the name Jesus on the Son of Mary. This would be the case only on the supposition that Immanuel and Jesus are equivalent terms, a supposition which cannot be sustained unless *Jesus* can be fairly rendered 'Jehovah will save,' or 'Jehovah the Saviour.' In that case, Jesus and Immanuel—God *with* us, *i.e.* on our side—express the same ideas.

It is right, however, to remark, that the merely bearing such a name as either Immanuel or Jesus, even by divine appointment, is not *of itself* evidence of the divinity of him who bears it. The Hebrews were in the habit of giving names, both to persons and places, which were intended not to describe their distinctive properties, but to express some important general truth. Jacob called an altar built by him El-Elohe-Israel (Gen. xxxiii. 20), 'God the God of Israel,' *i. e.* God is the God of Israel. Moses called an altar he built Jehovah Nissi (Exod. xvii. 15), 'Jehovah my banner,' *i. e.* Jehovah is my banner. The name Jehoshua, as borne by him who brought the people of the Lord into the heritage of the Gentiles, means no more than that by him Jehovah would deliver his people. In many of the proper names in the Old Testament, the name El, or Jehovah, forms a part. Yet when, as in the case before us, he who bears such a name, by express divine appointment, is shown 'by many infallible proofs' to be indeed an incarnation of divinity, we cannot but perceive a peculiar propriety in this divine appointment, and find in it, if not a new argument, a corroboration of the host of arguments which lead us to the conclusion that He who 'according to the flesh' was the Son of David, 'according to the Spirit of Holiness' was 'the Son of God,' 'God over all, blessed for ever' (Rom. i. 3, 4; ix. 5).

The above are the only *probable* etymologies of the word. Others, however, have been suggested, and supported with considerable learning and ingenuity. The Valentinians, according to Irenæus (lib. ii. c. 41), were in the habit of writing the name ישו, and explained it as meaning 'Him who possesses heaven and earth,' making each letter, according to the cabbalistic art called notarikon, expressive of a word or clause; thus, י for יהוה,

* Some of the Patristic etymologies are really very odd. Πάσχα is traced to πάσχω; Λευΐτης is derived from the Latin *levis;* and Διάβολος from δύο and βῶλος, because he who bears that name swallows man at two bites, first the soul, and then the body.

שׁ for שמים, and ו for וארץ, 'Jehovah of heaven and earth.'

The learned but fanciful Osiander insists that Jesus is not the Greek form of Joshua, but the ineffable name, the Shem-hamphorash, rendered utterable by the insertion of the letter שׁ. The reader who wishes to see the arguments by which he supports this wild hypothesis may consult his *Harmonia Evangelica*, lib. i. c. 6, Basil, 1561. And a satisfactory reply may be found in Chemnitius' dissertation, *De nomine Jesu*, in *Thes. Theol. Philol.* tom. ii. p. 62, Amst. 1702; and in Caninii *Disquis. in loc. aliq. N. T.* c. i.; apud *Crit. Sac.* tom. ix.

Castalio maintains an equally whimsical notion as to the etymology of the word, deriving it from יהוה and איש, as if it were equivalent to Jehova-homo, God-man.

The 'name of Jesus' (Phil. ii. 10) is not the name Jesus, but 'the name above every name,' ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, ver. 9.; *i. e.* the supreme dignity and authority with which the Father has invested Jesus Christ, as the reward of his disinterested exertions in the cause of the divine glory and human happiness; and the bowing ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ is obviously not an external mark of homage when the name Jesus is pronounced, but the inward sense of awe and submission to him who is raised to a station so exalted.

CHRIST; Gr. Χριστός; Heb. משיח. This is not, strictly speaking, a proper name, but an official title. Jesus Christ, or rather, as it generally ought to be rendered, Jesus *the* Christ, is a mode of expression of the same kind as John the Baptist, or Baptiser. In consequence of not adverting to this, the force and even the meaning of many passages of Scripture are misapprehended. When it is stated that Paul asserted, 'This Jesus whom I preach unto you is Christ' (Acts xvii. 3), ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, &c., that he 'testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ' (Acts xviii. 5), the meaning is, that he proclaimed and proved that Jesus was the Christ, τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, or Messiah—the rightful owner of a title descriptive of a high official station which had been the subject of ancient prediction. When Jesus himself says that 'it is life eternal to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent' (John xvii. 3), he represents the knowledge of himself as the Christ, the Messiah, as at once necessary and sufficient to make men truly and permanently happy. When he says, 'What think ye of Christ?' περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ: 'whose son is he?' (Matt. xxii. 42), he does not mean, What think ye of ME, or of my descent? but, What think ye of the Christ—the Messiah—and especially of his paternity. There can be no doubt that the word, though originally an appellative, and intended to bring before the mind a particular official character possessed by him to whom it is applied, came at last, like many other terms of the same kind, to be often used very much as a proper name, to distinguish our Lord from other persons bearing the name Jesus. This is a sense, however, of comparatively rare occurrence in the New Testament.

Proceeding, then, on the principle that Christ is an appellative, let us inquire into its origin and signification as applied to our Lord. CHRIST is the English form of a Greek word, Χριστός, corresponding in meaning to the Hebrew word Messiah, and the English word Anointed. The Christ is just equivalent to the Anointed One. The important question, however, remains behind, What is meant when the Saviour is represented as the Anointed One? To reply to this question satisfactorily, it will be necessary to go somewhat into detail.

Unction, from a very early age, seems to have been the emblem of consecration, or setting apart to a particular, and especially to a religious, purpose. Thus Jacob is said to have *anointed* the pillar of stone, which he erected and set apart as a monument of his supernatural dream at Beth-el (Gen. xxviii. 18; xxxi. 13; xxxv. 14). Under the Old Testament economy high-priests and kings were regularly set apart to their offices, both of which were, strictly speaking, sacred ones, by the ceremony of anointing, and the prophets were occasionally designated by the same rite. This rite seems to have been intended as a public intimation of a divine appointment to office. Thus Saul is termed 'the Lord's anointed' (1 Sam. xxiv. 6); David, 'the anointed of the God of Israel' (2 Sam. xxiii. 1); and Zedekiah, 'the anointed of the Lord' (Lam. iv. 20). The high-priest is called 'the anointed priest' (Lev. iv. 3).

From the origin and design of the rite, it is not wonderful that the term should have, in a secondary and analogical sense, been applied to persons set apart by God for important purposes, though not actually anointed. Thus Cyrus, the King of Persia, is termed 'the Lord's anointed' (Isa. xlv. 1); the Hebrew patriarchs, when sojourning in Canaan, are termed 'God's anointed ones' (Ps. cv. 15); and the Israelitish people receive the same appellation from the prophet Habakkuk (Hab. iii. 13). It is probably with reference to this use of the expression that Moses is said by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to have 'counted the reproach of Christ' (Heb. xi. 26), τοῦ Χριστοῦ (λαοῦ), the same class who in the parallel clause are termed the 'people of God,' 'greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.'

In the prophetic Scriptures we find this appellation given to an illustrious personage, who, under various designations, is so often spoken of as destined to appear in a distant age as a great deliverer. The royal prophet David seems to have been the first who spoke of the great deliverer under this appellation. He represents the heathen (the Gentile nations) raging, and the people (the Jewish people) imagining a vain thing, 'against Jehovah, and against his *anointed*' (Ps. ii. 2). He says, 'Now know I that the Lord saveth his *anointed*' (Ps. xx. 6). 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity' says he, addressing himself to 'Him who was to come,' 'therefore God, even thy God, hath *anointed* thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows' (Ps. xlv. 7). In all the passages in which the great deliverer is spoken of as 'the anointed one,' by David, he is plainly viewed as sustaining the character of a king.

The prophet Isaiah also uses the appellation, 'the anointed one,' with reference to the promised deliverer, but, when he does so, he speaks of him as a prophet or great teacher. He introduces him as saying, 'The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord God hath *anointed* me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to

the captives, and the opening of the prison to them who are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all that mourn,' &c. (Isa. lxi. 1, &c.).

Daniel is the only other of the prophets who uses the appellation 'the anointed one' in reference to the great deliverer, and he plainly represents him as not only a prince, but also a high-priest, an expiator of guilt. 'Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to punish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and the prophecy, and to *anoint* the most holy. Know therefore and understand that from the going forth of the commandment to restore Jerusalem unto *Messiah* the Prince shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks; the city shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times; and after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself' (Dan. ix. 24-26).

During the period which elapsed from the close of the prophetic canon till the birth of Jesus, no appellation of the expected deliverer seems to have been so common as the Messiah or Anointed One, and this is still the name which the unbelieving Jews ordinarily employ when speaking of him whom they still look for to avenge their wrongs and restore them to more than their former honours.

Messiah, Christ, Anointed, is, then, a term equivalent to consecrated, sacred, set apart; and as the record of divine revelation is called, by way of eminence, *The* Bible, or book, so is the Great Deliverer called *The* Messiah, or Anointed One, much in the same way as he is termed *The* Man, *The* Son of Man.

The import of this designation as given to Jesus of Nazareth may now readily be apprehended.—(1.) When he is termed the Christ it is plainly indicated that He is the great deliverer promised under that appellation, and many others in the Old Testament Scriptures, and that all that is said of this deliverer under this or any other appellation is true of Him. No attentive reader of the Old Testament can help noticing that in every part of the prophecies there is ever and anon presented to our view an illustrious personage destined to appear at some future distant period, and, however varied may be the figurative representations given of him, no reasonable doubt can be entertained as to the identity of the individual. It is quite obvious that the Messiah is the same person as 'the seed of the woman' who was to 'bruise the head of the serpent' (Gen. iii. 15); 'the seed of Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth were to be blessed' (Gen. xxii. 18); the great 'prophet to be raised up like unto Moses,' whom all were to be required to hear and obey (Deut. xviii. 15); the 'priest after the order of Melchizedek;' 'the rod out of the stem of Jesse, which should stand for an ensign of the people to which the Gentiles should seek' (Isa. xi. 1, 10); the virgin's son whose name was to be Immanuel (Isa. vii. 14); 'the branch of Jehovah' (Isa. iv. 2); 'the Angel of the Covenant' (Mal. iii. 1); 'the Lord of the Temple,' &c. &c. (ib.). When we say, then, that Jesus is the Christ, we in effect say, 'This is He of whom Moses, in the law, and the prophets did write' (John i. 45); and all that they say of Him is true of Jesus.

Now what is the sum of the prophetic testimony respecting him? It is this—that he should belong to the very highest order of being, the incommunicable name Jehovah being represented as rightfully belonging to him; that 'his goings forth have been from old, from everlasting' (Mic. v. 2); that his appropriate appellations should be 'Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God' (Isa. ix. 6); that he should assume human nature, and become 'a child born' of the Israelitish nation of the tribe of Judah (Gen. xlix. 10), of the family of David (Isa. xi. 1); that the object of his appearance should be the salvation of mankind, both Jews and Gentiles (Isa. xlix. 6); that he should be 'despised and rejected' of his countrymen; that he should be 'cut off, but not for himself;' that he should be 'wounded for men's transgressions, bruised for their iniquities, and undergo the chastisement of their peace;' that 'by his stripes men should be healed;' that 'the Lord should lay on him the iniquity' of men; that 'exaction should be made and he should answer it;' that he should 'make his soul an offering for sin;' that after these sufferings he should be 'exalted and extolled and made very high;' that he should 'see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied, and by his knowledge justify many' (Isa. liii. *passim*); that Jehovah should say to him, 'Sit at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool' (Ps. cx. 1); that he should be brought near to the Ancient of Days, and that to him should be given 'dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, and nations, and languages should serve him—an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, —a kingdom that shall not be destroyed' (Dan. vii. 13, 14). All this is implied in saying Jesus is the Christ. In the plainer language of the New Testament 'Jesus is the Christ' is equivalent to Jesus is 'God manifest in flesh' (1 Tim. iii. 16), —the Son of God, who, in human nature, by his obedience, and sufferings, and death in the room of the guilty, has obtained salvation for them, and all power in heaven and earth for himself, that he may give eternal life to all coming to the Father through him.

(2.) While the statement 'Jesus is the Christ' is thus materially equivalent to the statement 'all that is said of the Great Deliverer in the Old Testament Scriptures is true of Him,' it brings more directly before our mind those truths respecting him which the appellation 'the Anointed One' naturally suggests. He is a prophet, a priest, and a king. He is the great revealer of divine truth; the only expiator of human guilt, and reconciler of man to God; the supreme and sole legitimate ruler over the understandings, consciences, and affections of men. In his person, and work, and word, by his spirit and providence, he unfolds the truth with respect to the divine character and will, and so conveys it into the mind as to make it the effectual means of conforming man's will to God's will, man's character to God's character. He has by his spotless, all-perfect obedience, amid the severest sufferings, 'obedience unto death even the death of the cross,' so illustrated the excellence of the divine law and the wickedness and danger of violating it, as to make it a righteous thing in 'the just God' to 'justify the ungodly,' thus propitiating the offended majesty of heaven; while the manifestation of the divine love in appointing and accepting

this atonement, when apprehended by the mind under the influence of the Holy Spirit, becomes the effectual means of reconciling man to God and to his law, 'transforming him by the renewing of his mind.' And now, possessed of 'all power in heaven and earth,' 'all power over all flesh,' 'He is Lord of All.' All external events and all spiritual influences are equally under his control, and as a king he exerts his authority in carrying into full effect the great purposes which his revelations as a prophet, and his great atoning sacrifice as a high-priest, were intended to accomplish.

(3.) But the full import of the appellation the Christ is not yet brought out. It indicates that He to whom it belongs is the *anointed* prophet, priest, and king—not that he was anointed by material oil, but that he was divinely *appointed*, *qualified*, *commissioned*, and *accredited* to be the Saviour of men. These are the ideas which the term *anointed* seems specially intended to convey. Jesus was divinely *appointed* to the offices he filled. He did not ultroneously assume them, 'he was called of God as was Aaron' (Heb. v. 4), 'Behold mine Elect, in whom my soul delighteth.' He was divinely *qualified:* 'God gave to him the Spirit not by measure.' 'The Spirit of the Lord was upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord, and they made him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord, so that he does not judge after the sight of his eyes, nor reprove after the hearing of his ears, but he smites the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he slays the wicked; and righteousness is the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins' (Isa. xi. 2-4). He was divinely *commissioned:* 'The Father sent him.' Jehovah said to him, 'Thou art my servant, in thee will I be glorified. It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayst be my salvation to the ends of the earth' (Isa. xlix. 6). 'Behold,' says Jehovah, 'I have given Him for a witness to the people—a leader and commander to the people.' He is divinely *accredited:* 'Jesus of Nazareth,' says the Apostle Peter, was 'a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs which God did by him in the midst of you' (Acts ii. 22). 'The Father who hath sent me,' says Jesus himself, 'hath borne witness of me' (John v. 37). This he did again and again by a voice from heaven, as well as by the miracles which he performed by that divine power which was equally his and his Father's. Such is the import of the appellation *Christ.*

If these observations are clearly apprehended there will be little difficulty in giving a satisfactory answer to the question which has sometimes been proposed—when did Jesus become Christ? when was he *anointed* of God? We have seen that the expression is a figurative or analogical one, and therefore we need not wonder that its references are various. The *appointment* of the Saviour, like all the other divine purposes, was, of course, from eternity. 'He was set up from everlasting' (Prov. viii. 23); he 'was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world.' (1 Pet. i. 20). His qualifications, such of them as were conferred, were bestowed in, or during his incarnation, when 'God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power' (Acts x. 38). His commission may be considered as given him when called to enter on the functions of his office. He himself, after quoting, in the synagogue of Nazareth, in the commencement of his ministry, the passage from the prophecies of Isaiah in which his unction to the prophetical office is predicted, declared '*This day* is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.' And in his resurrection and ascension, God, as the reward of his loving righteousness and hating iniquity, 'anointed him with the oil of gladness above his fellows' (Ps. xlv. 7), *i. e.* conferred on him a regal power, fruitful in blessings to himself and others, far superior to that which any king had ever possessed, making him, as the Apostle Peter expresses it, 'both Lord and Christ' (Acts ii. 36). As to his being *accredited*, every miraculous event performed in reference to him or by him may be viewed as included in this species of anointing—especially the visible descent of the Spirit on him in his baptism.

These statements, with regard to the import of the appellation 'the Christ,' show us how we are to understand the statement of the Apostle John, 'Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God' (1 John v. 1), *i. e.* is 'a child of God,' 'born again,' 'a new creature;' and the similar declaration of the Apostle Paul, 'No man can say that Jesus is the Lord,' *i. e.* the Christ, the Messiah, 'but by the Holy Ghost' (1 Cor. xii. 3). It is plain that the proposition, 'Jesus is the Christ,' when understood in the latitude of meaning which we have shown belongs to it, contains a complete summary of the truth respecting the divine method of salvation. To believe that principle rightly understood is to believe the Gospel—the saving truth, by the faith of which a man is, and by the faith of which only a man can be, brought into the relation or formed to the character of a child of God; and though a man may, without divine influence, be brought to acknowledge that 'Jesus is the Lord,' 'Messiah the Prince,' and even firmly to believe that these words embody a truth, yet no man can be brought really to believe and cordially to acknowledge the truth contained in these words, as we have attempted to unfold it, without a peculiar divine influence. That Jesus is ὁ ἐλθών, ὁ Χριστός, is the testimony of God, the faith of which constitutes a Christian, τὸ ἕν, the one thing to which the Spirit, the water and the blood, unite in bearing witness (1 John v. 6, 8, 9).—J. B.

JESUS, surnamed Justus. [Justus.]

JETHRO. [Hobab.]

JEW (יְהוּדִי *Jehudi;* Sept. Ἰουδαῖος), a name formed from that of the patriarch Judah, and applied in its first use to one belonging to the tribe or country of Judah, or rather perhaps to a subject of the separate kingdom of Judah (2 Kings xvi. 6; xxv. 5). During the Captivity the term seems to have been extended to all the people of the Hebrew language and country, without distinction (Esth. iii. 6, 9; Dan. iii. 8, 12); and this loose application of the name was preserved after the restoration to Palestine, when it came to denote not only every descendant of Abraham in the largest possible sense, but even proselytes who

had no blood-relation to the Hebrews (Acts ii. 5; comp. 10). See the articles HEBREW LANGUAGE; ISRAEL; JUDAH.

JEZEBEL (אִיזֶבֶל, *not-inhabited*, comp. *Isabella;* Sept. Ἰεζάβελ), daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre and Sidon, and consort of Ahab, king of Israel (B.C. 918). This unsuitable alliance proved most disastrous to the kingdom of Israel; for Jezebel induced her weak husband not only to connive at her introducing the worship of her native idols, but eventually to become himself a worshipper of them, and to use all the means in his power to establish them in the room of the God of Israel. This was a great enormity. The worship of the golden calves which previously existed was, however mistakenly, intended in honour of Jehovah; but this was an open alienation from him, and a turning aside to foreign and strange gods, which, indeed, were no gods. Most of the particulars of this bad but apparently highly-gifted woman's conduct have been related in the notices of AHAB and ELIJAH. From the course of her proceedings it would appear that she grew to hate the Jewish system of law and religion, on account of what must have seemed to her its intolerance and its anti-social tendencies. She hence sought to put it down by all the means she could command; and the imbecility of her husband seems to have made all the powers of the state subservient to her designs. The manner in which she acquired and used her power over Ahab is strikingly shown in the matter of Naboth, which, perhaps, more than all the other affairs in which she was engaged, brings out her true character, and displays the nature of her influence. When she found him puling, like a spoiled child, on account of the refusal of Naboth to gratify him by selling him his patrimonial vineyard for a 'garden of herbs,' she teaches him to look to her, to rely upon her for the accomplishment of his wishes; and for the sake of this impression, more perhaps than from savageness of temper, she scrupled not at murder under the abused forms of law and religion. She had the reward of her unscrupulous decisiveness of character in the triumph of her policy in Israel, where, at last, there were but 7000 people who had not bowed the knee to Baal, nor kissed their hand to his image. Nor was her success confined to Israel, for through Athaliah—a daughter after her own heart—who was married to the son and successor of Jehoshaphat, the same policy prevailed for a time in Judah, after Jezebel herself had perished and the house of Ahab had met its doom. It seems that after the death of her husband, Jezebel maintained considerable ascendancy over her son Joram; and her measures and misconduct formed the principal charge which Jehu cast in the teeth of that unhappy monarch, before he sent forth the arrow which slew him. The last effort of Jezebel was to intimidate Jehu as he passed the palace, by warning him of the eventual rewards of even successful treason. It is eminently characteristic of the woman, that even in this terrible moment, when she knew that her son was slain, and must have felt that her power had departed, she displayed herself not with rent veil and dishevelled hair, 'but tired her head and painted her eyes' before she looked out at the window. The eunuchs, at a word from Jehu, having cast her down, she met her death beneath the wall [JEHU]; and when afterwards the new monarch bethought him that, as 'a king's daughter,' her corpse should not be treated with disrespect, nothing was found of her but the palms of her hands and the soles of her feet. The dogs had eaten all the rest. B.C. 884 (1 Kings xvi. 31; xviii. 4, 13, 19; xxi. 5-25; 2 Kings ix. 7, 22, 30-37).

JEZREEL (יִזְרְעֶאל; Sept. Ἰεζράελ), a town in the tribe of Issachar (Josh. xix. 18), where the kings of Israel had a palace, and where the court often resided, although Samaria was the metropolis of the kingdom. It is most frequently mentioned in the history of the house of Ahab. Here was the vineyard of Naboth, which Ahab coveted to enlarge the palace-grounds (1 Kings xviii. 45, 46; xxi.), and here Jehu executed his dreadful commission against the house of Ahab, when Jezebel, Joram, and all who were connected with that wretched dynasty perished (2 Kings ix. 14-37; x. 1-11). These horrid scenes appear to have given the kings of Israel a distaste to this residence, as it is not again mentioned in their history. It is, however, named by Hosea (i. 4; comp. i. 11; ii. 22); and in Judith (i. 8; iv. 3; vii. 3) it occurs under the name of Esdraelon. In the days of Eusebius and Jerome it was still a large village, called Esdraela (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Jezrael'); and in the same age it again occurs as Stradela (*Itin. Hieros.* p. 586). Nothing more is heard of it till the time of the crusades, when it was called by the Franks Parvum Gerinum, and by the Arabs Zerin; and it is described as commanding a wide prospect—on the east to the mountains of Gilead, and on the west to Mount Carmel (Will. Tyr. xxii. 26). But this line of identification seems to have been afterwards lost sight of, and Jezreel came to be identified with Jenin. Indeed, the village of Zerin ceased to be mentioned by travellers till Turner, Buckingham, and others after them again brought it into notice; and it is still more lately that the identification of Zerin and Jezreel has been restored (Raumer, *Palüst.* p. 155; Schubert, iii. 164; Elliot, ii. 379; Robinson, iii. 164).

If any further proof of the fact were necessary, the identity of the names Jezreel and Zerin, or Jerin, might be adduced. This does not at first sight appear; but the first feeble letter of the Hebrew being dropped, and the last syllable *el* becoming *in*, as is not unusual in Arabic (as Beit*in* for Beth*el*), the two words are seen to have been originally the same.

Zerin is seated on the brow of a rocky and very steep descent into the great and fertile valley of Jezreel, which runs down between the mountains of Gilboa and Hermon. Lying comparatively high, it commands a wide and noble view, extending down the broad valley on the east to Beisan (Bethshean), and on the west quite across the great plain to the mountains of Carmel. It is described by Dr. Robinson (*Researches*, iii. 163) as a most magnificent site for a city, which, being itself a conspicuous object in every part, would naturally give its name to the whole region. In the valley directly under Zerin, is a considerable fountain, and another still larger somewhat further to the east, under the northern side of Gilboa, called Ain Jalud. There can, therefore, be little question that as in Zerin we have Jezreel,

so in the valley and the fountain we have the 'valley of Jezreel,' and the fountain of Jezreel, of Scripture.

Zerin has at present little more than twenty humble dwellings, mostly in ruins, and with few inhabitants.

JOAB (יוֹאָב, *God-fathered;* Sept. Ἰωάβ), one of the three sons of Zeruiah, the sister of David, and 'captain of the host' (generalissimo) of the army during nearly the whole of David's reign.

He first appears associated with his two brothers, Abishai and Asahel, in the command of David's troops against Abner, who had set up the claims of a son of Saul in opposition to those of David, who then reigned in Hebron. The armies having met at the pool of Gibeon, a general action was brought on, in which Abner was worsted. In his flight he had the misfortune to kill Joab's brother, the swift-footed Asahel, by whom he was pursued (2 Sam. ii. 13-32). The consequences of this deed have been explained elsewhere [Abner; Asahel]. Joab smothered for a time his resentment against the shedder of his brother's blood; but being whetted by the natural rivalry of position between him and Abner, he afterwards made it the instrument of his policy by treacherously, in the act of friendly communication, slaying Abner, at the very time when the services of the latter to David, to whom he had then turned, had rendered him a most dangerous rival to him in power and influence (2 Sam. iii. 22-27). That Abner had at first suspected that Joab would take the position of blood-avenger [Blood-Revenge] is clear, from the apprehension which he expressed (2 Sam. ii. 22); but that he thought that Joab had, under all the circumstances, abandoned this position, is shown by the unsuspecting readiness with which he went aside with him (2 Sam. iii. 26, 27); and that Joab placed his murderous act on the footing of vengeance for his brother's blood, is plainly stated in 2 Sam. iii. 30; by which it also appears that the other brother, Abishai, shared in some way in the deed and its responsibilities. At the same time, as Abner was perfectly justified in slaying Asahel to save his own life, it is very doubtful if Joab would ever have asserted his right of blood-revenge, if Abner had not appeared likely to endanger his influence with David. The king, much as he reprobated the act, knew that it had a sort of excuse in the old customs of blood-revenge, and he stood habitually too much in awe of his impetuous and able nephew to bring him to punishment, or even to displace him from his command. 'I am this day weak,' he said, 'though anointed king, and these men, the sons of Zeruiah, be too hard for me' (2 Sam iii. 39).

Desirous probably of making some atonement before David and the public for this atrocity, in a way which at the same time was most likely to prove effectual—namely, by some daring exploit, he was the first to mount to the assault at the storming of the fortress on Mount Zion, which had remained so long in the hands of the Jebusites. By this service he acquired the chief command of the army of all Israel, of which David was by this time king (2 Sam. v. 6-10).

It is not necessary to trace the subsequent acts of Joab, seeing that they are in fact the public acts of the king he served. And he served him faithfully; for although he knew his power over David, and often treated him with little ceremony, there can be no doubt that he was most truly devoted to his interests, and sometimes rendered him good service even against his own will, as in the affair at Mahanaim (2 Sam. xix. 5-8). But Joab had no principles apart from what he deemed his duty to the king and the people, and was quite as ready to serve his master's vices as his virtues, so long as they did not interfere with his own interests, or tended to promote them by enabling him to make himself useful to the king. His ready apprehension of the king's meaning in the matter of Uriah, and the facility with which he made himself the instrument of the murder, and of the hypocrisy by which it was covered, are proofs of this, and form as deep a stain upon his character as his own murders (2 Sam. xi. 14-25). As Joab was on good terms with Absalom, and had taken pains to bring about a reconciliation between him and his father, we may set the higher value upon his firm adhesion to David when Absalom revolted, and upon his stern sense of duty to the king—from whom he expected no thanks,—displayed in putting an end to the war by the slaughter of his favourite son, when all others shrunk from the responsibility of doing the king a service against his own will (2 Sam. xviii. 1-14). In like manner, when David unhappily resolved to number the people, Joab discerned the evil and remonstrated against it; and although he did not venture to disobey, he performed the duty tardily and reluctantly, to afford the king an opportunity of reconsidering the matter, and took no pains to conceal how odious the measure was to him (2 Sam. xxiv. 1-4). David was certainly ungrateful for the services of Joab, when, in order to conciliate the powerful party which had supported Absalom, he offered the command of the host to Amasa, who had commanded the army of Absalom (2 Sam. xix. 13). But the inefficiency of the new commander, in the emergency which the revolt of Bichri's son produced, arising perhaps from the reluctance of the troops to follow their new leader, gave Joab an opportunity of displaying his superior resources; and also of removing his rival by a murder very similar to, and in some respects less excusable and more foul than that of Abner [Amasa]. Besides, Amasa was his own cousin, being the son of his mother's sister (2 Sam. xx. 1-13).

When David lay on his death-bed, and a demonstration was made in favour of the succession of the eldest surviving son, Adonijah, whose interests had been compromised by the preference of the young Solomon, Joab joined the party of the natural heir. It would be unjust to regard this as a defection from David. It was nothing more or less than a demonstration in favour of the natural heir, which, if not then made, could not be made at all. But an act which would have been justifiable, had the preference of Solomon been a mere caprice of the old king, became criminal as an act of contumacy to the Divine king, the real head of the government, who had called the house of David to the throne, and had the sole right of determining which of its members should reign. When the prompt measures taken under the direction of the king rendered this demonstration abortive (1 Kings i. 7), Joab withdrew into private life till some time after the death of David, when

the fate of Adonijah, and of Abiathar—whose life was only spared in consequence of his sacerdotal character—warned Joab that he had little mercy to expect from the new king. He fled for refuge to the altar; but when Solomon heard this, he sent Benaiah to put him to death; and, as he refused to come forth, gave orders that he should be slain even at the altar. Thus died one of the most accomplished warriors and unscrupulous men that Israel ever produced. His corpse was removed to his domain in the wilderness of Judah, and buried there, B.C. 1015 (1 Kings ii. 5, 28-34).

JOANNA (Ἰωάννα), wife of Chuza, the steward of Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee. She was one of those women who followed Christ, and ministered to the wants of him and his disciples out of their abundance. They had all been cured of grievous diseases by the Saviour, or had received material benefits from him; and the customs of the country allowed them to testify in this way their gratitude and devotedness without reproach. It is usually supposed that Joanna was at this time a widow (Luke viii. 3; xxiv. 10).

1. JOASH (יוֹאָשׁ, *God-given;* Sept. Ἰωάς), a contraction of JEHOASH (יְהוֹאָשׁ), son of Ahaziah and eighth king of Judah, who began to reign in B.C. 878, at the age of seven, and reigned forty-one years.

Joash, when an infant, was secretly saved by his aunt Jehoshebah, who was married to the high-priest Jehoiada, from the general massacre of the family by Athaliah, who had usurped the throne [ATHALIAH; JEHOIADA]. By the high-priest and his wife the child was privily brought up in the chambers connected with the temple till he had attained his eighth year, when Jehoiada deemed that the state of affairs required him to produce the youthful heir of the throne to the people, and claim for him the crown which his grandmother had so unrighteously usurped. Finding the influential persons whom he consulted favourable to the design, everything was secretly, but admirably, arranged for producing Joash, and investing him with the regalia, in such a manner that Athaliah could have no suspicion of the event till it actually occurred. On the day appointed, the sole surviving scion of David's illustrious house appeared in the place of the kings, by a particular pillar in the temple-court, and was crowned and anointed with the usual ceremonies. The high-wrought enthusiasm of the spectators then found vent in clapping of hands and exulting shouts of 'Long live the king!' The joyful uproar was heard even in the palace, and brought Athaliah to the temple, from which, at a word from Jehoiada, she was led to her death.

Joash behaved well during his non-age, and so long after as he remained under the influence of the high-priest. But when he died the king seems to have felt himself relieved from a yoke; and to manifest his freedom, began to take the contrary course to that which he had followed while under pupilage. Gradually the persons who had possessed influence formerly, when the house of David was contaminated by its alliance with the house of Ahab, insinuated themselves into his councils, and ere long the worship of Jehovah and the observances of the law were neglected, and the land was defiled with idolatries and idolatrous usages. The prophets then uttered their warnings, but were not heard; and the infatuated king had the atrocious ingratitude to put to death Zechariah, the son and successor of his benefactor Jehoiada. For these deeds Joash was made an example of the divine judgments. He saw his realm devastated by the Syrians under Hazael; his armies were cut in pieces by an enemy of inferior numbers; and he was even besieged in Jerusalem, and only preserved his capital and his crown by giving up the treasures of the temple. Besides this, a painful malady embittered all his latter days, and at length he became so odious that his own servants conspired against him, and slew him on his bed. They are said to have done this to avenge the blood of Zechariah, who at his death had cried, 'The Lord look upon it and require it;' and it is hence probable that public opinion ascribed all the calamities of his life and reign to that infamous deed. Joash was buried in the city of David; but a place in the sepulchre of the kings was denied to his remains (2 Kings xi.; xii.; 2 Chron. xxiv.).

2. JOASH, son and successor of Jehoahaz on the throne of Israel, of which he was the twelfth king. He began to reign in B.C 840, and reigned sixteen incomplete years. He followed the example of his predecessors in the policy of keeping up the worship of the golden calves; but, apart from this, he bears a fair character, and had intervals, at least, of sincere piety and true devotion to the God of his fathers. Indeed, custom and long habit had so established the views of political expediency on which the schismatical establishments at Dan and Bethel were founded, that at length the reprehension which regularly recurs in the record of each king's reign, seems rather to apply to it as a mark of the continuance of a public crime, than as indicative of the character or disposition of the reigning prince, which is to be sought in the more detailed accounts of his own conduct. These accounts are favourable with respect to Joash. He held the prophet Elisha in high honour, looking up to him as a father. When he heard of his last illness he repaired to the bed-side of the dying prophet, and was favoured with promises of victories over the Syrians, by whom his dominions were then harassed. These promises were accomplished after the prophet's death. In three signal and successive victories Joash overcame the Syrians, and retook from them the towns which Hazael had rent from Israel.

These advantages rendered the kingdom of Israel more potent than that of Judah. He, however, sought no quarrel with that kingdom; but when he received a defiance from Amaziah, king of Judah, he answered with becoming spirit in a parable, which by its images calls to mind that of Jotham [PARABLES]: the cool disdain of the answer must have been, and in fact was, exceedingly galling to Amaziah. 'The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife; and there came by a wild beast that was in Lebanon and trod down the thistle.' This was admirable; nor was the application less so: 'Thou hast, indeed, smitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted thee up: glory of this, and tarry at home; for why shouldest thou meddle to thy

hurt, that thou shouldest fall, even thou and Judah with thee.' In the war, or rather action, which followed, Joash was victorious. Having defeated Amaziah at Beth-shemesh, in Judah, he advanced to Jerusalem, broke down the wall to the extent of 400 cubits, and carried away the treasures both of the temple and the palace, together with hostages for the future good behaviour of the crest-fallen Amaziah. Joash himself did not long survive this victory; he died in peace, and was buried in Samaria (2 Kings xiii. 9-25; xiv. 1-17).

JOB, THE BOOK OF. We shall consider, first, the contents of this book; secondly, its object; thirdly, its composition; and, lastly, the country, descent, and age of its author.

I. Contents. In the land of Uz, belonging to the northern part of Arabia Deserta, lived an honest, pious man, called Job. For his sincere and perfect devotedness, God had amply blessed him with worldly property and children; but on Satan obtaining leave *to tempt him*, he suddenly lost the fortune of his life. Ultimately he is smitten with a severe and painful disease; but though his wife *moves* him to forsake God, he still continues true and stanch to the Lord. Three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, hear of his calamities, and come to console him. His distressed state excites their heartfelt compassion; but the view which they take of its origin prevents them from at once assisting him, and they remain silent, though they are sensible that by so doing they further wound his feelings. Seven days thus pass, until Job, suspecting the cause of their conduct, becomes discomposed and breaks silence. His first observations are based on the assertion—not, indeed, broadly expressed—that God acts harshly and arbitrarily in inflicting calamity on men. This causes a discussion between him and his friends, which is divided into three main parts, each with subdivisions, and embraces the speeches of the three friends of Job, and his answers: the last part, however, consists of only two subdivisions, the third friend, Zophar, having nothing to rejoin. By this silence the author of the book generally designates the defeat of Job's friends, who are defending a common cause. Taking a general view of the argument which they urge against him, they may be considered as asserting the following positions:—

1. No man being free from sin, we need not wonder that we are liable to calamities, for which we must account by a reference, not to God, but to ourselves. From the misery of the distressed, others are enabled to infer their guilt; and they must take this view in order to vindicate divine justice.

2. The distress of a man proves not only *that he has sinned*, but shows also the degree and measure of his sin; and thus, from the extent of calamity sustained, may be inferred the extent of sins committed; and from this the measure of impending misfortune.

3. A distressed man may recover his former happiness, and even attain to greater fortune than he ever enjoyed before, if he takes a warning from his afflictions, repents of his sins, reforms his life, and raises himself to a higher degree of moral rectitude. Impatience and irreverent expostulation with God serve but to prolong and increase punishment; for, by accusing God of injustice, a fresh sin is added to former transgressions.

4. Though the wicked man is capable of prosperity, still it is never lasting. The most awful retribution soon overtakes him; and his transient felicity must itself be considered as punishment, since it renders him heedless, and makes him feel misfortune more keenly.

In opposition to them, Job maintains:—

1. The most upright man may be highly unfortunate—more so than the inevitable faults and shortcomings of human nature would seem to imply. There is a savage cruelty, deserving the severities of the divine resentment, in inferring the guilt of a man from his distresses. In distributing good and evil, God regards neither merit nor guilt, but acts according to His sovereign pleasure. His omnipotence is apparent in every part of the creation; but His justice cannot be seen in the government of the world; the afflictions of the righteous, as well as the prosperity of the wicked, are evidence against it. There are innumerable cases, and Job considers his own to be one of them, in which a sufferer has a right to justify himself before God, and to repine at His decrees. Of this supposed right Job freely avails himself, and maintains it against his friends.

2. In a state of composure and calmer reflection, Job retracts, chiefly in his concluding speech, all his former rather extravagant assertions, and says that, although God generally afflicts the wicked and blesses the righteous, still there are exceptions to this rule, single cases in which the pious undergo severe trials; the inference, therefore, of a man's guilt from his misfortunes is by no means warranted. For the exceptions established by experience prove that God does not always distribute prosperity and adversity after this rule; but that he sometimes acts on a different principle, or as an absolute lord, according to his mere will and pleasure.

3. Humbly to adore God is our duty, even when we are subject to calamities not at all deserved; but we should abstain from harshly judging of those who, when distressed, send forth complaints against God.

Both parties not only explain their principles generally, but apply them to the case which had caused the discussion. At first the friends of Job only hint, but in the course of the discussion, they broadly assert, that his very great afflictions must have been caused by equally great sins; and they tax him with crimes of which they suspect him to have been guilty. They also admonish him to confess and repent of the guilt of which, by the divine punishments inflicted on him, he stood already convicted. If he should follow this counsel, they promise him a return of prosperity; but if he proved refractory, they threaten him with divine punishments even more severe. Job, on the contrary, represents himself, venial frailties excepted, as altogether upright and innocent, thinks himself unjustly dealt with by God, and reproaches his friends with heaping on him unfounded criminations, with a view of ingratiating themselves with the Almighty, who, however, would visit with condign punishment such busy, meddling, officious vindicators of the divine government.

The interest of the narrative is kept up with considerable skill, by progressively rising and highly passionate language. At first, Job's friends charge him, and he defends himself, in mild

terms; but gradually they are all betrayed into warmth of temper, which goes on increasing until the friends have nothing more to object, and Job remains in possession of the field. The discussion then seems to be at an end, when a fresh disputant, Elihu, appears. Trusting in his just cause, Job had proudly opposed God, with whom he expostulated, and whom he charged with injustice, when the sense of his calamities should have led him to acknowledge the sinfulness of human nature, and humbly to submit to the divine dispensations. Making every allowance for his painful situation, and putting the mildest construction on his expressions, he is still substantially wrong, and could not therefore be suffered to remain the vanquisher in this high argument. He had silenced his friends, but the general issue remained to be settled. Elihu had waited till Job and his friends had spoken, because they were older than he; but when he saw that the three visitors ceased to answer, he offers himself to reason with Job, and shows that God is just in his ways. He does this,

1. *From the nature of inflictions.*—He begins by urging that Job was very wrong in boasting of his integrity, and making it appear that rewards were due to him from God. How righteous soever he was, he still had no claim to reward; on the contrary, all men are sinners in God's eyes; and nobody can complain that he suffers unjustly, for the very greatest sufferings equal not his immense guilt. Then Elihu explains a leading point on which he differs from the friends of Job: he asserts that from greater sufferings inflicted on a person it was not to be inferred that he had sinned more than others afflicted with a less amount of calamity. Calamities were, indeed, under all circumstances, punishments for sins committed, but at the same time they were correctives also; and therefore they might be inflicted on the comparatively most righteous in preference to others. For he who was most loved by God, was also most in danger of forgetting the sinfulness inherent in all men, and, consequently, also in himself: the rather because sin would in him less strongly manifest itself. If the object of afflictions was attained, and the distressed acknowledged his sinfulness, he would humble himself before God, who would bless him with greater happiness than he ever before enjoyed. But he who took not this view, and did not amend his ways, would be ruined, and the blame would rest wholly with himself. Consequently, if Job made the best of his misfortune, God would render him most happy; but if he continued refractory, punishment would follow his offences. According to this view, the truly righteous cannot be always miserable; and their calamities, which God not only from His justice, as the friends of Job stated, but also from His *love*, inflicts *temporarily* on them, are only the means employed to raise them to higher moral rectitude and worldly happiness. The *end* shows the distinction between the perverse sinner, and the righteous man subject to sinfulness.

2. *From a clear conception of the nature of God.*—'How darest thou,' says Elihu, 'instead of humbling thyself before God, defy Him, and offer to reason with Him? The whole creation shows forth His majesty, and evinces His justice. For a man to stand up against Him and to assert that he suffers innocently, is the greatest anthropomorphism, because it *goes* to deny the Divine majesty, evident in all the facts of the created world, and including God's justice. His nature being one and indivisible, it cannot on one side exhibit infinite perfection, and on the other imperfection: each example, then, of God's grandeur in the creation of the world is evidence against the rash accusers of God's justice. Thus it appears that, from the outset, there must have been a mistake in thy calculation, and thou must the rather acknowledge the correctness of my solution of the question. God *must be* just—this is certain from the outset; and *how* His justice is not impaired by calamities inflicted on the righteous and on thyself, I have already explained.'

Job had, in a stirring manner, several times, challenged God to decide the contest. Elihu suspects the approach of the Lord, when, towards the end of his speech, a violent thunder-storm arises, and God answers Job out of the whirlwind, showing how foolishly the latter had acted in offering to reason with Him, when His works proved his infinite Majesty, and, consequently, His absolute justice. Job now submits to God, and humbly repents of his offence. Hereupon God addresses Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, declaring unto them His displeasure at their unmerciful dealing with their friend, the consequences of which could only be avoided by Job offering a propitiatory sacrifice. This is done, and the Lord grants unto Job ample compensation for his sufferings.

II. Design of the book. We here assume the integrity of the book of Job, or that it has been preserved in its genuine, unadulterated state; and we may do so the rather, because those who would eliminate single portions, must still allow the difficulty of showing in the remainder a fixed plan and leading idea, which again argues against them. Moreover, by determining the design of the book the best foundation is laid for proving its integrity. All agree that the object of the book is the solution of the question, how the afflictions of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked can be consistent with God's justice. But it should be observed that the direct problem exclusively refers to the first point, the second being only incidentally discussed on occasion of the leading theme. If this is overlooked, the author would appear to have solved only one half of his problem: the case from which the whole discussion proceeds, has reference merely to the leading problem. There is another fundamental error which has led nearly all modern interpreters to a mistaken idea of the design of this book. Pareau (*De Immortalitatis not. in libro Jobi*, Deventer, 1807, p. 207) is the only one who saw the error adverted to, and partially combated it with success. They assume that the problem could be satisfactorily solved only when the doctrines of immortality and retribution had been first established, which had not been done by the author of the book of Job: a perfect solution of the question was therefore not to be expected from him. Some assert that his solution is erroneous, since retribution, to be expected in a future world, is transferred by him to this life; others say that he cut the knot which he could not unloose, and has been satisfied to ask for implicit submission and devotedness, showing at the same time that every attempt at a solution must lead to dangerous positions: blind resignation, therefore, was the short meaning of the lengthened discussion.

On nearer examination, however, it appears that

the doctrine of retribution after death is not of itself alone calculated to lead to a solution of the problem. In contemplating the lives of the righteous, who were perfectly embued with this doctrine, it will appear that they also struggled with doubts; that a satisfactory solution of the question is to be derived only from the fundamental doctrine on which the faith in retribution rests; and that this faith is shaken where it has not the necessary basis. The belief in a final judgment is firm and rational only when it rests on the belief in God's continued providential government of the world, and in his acting as sovereign Lord in all the events of human life. If God is holy and just, He must also have the will to manifest these qualities in our present life by His bearing towards those who represent His image on earth, as well as towards those who renounce it. If He is omnipotent, nothing can in this life prevent Him from exhibiting His justice; but if this is not manifested, and if no reason can be given for which He at times defers His judgments, the belief in retribution after death would be flimsy and shallow. Woe to him who expects in a future world to be supplied with everything he missed here, and with redress for all injuries sustained! He deceives himself. His God was, during his life on earth, inactive, shutting Himself up in heaven: is he sure that his God will hereafter be better disposed or more able to protect him? As His essence remains the same, and the nature of sin and virtue is unchanged, how should He then in a future life punish the former and reward the latter, if He does not do so in this life! Temporary injustice is still injustice, and destroys the idea of a holy and just God. A God who has something to redress is no God at all. Lucian, the satirist, composed a dialogue entitled Ζεὺς Ἐλεγχόμενος, with the view of subverting the belief in Divine Providence; in which he justly finds fault with that God, who allows the wicked to lead a happy and pleasant life in order that, at a distant time, they may be tortured according to their deserts, and who, on the contrary, exposes the righteous to infinite misery, that in remote futurity they may receive the reward of their virtue. Some men of sense among the heathens displayed deep penetration on this subject. Claudian, in the commencement of his poem against the wicked Rufinus, hints that doubts had been often entertained of Divine Providence, but that they had been now removed by the downfall of Rufinus:—

'Abstulit hunc tandem Rufini pœna tumultum
Absolvitque deos. Jam non ad culmina rerum
Injustos crevisse queror. Tolluntur in altum
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.'

This worldly retribution leads him to a firm belief in that after death. He represents Rufinus descended to the nether world, doing penance and enduring the keenest pains. See the rich collection by Barth (in his *Notes to Claudian*, 1078, s.s.) of those passages in the works of heathen writers in which doubts of future retribution are raised on the ground of disbelief in present requitals. Scripture knows nothing of a God whose power admits of increase, or who is active only in the life to come: its God is always full of strength and vigour, constantly engaged in action. God's just retribution in this world is extolled throughout the Old Testament. The notion of return accommodated to actions, is its substance and centre. It is particularly urged in the Pentateuch, and it is only when it had been deeply rooted in the public mind, and the belief in future requital had acquired a firm and solid basis, that the latter doctrine, which in the books of Moses is but dimly hinted at, is clearly and explicitly promulgated. The New Testament holds out to the righteous promises of a future life, as well as of the present; and our Saviour himself, in setting forth the rewards of those who, for His sake, forsook everything, begins with this life (Matt. xix. 29). A nearer examination of the benedictions contained in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.), shows that none of them exclusively refer to future blessings; the judgment of the wicked is in His view proceeding without interruption, and therefore His examples of the distribution of Divine justice in this world, are mingled with those of requital in a future order of things. The Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their own sacrifices (Luke xiii. 1), were in Christ's opinion not accidentally killed; and he threatens those who would not repent, that they should in like manner perish. That sickness is to be considered as a punishment for sin, we are clearly taught (John v. 14; Luke v. 20, 24): in the former passage it is threatened as punishment for sins committed; in the latter it is healed in consequence of punishment remitted. Nay, every patient restored by Christ, who acted not as a superior kind of Hippocrates, but as the Saviour of men, is by that very act declared to be a sinner. The passage in John ix. 2, 3, which is often appealed to, in proof that our Lord did not consider sickness as a punishment for sin, does not prove this, but only opposes the Jewish position—founded on the mistaken doctrine of retribution—that all severe sicknesses and infirmities were consequences of crimes. But what is, from this point of view, the solution of the problem regarding the sufferings of the righteous? It rests on two positions.

1. Calamity is the only way that leads to the kingdom of God. Even the comparatively righteous are not without sin, which can be eradicated only by afflictions. *Via crucis est via salutis.* He who repents will attain to a clearer insight into the otherwise obscure ways of God. The afflictions of the pious issue at once from God's justice and love. To him who entertains a proper sense of the sinfulness of man, no calamity appears so great as not to be deserved as a punishment, or useful as a corrective.

2. Calamity, as the veiled grace of God, is with the pious never alone, but manifest proofs of Divine favour accompany or follow it. Though sunk in misery, they still are happier than the wicked, and when it has attained its object, it is terminated by the Lord. The nature of acts of grace differs according to the quality of those on whom they are conferred. The consolations offered in the Old Testament are, agreeably to the weaker judgment of its professors, derived chiefly from external circumstances; while in the New Testament they are mainly spiritual, without, however, excluding the healing external helps. This difference is not essential, nor is any other, the *restitutio in integrum* being in the Old Testament principally confined to this life, while in the New Testament the eye is directed beyond the limits of this world.

It is this exclusively correct solution of the

problem which occurs in the book of Job. All interpreters allow that it is set forth in Elihu's speeches, and, from the following observations, it will appear that they contain the opinion of the author:—1. The solution cannot be looked for in Job's speeches; for God proves himself gracious towards him only after he has repented and humbled himself. The author of the book says (i. 22; ii. 10; comp. iii. 1) that Job had charged God foolishly, and sinned with his lips; and the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the *materia peccans*, in his speeches, is clearly pointed out to be, that 'he was righteous in his own eyes, and justified himself rather than God' (xxxii. 1, 2). To gather from Job's speeches a consistent view of the subject, and a satisfactory solution of the question mooted, is impossible also on account of the many contradictions in them; as, for instance, when he says at one time, that God's justice *never* appears in the government of the world, and at another, that it generally does appear, but that there are evident exceptions to the general rule, not liable to objections. Sound principles are mixed up by him with wrong ones; his views want sifting, and the correct ideas must be completed, which, even in his concluding address, is not done by himself, nor is it performed by his three friends. Job continues to be embarrassed for the solution, and he is only certain of this, that the solution of his friends cannot be satisfactory. Job erred chiefly in not acknowledging the sin inherent in him; notwithstanding his integrity and sincere piety, which prevented him from apprehending the object of the calamity inflicted on him, led him to consider God's punishments as arbitrary, and made him despair of the return of better days. The greatness of his sufferings was in some measure the cause of his misconception, by exciting his feelings, and preventing him from calmly considering his case. He was in the state of a man tempted, and deserving God's indulgence. He had received considerable provocation from his friends, and often endeavoured to soften his harsh assertions; which, particularly in ch. xxvii., leads him into such contradictions, as must have occurred in the life of the tempted; he is loud in acknowledging the wisdom of God (ch. xxviii.), and raises himself at times to cheering hopes (comp. ch. xix.). But this can only excuse, not justify him, and therefore it is in the highest degree honourable to him, that he remains silent, when in Elihu's speeches the correct solution of the question is given, and that he ultimately acknowledges his fundamental error of doing justice to himself only.

2. The solution of the question mooted cannot be contained in *the speeches of Job's friends*. Their demeanour is reproved by God, and represented as a great sin, so much so, indeed, that to obtain pardon for them Job was directed to offer a propitiatory sacrifice. Their error proceeded from a crude notion of sin in its external appearance; and, inferring its existence from calamity, they were thus led to condemn the afflicted Job as guilty of heinous crimes (ch. xxxii.). The moral use of sufferings was unknown to them; which evidently proved that they themselves were not yet purged and cleared from guilt. If they had been sensible of the nature of man, if they had understood *themselves*, they would, on seeing the misery of Job, have exclaimed, 'God be merciful to us sinners!' There is, indeed, an important correct principle in their speeches, whose centre it forms, so much so, that they mostly err only in the application of the general truth. It consists in the perception of the invariable connection between sin and misery, which is indelibly engrafted on the heart of man, and to which many ancient authors allude. The saying, *male parta male dilabuntur*, is to be found in every language. The problem of the book is then solved by properly uniting the correct positions of the speeches both of Job and his friends, by maintaining his *comparative* innocence, and by tracing the errors of both parties to a common source, the want of a sound insight into the nature of sin. Job considers himself righteous, and not deserving of such inflictions, because he had not committed any heinous *crime;* and his friends fancy they must assume that he was highly criminal, in order to justify his misery.

3. The solution of the question at issue is not exclusively given in *the addresses of God*, which contain only the basis of the solution, not the solution itself. In setting forth his majesty, and in showing that imputing to him injustice is repugnant to a correct conception of his nature, these addresses establish that there must be a solution which does not impair divine justice. This is not, indeed, the solution itself, but everything is thus prepared for the solution. We apprehend that God *must* be just, but it remains further to be shown *how* he can be just, and still the righteous be miserable.

Unless, then, we are disposed to question the general result, we are, by the arrangements of the book, led to the speeches of Elihu as containing the solution of the problem, which the author, moreover, has indicated with sufficient clearness by making the commencement and end of the narrative agree perfectly with those speeches. The leading principle in Elihu's statement is, that calamity in the shape of trial was inflicted even on the comparatively best men, but that God allowed a favourable turn to take place as soon as it had attained its object. Now this is the key to the events of Job's life. Though a pious and righteous man, he is tried by severe afflictions. He knows not for what purpose he is smitten, and his calamity continues; but when he learns it from the addresses of Elihu and God, and humbles himself, he is relieved from the burden which oppresses him, and ample prosperity atones for the afflictions he has sustained. Add to this, that the remaining portion of Elihu's speeches, in which he points to God's infinite majesty as including his justice, is continued in the addresses of God; that Elihu foretells God's appearance; that he is not punished by God as are the friends of Job; in fine, that Job by his very silence acknowledges the problem to have been solved by Elihu; and his silence is the more significant because Elihu had urged him to defend himself (xxxiii. 32), and because Job had repeatedly declared he would 'hold his peace,' if it was shown to him wherein he had erred (vi. 24, 25; xix. 4). This view of the book of Job has among modern authors been supported chiefly by Stäudlin (*Beiträge zur Religions und Sittenlehre*, vol. ii. p. 133) and Stickel (*Das Buch Hiob*, Leipzig, 1842), though in both it is mixed up with much erroneous matter; and it is further confirmed by the whole Old Testament giving

the same answer to the question mooted which the speeches of Elihu offer: in its concentrated form it is presented in Ps. xxxvii. xlix. lxxiii.

From these considerations it appears, that those interpreters who, with Bernstein, De Wette, and Umbreit, assume that the book of Job was of a sceptical nature, and intended to dispute the doctrine of retribution as laid down in the other books of the Old Testament, have entirely misunderstood it. The doctrine of divine retribution is here not disputed, but strengthened, as the case under consideration required that it should be. The object of the book would also be too much narrowed, if it was restricted to proving that the doctrine of retribution, as expounded by the friends of Elihu, was erroneous. The speeches of Elihu evidently oppose the discourses of Job in stronger terms than those of his friends. The object of the book is rather to explain generally the nature and tendency of afflictions, and thereby to contribute towards the attainment of their design, to console the mind, and to cheer the drooping spirits. It is difficult for men to understand that their sufferings, however great, are still under that degree which they deserve. To consider afflictions as proofs of divine favour, we must first learn to bring them into unison with divine justice. Upon the doctrine of retribution after death our author does not enter; but that he knew it, may be inferred from several passages with great probability; as, for instance, ch. xiv. 14, 'if a man die shall he live again? All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.' The *if* here shows that the writer had been before engaged in considering the subject of life after death; and when such is the case, a pious mind will necessarily indulge the hope, or will, at least, have an obscure presentiment of immortality. The truth, also, of God's unbounded grace, on which the doctrine of immortality is based, will be found clearly laid down in ch. xix.. Still the author does not recur to this hope for the purpose of solving his problem; he would not ground it on something in itself wanting support and a foundation, namely, that which is presented in this book. The doctrine of future retribution, if not sustained by the belief in retribution during this life, is truly a castle in the air. The author did not intend in his discussion to exceed the limits of what God had *clearly revealed*, and this was in his time confined to the vague notion of life continued after death, but not connected with rewards and punishments. Explicitly expressed, then, we have here only the doctrine of a Sheol (see the collection of passages, p. 123 sqq. of Pareau's work above quoted), which, indeed, is not erroneous in itself, but which still keeps the background veiled.

Having thus established the design of the book of Job, it remains to consider the view taken by Ewald. He justly rejects the common, superficial view of its design, which has recently been revived and defended by Hirzel (see his *Commentar*, Leipzig, 1839), and which represents the author as intending to show that man cannot apprehend the plans of God, and does best to submit in ignorance without repining at afflictions. The author would thus be rendered liable to the charge of having cut the knot which he could not loose. When this view was first set up, the solution of one of the most important religious problems was very unsettled, and the public mind generally remained in suspense; in accordance with which state of feeling this opinion is framed relating to the design of the book of Job. The alleged theme occurs in no passage, not even incidentally. The writers in question chiefly base it on the discourses of God; and so, latterly, does Stickel, who, although acknowledging that the solution of the problem was afforded by Elihu, still thinks that in the sentiments uttered by God the sufferer was ultimately referred to human short-sightedness and directed to be silent, the author of the book distrusting the correctness of his solution, and intending at all events to vindicate God's justice. Thus they entirely misunderstand the main point in the discourses of God, which set forth his infinite majesty with a view, not of censuring Job's inquisitiveness and of taxing him with indiscretion, but of showing that it was foolish to divest God of justice, which is inseparable from his essence. His searching is not itself blamed, but only the manner of it. Nowhere in the whole book is simple resignation crudely enjoined, and nowhere does Job say that he submits to such an injunction. The prologue represents his sufferings as trials, and the epilogue declares that the end had proved this; consequently the author was competent to give a theodicee with reference to the calamity of Job, and if such is the case he cannot have intended simply to recommend resignation. The biblical writers, when engaged on this problem, know how to justify God with reference to the afflictions of the righteous, and have no intention of evading the difficulty when they recommend resignation (see the Psalms quoted above, and, in the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. xii.). The view of the book of Job alluded to would isolate it, and take it out of its natural connection. Thus far, then, we agree with Ewald, but we cannot approve of his own view of the design of the book of Job. According to his system, 'calamity is never a punishment for sins committed, but always a mere phantom, an imaginary show, above which we must raise ourselves by the consciousness of the eternal nature of the human mind, to which, by external prosperity, nothing can be added, and from which, by external misfortune, nothing can be taken away. It was (says Ewald) the merit of the book of Job to have prepared these sounder views of worldly evil and of the immortality of mind, transmitting them as fruitful buds to posterity.' Now from the outset we may be sure that this view is not to be found in our book. Credit has always been given to Scripture for knowing how to console the distressed—which Ewald's system must fail to do. Let it be offered to those who are afflicted with severe and painful illness, and it will prove abortive. Fictitious sufferings may be soothed in this manner, real pains certainly not. Consciousness of the eternal nature of our mind is wanted to do all, but how is it possible when the mind itself is depressed? Turn to the Psalms: do we find in them shadowed out this cold consolation—the doctrine of the Stoics, which has been always considered to be opposed to that of Scripture? Read especially Psalms xxxvii., xli., and lxxiii., which profess to treat our problem: take, in the New Testament, the passage in Heb. xii. 6, and you will find afflictions considered at once as punishments inflicted by divine justice, and as means which God's love employs to lead us to

higher happiness. 'Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every one whom he receiveth.' If suffering and happiness are as nothing, and have no reality, why promises our Saviour rewards to his followers, and why threatens he the wicked with punishment (Matt. xix. 16-30)? Why blesses he the meek, 'for they shall inherit the earth' (Matt. v. 5)? Why says he, 'seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you' (Matt. vi. 33)? If righteousness already possesses everything and lacks nothing, why says St. Paul, to righteousness are held out the promise both of this life and of the life to come? Being thus impressed against Ewald's view, from the Scriptures themselves, we also find, on closer inspection, that it does not apply to the book of Job. To make it appear that it does, he excludes the speeches of Elihu—which seems rather suspicious; but what he objects against them is of little importance, and has been proved by Stickel to be erroneous. Taking, however, what remains of the book, it is evident that the epilogue is decidedly contrary to Ewald's view. Why is it that Job receives the double of all that he had lost, when, judged by Ewald's principles, he had lost nothing? If in any place, it is in the epilogue that the leading idea of the author must appear; and here we have not speeches, whose drift might admit of doubt, but acts, divine acts, the solution of the question by facts. Equally irreconcilable is Ewald's view with the prologue. The opening scene is in heaven; Satan appears before God, and obtains leave to tempt Job. This enables the reader from the outset to see clearer into the case under consideration than did Job and his friends, who judged only according to what passed on earth. He suspects from the outset what will be the end of the narrative. If it is by way of temptation only that Job is subjected to misery, this cannot be lasting; but if it cannot and must not be lasting, it must be also more than an imaginary phantom—it must be reality. We might easily show further that the view referred to is also incompatible with the speeches of Job, who never renounces happiness; he is always either disconsolate and complains, or expresses cheering hopes of a return of better days; he either despairs of God's justice, or expects him to prove it at least partially by his rehabilitation. We might likewise, with little trouble, prove that the view of Ewald is not in accordance with the speeches of God, who does not address Job in exhortations to the effect, 'Be insensible of thy calamity;' but, 'Humble thyself before me; acknowledge in thy severe sufferings my justice and my love, and thy own sinfulness, and procure release by repentance.' But what we have stated on this head may be deemed sufficient.

III. Character of the composition of the Book.—On this subject there are three different opinions:—1. Some contend that the book contains an entirely true history. 2. Others assert that it is founded on a true history, which has been recast, modified, and enlarged by the author. 3. The third opinion is, that the book contains a narrative entirely imaginary, and constructed by the author to teach a great moral truth.

The first view, taken by numerous ancient interpreters, is now abandoned by nearly all interpreters. It seems, however, to have been adopted by Josephus, for he places Job in the list of the historical books; and it was prevalent with all the fathers of the church. In its support four reasons are adduced, of which the third and fourth are quite untenable; the first and second are outweighed by other considerations, which render it impossible to consider the book of Job as an entirely true history, but which may be used in defence of the second view alluded to. It is said, 1. That Job is (Ezek. xiv. 14-20) mentioned as a public character, together with Noah and Daniel, and represented as an example of piety. 2. In the Epistle of James (v. 11), patience in sufferings is recommended by a reference to Job. 3. In the Greek translation of the Septuagint a notice is appended to Gen. xxxvi. 33, which states that Job was the King Jobab of Edom. This statement is too late to be relied on, and originates in an etymological combination; and that it must be erroneous is to a certain extent evident from the contents of the book, in which Job is not represented as a king. 4. Job's tomb continues to be shown to Oriental tourists. Now the fact of a Job having lived somewhere would not of itself prove that the hero of our narrative was that person, and that this book contained a purely historical account. Moreover, his tomb is shown not in one place, but in six, and, along with it, the dunghill on which Job is reported to have sat!

Against this view it must be remarked generally, that the whole work is arranged on a well-considered plan, proving the author's power of independent invention; that the speeches are, in their general structure and in their details, so elaborate, that they could not have been brought out in the ordinary course of a conversation or disputation; that it would be unnatural to suppose Job in his distressed state to have delivered such speeches, finished with the utmost care; and that they exhibit uniformity in their design, fulness, propriety, and colouring, though the author, with considerable skill, represents each speaker whom he introduces arguing according to his character. Moreover, in the prologue and epilogue, as well as in the arrangement of the speeches, the figures 3 and 7 constantly occur, with the decimal number formed by their addition. The transactions between God and Satan in the prologue absolutely require that we should distinguish between the subject matter forming the foundation of the work, and its enlargement; which can be only done when a poetical principle is acknowledged in its composition. God's speaking out of the clouds would be a miracle, without an object corresponding to its magnitude, and having a merely personal reference, while all the other miracles of the Old Testament are in connection with the theocratical government, and occur in the midst and for the benefit of the people of God. This argument, which might be further extended without much difficulty, proves the first view above stated of the book of Job to be erroneous, and is meant to support the second; but it does not bear on the third, which contends that the narrative is an entire fiction, without any admixture of real facts. The latter opinion is, indeed, already stated in the Talmud, which says that Job never existed; and in modern times it has been defended chiefly by Bernstein; but is contrary to the practice which anciently prevailed, when writers rarely invented the subject of a narrative, and rather took the materials furnished by

tradition, digesting, enlarging, and modifying them, so as to make them harmonize with the leading theme. Taking the second view, we must still abstain from undertaking to determine what the poet derived from tradition and what he added himself, since we know not how far tradition had already embellished the original fact. The separation of the historical groundwork from the poetical embellishments could only succeed, if the same history had been, although in a poetical dress, transmitted to us by several narrators. Would any person, if he was not assisted by other authorities, undertake to determine what is history, and what is fiction, in an historical romance of Walter Scott, or in an historical drama of Shakspeare or Schiller? Ewald, indeed, had the courage to undertake vindicating for history certain parts of our narrative, but his efforts were abortive, as we shall presently show. It will appear, indeed, that exactly those particulars which Ewald considers historical may possibly have been invented, though we do not contend that they really were so, which would be equally presumptuous. He asserts, 1. That 'the name Job is not invented by the author of our book.' This would have some semblance of truth, if the name had no meaning connecting it with the contents of the narrative. But Job means in Hebrew 'the assailed,' and may be traced in the form of ילוד, *born*, or שכור, *intoxicated*, from איב, *to attack;* whence also אויב, *the enemy*, and איבה, *enmity*, are derived. Ewald observes, indeed, that the import of the word is not very apparent, and is not easily discoverable; but when it strikes us at once, must it not have much more readily occurred to Hebrew readers? The sense in which the hero of the book is called 'the assailed,' appears at once in the prologue, where Satan obtains leave to tempt him. 2. 'The names of the friends of Job are historical.' As to the name Eliphaz, it occurs in Gen. xxxvi. 4, 10, 12, and seems to be taken from thence. Adopting names in this manner amounts to inventing them. 3. 'It is a fact that Job lived in the land of Uz, which, in Hebrew history, is distinguished, neither in itself nor its inhabitants, and it is difficult to understand why the author selected this country, if he was not led to it by history.' We shall see below that the plan of the author required him to lay the scene without Palestine, but still in its immediate neighbourhood; which led him to Uz, a country already mentioned in Genesis. This observation applies also to the place of abode of Job's friends, which could not be Canaan, but must be in its vicinity; wherefore the country named in the book is assigned to them. 4. 'The sickness of Job is an historical fact; he was afflicted with elephantiasis, and it is inconceivable why the author chose this disease, which is of rare occurrence, if he had not drawn this particular fact from real history.' Now the reason of this selection was, that elephantiasis is a most awful disease, and that the author probably knew none more so; and persons labouring under elephantiasis were generally considered as smitten by God (Deut. xxiv. 8, 9) [Job's Disease].

These are all the particulars which Ewald points out as historical, and from our examination of them it will be clear, that we must confine ourselves to contending for an historical foundation of the book, but must not undertake to determine the exact nature of the groundwork: we infer the character of the composition from analogy, but cannot prove it from the book itself. That its historical framework was poetically enlarged by the author, has been already observed by Luther (see his *Tischreden*, or *Table Talk*, p. 318). As for the rest, the subtility displayed in explaining opposite views, the carefully drawn characters of the persons introduced, and their animated discourses, lead us to suppose that the question at issue had *previously* been the subject of various discussions in presence of the author, who, perhaps, took part in them. Thus there would be an historical foundation, not only for the facts related in the book, but to a certain extent also for the speeches.

IV. Descent, country, and age of the author.—Opinions differed in ancient times as to *the nation* to which the author belonged; some considering him to have been an Arab, others an Israelite; but the latter supposition is undoubtedly preferable. For, 1st, we find in our book many ideas of genuine Israelite growth: the creation of the world is described, in accordance with the prevailing notions of the Israelites, as the immediate effect of divine omnipotence; man is formed of clay; the spirit of man is God's breath; God employs the angels for the performance of his orders; Satan, the enemy of the chosen children of God, is his instrument for tempting them; men are weak and sinful; nobody is pure in the sight of God; moral corruption is propagated. There is promulgated to men the law of God, which they must not infringe, and the transgressions of which are visited on offenders with punishments. Moreover, the nether world, or Sheol, is depicted in hues entirely Hebrew. To these particulars might, without much trouble, be added many more; but the deep-searching inquirer will particularly weigh, 2ndly, the fact, that the book displays a strength and fervour of religious faith, such as could only be expected within the domain of revelation. Monotheism, if the assertions of ancient Arabian authors may be trusted, prevailed, indeed, for a long period among the Arabs; and it held its ground at least among a portion of the nation till the age of Mohammed, who obtained for it a complete triumph over polytheism, which was spreading from Syria. Still the god of the Arabs was, as those of the heathens generally were, a retired god, dwelling far apart, while the people of the Old Covenant enjoyed the privilege of a vital communion with God; and the warmth with which our author enters into this view, incontrovertibly proves that he was an Israelite. 3dly. As regards the language of our book, several ancient writers asserted that it was originally written in the Aramæan or Arabic tongue, and afterwards translated into Hebrew by Moses, David, Solomon, or some unknown writer. Of this opinion was the author of the Appendix in the Septuagint, and the compiler of the tract on Job added to the works of Origen and Jerome: in modern times it has been chiefly defended by Spanheim, in his *Historia Jobi*. But for a translation there is too much propriety and precision in the use of words and phrases; the sentences are too compact, and free from redundant expressions and members; and too much care is bestowed on their harmony and easy flow. The parallelism also is too accurate and perfect for a translation,

and the whole breathes a freshness that could be expected from an original work only.

Sensible of the weight of this argument, others, as Eichhorn, took a medium course, and assumed that the author was a Hebrew, though he did not live among his countrymen, but in Arabia. 'The earlier Hebrew history,' they say, 'is unknown to the author, who is ignorant of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In portraying nature, also, he proves himself always familiar with Arabia, while he is silent respecting the characteristics of Palestine. With Egypt he must have been well acquainted; which can be accounted for better by supposing him to have lived in Arabia than in Palestine.' These reasons are, however, not cogent. The cause why the author did not enter into the history of the Hebrews, and the nature of Palestine, appears from his design. In deciding the question at issue he waves the instruction given by divine revelation, and undertakes to perform the task by appealing only to religious consciousness and experience. On the plan of the author of Ecclesiastes, he treats the question as one of natural theology, in order that the human mind might arrive at its solution spontaneously, and be more deeply impressed. He would not, by referring to a few passages of Scripture, overturn errors which might afterwards spring up again; but they should be exposed and demolished separately, and the truth then be found by uniting the correct ingredients of opposite views. In following this plan the author intended to support Scripture: in a similar manner Pascal, in his *Pensées*, explains the nature ot man first from experience only, and next from Scripture. This plan is indicated by the scene being laid not in Palestine, but among a people quite unconnected with its inhabitants; at the same time he will not go farther than his object required, and he therefore chooses *the immediate* neighbourhood of Palestine. Thus the placing of the scene in a foreign country is not historical, but proceeds from the free choice of the author. The scene being laid in a foreign country, the portraying of life and nature must of course agree with that country, and not with Palestine (see ch. xl. 23). It may no doubt be said, that the remarkable vigour and sprightliness of the author's descriptions of the scenery and people, justify us in assuming that he was actually acquainted with them; but this cannot be asserted as quite certain, since it would impair the high idea entertained of the powers of poetry. The correctness of this view is eminently strengthened by the manner in which the author designedly uses the names of God. The Old Testament distinguishes between Elohim, the abstract God, the Deity, on the one hand, and Jehovah, the concrete God, with whom the Israelites had made a covenant, on the other (Gen. vi. 3, 4). Now the latter name occurs in Job generally, where the author himself appears, not only in the prologue and epilogue, but in the short sentences introducing the speakers, as in xxxviii. 1; xl. 1, 3, 6. In the body of the work, however, we have only the names Elohim, Eloah, and similar terms, with the exception of xii. 9, where Jehovah occurs. This very passage argues against those who, from the distinct names of God, would infer that the prologue and epilogue are not genuine. Eichhorn (see *Einleitung*, § 644, a.) assumes that the author had, by his particular use of the names of God, intended to represent himself as younger than the other interlocutors; but the notion of the name Jehovah having come later into general use, is contrary to history, and we must then arrive at this result, that the author by his selection of the names of God, which he lends to the interlocutors, intended to express his design of waving all theocratic principles. The few passages in which he seems to abandon this design, namely, in addition to that quoted, ch. i. 21, where Job, in speaking of God, uses the name Jehovah, make it appear even clearer. By thus forgetting himself, he betrays the fact that his general use of the names of God proceeds from designedly forsaking the usage of the language. The context, moreover, of the two passages in which he *seems* to forget himself and uses the name Jehovah, proves that this change is judiciously made, the deep and awful sense of his subject prompting him to an elevated, solemn style, to which the name Eloah was not suitable. And if there is design in the selection of the names of God, why not also in the selection of the country in which the scene is laid? This may be assumed the rather, because history says nothing of Israelites having permanently taken up their residence in the land of Uz, and because other circumstances already detailed oblige us to admit that the author was not only an Israelite by descent, but lived also in the midst of his people, and enjoyed the advantage of a religious communion with them. It should also be remembered, that the author, without directly mentioning the Pentateuch, frequently alludes to portions of it, as in ch. iii. 4, to Gen. i. 3; in ch. iv. 19, and xxxiii. 6, to Moses' account of the creation of man; in ch. v. 14, to Deut. xxxii. 32; in ch. xxiv. 11, to Deut. xxv. 4. That the name of Eliphaz the Temanite, one of the three friends of Job, seems also to have been taken from the Pentateuch, was mentioned above. In addition to these allusions there are several more to other books of the Old Testament, as the Psalms and Proverbs—which proves that the author must not be severed from the Israelite communion. From what we have stated against the hypothesis that our book was composed in Arabia, a judgment may be formed of the opinion of Hitzig and Hirzel, who assume that it was written in Egypt; the sole foundation for which is, that the author shows himself perfectly acquainted with that country, which proves him to have been a long observer of it. Most particulars adduced in support of this view cannot stand a close examination. Thus it is a mistake to suppose that the description of the working of mines in ch. xxviii. must necessarily have reference to Egypt: Phœnicia, Arabia, and Edom afforded much better materials. That the author must have known the Egyptian mausolea rests on an erroneous interpretation of ch. iii. 14, which may also be said of the assertion that ch. xxix. 18 refers to the Egyptian mythus of the Phœnix. Casting aside these arbitrarily assumed Egyptian references, we have only the following:—Our author knows the Egyptian vessels of bulrushes, ix. 26; the Nile-grass, viii. 12; the Nile-horse (Behemoth), and the crocodile (Leviathan), xi. 15, xli. 1. Now, as these things belong to the more prominent peculiarities of a neighbouring country, they must have been known to every educated Israelite: the vessels of bulrushes are mentioned also in Isa. xviii. 2. Neither are

we disposed to adopt the compromising view of Stickel, who assumes that the author wrote his book in the Israelite territory, indeed, but close to the frontier, in the far south-east of Palestine. That the author had there the materials for his descriptions, comparisons, and imagery, set better before his eyes, than anywhere else, is true; for there he had an opportunity of observing mines, caravans, drying up of brooks, &c. But this is not sufficient proof of the author having lived permanently in that remote part of Palestine, and of having there written his book: he was not a mere copyist of nature, but a poet of considerable eminence, endowed with the power of vividly representing things absent from him. That he lived and wrote in the midst of his nation, is proved by all analogy and by the general character of the book. It looks not like a writing composed in some remote corner of the world, where the question at issue could not have been so fully discussed, nor have created such a deep interest. Jerusalem was the metropolis of the Jews in a sense quite different from that which belongs to any other capital: it was, by order of God, the religious centre of the nation, where all general and leading measures of the nation originated, and to which all pretending to distinction and superiority resorted.

Proceeding to the inquiry as to *the age* of the author of this book, we meet with three opinions:—1. That he lived before Moses, or was, at least, his contemporary. 2. That he lived in the time of Solomon, or in the centuries next following. 3. That he lived shortly before, or during, or even after the Babylonian exile. The view of those who assert the book to have been written long after the Babylonian exile, can be supported, as Hirzel justly observes, neither by the nature of its language nor by reasons derived from its historical groundwork, and is therefore now generally rejected; but, apart from this opinion, there is, in those remaining, a difference as to the date of no less than 1000 years.

We must, first, declare ourselves decidedly against the view of those who—as Le Clerc among earlier interpreters; and among recent expositors, Bernstein, Gesenius, Umbreit, and De Wette—place our book in the time of the Chaldæan exile. They were led to this conclusion by their preconceived opinion that the doctrine of Satan, who is introduced in the prologue, was of Chaldæan origin; which has also induced others, while contending for a higher antiquity of the book, to pronounce the prologue, at least the scene in ch. i. 6-12, to be spurious; or losing sight of the poetical character of the prologue as well as of the speeches, to assert that the Satan of this book was different from the Satan of later times; or finally, to assume with Stickel, that the author had lived in a place where he could be impressed with Babylonian opinions before they had spread among the great body of his nation. But the assertion, that the doctrine of Satan originated among the Jews during the Babylonian exile, and was derived generally from Babylonian suggestions, has been shown by several interpreters to be erroneous, and very recently, by Hengstenberg (*Ægypten und die Bücher Mosis*, p. 164, sq.). This opinion was, however, suited to and supported by those who, headed by Bernstein, asserted that Job was a symbolic personage—a personification of the Jews suffering in the Exile—and who thus gave to our book a national reference and meaning; in like manner as some had before introduced a preposterous system of interpreting psalms containing personal lamentations, by converting them into national lamentations, and applying to them the principle of symbolization. Now, in the book of Job there is certainly no trace of national reference; and it would be absurd to assume an allegory running through an entire work, and still nowhere manifesting its presence. It is said by other interpreters, that, in the times of trouble, during the Babylonian exile, first originated the disheartening view of human life, and that then the problem of our book first engrossed the public mind; by which observation they, by way of compromise, refer its composition to that period, without contending for a symbolic exposition. But the sense of misery and of the nothingness of human life, is found among all nations, ancient and modern, cultivated and uncultivated: Noah, Jacob, Moses, complain, and as old as suffering must be the question of the seeming disparity in the distribution of good and evil, and how this disparity can be reconciled with God's justice. It is frequently under consideration in the Psalms.

Against those who refer the composition of Job to the time of the Babylonian exile, militate, first, the references to it in the Old Testament, which prove that it was before this period a generally known writing. Thus, in Ezek. xiv. 14-20, are mentioned 'three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job,' as examples of righteousness. Mr. Bernstein, indeed, in defending his hypothesis, rejects this passage as spurious, but it bears every mark of genuineness. Further, in Jeremiah xx. 14, we find evidently imitated Job's cursing of the day of his birth (ch. iii.). Not only the sentiments but the words are often the same; and that this coincidence is not accidental, or that the author did not imitate Jeremiah, appears from the literary character of each. Jeremiah shows himself throughout dependent on ancient writings, whereas our author is quite original and independent, as proved by Küper (see *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, p. 164, sq.). There are also in the *Lamentations* of Jeremiah, many passages clearly alluding to our book, which must have eminently suited his taste and interested him (comp. xvi. 13 with Lam. ii. 16; and xix. 8, with Lam. iii. 7, 9). In *Isaiah* the peculiar use of נִבְאָ (xl. 2) refers us to Job i. (comp. x. 17; xiv. 14); and *the double* received from God's hand alludes to the end of the history of Job, who is there considered as typifying the future fate of the church. Isaiah lxi. 7. 'In their land they shall have the double,' alludes to the same point; ch. li. 9 depends on Job xxvi. 13; and ch. xix. 5, almost literally agrees with Job xiv. 11 (see Küper, p. 166). Another example of words borrowed from Job occurs in Psalm cvii. 42, where the second part of the verse agrees literally with Job v. 16. 2. A most decisive reason against assigning the composition of Job to the period of the Exile is derived from the language, since it is free from *those* Chaldaisms which occur in the books written about that time. Eichhorn justly observes, 'Let him who is fit for such researches, only read, first, a writing, tainted with Aramæisms, and next the book of Job: they will be found diverging as east and west.' There is no example of an independent, original work,

composed in pure language, after the Exile. Zechariah indeed, though writing after the Exile, has few Chaldaisms; but a closer inspection shows that this case is not analogous to that of our book. The comparative purity of Zechariah's language can be accounted for by his constant occupation with the sacred writings of the period before the Exile, on which he proves himself entirely dependent. 3. Equally conclusive is the poetical character of the book. The Exile might produce a soft, moving poem, but could not give birth to such a rich, compact, animated, and warm composition as ours, breathing youthful freshness throughout. Ewald, in acknowledging this, says justly, 'The high skill displayed in this book cannot be well expected from later centuries, when poetry had by degrees generally declined, and particularly in the higher art required by large compositions; and language so concise and expressive as that of our author, is not found in writings of later times.'

To the view which places the age of the book of Job in the time of the Babylonian exile, is most opposed that which assigns the composition of it to a period prior to Moses. In support of this latter view, only two arguments having a semblance of force can be adduced, and they will not bear the test of strict inquiry. It is said, 1. 'There is in the book of Job no direct reference to the Mosaic legislation; and its descriptions and other statements are suited to the period of the patriarchs; as, for instance, the great authority held by old men, the high age of Job, and fathers offering sacrifices for their families—which leads to the supposition that when our book was written no sacerdotal order yet existed.' These points, however, are quite intelligible, if the design of the book, as stated above, is kept in view. The author intended not to rest the decision of the question at issue on particular passages of Scripture, but on religious consciousness and experience. This at once explains why he places the scene without Palestine, why he places it in the patriarchal age, and why he avoids the use of the name Jehovah; of these three items *the first* sufficiently accounts for no reference being made to the Mosaic legislation. It is indeed said, that for an author of a later period, who undertook to portray earlier times, it would hardly have been possible to perform his task, without occasionally forgetting his roll. But it is not easy to determine what, in such a case, is possible. What might be expected from our author in this respect may be inferred from his skill in the intentional use of the names of God —from the steadiness with which, among foreign scenery, he proceeds to develop his subject—from the able disposition of the speeches, and the nicely drawing of the characters of the interlocutors, who are always represented speaking and acting in conformity with the part assigned to them. In the proper execution of his work he may have been assisted by witnessing abroad the patriarchal life of nomades, which, in its essential features, is always the same. This supposition is rendered in some degree probable, from the descriptions of Arabia being exactly agreeable to its natural condition, and being even more specific than those of Egypt, though Hirzel is pleased to select the latter country, in determining where the author of our book lived and composed it. 2. 'The language of the book of Job seems strongly to support the opinion of its having been written before Moses.' It has been often said, that no writing of the Old Testament may be more frequently illustrated from the Arabic than this book. Jerome observes (*Præfat. in Dan.*), 'Jobum cum Arabica lingua plurimam habere societatem;' and Schultens proved this so incontrovertibly that Gesenius was rather too late in denying the fact (see his *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache*, p. 33). Now, from this character of its language we might be induced to infer, that the work was written in the remotest times, when the separation of the dialects had only begun, but had not yet been completed. This inference would, however, be safe only if the book were written in prose. It is solely from works of this class, that the general usage of the language prevailing at the time of the author can be seen. On the contrary, the selection of obsolete and rare words and forms, with the Hebrews, was a peculiar feature of the poetical style, and served to distinguish it from the usual, habitual way of writing. This peculiarity belongs to our book more than to any other; which may be explained from its elevated character and general plan; it rises above commonplace ideas more than any other Hebrew writing, and the plan of the author made it incumbent on him to impress on the language, as much as possible, an antique and foreign character.

The most complete statement of the reasons in support of the opinion that the book of Job was written after the age of Moses, may be found in Richter's essay, *De Ætate Jobi definienda*, reprinted in Rosenmüller's edition of Lowth's *Prælectiones De Poesi Sacra Hebræorum:* in which he maintains that it was written in the age of Solomon. Most of these reasons, indeed, are either not conclusive at all, or not quite cogent. Thus it is an arbitrary assumption, proved by modern researches to be erroneous, that the art of writing was unknown previous to the age of Moses. The assertion too, that the marks of cultivation and refinement observable in our book belonged to a later age, rests on no historical ground. Further, it cannot be said, that for such an early time the language is too smooth and neat, since in no Semitic dialect is it possible to trace a progressive improvement. The evident correspondence also between our book and the Proverbs and Psalms is not a point proving with resistless force that they were all written at the same time. It is, indeed, sometimes of such a kind, that the authors of the Proverbs and Psalms cannot be exactly said to have copied our book; but it may be accounted for by their all belonging to the same class of writings, by the very great uniformity and accordance of religious conceptions and sentiments expressed in the Old Testament, and by the stability of its religious character.

Still the argument derived from the correspondence between our book and the Psalms is not devoid of force; for the accordance of ideas, sentiments, and colouring in them is such that the circumstances referred to cannot be considered as completely accounting for it. There are passages in which the author of our book clearly alludes to the Psalms and Proverbs. A striking example of this kind occurs in Ps. xxxix. 13. All the words of this verse, which, as they conclude the psalm, may have been deeply impressed on the

public mind, are again found in various passages of the book of Job, whose author must have been acquainted with that psalm (comp. ch. vii. 19; xiv. 6; x. 20, 21; vii. 8, 21, in the Hebrew Bible). The whole psalm is a text-book for the speeches of Job. The argument, also, derived from the skilful plan of our book and its able exposition, must be allowed its weight in deciding that its composition is not to be assigned to an age prior to Moses; though we must not forget that what to us appears to be art, because it is done according to established rules, may also be the product of a creative genius. But a conclusive argument against assigning so early a date to the composition of our book is its reflecting and inquiring character. A didactic poem could never have been written in the time of the patriarchs; but our book presents a strong contrast to those immature conceptions and those statements which strike the senses but do not appeal to reason, which are of so frequent occurrence in Genesis. The notion which our author entertains of God, of his omnipotence and omnipresence, is undoubtedly more refined than that presented in the books of Moses. In addition to this it should be observed, that from many indications the problem treated in our book was at the time of its composition frequently discussed and variously solved. We have observed, indeed, above, that it is as old as the cause which originated it; but it must be allowed that the Mosaic revelation, with its leading doctrine concerning retribution, was calculated to direct the attention more forcibly towards it than had been previously the case, and thus to induce God, through an instrument appointed by him, to promulgate the true solution. There are, moreover, indirect allusions to the Pentateuch, as stated above.

Summing up the whole of our investigations, we take it to be a settled point that the book of Job does not belong to the time of the Babylonian exile; and it is nearly equally certain that it was not composed prior to the time of Moses. Could it then have been written in some age preceding Samuel and David? It is only with them that a new period of sacred literature began; and our book is related to products of that period, or enlarges on them. But it cannot have been composed later than Isaiah, who alludes to it. Thus we come to this general determination of the age of our book, that it was written, *not before* Samuel and David, but *not later* than the era of Isaiah. With this result we must rest satisfied, unless we would go beyond the indications presented. The intermediate period offers no ground on which we can safely fix the composition of the book of Job. There remains then uncertainty, but it does not concern an important point of religion. The significancy of our book for the church rests on the evidence of our Lord and his apostles in support of the inspiration of the whole collection of the Old Testament, and on the confirmation which this external evidence has at all times received, and continues to receive, from the internal testimony, among the true believers of all ages.—E. W. H.

[There is perhaps no single book of Scripture of which so many versions and commentaries have been published as on that of Job, or respecting which a greater number of treatises and dissertations have been written. The following are only the principal examples:—Mercer, *Comment. in Jobum*, 1573; Drusius, *Nova Versio et Scholia in Jobum*, 1636; Abbott's *Paraphrase of the Book of Job*, 1640; Spanheim, *Historia Jobi*, 1672; Schmid, *Comment. in Librum Jobi*, 1670; Caryl's *Exposition of the Book of Job*, 1669; Leigh's *Annotations on Job*, 1656; Wesley, *Dissertatt. in Jobum*, 1736; Costard, *Observations on the Book of Job*, 1742; Schultens, *Liber Jobi*, 1737; Chappelow's *Commentary on Job*, 1752; Heath's *Essay on the Book of Job*, 1756; Scott's *Book of Job in English Verse*, 1773; Reiske, *Conjecturæ in Jobum*, 1779; Dathe *in Jobum*, 1789; Garden's *Improved Version of the Book of Job*, 1796; Eichhorn, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1800; Gaab, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1809; Eliza Smith's *Book of Job*, 1810; Good's *Book of Job*, 1812; Bridel, *Le Livre de Job*, 1818; Umbreit, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1824 (translated in the *Bibl. Cabinet*, vols. xvi., xix.); Fry's *New Translation and Exposition*, 1827; Lange, *Das Buch Hiob*, 1831; Knobel, *De Carminis Jobi*, 1835; Ewald, *Das Buch Hiob erklärt*, 1836; Fackens, *Comment. de Jobeide*, 1836; Lee's *Book of Job*, 1837; Wemyss, *Job and his Times*, 1839.]

JOB'S DISEASE. The opinion that the malady under which Job suffered was elephantiasis, or black leprosy, is so ancient, that it is found, according to Origen's *Hexapla*, in the rendering which one of the Greek versions has made of ch. ii. 7. It was also entertained by Abulfeda (*Hist. Anteisl.* p. 26); and, in modern times, by the best scholars generally. The passages which are considered to indicate this disease are found in the description of his skin burning from head to foot, so that he took a potsherd to scrape himself (ii. 7, 8); in its being covered with putrefaction and crusts of earth, and being at one time stiff and hard, while at another it cracked and discharged fluid (vii. 5); in the offensive breath which drove away the kindness of attendants (xix. 17); in the restless nights, which were either sleepless or scared with frightful dreams (vii. 13, 14; xxx. 17); in general emaciation (xvi. 8); and in so intense a loathing of the burden of life, that strangling and death were preferable to it (vii. 15).

In this picture of Job's sufferings, the state of the skin is not so distinctly described as to enable us to identify the disease with elephantiasis in a rigorous sense. The difficulty is also increased by the fact that שְׁחִין *shechin* is generally rendered 'boils.' But that word, according to its radical sense, only means *burning, inflammation*—a hot sense of pain, which, although it attends boils and abscesses, is common to other cutaneous irritations. Moreover, the fact that Job scraped himself with a potsherd is irreconcilable with the notion that his body was covered with boils or open sores, but agrees very well with the thickened state of the skin which characterizes this disease.

In this, as in most other Biblical diseases, there is too little distinct description of symptoms to enable us to determine the precise malady intended. But the general character of the complaint under which Job suffered, bears a greater resemblance to elephantiasis than to any other disease [Leprosy].—W. A. N.

JOCHEBED (יוֹכֶבֶד, *God-glorified;* Sept. Ἰωχαβέδ), wife of Amram and mother of Miriam,

Moses and Aaron. In Exod. vi. 20, Jochebed is expressly declared to have been the sister of Amram's father, and consequently the aunt of her husband. As marriage between persons thus related was afterwards forbidden by the law (Lev. xviii. 12), various attempts have been made to show that the relationship was more distant than the text in its literal meaning indicates. We see no necessity for this. The mere mention of the relationship implies that there was something remarkable in the case; but if we show that nothing is remarkable, we do away the occasion for the relationship being at all noticed. The fact seems to be, that where this marriage was contracted, there was no law forbidding such alliances, but they must in any case have been unusual, although not forbidden; and this, with the writer's knowledge that they were subsequently interdicted, sufficiently accounts for this one being so pointedly mentioned. The candour of the historian in declaring himself to be sprung from a marriage, afterwards forbidden by the law, delivered through himself, deserves especial notice.

JOEL (יוֹאֵל; Sept. Ἰωήλ; Gesenius, *Cui Jehova est Deus*, i. e. *cultor Jehovæ*), one of the twelve minor prophets, the son of Pethuel. Of his birth-place nothing is known with certainty; the pseudo-Epiphanius affirms that he was a native of Betha, in the tribe of Reuben (*De Vit. Proph.* c. 14). From the local allusions in his prophecy, we may infer that he discharged his office in the kingdom of Judah. But the references to the temple, its priests and sacrifices, are rather slender grounds for conjecturing that he belonged to the sacerdotal order. Various opinions have been held respecting the period in which he lived. It appears most probable that he was contemporary with Amos and Isaiah, and delivered his predictions in the reign of Uzziah, between 800 and 780 B.C. This is the opinion maintained by Abarbanel, Vitringa, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Holzhausen, and others. Credner and Winer place him in the time of Joash; Bertholdt, in that of Hezekiah; Cramer and Eckevniaun, in Josiah's reign; Jahn in Manasseh's; and Schröder still later.

This prophet opens his commission by announcing an extraordinary plague of locusts, accompanied with extreme drought, which he depicts in a strain of animated and sublime poetry under the image of an invading army. The fidelity of his highly-wrought description is corroborated and illustrated by the testimonies of Shaw, Volney, Forbes, and other eminent travellers, who have been eye-witnesses of the ravages committed by this most terrible of the insect tribe. Their accounts tend strongly, we think, to free the literal interpretation from the charge of being 'the greatest exaggeration.' It is also to be observed that locusts are named by Moses as instruments of the divine justice (Deut. xxviii. 38, 39), and by Solomon in his prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 Kings viii. 37). In the second chapter, the formidable aspect of the locusts—their rapid progress—their sweeping devastation—the awful murmur of their countless throngs—their instinctive marshalling—the irresistible perseverance with which they make their way over every obstacle and through every aperture—are delineated with the utmost graphic force. Dr. Hengstenberg calls in question the mention of their flight, but, as it appears to us, without adequate reason. He considers the expression 'before them,' in ch. ii., as equivalent to 'before they rise:' but in the third verse the same word (לפניו) occurs twice, evidently in the sense of 'in the presence of,' 'in their front.' The eminent critic just named lays great stress on the alleged omission of this particular, which he considers inexplicable, unless on the supposition that the reality presented nothing corresponding to it. But whether this characteristic be alluded to or not, the argument for or against the literal interpretation will not be materially affected. Other particulars are mentioned which literally can apply only to locusts, and which, on the supposition that the language is allegorical, are explicable only as being accessory traits for filling up the picture (Davison's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 310). The figurative interpretation has, it must be allowed, the support of antiquity. It was adopted by the Chaldee paraphrast, Ephrem the Syrian (A.D. 350), and the Jews in the time of Jerome (A.D. 400). Ephrem supposes that by the four different denominations of the locusts were intended Tiglath-pileser, Shalmanaser, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar. The Jews, in the time of Jerome, understood by the first term the Assyrians and Chaldeans; by the second, the Medes and Persians; by the third, Alexander the Great and his successors; and by the fourth, the Romans. By others, however, the prophecy was interpreted literally; and Jerome himself appears to have fluctuated between the two opinions, though more inclined to the allegorical view. Grotius applies the description to the invasions by Pul and Shalmaneser. Holzhausen attempts to unite both modes of interpretation, and applies the language literally to the locusts, and metaphorically to the Assyrians. It is singular, however, that, if a hostile invasion be intended, not the least hint is given of personal injury sustained by the inhabitants; the immediate effects are confined entirely to the vegetable productions and the cattle. Dr. Hengstenberg, while strongly averse from the literal sense, is not disposed to limit the metaphorical meaning to any one event or class of invaders. 'The enemy,' he remarks, 'are designated only as *north countries*. From the north, however, from Syria, all the principal invasions of Palestine proceeded. We have therefore no reason to think exclusively of any one of them. Nor ought we to limit the prophecy to the people of the old covenant. Throughout all centuries there is but one church of God existing in unbroken connection. That this church, during the first period of its existence, was concentrated in a land into which hostile irruptions were made from the north was purely accidental. To make this circumstance the boundary-stone of the fulfilment of prophecy were just as absurd as if one were to assert that the threatening of Amos, "by the sword shall all sinners of my people die," has not been fulfilled in those who perished after another manner' (*Christology*, Keith's transl. iii. 104).

The prophet, after describing the approaching judgments, calls on his countrymen to repent, assuring them of the divine placability and readiness to forgive (ii. 12-17). He foretels the restoration of the land to its former fertility, and declares that Jehovah would still be their God

(ii. 18-26). He then announces the spiritual blessings which would be poured forth in the Messianic age (iii. 1-5, Heb. text; ii. 28-32, Auth. Vers.). This remarkable prediction is applied by the Apostle Peter to the events that transpired on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 16-21). In the last chapter (iv. Heb. text; iii. Auth. Vers.), the divine vengeance is denounced against the enemies and oppressors of the chosen people, of whom the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Edomites are especially named. A minute examination of these predictions would exceed our limits; we must refer the reader for further information to the works named at the close of this article.

The style of Joel, it has been remarked, unites the strength of Micah with the tenderness of Jeremiah. In vividness of description he rivals Nahum, and in sublimity and majesty is scarcely inferior to Isaiah and Habakkuk. 'Imprimis est elegans, clarus, fusus, fluensque; valde etiam sublimis acer, fervidus' (Lowth, *De Sacra Poesi Hebr.* Præl. xxi.).

The canonicity of this book has never been called in question.

A Paraphrase and Critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel, by Samuel Chandler, 4to. London, 1745; *Die Weissagung des Propheten Joel, übersetzt und erklärt*, von F. A. Holzhausen, Göttingen, 1829; *Characteristik der Bibel*, von Dr. A. H. Niemeyer, Halle, 1831, vol. v. pp. 295-302; Dr. Hengstenberg's *Christology of the Old Testament, &c.*, transl. by Dr. R. Keith, Washington, 1839, vol. iii. pp. 100-141.

The following works are also mentioned by De Wette in his *Lehrbuch*, &c., Berlin, 1840, p. 324:—*Joel Explicatus, in quo Textus Ebr. per paraph. Chald. masoram magn. et parv. perque trium præstantiss. Rabb. R. Sal. Jarchi, R. Aben-Esræ, et R. Dav. Kimchi Comm., necnon per notas philol. illustratur, &c.*, auct. Joh. Leusden, Ultraj. 1657; *Interpret. Joelis in Turretini Tract. de S. Script. Interpret.*, ed. a G. A. Teller, pp. 307-343; G. T. Baumgartens *Ausleg. el. Proph. Joel*, Hal. 1756; C. F. Cramer, *Scyth. Denkmaler in Palæstina*, Kiel, 1777, s. 143-245; C. P. Conz, *Diss. de Charactere Poet. Joelis, &c.*, Tub. 1783; *Joel Lat. versus et notis philol. illustratus*, ab A. Scanborg, in sex Dissert., Upsal, 1806; *Ueberss. m. Erklt.*, von Eckermann, 1786; Justi, 1792; Credner, 1831.—J. E. R.

JOHANAN (יוֹחָנָן, *God-bestowed;* Sept. Ἰωνάν), one of the officers who came and recognised Gedaliah as governor of Judæa after the destruction of Jerusalem, and who appears to have been the chief in authority and influence among them. He penetrated the designs of Ishmael against the governor, whom he endeavoured, without success, to put upon his guard. When Ishmael had accomplished his design by the murder of Gedaliah, and was carrying away the principal persons at the seat of government as captives to the Ammonites, Johanan pursued him, and released them. Being fearful, however, that the Chaldæans might misunderstand the affair, and make him and those who were with him responsible for it, he resolved to withdraw for safety into Egypt, with the principal persons of the remnant left in the land. Jeremiah remonstrated against this decision; but Johanan would not be moved, and even constrained the prophet himself to go with them. They proceeded to Taphanes, but nothing further is recorded of Johanan. B.C. 588 (2 Kings xxv. 23; Jer. xl. 8-16; xli.; xlii.; xliii.).

JOHN THE BAPTIST (Gr. Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής, or simply Ἰωάννης, when the reference is clear, as in Matt. iii. 4; iv. 12; Lat. Joannes, Tacit. *Hist.* v. 12; Hebrew יוֹחָנָן, denoting 'grace' or 'favour'). In the church John commonly bears the honourable title of 'forerunner of the Lord'—antecursor et præparator viarum Domini (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 33); in Greek, πρόδρομος, προάγγελος Κυρίου. The accounts of him which the gospels present are fragmentary and imperfect: they involve, too, some difficulties which the learned have found it hard to remove; yet enough is given to show that he was a man of a lofty character, and that the relation in which he stood to Christianity was one of great importance.

His parents were Zacharias and Elisabeth, the latter 'a cousin of Mary,' the mother of Jesus, whose senior John was by a period of six months (Luke i.). The exact spot where John was born is not determined. The rabbins fix on Hebron, in the hill-country of Judæa; Paulus, Kuinoel, and Meyer, after Reland, are in favour of Jutta, 'a city of Judah.' According to the account contained in the first chapter of Luke, his father, while engaged in burning incense, was visited by the angel Gabriel, who informed him that in compliance with his prayers his wife should bear a son, whose name he should call John—in allusion to the grace thus accorded. A description of the manner of his son's life is given, which in effect states that he was to be a Nazarite, abstaining from bodily indulgences, was to receive special favour and aid of God, was to prove a great religious and social reformer, and so prepare the way for the long-expected Messiah. Zacharias is slow to believe these tidings and seeks some token in evidence of their truth. Accordingly a sign is given which acts also as a punishment of his want of faith—his tongue is sealed till the prediction is fulfilled by the event. Six months after Elisabeth had conceived she received a visit from Mary, the future mother of Jesus. On being saluted by her relation, Elisabeth felt her babe leap in her womb, and, being filled with the holy spirit, she broke forth into a poetic congratulation to Mary, as the destined mother of her Lord. At length Elisabeth brought forth a son, whom the relatives were disposed to name Zacharias, after his father—but Elisabeth was in some way led to wish that he should be called John. The matter was referred to the father, who signified in writing that his name was to be John. This agreement with Elisabeth caused all to marvel. Zacharias now had his tongue loosed, and he first employed his restored power in praising God. These singular events caused universal surprise, and led people to expect that the child would prove a distinguished man.

The parents of John were not only of a priestly order, but righteous and devout. Their influence, in consequence, in the training of their son, would be not only benign but suitable to the holy office which he was designed to fill. More than this—the special aids of God's Spirit were with him (Luke i. 66). How thoroughly Zacharias was penetrated with his parental responsibility and the

future dignity of his son, appears from the 'divine song' to which he gives utterance; the following words deserve notice—'And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest; for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways; to give knowledge of salvation unto his people by the remission of their sins, through the tender mercy of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death, to guide our feet in the way of peace.' As a consequence of the lofty influences under which he was nurtured, the child waxed strong in spirit. The sacred writer adds that 'he was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel' (Luke i. 80). The apocryphal *Protev. Jac.* ch. xxii. states that his mother, in order to rescue her son from the murder of the children at Bethlehem, which Herod commanded, fled with him into the desert. She found no place of refuge; the mountain opened at her request, and gave the needed shelter in its bosom. Zacharias, being questioned by Herod as to where his son was to be found, and refusing to answer, was slain by the tyrant. At a later period Elisabeth died, when angels took the youth under their care (Fabricius, *Cod. Apocryph.* p. 117, sq.; comp. Kuhn, *Leben Jesu*, i. 163, remark 4).

In the fifteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius, John made his public appearance, exhibiting the austerity, the costume, and the manner of life of the ancient Jewish prophets (Luke iii.; Matt. iv.). His raiment was camel's hair; he wore a plain leathern girdle about his loins; his food was what the desert spontaneously offered—locusts and wild honey from the rock. Desert though the place is designated, the country where he began his mission—the wild mountainous tract of Juda—lying between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, along which it stretches, was not entirely destitute of means for supporting human existence (Matt. iii. 1-12; Mark i. 1-8; Luke iii. 1-20; John x. 28; Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 88). Josephus, in his *Life* (ii. 2), gives an account of one of his instructors, Banus, which throws light on John's condition in the desert:—'he lived in the desert, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day. I imitated him in these things, and continued with him three years.'

The burden of John's preaching bore no slight resemblance to the old prophetic exhortations, whose last echo had now died away for centuries. He called upon the Jewish people to repent (μετανοεῖτε), to change their minds, their dispositions and affections, and thus prepared the way for the great doctrine promulgated by his Lord, of the necessity of a spiritual regeneration. That the change which John had in view was by no means of so great or so elevated a kind as that which Jesus required, is very probable; but the particulars into which he enters when he proceeds to address classes or individuals (Matt. iii. 7, sq.; Luke iii. 7, sq.), serve fully to show that the renovation at which he aimed was not merely of a material or organic, but chiefly of a moral nature. In a very emphatic manner did he warn the ecclesiastical and philosophical authorities of the land of the necessity under which they lay of an entire change of view, of aim, and of desire; declaring in explicit and awful terms that their pride of nationality would avail them nothing against the coming wrathful visitation, and that they were utterly mistaken in the notion that Divine Providence had any need of them for completing its own wise purposes (Luke iii. 8, 9). The first reason assigned by John for entering on his most weighty and perilous office was announced in these words—'the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' It was his great work to prepare the mind of the nation, so that when Jesus himself came they might be a people made ready for the Lord. What was the exact idea which John intended to convey by the term 'kingdom of heaven' it is not easy, at least in the space before us, to determine with satisfaction. We feel ourselves, however, justified in protesting against the practice of those who take the vulgar Jewish notion, and ascribe it to John, while some go so far as to deny that our Lord himself, at the first, possessed any other. The reference which we have made to John's addreses to his auditors suffices to show that there was an ample and predominant moral element in his conception of this kingdom; while, if he entertained the vulgar notion of the Messiah, why his urgency in behalf of μετάνοια—an entire, internal change? Besides, does the fact need enforcement, that all superior minds—especially those that are enlightened by the Divine Spirit—have both correcter and nobler views than the bulk of their contemporaries, and that it is the power which, under God's aid, these views give them, that sustains them in their duty and makes their efforts successful? If John really came in the spirit and power of Elias—if he reproduced the old ardour and quickening foresight of the prophets, he must have gone far beyond the vulgar conception of the kingdom of God. And indeed the whole tenor of his teaching seems to our mind intended and fitted to refine, exalt, and expand the ordinary Jewish mind and so to prepare the way for the perfect day of Christ.

Had we space to develope the moral character of John, we could show that this fine, stern, high-minded teacher possessed many eminent qualities; but his personal and official modesty in keeping, in all circumstances, in the lower rank assigned him by God, must not pass without special mention. The doctrine and manner of life of John appear to have roused the entire of the south of Palestine, and people flocked from all parts to the spot where, on the banks of the Jordan, he baptized thousands unto repentance. Such, indeed, was the fame which he had gained, that 'people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not' (Luke iii. 15). Had he chosen, John might without doubt have assumed to himself the higher office, and risen to great worldly power. But he was faithful to his trust, and never failed to declare in the fullest and clearest manner, that he was not the Christ but merely his harbinger, and that the sole work he had to do was to usher in the day-spring from on high.

The more than prophetic fame of the Baptist reached the ears of Jesus in his Nazarene dwelling, far distant from the locality of John (Matt. ii. 9, 11). The nature of the report—namely, that his divinely-predicted forerunner had appeared in Judæa—showed our Lord that the time was now come for his being made manifest to Israel. Ac-

cordingly he comes to the place where John is to be baptized of him, in order that thus he might fulfil all that was required under the dispensation which was about to disappear (Matt. iii. 14). John's sense of inferiority inclines him to ask rather than to give baptism in the case of Jesus, who, however, wills to have it so, and is accordingly baptized of John. Immediately on the termination of this symbolical act, a divine attestation is given from the opened vault of heaven, declaring Jesus to be in truth the long looked-for Messiah—'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased' (Matt. iii. 17). The events which are found recorded in John i. 19, sq. seem to have happened after the baptism of Jesus by John. This appears to us to be implied in the *past* character of the narrative. John is obviously speaking of something over and gone: for instance, 'This is he of whom I *said*' (not I *say*), 'after me cometh a man,' &c.; John's testimony had already been borne when he gave his reply to the Sanhedrim. It was therefore prior to his baptism that John 'knew him not'—knew not *his person*, though, of course, he knew that the Messiah was on the point of coming; and though John and Jesus were relatives, yet, considering the distance at which they dwelt from each other, and the habits of retirement and solitude in which both indulged, there is no difficulty whatever in the statement. But it may be asked, if John was ignorant of the person of Jesus, how he could acknowledge his superiority, as he does when he intimates that it was more meet he should receive than give baptism. This difficulty has excited much attention. The reader may with advantage consult the very learned and, for the most part, impartial commentary of Lücke, on the passage. Our view is this: the relation in which John and Jesus stood to each other must have been well known to both. When, therefore, Jesus came to John, he would naturally declare himself to be the intended Messiah. Such a declaration—thus pointing out the person—would, of course, conciliate belief in John's mind, and might naturally prompt the self-abasing language which he employs when requested by Jesus to give him baptism. No other fact than such an assertion would communicate to John's mind could justify the language which the Baptist uses, since, as the forerunner of the Messiah, he was second to him only. Still the divinely-promised evidence remained to be given—'upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost' (John i. 33). That evidence was at length vouchsafed after the baptism, and then the divine and human testimony concurred in giving such satisfaction to John's mind as he had been led of God to expect, and which the important interests at stake seemed to demand.

In the testimony which John bears to Jesus, as recorded by the Evangelist John, Winer, in his *Realwörterbuch*, finds some difficulty, and thinks that there is a variation, in fact a contrariety, between the view which John presents of the person and work of our Lord and that which the other evangelists afford—a view, indeed, of which the Baptist could have known nothing, but which came from the Gnosticizing colours of John's mind. We again refer the reader to Lücke's valuable work. But what has already been remarked will have shown that Winer and others are in error in the supposition which lies at the bottom of these alleged difficulties and variations—namely, that John the Baptist had no idea of the kingdom of God, higher or more far-reaching than that which was prevalent in the common mind of Judæa. It is in the words 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' (John i. 29, 36), that the difficulty is thought to be found. What, it is asked, could John the Baptist have known of this assumed function—the remission of sins? Lücke has, we think, satisfactorily shown that such a function did enter into the prophetic idea of the Messiah (Isa. liii.), or at least into that conception of him which the authoritative expounders of religious truth had drawn from the peculiar language of prophecy. And this is unquestionably certain, that 'the remission of our sins, through the tender mercy of our God' (Luke i. 77), did form a part of the conception of the coming Messiah which Zacharias, John's father, entertained and expressed immediately on the birth of his son; while in the account given by the synoptical evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke), to the effect that John preached 'the baptism of repentance, for the *remission* of sins' (Luke iii. 3), adding that the Christ would 'baptize *with the Holy Ghost, and with fire*' (Luke iii. 16), may surely be found the essence of the idea conveyed by the words 'Behold the Lamb of God,' &c.

The relation which subsisted between John and Jesus, after the emphatic testimony above recorded had been borne, we have not the materials to describe with full certainty.

It seems but natural to think, when their hitherto relative position is taken into account, that John would forthwith lay down his office of harbinger, which, now that the Sun of Righteousness himself had appeared, was entirely fulfilled and terminated. Such a step he does not appear to have taken. On the contrary, the language of Scripture seems to imply that the Baptist church continued side by side with the Messianic (Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 19; Matt. ix. 14; Luke xi. 1; John xiv. 25), and remained long after John's execution (Acts xix. 3). Indeed, a sect which bears the name of 'John's disciples,' exists to the present day in the East, whose sacred books are said to be pervaded by a Gnostic leaven. They are hostile alike to Judaism and Christianity, and their John and Jesus are altogether different from the characters bearing these names in our evangelists. Still, though it has been generally assumed that John did not lay down his office, we are not satisfied that the New Testament establishes this alleged fact. John may have ceased to execute his own peculiar work, as the forerunner, but may justifiably have continued to bear his most important testimony to the Messiahship of Christ; or he may even have altogether given up the duties of active life some time, at least, before his death; and yet his disciples, both before and after that event, may have maintained their individuality as a religious communion. Nor will the student of the New Testament and of ecclesiastical history, who knows how grossly a teacher far greater than John, was both during his life and after his crucifixion, misunderstood and misrepresented, think it impossible that some misconception or some sinister motive may have had weight in preventing the Baptist

church from dissolving and passing into that of Christ.

It was, not improbably, with a view to remove some error of this kind that John sent the embassy of his disciples to Jesus which is recorded in Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 19. The spiritual course which the teachings of Jesus were more and more taking, and the apparent failure, or at least uneasy postponement of the promised kingdom in the popular sense, especially the fact that their esteemed master lay in prison, and was in imminent danger of losing his life, may well have led John's disciples to doubt if Jesus were in truth the expected Messiah. Appearances, to them, were purely adverse. What step so fit on the part of their master, as that he should send them to Jesus himself? No intimation is found in the record that *John* required evidence to give him satisfaction; and all the language that is used is proper and pertinent if we suppose that the doubt lay only in the minds of his disciples. That the terms employed *admit* the interpretation that John was not without some misgivings (Luke vii. 23; Matt. xi. 6), we are free to allow. And if any doubt had grown up in the Baptist's mind it was most probably owing to the defective spirituality of his views; for even of him Jesus has declared, 'he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he' (Matt. xi. 11). Were this the case it would of itself account not only for the embassy sent by John to Jesus, but also for the continuance and perpetuation of John's separate influence as the founder of a sect.

The manner of John's death is too well known to require to be detailed here (Matt. iv. 12; xiv. 3; Luke iii. 19; Mark vi. 17; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2). He reproved a tyrant for a heinous crime, and received his reward in decapitation. Josephus, however, assigns a somewhat different cause for this execution from that given in the gospels. The passage bears forcible evidence to the general truth of the evangelical narrative respecting John, and therefore we transcribe it:—'Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, although he was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness one towards another and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. Now when others came in crowds about him—for they were greatly moved by hearing his words—Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise), thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machærus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death.'

There is no contrariety between this account and that which is given in the New Testament. Both may be true: John was condemned in the mind of Herod on political grounds, as endangering his position, and executed on private and ostensible grounds, in order to gratify a malicious but powerful woman. The Scriptural reason was but the pretext for carrying into effect the determinations of Herod's cabinet. That the fear of Herod was not without some ground may be seen in the popularity which John had gained (Mark xi. 32; Lardner, *Works*, vi. 483).

The castle of Machærus, where John was imprisoned and beheaded, was a fortress lying on the southern extremity of Peræa, at the top of the lake Asphaltites, between the dominions of Herod and Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, and at the time of our history appears to have belonged to the former (Lardner, vi. 483). According to the Scripture account, the daughter of Herodias obtained the Baptist's head at an entertainment, without delay. How could this be, when Machærus lay at a distance from Jerusalem? The feast seems to have been made at Machærus, which, besides being a stronghold, was also a palace, built by Herod the Great, and Herod himself was now on his route towards the territories of Aretas, with whom he was at war. Bishop Marsh (*Lecture* xxvi.) remarks, that the soldiers who, in Luke iii. 14, are said to have come to John while baptizing in the Jordan, are designated by a term (στρατευόμενοι, not στρατιῶται) which denotes persons actually engaged in war, not merely soldiers. In the same way, in Mark vi. 27, the officer sent to bring John's head bears a military title—σπεκουλάτωρ. These minute indications are quite accordant with the fact that Herod was then making war on Aretas, as appears from Josephus (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1), and afford a very strong evidence of the credibility of the sacred narratives, by showing that the authors described what was actually proceeding before their own eyes. We also see a reason why Herodias was present on this occasion, since she was Herod's paramour, and had, 'like another Helen,' led to the war.

John the Baptist is mentioned in the Koran, with much honour, under the name of Jahja (see Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, pp. 144-149, Tiguri, 1660).

The literature connected with the subject of this article, to be found in foreign writers, is very rich. Besides the works already named, the following may be consulted: Hase (*Leben Jesu*, 3 Aufl. Leipzig, 1840, p. 80), who, together with Walch (*Bibliotheca Theologica*, iii. 402), gives the chief authorities; Witsii *Exerc. de Joanne Bapt.* in his *Miscell. Sacra*, ii. 367; J. G. E. Leopold, *Johannes der Täufer*, Hannov. 1825; Usteri, *Nachrichten von Johannes dem Täufer* in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1829, part iii. p. 439; L. von Rohden, *Johannes der Täufer*, Lübeck, 1838; Neander, *Das Leben Jesu*, Hamb. 1837, p. 49. The ecclesiastical traditions touching John may be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, iv. 687-846; and, in a compendious form, in Tillemont, *Mémoires*, i. 82-108, 482-505.—J. R. B.

JOHN THE APOSTLE. I. *The circumstances of his life, and his character.*—He was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman, and of Salome. It is probable that he was born at Bethsaida, on the lake of Galilee. His parents appear to have been in easy circumstances; at least, we find that Zebedee employed hired servants (Mark i. 20), and that Salome was among the number of those women who contributed to the maintenance of Jesus (Matt. xxvii. 56). We also find that John received Mary into

his house after the death of Jesus. Since this house seems to have been situated at Jerusalem (ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας, John xix. 27), it would appear that he was the owner of two houses. John's acquaintance, also, with the high-priest (xviii. 15) seems to indicate that he lived at Jerusalem, and belonged to the wealthier class. We may suppose that from a tender age he nourished religious feelings, since Salome, who evinced so much love for Jesus, probably fostered at an earlier period those hopes of a Messiah which she expresses in Matt. xx. 20; and we find that he entered into communion with the Baptist from pure motives. The occupation, also, of a fisherman was adapted to promote holy meditations, since it would frequently lead him to pass whole nights in stillness upon the water, amid a charming country similar to the environs of the lake of Locarno. On the banks of the Jordan the Baptist directed John to Jesus, and he immediately became the Lord's disciple and accompanied him on his return to Galilee. Having arrived there, he at first resumed his trade, but was afterwards called to remain permanently with the Redeemer (Luke v. 5-10). Jesus was particularly attached to John (John xiii. 23; xix. 26; xx. 2; xxi. 7), who was one of the three who were distinguished above the other apostles (Matt. xvii. 1; xxvi. 37; Mark v. 37). After the ascension, John abode at Jerusalem, where Paul met him on his third journey, about the year 52 (Gal. ii. 3-9). Since he had undertaken the care of the mother of Jesus we cannot well suppose that he left Jerusalem before Mary's death; and, indeed, we find that about the year 58, when Paul was at Ephesus, John was not yet living there. If we consider the great importance of Ephesus among the various churches of Asia Minor, and the dangers arising from false teachers, who were prevalent there as early as the days of Paul (Acts xx. 29), it will appear likely that John was sent to Ephesus after Paul had left that scene, about the year 65. During the time of his activity in Asia Minor he was exiled by the Roman emperor to Patmos, one of the Sporadic isles in the Ægean Sea, where, according to Revelations i. 9, he wrote the Apocalypse. Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* v. 30) and, following him, Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 18) state that John beheld the visions of the Apocalypse about the close of the reign of Domitian. If this statement can be depended upon, the exile to Patmos also took place under Domitian, who died A.D. 96. Tertullian (*Præscr. adv. Hær.* c. 30) relates that in the reign of Domitian John was forcibly conveyed to Rome, where he was thrown into a cask of oil; that he was miraculously released, and then brought to Patmos. But since none of the ancient writers besides the rather undiscriminating Tertullian, relate this circumstance, and since this mode of capital punishment was unheard of at Rome, we ought not to lay much stress upon it (compare Mosheim, *Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam*, i. p. 497, sq.). It is, however, likely that John was called to suffer for his faith, since Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, writing about A.D. 200, calls him μάρτυς (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 24). According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 20, 23), he returned from exile during the reign of Nerva. The three epistles of John, as also the affecting account concerning his fidelity as a spiritual pastor, given by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Quis Dives Salvus?* c. 52), testify that he was the pastor of a large diocese. John's second epistle, verse 12, and third epistle, verse 14, indicate that he made journeys of pastoral visitation. John died at Ephesus past the age of ninety, in the reign of the Emperor Trajan. According to Jerome, he was a hundred years old, and according to Suidas, a hundred and twenty.

If we endeavour to picture to ourselves an image of John as drawn from his Gospel and his Epistles, aided by a few traits of his life preserved by the fathers,* he appears to have been of a wise, affectionate, and rather feminine character.

It seems that originally this softness of disposition would sometimes blaze up in wrath, as feminine characters in general feel themselves as strongly repelled as attracted. An instance of his wrath we find in Luke ix. 54, sq. We trace also a degree of selfishness in Mark ix. 38; x. 35. Hence it appears that love, humility, and mildness were in John the works of transforming grace. At a later period his writings indicate not only mildness, but also a strict moral earnestness (1 John i. 6; iii. 9, 20; v. 16; 2 John 10, 11).

II. *The Gospel of John.—Its authenticity and credibility.*—During the eighteenth century and the first ten years of the nineteenth, the Gospel of John was attacked, but with feeble arguments, by some English Deists and by four German theologians. Bretschneider attempted a stronger attack in his book entitled *Probabilia de Evangelii et Epistolarum Johannis origine et indole*, 1820. According to him, the Gospel was written during the first half of the second century, for the purpose of spreading the metaphysical doctrine of the divinity of Christ. Although this attack was very learned, it met with but little approbation. The same arguments were, however, resumed and sharpened by Strauss, who, although in the third edition of *The Life of Jesus* he manifested an inclination to give up his doubts, yet resolutely returned to them in the fourth edition, principally, as he himself confesses, because 'without them one could not escape from believing the miracles of Christ.' Strauss attacked the authenticity of the Gospel of John principally with arguments deduced from the subject-matter of the book itself, while Lützelberger opposed it on historical grounds (*Die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes und seine Schriften*, 1840). Schwegler published a treatise on the writings of John, which is inserted in *Der Montanismus und die Christliche Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, 1841, and in which he endeavours to prove from the facts of ecclesiastical history, that the Gospel of John was written in Asia Minor about the year of Christ 170 by one of the followers of the elder Apollinaris, and that it was ascribed

* Jerome (*Comm. ad Gal.* iii. p. 314, mart.) relates that when John had attained a great age he was so feeble that he could not walk to the assemblies of the church; he, therefore, caused himself to be carried in by young men. He was no longer able to say much, but he constantly repeated the words, 'Little children, love one another.' On being asked why he constantly repeated this one saying, he replied, 'Because it is the command of the Lord; and enough is done if this is done.'

to the apostle in order to influence the converts from Judaism. If we attached much importance to the arguments employed by those who deny the authenticity of John's Gospel, we should here explicitly point out how these arguments may be refuted; but since we deem them unimportant, and since, even in Germany, the opponents of its authenticity have not met with much sympathy, we refrain from discussion. It may suffice to observe that during the lapse of ages up to the conclusion of the eighteenth century, no one ever expressed a doubt respecting the genuineness of John's Gospel, except the small sect of the ἄλογοι, whose scepticism, however, was not based upon historical, but merely upon dogmatical grounds.

The credibility of the Gospel of St. John is open to attack on account of its differing so much, as well in substance as in form, from the three first Gospels, and on account of its apparent contradiction of them. Among the apparent contradictions may be mentioned the statements, that Christ was crucified on the same day on which the Passover was to be eaten (John xviii. 28), while according to the other Gospels Jesus ate the Passover with his disciples; and that Jesus, before he went to Gethsemane, offered up a prayer full of sublimity and confidence (xvii.), while according to the other Gospels he endured in Gethsemane a very heavy internal conflict, respecting which John is silent. But the most striking difference is that of the speeches. This difference is, perhaps, still more apparent in the form than in the substance of them.

The History and the Speeches.—We will first consider the difference of the Contents. This difference may be accounted for by supposing that John intended to relate and complete the history of the Lord according to his own view of it. We are led to this supposition from the following circumstances: that, with the exception of the history of his passion and his resurrection, there are only two sections in which John coincides with the synoptic gospels (vi. 1-21; xii. 1); that he altogether omits such important facts as the baptism of Jesus by John, the history of his temptation and transfiguration, the institution of the Lord's supper, and the internal conflict at Gethsemane; and that chapters i. 32, iii. 24, xi. 2, indicate that he presupposed his readers to be already acquainted with the Gospel history. He confined himself to such communications as were wanting in the others, especially with regard to the speeches of Jesus. The historical section in ch. vi. he communicated because it is connected with the subsequent speeches of Jesus; and ch. xii. 1, because it was of importance for him to relate the history of Judas, so that each event should clearly be understood to be the result of a preceding fact. The history of Christ's sufferings and resurrection, being a prominent part, could not be omitted, although, in the account of these also, John differs in his statements from the writers of the other Gospels. Clemens Alexandrinus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 14) relates, as he says, upon the statement of old Presbyters, that John wrote his Gospel at the request of his friends, in order to place by the side of the σωματικὰ εὐαγγέλια, *bodily gospels*, his πνευματικὸν εὐαγγέλιον, *spiritual gospel*. The same account is confirmed by a Latin fragment of the second century preserved by Muratori, which bears that the aged apostle was solicited by his co-disciples to commit his Gospel to writing.

Now with regard to the difference of Form. In the Gospel of John, Jesus seldom speaks in gnomes, sentences, and parables, but generally in longer speeches, the parts of which are not closely connected, containing frequent repetitions, and the linguistic characteristics of which strongly resemble those of his epistles. De Wette considers John to be the author of this Gospel, but has, nevertheless, given up the authenticity of a considerable portion of the speeches, and maintains that the Evangelist at a later period, on account of an overflow of his subjectivity, gave his own thoughts as those of the Redeemer. This question does not admit of a brief solution; therefore, consult a full discussion of the subject in Tholuck's *Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte*, 2nd edit. p. 314, sq. We here direct attention only to the following particulars. The gentle and feminine character of the disciple allows us to suppose that, to a certain degree, he adopted as his own the expressions of the Redeemer, and, consequently, that many terms in which the Epistles agree with the Gospel did not originate with the disciple, but with Christ himself. We find an example of the manner in which the disciple adopted the expressions of his Master in John xii. 43, compared with v. 41-44. We do not deny that the formation of sentences and expressions is considerably influenced by the peculiar character of the disciple, but with regard to the particular contents of the speeches, we see no reason why we should doubt their authenticity. Strauss himself makes a concession from which much results, namely, that the most characteristic speeches in John are those in which occur the antitheses of σάρξ and πνεῦμα, *flesh* and *spirit*, φῶς and σκότος, *light* and *darkness*, ζωή and θάνατος, *life* and *death*, ἄνω and κάτω, *above* and *below;* and also the mystical expressions of ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς, *bread of life*, ὕδωρ ζῶν, *living water*. These terms are even by Strauss (vol. i. p. 176) considered to be parts of the original speeches of Christ, and he asserts that the evangelist only developed them in the style of the Alexandrian writers.

It must be granted that the peculiarities of John's Gospel more especially consist in the four following doctrines.

1. That of the mystical relation of the Son to the Father.

2. That of the mystical relation of the Redeemer to believers.

3. The announcement of the Holy Ghost as the Comforter.

4. The peculiar importance ascribed to Love.

Although there can be shown in the writings of the other evangelists some isolated dicta of the Lord, which seem to bear the impress of John, it can also be shown that they contain thoughts not originating with that disciple, but with the Lord himself. Matthew (xi. 27) speaks of the relation of the Son to the Father so entirely in the style of John that persons not sufficiently versed in Holy Writ are apt to search for this passage in the Gospel of John. The mystical union of the Son with believers is expressed in Matt. xxviii. 20. The promise of the effusion of the Holy Ghost in order to perfect the disciples is found in Luke xxiv. 49. The doctrine of Paul with respect to

love, in 1 Cor. xiii., entirely resembles what, according to John, Christ taught on the same subject. Paul here deserves our particular attention. In the writings of Paul are found Christian truths which have their points of coalescence only in John, viz., that Christ is Εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, *the image of the invisible God*, by whom all things are created (Col. i. 15, 16). Paul considers the Spirit of God in the church, *the spiritual Christ*, as Jesus himself does (John xiv. 16), frequently using the words εἶναι ἐν Χριστῷ.

That the speeches of Christ have been faithfully reported may be seen by a comparison of the speeches of the Baptist in the Gospel of John. The Baptist's speeches bear an entirely Old Testament character: they are full of gnomes, allusions to the Old Testament, and sententious expressions (John iii. 27-30; i. 26-36).

b. The purport and plan of the Gospel of John.—We have already given our own opinion on this subject. Most of the earlier critics considered the Gospel of John to have had a polemico-dogmatical purport. According to Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 12), John wrote with the intention of combating the errors of Cerinthus the Gnostic. Grotius, Herder, and others suppose that the polemics of the evangelist were directed against the Zabii, or disciples of John the Baptist. Michaelis, Storr, and Hug assert that they were directed against both the Zabii and the Gnostics. It is not improbable that the evangelist had in view, both in his Prologus and also in ch. xix. 34, 35, some heretical opinions of those times, but it cannot be maintained that this is the case throughout the whole of the Gospel. He himself states (xx. 31) that his work had a more general object.

One of the peculiarities of John is that, in speaking of the adversaries of Jesus, he always calls them οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. This observation has, in modern times, given rise to a peculiar opinion concerning the plan of John's Gospel; namely, that the evangelist has, from the very beginning of the Gospel, the following theme before his eyes:—THE ETERNAL COMBAT BETWEEN DIVINE LIGHT AND THE CORRUPTION OF MANKIND, EXEMPLIFIED BY THE MUTUAL OPPOSITION SUBSISTING BETWEEN THE HOSTILE JEWISH PARTY AND THE MANIFESTATION OF THE SON OF GOD, WHICH COMBAT TERMINATES IN THE VICTORY OF LIGHT.

The Prologus of the Gospel of John expresses this theme in speaking of the opposition of the world to the incarnate Logos. This theme is here expressed in the same manner as the leading idea of a musical composition is expressed in the overture. As the leading idea of the whole epistle to the Romans is contained in chr. i. 17, so the theme of the Gospel of John is contained in ch. i. 11-13. The Gospel is divided into two principal sections. The first extends to ch. xii. It comprehends the public functions of Jesus, and terminates with a brief summary (ver. 44-50). The second section contains the history of the Passion and of the Resurrection. The reader is prepared for this section by chr. xii. 23-32. The leading idea of this speech is, that Destruction is necessary, because without it there can be no Resurrection.

With ch. xiii. begins the history of our Lord's Passion. In the third verse the apostle directs attention to the fact that the suffering would finally lead to glory.

In the first section is described how the opposition of the influential men among the Jews was gradually increased until the decisive fact of the resurrection of Lazarus led to a public outburst of their hatred. This description terminates with the official decree of Caiaphas (xi. 49, 50).

c. The place, time, and language in which John's Gospel was written.—The Fathers supposed that the Gospel of John was written at Ephesus. The author of a synopsis annexed to the works of Athanasius makes an observation which deserves to be noticed on account of the assurance with which it is advanced. It is, that John wrote the Gospel which bears his name in Patmos, but that it was edited by the same Gaius whom Paul in the epistle to the Romans calls ὁ ξένος μου, *mine host* (Athanasii *Opera*, vol. ii. p. 155, Venet.). One might be inclined to explain by this circumstance the postscript contained in John xxi. 24, 25.

There is some internal evidence in favour of the statement that this Gospel was written at Ephesus—namely, that the author sometimes alludes to the tenets of Hellenistic theosophy, and that he has in view readers who do not live in Palestine (John ii. 6, 13; iv. 9; v. 1, 2). In addition to this must be mentioned the command of the Hellenistic Greek evinced by the writer. It is, however, not unlikely that John acquired his knowledge of Greek in his native country. The researches of Dr. Paulus, Hug, and Credner, have rendered it highly probable that the knowledge of Greek was then widely spread in Palestine. Even James, the brother of our Lord, although he never left his native country, writes in his epistle tolerably good Greek.

The language of John's Gospel is not very periodic, but moves uniformly on between the particles δέ and οὖν. For instance, in chapter xix. the particle οὖν occurs at the commencement of verses 20, 21, 23, 24 twice, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 38, 40, 42. Quite as frequent is the simple connection by the conjunction καὶ (iii. 14; v. 27; viii. 21, 49; xvii. 11). This defect of style may, however, be explained by the mental characteristics of the disciple. John's mind was deficient in the dialectic element; he wanted the logical acuteness of Paul. Even where he reports the speeches of Christ, we often find a want of precision in his representation. The simplicity of John's character is also evinced by the repetition of certain leading thoughts, reproduced in the same words both in the Gospel and in the Epistles; such as μαρτυρία, *testimony*; δόξα, *glory*; ἀλήθεια, *truth*; φῶς, *light*; σκότος, *darkness*; ζώη αἰώνιος, *eternal life*; μένειν, *to abide*. Although the language of the Gospels and of the Epistles is not so excellent as Eusebius asserts, we find only such impurities as belong to the Alexandrine Greek in general. For instance, the barbarism ἔγνωκαν in xvii. 7; and according to the codex AD., also ἑώρακαν in verse 6; and according to some manuscripts εἴχωσαν, instead of εἶχον; and in xvi. 20, 22, χαρήσομαι, instead of χαρῶ.

d. The interpreters of the Gospel of John.—Among the ancient commentators upon John's Gospel, Chrysostom deserves the first place. The two compilers, Theophylact, who died A.D. 1107, and Euthymius Zigabenus, who died after A.D.

1118, are also worthy of notice. Among the Roman Catholic interpreters, Maldonatus, who died in 1583, is distinguished by originality and accuracy. Calvin is distinguished above the other Reformers for the originality and ease of his interpretation, but his commentary on the Epistles is more carefully worked out than that on the Gospel. Beza is characterized by philological and critical learning. The most complete commentary on the Gospel of John is that of Lampe, *Commentarius Exegetico-Analyticus in Evangelium Johannis*, Amstelodami, 1637, 3 vols. 4to. The style of this commentary is tasteless and stiff, but in learning the author has not been surpassed by any other interpreter. Lücke (3rd ed. 1840) is the most comprehensive of the modern commentators. Shorter commentaries have been written by Tholuck* (5th ed.), by Olshausen (3rd ed. 1832), and by De Wette (2nd ed. 1839).

As introductions to the study of the writings of John, we may mention Frommann's *Johanneiseher Lehrbegriff*, 1831, and Neander's *Abriss der Johanneisehen Lehre* in his *Geschichte der Pflanzung der Christliehen Kirehe* (3rd ed. 1841, p. 757, sq.).

III. *The Epistles of John.*—For the authenticity of the first epistle very ancient testimony may be adduced. Papias, the disciple of John, quotes some passages from it. Polycarp, also, another disciple of John, quotes a passage from this epistle (*ad Philipp.*, c. 7). So, also, Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 16; v. 8).

The author of the first epistle describes himself, at its commencement, as an eye-witness of the life of our Lord. The style and language manifestly harmonize with those of the author of the Gospel of John. The polemics, also, which in ch. ii. 18-26, are directed against the Docetic Gnostics, in ch. iv. 1-3, agree with the sphere of action in Asia Minor in which the Evangelist John was placed. We may, therefore, suppose that the epistle was written to Christian congregations in Asia Minor, which were placed under the spiritual care of the apostle. It is generally admitted that ch. i. 2 refers to the Gospel. If this is correct, the apostle wrote this epistle at a very advanced age, after he had written his gospel. The epistle breathes love and devotion, but also zeal for moral strictness (iii. 6-8; v. 16). There is a remarkable absence of logical connection in the form of separate expressions, and in the transitions from one thought to another. Some writers have been inclined to find a reason for this in the advanced age of the writer. Old age may, perhaps, have contributed to this characteristic, but it is chiefly attributable to the mental peculiarity of the apostle.

Eusebius places the second and third epistles of John among the ἀντιλεγομένα (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25). These two epistles were originally wanting in the ancient Syriac translation. From their nature, it may easily be explained how it happened that they were less generally known in ancient Christian congregations, and that the fathers do not quote them so often as other parts of Scripture, since they are very short, and treat of private affairs. The private nature of their contents removes also the suspicion that they could have been forged, since it would be difficult to discover any purpose which could have led to such a forgery. The passage in the second epistle, verse 11, which might seem to have some doctrinal importance, is several times quoted by the fathers; for instance, by Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* i. 16. 3). Clemens Alexandrinus, who, according to Eusebius and Photius, wrote a commentary on all the seven Catholic epistles, mentions several genuine epistles of John. Origen speaks doubtingly about the authenticity of the second and third epistles, and states that they were not generally admitted to be genuine.

The second epistle is addressed to a lady, called Κυρία, which name frequently occurs in ancient writers as that of a woman (comp. Lücke's *Commentar*, p. 351).

The third epistle is addressed to Gaius, a person otherwise unknown. It is remarkable that the writer of this epistle calls himself ὁ πρεσβύτερος. If this means the same as *president*, as in 1 Pet. v. 1, it is surprising that John should make use of this official designation in a private letter, and not in the first epistle, which is addressed to the congregation. If πρεσβύτερος is here used in the signification of *old man*, as Paul calls himself in the Epistle to Philemon, verse 9, one is surprised that John should not have chosen the clearer expression, ὁ γέρων or ὁ πρεσβύτης. Some writers have been inclined to ascribe these letters to the presbyter John, who is sometimes spoken of in the ancient church, and to whom even the Apocalypse has been attributed; but if the presbyter John wrote these epistles, John's Gospel also must be ascribed to the same person, of whom otherwise so little is known. This, however, is inadmissible. The omission of the title, at the commencement of the first epistle, cannot be received as proof that πρεσβύτερος, in the second and third epistles, is not to be taken as an official designation; since, in the first epistle, there is no inscription at all, which in itself is a rather startling circumstance. We may suppose that the term πρεσβύτερος expressed in the epistles of John a degree of friendliness, and was chosen on account of the advanced age of the writer. The apostle Paul, also, in his friendly letter to Philemon, abstains from the title Apostle. The circumstances and events in the church, to which the second epistle alludes, coincide with those which are otherwise known to have happened in John's congregation. Here, also, are allusions to the dangers arising from the Gnostic heresy. The admonition, in verse 10, not to receive such heretics as Christian brethren, agrees with the ancient tradition, that John made haste to quit a public bath after Cerinthus the Gnostic entered it, declaring he was afraid the building would fall down.

Rickli's *Johannis erster Brief erklärt und angewendet mit historisehem vorbericht und erklärenden Anmerkungen* (Lucerne, 1828); and Lücke's *Auslegung* (2nd ed. 1836), will assist in interpreting the first Epistle of John.—A. T.

[In the English language there are several works on separate portions of St. John's Gospel; but the only one on the whole of it is in the Rev. Dr. Shepherd's *Notes on the Gospels and Epistles of St. John*, 4to. 1796; and the only separate work on the Epistles is Hawkins' *Commentary*

* Of this admirable commentary there exists an English translation in the United States, of which two editions have been published.—Ed.

on the Epistles of St. John, 1808. A translation of Lücke's *Commentary on the Epistles of St. John* exists in the *Biblical Cabinet*, vol. xv.]

JOHN, EPISTLES OF. In the canon of the New Testament, as at present received in the universal church, there are three Epistles ascribed to the Apostle St. John, although none of them bears his name. The first of these ranks among the *homologoumena*, respecting which no doubts ever existed; the two latter form part of the *antilegomena*, or controverted books. All three are included in the catholic Epistles [EPISTLES].

The First Epistle was known to Papias, bishop of Hieropolis in the second century, who was contemporary with the followers of the Apostles, and who, as we are informed by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39), 'made use of testimonies from the First Epistle of St. John.' Polycarp also, in his *Epistle to the Philippians* (ch. vii.), a work which, as Lücke justly observes, cannot be proved to be either spurious or interpolated, has the following remarkable passage, which seems evidently to refer to 1 John iv. 3: 'Every one who does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is antichrist.' Irenæus also, the disciple of Polycarp, is stated by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 8), to have extracted many testimonies from it (comp. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 15. 5, 8, with 1 John ii. 18; iv. 1, 3; v. 1). Clement of Alexandria also (*Stromata*, ii. 389) observes that John in his *larger Epistle* uses the words, 'If any man see his brother sin a sin,' &c. (1 John v. 16). Tertullian expressly cites John as the author of the passage, 'Which we have heard,' &c. (1 John i. 1); and Origen (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25) observes, 'He [John] has also left us an Epistle containing a very few στίχοι: it may be also a second and third are from him, but not all agree that they are genuine; but both together do not contain a hundred στίχοι;' and Eusebius himself observes (iii. 25) that 'John's First Epistle is universally acknowledged by those of the present day and by the ancients' (see also iii. 26). There is no ancient catalogue which does not include the First Epistle, and it forms a part of all the ancient versions, including the Syriac, a work of the second century. In fact the only persons who appear not to have recognised this Epistle are the ancient heretics, the Alogi and the Marcionites, the latter of whom were acquainted with none of the writings of St. John, and the former rejected them all, ascribing them to Cerinthus, not upon critical, but purely arbitrary and dogmatical grounds.

Complete, however, as is the *external* evidence in favour of the genuineness of John's First Epistle, the *internal* is no less conclusive. This is manifest from its exact resemblance in substance, phraseology, and sentiment to the Gospel of St. John, leaving no doubt that both these compositions proceeded at least from one and the same author [JOHN, GOSPEL OF]. Indeed, this harmony of the two compositions has been acknowledged by critics of every school, while the allusions are so natural and incidental as to preclude the idea of the Epistle being the production of a more modern imitator of the style of St. John (Eichhorn's *Introduction*). De Wette (*Introduction*) furnishes a host of passages from the Gospel and Epistle, which will enable the reader to perceive at a glance that both of these compositions proceed from the same author, inasmuch as both bear 'the most certain stamp of relationship, as well in diction as in the form of their contents; both exercise the same spell on the mind of the reader.' A few German theologians in our own times (Lange, *Schriften des Joh.* iii. 4, sq.; Cludius, *Uransichten des Christenth.* p. 52, sq.; Bretschneider, *Probabilia*, p. 166, sq.) have been the first critics to throw doubts on the genuineness of any of John's writings, but they have met with complete refutations from the pens of Bertholdt (vi.), Harmsen (*Authent. de Schr. d. Evangel. Johan*), and Lücke (*Commentary on the Epistles of St. John*, in *Bib. Cab.* vol. xv.). The only serious objections to the Epistles are those of Bretschneider, who has equally attacked the genuineness of the Gospel. He maintains that the doctrine concerning the *logos*, and the anti-docetic tendency of St. John's First Epistle, betray an author of the second century, whom he assumes to be John the Presbyter. But it is beyond all question, says Lücke (*l. c.*), that the *logos* doctrine of St. John, substantially, although not fully developed, existed in the Jewish theological notions respecting the Son of God; and that we find it distinctly expressed, although in different words, in the Pauline representation of Christ's exalted dignity (Coloss. i. comp. with Heb. 1); that the rudiments of it appear in the literature of the Jews, canonical and apocryphal, Chaldaic and Alexandrian; that in the time of Christ it was considerably developed in the writings of Philo, and still more strongly in the fathers of the second century, who were so far from retaining the simple, Hebraizing, and canonical mode of expression peculiar to John, that in them it had assumed a gnostically erudite form, although essentially identical. St. John intends by the *Word* (*logos*) to express the divine nature of Christ, but the patristic logology attempts to determine the relation between the *logos* and the invisible God on one side, and the world on the other. The earliest fathers, as Justin Martyr and Tatian, while they make use of John's phraseology, further support their doctrines by ecclesiastical *tradition*, which, as Lücke observes, must have its root in doctrines which were known in the first century. But from Theophilus of Antioch downwards, the fathers, mentioning John by name, expressly connect their elucidations with the canonical foundation in the Gospel of St. John, without the granting of which the language of Justin would be inexplicable (Olshausen, *On the Genuineness of the Four Gospels*, p. 306, sq.). Accordingly, adds Lücke, on this side, the authenticity of the Gospel and Epistle remains unassailable.

On similar grounds may be refuted Bretschneider's arguments, derived from the anti-docetic character of John's Epistle. It is true, docetism, or the idealistic philosophy, was not fully developed before the second century; but its germ existed before the time of Christ, as has been shown by Mosheim, Walch, and Niemeyer. Traces of Jewish theology and Oriental theosophy having been applied to the Christian doctrine in the apostolic age, are to be found in the Epistles of St. Paul, and it would be unaccountable to suppose that the fully developed docetism should have first made its appearance in the Epistles of Irenæus and Polycarp. We have the authority

of the former of these for the fact that Cerinthus taught the docetic heresy in the lifetime of St. John, in the simple form in which it seems to be attacked in 1 John iv. 1-3; ii. 22; 2 John 7.

These attacks of modern writers are said to have been made rather by way of experiment than with any serious view of undermining the genuineness of John's writings; and Lücke concludes his masterly reply to Bretschneider in these words: 'We honour and respect the unprejudiced divine, whose modest doubts will ever have the merit of having promoted once more the scientific appreciation and established certainty respecting the genuineness and canonical dignity of such a noble portion of the apostolical literature' (*Introduction to Comment.*).

Time and place of writing the First Epistle.—On this head nothing certain can be determined. It has been conjectured by many interpreters, ancient and modern, that it was written at the same place as the Gospel. The more ancient tradition places the writing of the Gospel at Ephesus, and a less authentic report refers it to the island of Patmos. Hug (*Introduction*) infers, from the absence of writing materials (3 John 13), that all John's Epistles were composed at Patmos! The most probable opinion is that it was written somewhere in Asia Minor, in which was the ordinary residence of the Apostle (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 23), perhaps, according to the tradition of the Greek church, at Ephesus; but for this we have no historical warrant (Lücke's *Commentary*).

It is equally difficult to determine the time of the writing of this Epistle, although it was most probably posterior to the Gospel, which seems to be referred to in 1 John i. 4. Some are of opinion that the Epistle was an envelope or accompaniment to the Gospel, and that they were consequently written nearly simultaneously (Hug's *Introd.*). As, however, the period when the Gospel was written, according to the evidence of tradition and criticism, 'fluctuates between the sixth and ninth decennium of the first century' (Lücke's *Comment.*), we are at a loss for data on which to found any probable hypothesis respecting the exact time of the writing of the Epistle; but that it was posterior to the Gospel is further rendered probable from the fact that it is formed on such a view of the person of Jesus as is found only in St. John's Gospel, and that it abounds in allusions to the speeches of Jesus, as there recorded. Lücke concludes, from its resembling the Gospel in its apologetical and polemical allusions, that it indicates such a state of the Christian community as proves that it must be posterior even to the last Epistles of St. Paul, and consequently that the ancient church was justified in classing it among the Catholic Epistles, which all bear this chronological character.

It has been argued by several, from ch. ii. 18 (ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν), that the Epistle was written *before* the destruction of Jerusalem; while others, founding their conjecture on the same passage, maintain the very reverse. Among the former are to be found the names of Hammond, Grotius, Calovius, Lange, and Häenlein; and among the latter those of Baronius, Basnage, Mill, and Le Clerc.

Equally unsatisfactory is the argument, in respect to the time when this Epistle was written, derived from its supposed senile tone [JOHN]; for, although the style is somewhat more tautological than the Gospel, this can be accounted for by its epistolary character, without ascribing it to the effects of senile forgetfulness. In fact this character is altogether denied by some of the ablest critics.

It is equally difficult to determine who were the persons to whom the Epistle was addressed. In ancient Latin manuscripts of the Scriptures it frequently bears the subscription '*ad Parthos*.' This title is also given to it by St. Augustine; but there is no authority for supposing that John ever went on a mission to the Parthians. Various conjectures, more or less happy, have been made to account for this inscription. Whiston (*Comment. on the Three Cath. Epist.*) supposes that the true superscription was πρὸς παρθένους, to the virgins (the uncorrupted), and that παρθένους gave rise to the Latin reading, *Parthos*. This conjecture has been improved by Hug (*Introd.*), who observes that the second Epistle, addressed to the 'elect lady,' is called by some of the ancients, including Clem. Alex. (*Frag.* ed. Potter, p. 1011), 'Epist. ad Virgines,' πρὸς παρθένους; that this phrase, in an abridged form, 'πρὸς παρθους,' occurred as a colophon to the Second Epistle, and that this colophon sometimes appearing as a superscription to the Second Epistle, to which it seemed unsuitable, it was transferred as a colophon to the First. Wegscheider ingeniously conjectures that 'ad Parthos' was a mistake for 'ad Sparsos,' and observes that in one ancient MS. (which, however, he unfortunately does not particularize), it is both superscribed and subscribed πρὸς τοὺς διασπαρσαμένους, 'to the dispersed.' This conjecture is further favoured by the corruption 'ad Spartos,' which appears in a Latin Bible in the Geneva Library, of the eleventh century. Schölz observes that 'ad Sparsos' occurs in a great number of MSS. Various, indeed, have been the hypotheses regarding the persons to whom this Epistle was written, but it is by no means improbable, from the absence of Old Testament references, that it was addressed to Gentile converts, of which there were several congregations in Asia Minor, where John exercised his apostolic and episcopal functions. If we are to understand the term catholic, as applied to this Epistle, in the sense of circular, we may naturally infer, from the absence of the *epistolary form*, that this was an encyclical letter addressed to several of John's congregations, and in all probability to the churches of the Apocalypse [EPISTLES].

Object and design.—The main object and design of this Epistle has been generally perceived to consist in the refutation of certain errors and heresies in the churches subject to St. John's episcopate. But opinions are divided as to who the teachers of these heresies were, whether Jews, Ebionites, Gnostics, Docetæ, Cerinthus and his followers, or finally the disciples of John the Baptist. This polemical object appears, however, to form but a secondary part of the design of John, his main object being rather to enforce the necessity of progressive sanctification, genuine brotherly love, and the renunciation of the world. The design of the Epistle is didactic rather than polemical; and the Apostle shows

that the great aim of the Christian is to overcome the world: in corroboration of which he appeals to the threefold testimony in its favour, showing that those who receive the witness of man should still more receive the witness of God (1 John v. 8, 9). The problem of the Christian life is thus by faith and love to overcome the infidel and antichristian world, whether Jewish or pagan, which is using both violence and stratagem to destroy the Christian faith. The Ebionites, or Judaizing Christians, recognized only the human nature of Christ, and in their rigid monotheism could not lift up their minds to the divinity of the heavenly *logos* manifested in Christ; while Cerinthus denied his humanity, reducing it to a mere *docetism* or appearance. Against both these errors the polemical portion of the Epistle seems to be addressed.

Another portion of this Epistle seems directed against a certain class of antinomian Christians, who perverted Christian liberty into antichristian licentiousness and libertinism, and decided what was sinful or otherwise, not according to the positive law of God, but by their own internal feelings—thus confounding light and darkness, God and the world. This vital error was rather to be found among the heathen than the Jewish Christians, and was probably founded on a perversion of St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith.

Allusion has already been made to the supposed senile and incoherent character of the epistle. Lücke, who in his Commentary has given a copious analysis of its contents, rejects this supposition. Its grace and cordiality, adds this able and discriminating writer, its depth and simplicity; in spite of this simplicity, so much freshness; in spite of obscurity in particulars, so great perspicuity in the whole; in spite of apparent disorder and abruptness, so much of internal order and connection; in spite of explicitness in the prevailing ideas, so much of slight allusions and touches on truths that have been expressed; and then, above all, this elevated and pure light and love-image of Christianity—all this has, from the earliest ages, had such an enchanting effect on all nobler minds, as to make this epistle a favourite book, especially with those who more particularly take up Christianity as a religion of love, a religion of the heart—who seek no light without warmth, no faith and no knowledge without love and deed, and who endeavour to render the communion with the Redeemer effective in the love of their brother. See Augustine, *Tractat.* x. *in Ep. Johannis ad Parthos.* Luther's *Zwiefache Ausleg.* ed. Walch. vol. ix. Bullinger, *In Epist. Joan. cum brevi et catholica Exposit.* Episcopius, *Lectt. Sacr.* Whiston's *Commentary on the 3 Cath. Epist. of St. John.* Morius, *Prælect. Exiget.* Lange, *Die Schriften des John.* Lücke *Commentar,* and *Biblical Cabinet* (ut supra.)

There has been no subject connected with Biblical literature which has attracted more attention than this epistle, in consequence of the controversies which have existed since the commencement of the sixteenth century, respecting the once contested but now rejected passage in 1 John v. 7, 8. Of its literary history we shall here present our readers with a brief sketch.

In all the first printed Bibles, which were those of the Latin Vulgate, as amended by Jerome, the clause appeared in the following form:—'Et spiritus est qui testificatur, quoniam *Christus* est veritas. Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant [in cælo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt; et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra] spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et tres unum sunt' (*Ed. Princeps,* 1462) (And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because *Christ* is truth. For there are three which bear witness [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one; and there are three which bear witness in earth], the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood, and these three are one). Such was also the form of the clause in the great majority of manuscripts of the Vulgate. It may therefore be considered as the generally received form at that period. But when the first edition of the Greek Testament appeared, which was that of Erasmus, published at Basle in 1516, the part of the clause which we have placed within brackets (that referring to the three heavenly witnesses) was wanting! and the clause appeared in the following seemingly mutilated form:—Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ μαρτῦρουν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια· ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν. 'And it is the Spirit which beareth witness, because the *Spirit* is truth. For there are three which bear witness, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood, and these three agree in one.' Hence arose the literary controversy respecting the genuineness of the clause, which has continued with more or less of asperity to our own times. Erasmus was attacked by Stunica, one of the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott, of which the New Testament in Greek and Latin had been printed in 1714 (and consequently before the appearance of Erasmus's edition), although not published until 1522. Erasmus replied to Stunica by observing that he had faithfully followed the Greek manuscripts from which he had edited his text; but professed his readiness to insert the clause in another edition, provided but a single Greek manuscript was found to contain it. Such a manuscript was found in England; upon which Erasmus, although entertaining strong suspicions respecting this manuscript, yet, faithful to his word, inserted the clause in his third edition, which was published in 1522, as follows:—Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστι τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια· ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνεῦμα, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν. Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, κ.τ.λ. 'And it is the Spirit which beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three which bear witness in heaven, Father, Word, and Holy Spirit, and these three are one; and there are three which bear witness in earth, Spirit, and Water, and Blood, and these three agree in one.'

Indeed, the absence of the article from the six nouns in the disputed passage in this pretended manuscript is of itself sufficient to excite suspicions of, if not completely to overthrow, its genuineness. What has become of the manuscript is not known; but it is generally believed to have been the same with that now possessed by the library of Trinity College, Dublin, called the

Codex Montfortianus, or *Dublinensis*, in which the disputed clause thus appears :—Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἀλήθεια. Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα. Εἰ τὴν, κ.τ.λ. 'And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because Christ is truth. For there are three which bear witness in heaven, Father, Word, and Holy Spirit, and these three are one; and there are three which bear witness in earth, Spirit, Water, and Blood. If we receive, &c.' (*without the final clause.*) The Dublin manuscript thus differs from the text of Erasmus's third edition in its remarkable omission of the final clause, as well as in its omission of καὶ before ὕδωρ, while it differs still more from the text of the supposed *Codex Britannicus*, as described by Erasmus himself, when he observes (*Annot.* p. 697, ed. 4) :—'Veruntamen, ne quid dissimulem, repertus est apud Anglos Græcus codex unus, in quo habetur quod in Vulgatis deest; scriptum est enim in hunc modum :'—ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα εἰς* τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ. 'And that I may not dissemble, there has been discovered one manuscript in England, in which the clause is found which is wanting in the vulgar text of the Greek manuscripts; for it is thus written: "For there are three which bear witness in heaven, Father, Word, *and Spirit*, and these three are one; and there are three bearing witness on earth, Spirit, Water, and Blood, *into* * the testimony of men,"' &c.; while on another occasion he observes that 'the British MS. had οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς (these three), while the Spanish edition had only καὶ οἱ τρεῖς (and *the* three), which was also the case in the Spirit, Water, and Blood; that the British had ἕν εἰσι (are one), the Spanish εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν (agree in one), and finally that the British added to the earthly witnesses καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι (and the three agree in one), which was not here added in the Spanish edition.' The Dublin manuscript is generally ascribed to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and cannot possibly be older than the thirteenth, inasmuch as it contains the Latin chapters, which belong to this century. It is also the *only* Greek manuscript which follows the Vulgate in reading Χριστός for πνεῦμα in the 6th, and ὦμεν for ἐσμεν in the 20th verse of this chapter. It reads, however, θεός, where the Vulgate reads *quod* (1 Tim. iii. 16); which shows that it is not a servile imitation of that version, as some have supposed. The clause has been also found, although in a form still more corrupt, in a manuscript in the Vatican (*Cod. Ottobon.* 298), of the fifteenth century, first collated by Dr. Scholz, of Bonn, as follows :—Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα. Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, κ.τ.λ. 'For there are three which bear witness *from* heaven, Father, Word, and Holy Spirit, *and the three agree in one;* and there are three which bear witness *from* earth, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood. If we receive, &c.' The Latin Vulgate, which is annexed, also omits the final clause of the 8th verse in this copy.

The above is the amount of Greek manuscript authority for this celebrated clause; for although all the libraries in existence have been examined, no other copy has been found which contains a vestige of it.* Nor has it been once cited by a single Greek father, although abundant opportunities presented themselves for introducing it, which they could not have failed to avail themselves of, had it existed in their copies; but they have invariably cited the passage as it has been preserved in all the ancient manuscripts. It found its way, however, into the *received text* of the Greek Testament, having been copied from Erasmus's third, fourth, and fifth editions (1522, 1527, and 1535), with more or less of variation, into all Stephens's editions, from the third or folio edition of which it was adopted by Beza in all his editions, the first of which was published in 1565, and again by Elzevir, in his edition of 1624, to which his anonymous editor gave the name of *Textus undique receptus*. The following is the form which it finally assumed in these editions :—Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι· 8. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν. 'For there are three which bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one; and there are three which bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood, and the three agree in one.'

The earliest Greek form in which the disputed clause is found is contained in the Latin translation of the Acts of the Council of Lateran, held in 1215, viz. :—Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον· καὶ τοῦτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσιν, καθὼς δὲ προστίθησι * * * * καθὼς ἐν τισὶ κώδηξιν εὑρίσκεται. 'For there are three which bear witness in heaven, the Father, Word, and Holy Spirit, and these three are one; and it is immediately added * * * * as it is found in some copies.' The omitted passages, represented by the asterisks, are thus supplied in the original :—Statimque subjungitur, Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua, et sanguis; et tres unum sunt; sicut in codicibus quibusdam invenitur. 'And it is immediately added, and there are three which bear witness in earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood; and these three are one, as is found in some copies;' meaning that the final clause, *et hi tres unum sunt* (*and these three are one*), is found in some copies of the Latin Vulgate.

The first Greek writer who absolutely cites any part of it is Manuel Calecas, a Dominican monk of the fourteenth century, who has the words—τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. 'There are three which bear witness, the Father, the Word, and the Holy

* This is probably a misprint.

* There are above one hundred and eighty Greek manuscripts of this Epistle, known to exist in various libraries, written between the fifth and fifteenth centuries, not one of which contains a vestige of the disputed clause.

Spirit;' and in the next century it is thus cited by Joseph Bryennius, a Greek monk:—Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια. ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα. 'And it is the Spirit which beareth witness, because *Christ* is truth. For there are three which bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one; and there are three which bear witness on earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood.'

It will have been observed that these writers all omit the final clause of the 8th verse, contrary to the authority of all the Greek manuscripts, and in this they were followed by the Complutensian editors, whose form of the verse we have not before noticed, as it does not appear whether they had any manuscript authority whatever for the clause, which, however, they inserted in their splendid Polyglott edition, begun in 1502, finished in 1517, but not published until 1522, wherein it appears in the following form:—Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια. ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα. Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, κ.τ.λ. 'And it is the Spirit which beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three which bear witness in heaven, the Father, and the Word, and the Holy Spirit, *and the three agree in one* (as in Cod. Ottob.); and there are three which bear witness *on* earth, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood. If we receive, &c.' These editors have thus also omitted the final clause of the 8th verse, as well in the Greek as in their edition of the Latin Vulgate. For this latter omission they had the authority of several modern manuscripts of the Vulgate, and of the Council of Lateran, to which they add in a note that of Thomas Aquinas, who had charged the Arians with having forged this final clause, which had been interpreted by the Abbot Joachim to have implied a unity of love and consent only, and not of essence.

This final clause of the 8th verse, however, exists in all manuscripts of the Vulgate written before the thirteenth century, and in the printed editions published by authority of the Roman See since the Council of Trent, which have *hi* tres unum sunt.

The clause of the three heavenly witnesses is also absent from all existing manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate, written between the eighth and tenth centuries, anterior to which date there is no manuscript of this version now in existence, containing the Catholic Epistles. Nor has any writer of the western church cited the passage before Cassiodorus at the close of the sixth century, although even the fact of his having done so is doubted by Porson (*ut infra*). There is, indeed, a preface to the *canonical* Epistles, bearing the name of St. Jerome, in which the omission of this clause is ascribed to 'false translators;' but this, as we shall hereafter see, is a forgery. The clause is also wanting in *all* the manuscripts of the Syriac, Armenian, and other ancient versions.

From the circumstance, however, of the clause in question having been cited by two north-west African writers of the fifth century—Vigilius, Bishop of Thapsus (the supposed author of the Athanasian Creed), and Victor Vitensis, the historian of the Vandal persecution—it has been fairly presumed that it existed in their time in some of the African copies of the old Latin version, from whence, or from the citations of these writers, it may have found its way into the later manuscripts of the Vulgate. It is thus cited by Victor, as contained in the Confession of Faith drawn up by Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage:—Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt. 'There are three which furnish testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one.' Vigilius, however, cites it in so many various ways, that little reliance can be placed on his authority; he transposes the clauses thus:—'Johannes Evangelista ad Parthos: tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in terrâ, aqua, sanguis, et *caro*, et tres *in nobis* sunt, et tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt' (John the Evangelist to the Parthians: There are three which furnish testimony in earth, the Water, the Blood, and the *Flesh*, and the three are *in us;* and there are three which offer testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one). *Contra Varimadum.* And again, 'Tres sunt qui testimonium *dicunt* in cœlo, Pater, et Verbum, et Spiritus, et in *Christo Jesu unum sunt*' (There are three which speak testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and the three are one in Christ Jesus). After this it is cited by St. Fulgentius, Bishop of Rusopa, in the beginning of the sixth century, but omitted in the same century by Facundus, Bishop of Hermione, from which it is at least evident that the copies in that age and country varied. But, at a much earlier period, the whole clause is thus cited by St. Augustine of Hippo:—Tres *sunt testes, Spiritus, aqua, et sanguis, et tres unum sunt.* '*There are three witnesses, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood, and these three are one.*' Tertullian and Cyprian have been supposed, indeed, to have referred to the clause, but the proof of this depends on the proof of the previous fact, whether the clause existed or not in their copies. The citation of Cyprian, 'Qui tres unum sunt' (which three are one), and of Tertullian, 'et hi tres unum sunt' (and these three are one), belong equally to the eighth as well as the seventh verse; and there is nothing surprising in these fathers mystically applying the spirit, the water, and the blood, to signify the three persons of the Trinity, as was evidently done by Augustine at a later period (*Cont. Maximin.* iii. 22; and by Eucherius, in the 5th century).

It has been maintained that, although no ancient Greek manuscripts now extant contain the clause, it must have existed in some of those which were used by the original editors, especially Robert Stephens. In his beautiful folio edition (1550) Stephens cites seven Greek manuscripts in the Catholic Epistles, of which he had three from the King's library. When any words are omitted in any of his manuscripts he places in his text an obelus before the first word, and a small semicircle or crotchet after the last. In the passage in question the obelus is placed before ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, and the crotchet immediately after

these words; from which it has been inferred that these words only, and not the whole passage, were absent from his seven MSS. Subsequent inquiries, however, undertaken by Lucas Brugensis, Father Simon, and the late Bishop Marsh, seem to leave no doubt that the crotchet was inserted in the wrong place; for not one of the manuscripts now in the King's library contains the passage; and one of Stephens's manuscripts, now in the university of Cambridge, is equally without it. Archdeacon Travis, indeed, denies the identity of this manuscript; but Bishop Marsh (*Letters to Travis*) shows that the probability of their identity is as two nonillions to a unity. Bishop Marsh's *Letters to Travis* have been in other respects truly designated as 'a mass of recondite and useful biblical erudition.' We have mentioned this circumstance in order that the reader may fully understand the assertion of Mr. Gibbon, which we shall presently refer to: 'The three witnesses have been established in our Greek Testament, by the prudence of Erasmus, the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors, the typographical fraud or error of Robert Stephens, in the placing of a crotchet, or the deliberate fraud or strange misapprehension of Theodore Beza.'

The following are some of the principal literary controversies to which this famous clause has given rise, of which a more complete account will be found in Mr. Charles Butler's *Horæ Biblicæ*. The earliest was the dispute between Erasmus and Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, and between Erasmus and Stunica, one of the Complutensian editors. Erasmus was the first to suspect the genuineness of the preface to the *Canonical* Epistles above referred to, which ascribes the omission of the clause to false translators or transcribers. The genuineness of this preface, which led Sir Isaac Newton to charge St. Jerome with being the fabricator of the disputed clause (whereas it is certain that that learned Father was totally unacquainted with its existence) of the text, is now given up. It is considered in the Benedictine edition of Jerome's works to be a forgery of the 9th century (Burigni, *Vie d'Erasme*, Paris, 1757, i. 372-381; ii. 163-175; *Crit. Sac.* vii. 1229).

It was afterwards attacked by Sandius the Arian (*Nucleus Hist. Ecclesiast.* Cosmopoli 1669; and *Interpret. Paradox. in Johan.*). It was defended by Selden (*De Synedricis Ebræor.*) and ably attacked by the Roman Catholic Father Simon (*Hist. Critique du Texte*, 1680, &c. &c.). It was defended again by Martin (pastor of the Reformed church in Utrecht, 1717), who was replied to by Thomas Emlyn, the celebrated and much persecuted English Presbyterian (*A full Inquiry*, &c. 1715-1720), and by Cæsar de Missy, French preacher in the Savoy. There are other able treatises on the same side by Dr. Benson, Sir Isaac Newton, and the learned printer Mr. Bowyer; and in its favour by Smith (1690), Kettner, Calamy (1722), as well as by Bossuet (16—), and by Calmet (1720) in France, and Semler in Germany (1751). In Germany it was also attacked by Schmidt (*Hist. Antiqua*, 1774), and Michaelis, in his *Introduction;* but found an able defender in the excellent Bengel (*Gnomon*, 1773), who conceived that the passage contained a divine internal evidence, but at the same time maintained that its genuineness depended on the transposition of the two verses so as to make the earthly witnesses precede the heavenly, according to the citation (*supra*) of Vigilius of Thapsus. (See *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. iv. p. 43, note.)

The third and most important stage of the controversy may be said to commence with the note of Gibbon, above referred to, and which was attacked by Archdeacon Travis in three letters, 1784-1786. This publication gave rise to the most celebrated work which had yet appeared on the subject, Professor Porson's *Letters* (1788): 'an eternal monument of his uncommon erudition, sagacity, and tact' (*Horæ Biblicæ*). Mr. Butler concludes his enumeration with the *Observations* of Dr. Adam Clarke on the text of the heavenly witnesses (1805).

Our space will not allow us to enter into detail in regard to the principal publications which have appeared on the subject since this period. We shall only refer to a few of the principal. Griesbach's *Diatribe*, at the close of the second volume of his celebrated critical edition of the Greek Testament (1806), contains a complete and masterly view of the evidence on both sides; but as this eminent critic had completely rejected the passage from the text, he met with an indefatigable adversary in this country in the late Bishop Burgess. See his *Vindication* (1821), and *Introduction* (1833). The writings of this prelate drew down many learned replies, but his most able and successful opponent was Dr. Turton, Regius Professor at Cambridge, and now Dean of Westminster (see especially Dean Turton's *Vindication of the Literary Character of Professor Porson from the Animadversions of the Right Rev. Thomas Burgess, D.D., &c.*, published under the name of Crito-Cantabrigiensis, 1827). A temperate vindication of the genuineness of the passage had been published by the late Bishop Middleton (1808), in his work on the Greek article, which was also replied to by Dr. Turton (*ut supra*). The *Memoir of the Controversy respecting the Heavenly Witnesses* (1830), by the Rev. W. Orme, contains interesting critical notices of the principal writers on both sides of this much agitated question.

In the year 1834, Dr. Wiseman renewed the controversy in favour of the clause, in *Two Letters* in the *Catholic Magazine*, vol. ii. and iii., reprinted at Rome, 1835. Dr. Wiseman's principal arguments are founded on the citations in African writers. He supposes that there were two ancient recensions of the Vulgate, the Italian, from which, as well as from the Greek MSS., the clause had been lost at an early period, and the African. He supposes that this recension contained the clause which existed in the Greek MSS. from which it was made, and that these were of greater antiquity than any we can now inspect. He further maintains, after Eichhorn, that, as the Greek language was sufficiently known in Italy to preclude the necessity of an early translation of the Latin in that country, Africa was most probably the birthplace of the primary Latin translation, and that consequently the African recension of this version is far superior in authority to the Italian. He therefore draws the inference that 'the existence of an African recension containing the verse gives us a right to consider as quotations passages of African writers (such as those of Cyprian and Tertullian) which in the works of Italian authors might be considered doubtful.' As, however,

Augustine's acknowledged writings all evince his ignorance of the existence of this passage, Dr. Wiseman supposes that Augustine ordinarily made use of the Italian recension, which did not contain it. However he adduces the authority of a manuscript of the *Speculum* of Augustine preserved at Rome, in the monastery of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, to prove that Augustine occasionally used the African recension, and that he has cited the identical passage as follows:—Item Johannis in Æpistolâ.....Item illic Tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt in cœlo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt (cap. ii. fol. 19, *De Distinct. Personarum*). Dr. Wiseman supposes this manuscript, which is mentioned by Blanchini, to have been written in the seventh century. It has not, however, been proved to be a genuine work of Augustine. (See Wright's *Appendix to his Translation of Seiler's Hermeneutics*, which contains some account of the state of the controversy respecting this clause to the year 1835; also Horne's *Introduction*, 8th edition, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 185, vol. iv. p. 448-471).

The most remarkable circumstance connected with the literary history of the clause, since this period, properly belongs to the history of editions of the New Testament. The clause appears in the principal printed editions of the New Testament before the time of Griesbach. These were the editions of Mill (1707), Bengel (1734), and Wetstein (1751); the two former of whom held it to be genuine. Since the time of Griesbach it has been generally omitted in all critical editions, and especially in that of the learned Roman Catholic Professor Scholz, of Bonn (1836), who, though following a different system of recensions from that of Griesbach, has altogether rejected the passage from the text as decidedly spurious, and as opposed to the authority of all authentic Greek MSS., of all ancient MSS., of the Latin Vulgate, and of the Greek, Latin, and Oriental Fathers. The venerable Bishop Burgess replied to Scholz three weeks before his death, in 1836.

Various have been the opinions respecting the internal evidence for and against the genuineness of the passage. The advocates of the clause have generally maintained that the context requires its insertion, while its adversaries maintain that the whole force of the argument is destroyed by it. Lücke, one of the ablest modern commentators on St. John's writings, maintains that internal evidence alone would be sufficient to reject the passage, inasmuch (besides other reasons) as St. John never uses ὁ πατήρ and ὁ λόγος as correlates, but ordinarily, like St. Paul, and every other writer of the New Testament, associates ὁ υἱος with ὁ πατήρ (ii. 22, 23; iv. 14; v. 9, 11, 20, &c.), and always refers the λόγος in Christ to ὁ θεός, and not to ὁ πατήρ. He unites with those critics who look upon the rejected passage as an allegorical gloss, which found its way into the Latin text, where it has, 'ever since the fourth century, firmly maintained its place as a welcome and protective passage,' &c. He adds, however, that exegetical conscience will, in our age, forbid the most orthodox to apply this passage, even if it were genuine, for such a purpose, as ἐν εἶναι has quite a different sense from that which is required by the doctrine of the Trinity. Here Lücke fully coincides with the late Bishop Middleton (*Greek Article*). Lücke's conclusion is a strong one. 'Either these words are genuine, and the Epistle, in this case, a production of the third or fourth century, or the Epistle is a genuine work of St. John's, and then these words spurious.'

The latest attempt to vindicate the genuineness of the passage is that of M. Gaussen of Geneva, in his *Theopneustia* (1839). But his reasonings are founded on a palpable error—the interpolation of the words ἐν τῇ γῇ (*in the earth*) in the eighth verse, which he absolutely cites upon the authority of Griesbach's text, *where they do not exist!* The corresponding words *in terrâ* are, indeed, found in the *present* text of some MSS. of the Vulgate, and of some ancient writers, although wanting in the seventh verse.

Luther uniformly rejected this clause from all his translations. It is absent from his last edition (1546), published after his death, and was first inserted in the Frankfort edition of 1574, but again omitted in 1583, and in subsequent editions. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, with the exception of the Wittemberg edition of 1607, its insertion has been general. This was, however, in opposition to Luther's injunction.

It is inserted in all the early English printed versions, commencing with Coverdale's in 1536, but is generally printed either in brackets or in smaller letters. It was, however, printed in the editions of 1536, 1552, and in the Geneva Bible (1557), without any marks of doubt. It found its way perhaps from Beza's Greek Testament into the then authorized English version. The following is probably the oldest form extant, in which they appear in the English language, in a translation from the Vulgate earlier than the time of Wicliff:—'For three ben that geven witnessing in heven, the Fadir, the Word or Sone, and the Holy Ghoost, and these three ben oon; and three ben that geven witnessing in erthe, the Spirit, Water, and Blood, and these three ben oon' [Scriptures, Holy].—W. W.

JOHN, EPISTLES, II. and III. [Antilegomena, see John].

JOHN MARK. [Mark.]

JOHN HYRCANUS. [Maccabees.]

JOIADA (יוֹיָדָע, contraction of Jehoiada, which see), a high-priest of the Jews, successor to Eliashib, or Joashib, who lived under Nehemiah, about B.C. 434 (Neh. xiii. 28).

JOKSHAN (יָקְשָׁן, *fowler;* Sept. Ἰεξάν), second son of Abraham and Keturah, whose sons Sheba and Dedan appear to have been the ancestors of the Sabæans and Dedanites, who peopled a part of Arabia Felix (Gen. xxv. 2, 3) [Arabia].

JOKTAN (יָקְטָן, *small;* Sept. Ἰεκτάν), one of the sons of Eber, a descendant from Shem (Gen. x. 25, 26), and the supposed progenitor of many tribes in Southern Arabia. The Arabians call him Kahtan, and recognise him as one of the principal founders of their nation. See Schultens, *Hist. Imperii Joctandin. in Arabia Feliee;* Pocock, *Spec. Hist. Arab.* pp. 3, 38; Bochart's *Phaleg.* iii. 15 [Arabia].

JOKTHEEL (יָקְתְאֵל, *God-subdued;* Sept. Ἰεθοήλ). 1. A name given by King Azariah to the city Sela, or Petra, the capital of Arabia Petræa,

when he took it from the Edomites (2 Kings xiv. 7) [PETRA]. 2. There was also a city of this name in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 38).

JONADAB (יְהוֹנָדָב, contraction of יְהוֹנָדָב, *God-impelled;* Sept. Ἰωναδάβ). 1. A nephew of David, a crafty person, whose counsel suggested to his cousin Amnon the means by which he accomplished his abominable design upon his half-sister Tamar (2 Sam. xiii. 4, 5).

2. A son or descendant of Rechab, the progenitor of those nomadic Rechabites, who held themselves bound by a vow to abstain from wine, and never to relinquish the nomadic life. The principle on which the tribe acted may be considered elsewhere [RECHABITES]. Jonadab was at the head of this tribe at the time when Jehu received his commission to exterminate the house of Ahab, and is supposed to have added to its ancient austerities the inhibition of wine. He was held in great respect among the Israelites generally: and Jehu, alive to the importance of obtaining the countenance and sanction of such a man to his proceedings, took him up in his chariot, when on his road to Samaria to complete the work he had begun at Jezreel. The terms of the colloquy which took place on this occasion are rather remarkable. Perceiving Jonadab, he saluted him, and called out, 'Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?' Jonadab answered, 'It is.' Then said Jehu, 'If it be, give me thine hand.' And he gave him his hand, and was taken up into the chariot, Jehu inviting him to 'Come and see my zeal for the Lord' (2 Kings x. 15-17; Jer. xxxv. 6-10). It would seem that the Rechabites were a branch of the Kenites, over another branch of whom Heber was chief in the time of Deborah and Barak (Judg. iv. 11, 17): and as it is expressly said that Jonadab went out to meet Jehu, it seems probable that the people of Samaria, alarmed at the menacing letter which they had received from Jehu, had induced Jonadab to go to meet and appease him on the road. His venerated character, his rank as the head of a tribe, and his neutral position, well qualified him for this mission; and it was quite as much the interest of Jonadab to conciliate the new dynasty, in whose founder he beheld the minister of the divine decrees, as it was that of Jehu to obtain his concurrence and support in proceedings which he could not but know were likely to render him odious to the people.

JONAH (יוֹנָה; Sept. Ἰωνᾶς), the fifth in order of the minor prophets. No era is assigned to him in the book of his prophecy, yet there is little doubt of his being the same person who is spoken of in 2 Kings xiv. 25. The Jewish doctors, with their usual puerility, have supposed him to be the son of the widow of Sarepta: 'Now by this I know,' said she to Elijah, 'that thou art a man of God, and that the word of the Lord in thy mouth is truth' אמת (1 Kings xvii. 24). The restored child was thenceforward named בן־אמתי, a title which was to preserve the memory of his miraculous resuscitation (Hieron. *Præfat. in Jonam*). His birthplace was Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Zebulon. Jonah flourished in or before the reign of Jeroboam II., and predicted the successful conquests, enlarged territory, and brief prosperity of the Israelitish kingdom under that monarch's sway. The oracle itself is not extant, though Hitzig has, by a novel process of criticism, amused himself with a fancied discovery of it in chaps. xv. and xvi. of Isaiah. Hitzig, *Des Proph. Jon. Orakel. ueber Moab Kritisch-vindicrit, &c.*, Heidelberg, 1831.

The book of Jonah contains an account of the prophet's commission to denounce Nineveh, and of his refusal to undertake the embassy—of the method he employed to escape the unwelcome task [TARSHISH], and the miraculous means which God used to curb his self-willed spirit, and subdue his petulant and querulous disposition. The third and fourth chapters briefly detail Jonah's fulfilment of the divine command, and present us with another exemplification of his refractory temper. His attempt to flee from the presence of the Lord must have sprung from a partial insanity, produced by the excitement of distracting motives in an irascible and melancholy heart. The temerity and folly of the fugitive could scarcely be credited, if they had not been equalled by future outbreaks of a similar peevish and morbid infatuation. The mind of Jonah was dark and moody, not unlike a lake which mirrors in the waters the gloomy thunder-clouds which overshadow it, and flash over its sullen waves a momentary gleam.

The history of Jonah is certainly striking and extraordinary. Its characteristic prodigy does not resemble the other miraculous phenomena recorded in Scripture; yet we must believe in its literal occurrence, as the Bible affords no indication of being a mythus, allegory, or parable. On the other hand, our Saviour's pointed and peculiar allusion to it is a presumption of its reality (Matt. xii. 40). The opinion of the earlier Jews (Tobit xiv. 4; Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 10. 2) is also in favour of the literality of the adventure. It requires less faith to credit this simple excerpt from Jonah's biography, than to believe the numerous hypotheses that have been invented to deprive it of its supernatural character, the great majority of them being clumsy and far-fetched, doing violence to the language, and despite to the spirit of revelation; distinguished, too, by tedious adjustments, laborious combinations, historical conjecture, and critical jugglery. In vindication of the reality of this striking narrative, it may be argued that the allusions of Christ to Old Testament events on similar occasions are to actual occurrences (John iii. 14; vi. 48); that the purpose which God had in view justified his miraculous interposition; that this miracle must have had a salutary effect both on the minds of the Ninevites and on the people of Israel. Neither is the character of Jonah improbable. Many reasons might induce him to avoid the discharge of his prophetic duty—fear of being thought a false prophet, scorn of a foreign and hostile race, desire for their utter destruction, a false dignity which might reckon it beneath his prerogative to officiate among uncircumcised idolaters (Verschuir, *Opusc.* p. 73, &c.; Alber, *Institut. Hermen. Vet. Test.* iii. 399, 407; Jahn, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, translated by S. Turner, pp. 372, 373, translator's notes; Budleus, *Hist. Eccles. V. T.* ii. 589, sqq.; Laberenz, *De Vera. lib. Jonæ Interp.* Fulda, 1836). Some, who cannot altogether reject the reality of the narrative, suppose it to have had a historical basis, though its present form be fanciful or mythical. Such an opinion is the evident result of a mental struggle between receiving it as

a real transaction or regarding it as wholly a fiction (Goldhorn, *Excurs. z. B. Jon.* p. 28; Friedrischsen, *Krit. Ueberblick der Ausichten B. Jon.* p. 219). Grimm, in his *Uebersetz*, p. 61, regards it as a dream produced in that sleep which fell upon Jonah as he lay on the sides of the ship. The opinion of the famous Herman von der Hordt, in his *Jonas in luce*, &c. a full abstract of which is given by Rosenmüller (*Prolegom. in Jonam.* p. 19), was, that the book is a historical allegory, descriptive of the fate of Manasseh, and Josiah his grandson, kings of Judah. The fancy of this eccentric author has found ample gratification. Tarshish, according to him, represents the kingdom of Lydia; the ship, the Jewish republic, whose captain was Zadok the high-priest; while the casting of Jonah into the sea symbolized the temporary captivity of Manasseh in Babylon. We cannot say, with Rosenmüller, that this theory deserves even the praise of ingenious fiction.

Others regard this book as an allegory, such as Bertholdt and Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and Winer —an allegory based upon the Phœnician Mythus of Hercules and the Sea-monster. Less, in his tract, *Von Historischen Styl der Urwelt*, supposed that all difficulty might be removed by imagining that Jonah, when thrown into the sea, was taken up by a ship having a large fish for a figure-head—a theory somewhat more pleasing than the rancid hypothesis of Anton, who fancied that the prophet took refuge in the interior of a dead whale, floating near the spot where he was cast overboard (Rosen. *Prolegom. in Jon.* p. 328). Not unlike the opinion of Less is that of Charles Taylor, in his Fragments affixed to Calmet's *Dictionary*, No. cxlv., that דג signifies a life-preserver, a notion which, as his manner is, he endeavours to support by mythological metamorphoses founded on the form and names of the famous fish-god of Philistia. De Wette regards the story as not a true history, yet not a mere fiction; its materials being derived from popular legends, and wrought up with the design of making a didactic work. But many regard it as a mere fiction with a moral design—the grotesque coinage of a Hebrew imagination. This opinion, variously modified, seems to be that of Semler, Michaelis, Herder, Stäudlin, Eichhorn, Augusti, Meyer, Pareau, and Maurer.

The plain, literal import of the narrative, being set aside with misapplied ingenuity, the supposed design of it has been very variously interpreted. Michaelis (*Ubersetz d. N. T.* part xi. p. 101) and Semler (*Apparat. ad Lib. Vet. Test. Interpret.* p. 271) supposed the purpose of the narrative to be the injustice of that arrogance and hatred cherished by the Jews towards other nations. Eichhorn (*Einleit.* § 577), and Jahn (*Introduct.* § 127) think the design was to teach the Jews that other people with less privileges excelled them in pious obedience. Kegel (*Bebel d. A. und N. Test.* vol. vii. p. 129, sqq.) argues that this episode was meant to solace and excite the prophets under the discharge of difficult and dangerous duties; while Paulus (*Memorabilia*, vi. 32, sqq.) maintains that the object of the author of *Jonah* is to impress the fact that God remits punishment on repentance and reformation. Similar is the idea of Kimchi and Pareau (*Interpretation of Old Testament*, Biblical Cabinet, No. xxv. p. 263). Krahmer thinks that the theme of the writer is the Jewish colony in its relation to the Samaritans (*Des B. Jon. Krit. untersucht*, p. 65). Maurer (*Comment. in Proph. Min.*) adheres to the opinion which lies upon the surface, that it inculcates the sin of not obeying God, even in pronouncing severe threatenings on a heathen people; and lastly, Koester (*Die Propheten des A. und N. Test*, Leipz. 1839) favours the malignant insinuation that its chief end was to save the credit of the prophets among the people, though their predictions against foreign nations might not be fulfilled, as Nineveh was preserved after being menaced and doomed.

These hypotheses are all vague and baseless, and do not merit a special refutation. Endeavouring to free us from one difficulty they plunge us into others yet more intricate and perplexing. Much profane wit has been expended on the miraculous means of Jonah's deliverance, very unnecessarily and very absurdly; it is simply said, 'The Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah.' Now the species of marine animal is not defined, and the Greek κῆτος is often used to specify, not the genus whale, but any large fish or sea-monster. All objections to its being a whale which lodged Jonah in its stomach from its straitness of throat, or rareness of haunt in the Mediterranean, are thus removed. Hesychius explains κῆτος as θαλάσσιος ἰχθὺς παμμεγέθης. Eustathius explains its correspondent adjective κητώεσσαν by μεγάλην, in the Homeric line (*Iliad*, ii. 581)—

οἱ δ' εἶχον κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν.

Diodorus Siculus speaks of terrestrial monsters as κητώδη ζῶα, and describes a huge fish as κῆτος ἄπιστον τὸ μέγεθος. The Scripture thus speaks only of an enormous fish, which under God's direction swallowed the prophet, and does not point out the species to which the voracious prowler belonged. There is little ground for the supposition of Bishop Jebb, that the asylum of Jonah was not in the stomach of a whale, but in a cavity of its throat, which, according to naturalists, is a very capacious receptacle, sufficiently large, as Captain Scoresby asserts, to contain a merchant ship's jolly-boat full of men (Bishop Jebb, *Sacred Literature*, p. 178). Since the days of Bochart it has been a common opinion that the fish was of the shark species, *Lamia canis carcharias*, or 'sea-dog' (Bochart, *Op.* iii. 72; Calmet's *Dissertation sur Jon.*). Entire human bodies have been found in some fishes of this kind. The stomach, too, has no influence on any living substance admitted into it. Granting all these facts as proof of what is termed the economy of miracles, still must we say, in reference to the supernatural preservation of Jonah, Is anything too hard for the Lord?

Though we cannot accede to the system of Gale, Huet, Bryant, Faber, and Taylor, in tracing all pagan fiction, legend, and mythology to scripture facts and events, yet we are inclined to believe that in the miraculous incident of the book of Jonah is to be found the origin of the various fables of Arion and the Dolphin (Herodot. i. 24), and the wild adventure of Hercules which is referred to in Lycophron (*Cassandra*, v. 33):—

Τριεσπέρου λέοντος ὃν ποτε γνάθοις
Τρίτωνος ἡμάλαψε κάρχαρος κύων.

Oft that three-sighted lion whom of old
Triton's fierce dog with furious jaws devoured.

Cyrillus Alex., in his *Comment. in Jon.*, notices this similitude between the incident of Jonah and the fabled enterprise of the son of Alcmena. Compare, too, Theophylact (*Opp.* tom. iv. p. 169). On what portion of the coast Jonah was set down in safety we are not informed. The opinions held as to the peculiar spot by Rabbins and other Thaumaturgic expositors need not to be repeated. The prophet proceeded, on receiving a second commission, to fulfil it. The fearful menace had the desired effect. The city humbled itself before God, and a respite was vouchsafed. The king (Pul, according to Usher) and his people fasted, and their penitence was accepted. The spirit of Jonah was chafed that the doom he had uttered was not executed. He retired to a station out of the city whence he might witness the threatened catastrophe. Under the shadow of a gourd prepared by God he reclined, while Jehovah taught him by the growth and speedy death of this plant, and his attachment to it, a sublime lesson of patient and forgiving generosity. No objection against the credibility of this book can be brought from the described size and population of the Assyrian metropolis (*Pictorial Bible*, sub loc.). The gourd, קִיקָיוֹן, was probably the *Ricinus*, whose name *Kiki* is yet preserved in some of the tongues of the East. The Sept. renders it κολοκύνθη. Jerome translates it *hedera*, but against his better judgment and for fear of giving offence to the critics of his age, as he quietly adds in justification of his less preferable rendering, 'sed timuimus grammaticos.' The book of Jonah is a simple narrative, with the exception of the prayer or thanksgiving in chap. ii. Its style and mode of narration are uniform. There are no traces of compilation, as Nactigall supposed; neither is the prayer, as De Wette (*Einleit.* § 237) imagines, improperly borrowed from some other sources. That prayer contains, indeed, not only imagery peculiar to itself, but also such imagery as at once was suggested to the mind of a pious Hebrew preserved in circumstances of extreme jeopardy. On this principle we account for the similarity of some portions of its phraseology to Ps. lix., xlii., &c. The language in both places had been hallowed by frequent usage, and had become the consecrated idiom of a distressed and succoured Israelite. Perhaps the prayer of Jonah might be uttered by him, not during his mysterious imprisonment, but after it. May not מִמְּעֵי הַדָּגָה be rendered 'on account of,' a common signification of the particle מִן (Gesen. *Lex.* sub voc.)? or rather may not מִן have what Nordheimer calls its primary signification, viz., that of 'distance *from* a place or person?' Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God out, *i. e.* when out, of the fish's belly (compare Job xix. 26; xi. 15). The hymn seems to have been composed after his deliverance, and the reason why his deliverance is noted after the hymn is recorded may be to show the occasion of its composition. 'The Lord had spoken unto the fish, and it had vomited Jonah on the dry land.' There was little reason either for dating the composition of this book later than the age of Jonah, or for supposing it the production of another than the prophet himself. The Chaldæisms which Jahn and others find may be accounted for by the nearness of the canton of Zebulon, to which Jonah belonged, to the northern territory, whence by national intercourse Aramaic peculiarities might be insensibly borrowed. Gesenius and Bertholdt place it before the exile; Jahn and Koester after it. Rosenmüller supposes the author may have been a contemporary of Jeremiah; Hitzig postpones it to the period of the Maccabees. Apocryphal prophecies ascribed to Jonah may be found in the pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vitis Proph.* c. 16), and the *Chronic. Paschale*, p. 149. Various spots have been pointed out as the place of his sepulchre, such as Mosul in the East, and Gath-hepher in Palestine; while the so-called Epiphanius speaks of his retreating to Tyre and being buried there in the tomb of Cenezæus, judge of Israel.

Among the numerous commentators on Jonah may be noticed J. Gerhardi, *Annot. in Proph. Am. et Jon.* &c. Frag. 1692; Lessing, *Observat. in Vatic. Jon.* 1782; Grimm, *Der Proph. Jionas af. Neue Ubersetz*, 1798; Forbiger, *Prolusio*, &c. 1827; Krahmer, *Das B. Jon. Hist. Krit. untersucht*, Cassel, 1839.—J. E.

1. JONATHAN (יוֹנָתָן, *God-given;* comp. Theodoros; Sept. Ἰωνάθαν), a Levite descended from Gershom, the son of Moses (Judg. xviii. 30). It is, indeed, said, in our common copies, that the Gershom from whom this Jonathan sprang was 'the son of Manasseh;' but it is on very good grounds supposed that in the name Moses (מֹשֶׁה), the single letter *n* (נ) has been interpolated, changing it into Manasseh (מְנַשֶּׁה), in order to save the character of the great lawgiver from the stain of having an idolater among his immediate descendants. The singular name Gershom, and the date of the transaction, go far to establish this view. Accordingly, the Vulgate, and some copies of the Septuagint, actually exhibit the name of Moses instead of Manasseh. The interpolation, however, has been very timidly executed. The letter נ was originally placed above the line of the other letters (as it now appears in the printed Hebrew Bibles), as if rather to suggest than to make an alteration; but in process of time the letter sunk down into the body of the word. The Hebrew writers themselves admit the fact of the interpolation, and allege the intention to veil the disgrace of Moses, by suggesting a figurative descent from Manasseh. The history of this Jonathan is involved in the narrative which occupies Judges xvii., xviii.; and is one of the two accounts which form a sort of appendix to that book. The events themselves appear to have occurred soon after the death of Joshua, and of the elders who outlived him, when the government was in a most unsettled state. Its proper place, in the chronological order, would have been between the second and third chapters of the book.

Jonathan, who was resident at Bethlehem, lived at a time when the dues of the sanctuary did not afford a livelihood to the numerous Levites who had a claim upon them; and belonged to a tribe destitute of the landed possessions which gave to all others a sufficient maintenance. He, therefore, went forth to seek his fortune. In Mount Ephraim he came to 'a house of gods,' which had been established by one Micah, who wanted nothing but a priest to make his establishment complete [Micah]. This person made Jonathan what was manifestly considered the handsome

offer of engaging him as his priest for his victuals, a yearly suit of clothes, and ten shekels (twenty-five shillings) a year in money. Here he lived for some time, till the Danite spies, who were sent by their tribe to explore the north, passed this way and formed his acquaintance. When, not long after, the body of armed Danites passed the same way when going to settle near the sources of the Jordan, the spies mentioned Micah's establishment to them; on which they went and took away not only 'the ephod, the teraphim, and the graven image,' but the priest also, that they might set up the same worship in the place of which they were going to take possession. Micah vainly protested against this robbery; but Jonathan himself was glad at the improvement in his prospects, and from that time, even down to the captivity, he and his descendants continued to be priests of the Danites in the town of Laish, the name of which they changed to Dan.

There is not any reason to suppose that this establishment, whether in the hands of Micah or of the Danites, involved an apostacy from Jehovah. It appears rather to have been an attempt to localize or domesticate His presence, under those symbols and forms of service which were common among the neighbouring nations, but were forbidden to the Hebrews. The offence here was two-fold,—the establishment of a sacred ritual different from the only one which the law recognised, and the worship by symbols, naturally leading to idolatry, with the ministration of one who could not legally be a priest, but only a Levite, and under circumstances in which no Aaronic priest could legally have officiated. It is more than likely that this establishment was eventually merged in that of the golden calf, which Jeroboam set up in this place, his choice of which may very possibly have been determined by its being already in possession of 'a house of gods.'

2. JONATHAN, eldest son of Saul, king of Israel, and consequently heir apparent of the throne which David was destined to occupy (1 Sam. xiv. 9; 1 Chron. viii. 33; ix. 39). The war with the Philistines, which occupied the early part of his father's reign, afforded Jonathan more than one opportunity of displaying the chivalrous valour and the princely qualities with which he was endowed. His exploit in surprising the Philistine garrison at Michmash, attended only by his armour-bearer, is one of the most daring which history or even romance records (1 Sam. xiv. 1-14). His father came to follow up this victory, and in the ensuing pursuit of the confounded Philistines, Jonathan, spent with fatigue and hunger, refreshed himself with some wild honey which he found in a wood through which he passed. He knew not that his father had rashly vowed to put to death any one who touched a morsel of food before night. When the fact transpired, Saul felt himself bound to execute his vow even upon his gallant son; but the people, with whom the young prince was a great favourite, interposed, saying, 'Shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid! As the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground; for he hath wrought with God this day' (1 Sam. xiv. 16-52).

Jealousy and every mean or low feeling were strangers to the generous heart of Jonathan. Valiant and accomplished himself, none knew better how to acknowledge valour and accomplishment in others. The act of David in meeting the challenge of Goliath, and in overcoming that huge barbarian, entirely won his heart; and from that day forward the son of Jesse found no one who loved him so tenderly, who admired his high gifts with so much enthusiasm, or who risked so much to preserve him from harm, as the very prince whom he was destined to exclude from a throne. Jonathan knew well what was to happen, and he submitted cheerfully to the appointment which gave the throne of his father to the young shepherd of Bethlehem. In the intensity of his love and confidence he shrank not to think of David as his destined king and master; and his dreams of the future pictured nothing brighter than the day in which David should reign over Israel, and he be one with him in friendship, and next to him in place and council—not because he was covetous even of this degree of honour, but because 'next to David' was the place where he wished always to be, and where he desired to rest.

When Saul began to hate David as his intended successor, he was highly displeased at the friendship which had arisen between him and his son. This exposed Jonathan to much contumely, and even to danger of life; for, once at least, the king's passion against him on this account rose so high that he cast a javelin at him 'to smite him to the wall.'

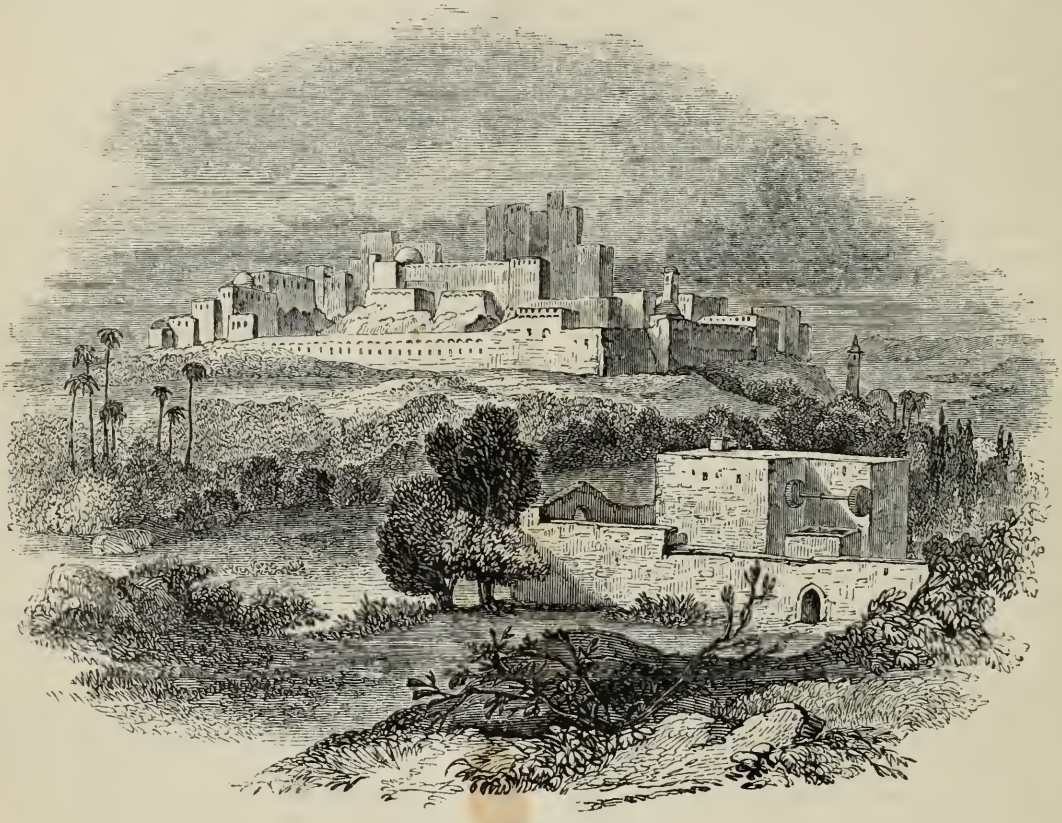
This unequivocal act taught Jonathan that the court of Saul was no safe place for David. He told him so, and they parted with many tears. David then set forth upon those wanderings among strangers and in solitary places, which lasted all the time of Saul. The friends met only once more. Saul was in pursuit of David when he was in the wilderness of Ziph; and Jonathan could not forbear coming to him secretly in the wood to give him comfort and encouragement (1 Sam. xxiii. 16-18). Nothing more is related of Jonathan till both he and his father lost their lives in the fatal battle of Gilboa, combating against the enemies of their country.

There is, perhaps, nothing in Hebrew poetry more beautiful and touching than the lamentation of David for the loss of his friend—nothing more complete as a whole, or more full of fine images and tender thoughts. The concluding strophe may be quoted by way of specimen:—

'O Jonathan, slain on thy own mountains!
I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan:
Very dear hast thou been to me:
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Surpassing the love of women!
How are the mighty fallen,
And the weapons of war perished!'

JOPPA (Ἰόππη; in Hebrew Japho, יָפוֹ; which name is still preserved in the Arabic Yaffa, or Jaffa), a sea-port town and haven on the coast of Palestine, situated on an eminence, in a sandy soil, about forty miles N.W. of Jerusalem, and nine miles W.N.W. from Ramleh. It was a very ancient town. An existence prior to the Deluge is claimed for it (Pomp. Mela, i. 14; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 13). Rabbinical writers derive its name from Japhet, while the Classical geographers refer it to Iope, daughter of Æolus, and affirm that it was on this shore that Andro-

meda was rescued by Perseus from the sea-monster (Strabo, xvi. 2, 28; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 14; Jerome, *In Jon.* i.). These and other fables connected with the place, suffice to show the great antiquity of the town. But this evidence is not needed, as the place existed when the Israelites invaded the land of Canaan, and is mentioned as lying on the border of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 46). Joppa was the only port possessed by the Israelites till Herod formed the harbour at Cæsarea; and hence it was here that the timber from Lebanon destined for both the first and second temples was landed (1 Kings v. 9; 2 Chron. ii. 16; Ezra iii. 7). It was the place to which Jonah went, in expectation of finding a ship bound on some distant voyage, and where he found one going to Tarshish (Jonah i. 3). Joppa belonged to the powers which were successively dominant on this shore; and it does not again appear in Jewish history till the time of Judas Maccabæus, when the inhabitants having, contrary to the faith of treaties, thrown 200 Jews into the sea, the hero, to avenge them, surprised the haven by night, and set the shipping on fire (2 Macc. xii. 3-7). The town itself was a few years after taken by Jonathan (1 Macc. x. 74-76); but was not long retained, as we find it again taken by Simon (xii. 34), and mentioned as an acquisition of especial importance, which he strongly fortified (xiv. 5; xv. 28). Joppa was annexed by Pompey to the Roman government of Syria, together with several other towns on the coast of which the Jews had obtained possession (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4). It is mentioned in the New Testament only in connection with the visit of the Apostle Peter, who here raised Tabitha from the dead, and lodged in the outskirts of the town with Simon, the tanner, when favoured



365. [Joppa.]

with the vision which taught him to 'call no man common or unclean' (Acts ix. 36-39; x. 5, 18; xi. 5). During the Jewish war Joppa was taken by surprise by Cestius, when it was plundered and burnt, and 8400 of the inhabitants were put to the sword (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 10). Its ruins afterwards became the refuge of a great number of persons who had escaped from the destruction of other cities by Vespasian, and who took to piracy for a subsistence. Hence the Romans again marched against the place, when the inhabitants fled to their boats, but were driven back by a storm and destroyed. The city was then utterly demolished (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 9). Joppa was the seat of a bishopric in the time of Constantine the Great, as well as when taken by the Arabians under Omar in A.D. 636. There was a bishop of Joppa in the council held at Jerusalem in A.D. 536. During the crusades Joppa was besieged and taken by Baldwin I.; and was recovered by the Moslems under Saladin in A.D. 1186. From the first crusade down to our own day, Joppa has been the landing-place of pilgrims going to Jerusalem, and is hence mentioned in almost all the innumerable itineraries and books of travels in the Holy Land which have appeared in different languages. There is still here an hospital for pilgrims, dependent on the convent of St. Salvador in Jerusalem, and occupied by Spanish monks. In 1797 the place was taken by storm by the French army under Napoleon, and was sacked without mercy; when the Turkish prisoners, to the number of 500 or 600, were carried to the neighbouring sand-hills and put to death by his order.

Josephus describes the natural unfitness of Jaffa for a haven in terms very similar to those which modern travellers employ (*De Bell. Jud.*

iii. 9. 3). The fact is, the port is so dangerous, from exposure to the open sea, that the surf often rolls in with the utmost violence, and even so lately as 1842 a lieutenant and some sailors were lost in pulling to the shore from an English steamer that lay in the harbour (Stent's *Egypt and the Holy Land*, ii. 28). But however bad, it was the only port which existed within reach of the important district which lay behind it inland: and the miserable state of the ancient roads, or rather perhaps the absence of any roads, made a near harbour, however incommodious, of more immediate consequence than a good one at a greater distance.

The town is approached on the land side through rich and extensive gardens and orchards, and is very picturesquely situated upon an eminence or promontory, which is crowned by a castle. It chiefly faces the north; and the buildings appear, from the steepness of the site, as if standing upon one another. The most prominent features of the architecture from without are the flattened domes by which most of the buildings are surmounted, and the appearance of arched vaults. But the aspect of the whole is mean and gloomy, and inside the place has all the appearance of a poor though large village. There are no public buildings to engage the eye, and the houses are mean and comfortless. No ancient ruins have been observed, nor are any to be expected in a place so often destroyed in war. From the steepness of the site many of the streets are connected by flights of steps, and the one that runs along the sea-wall is the most clean and regular of the whole. There are three mosques in Joppa, and Latin, Greek, and Armenian convents. The former is that in which European pilgrims and travellers usually lodge. The town still enjoys a considerable trade with the neighbouring coasts. Its chief manufacture is soap, which is largely consumed in the baths of Cairo and Damascus; and its excellent fruits are exported in large quantities, especially water-melons, which are very extensively cultivated here and in other parts of the plain of Sharon. The inhabitants are said not to exceed 4000, of whom one-fourth are reckoned to be Christians. A British consul is now resident in the place. (Raumer's *Palästina;* Volney, i. 136, sq.; Chateaubriand, ii. 103; Clarke, iv. 438, sq.; Buckingham, i. 227, sq.; Richter, p. 12; Richardson, ii. 16; Skinner, i. 175-184; Robinson, i. 18; Stent, ii. 27).

JORAM (יוֹרָם; Sept. Ἰωράμ, a contraction of Jehoram), ninth king of Israel, son of Ahab, and successor to his elder brother Ahaziah, who died childless. He began to reign B.C. 896, and reigned twelve years (2 Kings i. 17; iii. 1). Joram adhered to the sinful policy of Jeroboam in the matter of the golden calves; but, although his mother Jezebel was still alive, he discontinued the dark idolatries of Baal which she had introduced and maintained at such high cost of guilt and blood to the nation.

The Moabites had been tributary to the crown of Israel since the separation of the two kingdoms. But king Mesha deemed the defeat and death of Ahab so heavy a blow to the power of Israel that he might safely assert his independence. He accordingly did so, by withholding his tribute of '100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams, with the wool.' The short reign of Ahaziah had afforded no opportunity for any operations against the revolters; but the new king hastened to reduce them again under the yoke they had cast off. The good king of Judah, Jehoshaphat, was too easily induced to take a part in the war. He perhaps feared that the example of Moab, if allowed to be successful, might seduce into a similar course his own tributary, the king of Edom, whom he now summoned to join in this expedition. The deliverance of the allies from perishing for lack of water, and the signal overthrow of the Moabites at the word of Elisha, have been already described under Elisha and Jehoshaphat.

After this a more redoubtable enemy, Benhadad, king of Syria, occupied for a long time the attention and strength of the king. In the sacred records the more striking events of this war seem to be recorded for the sake of showing forth the great acts of Elisha, and they have therefore been related under his name. It suffices here to indicate that they consisted in the Syrian king being constrained to terminate one campaign in consequence of all his plans being made known by the prophet to the king of Israel (2 Kings vi. 1-23); and in the deliverance of Samaria, according to the prediction of the prophet, from a horrible famine, caused by the city being besieged by the Syrians (2 Kings vi. 24-33; vii.). An interval of the war also afforded occasion for the remarkable cure of Naaman, the Syrian leper, by the same prophet (2 Kings v.) [Naaman]. These events serve to manifest the uncertain character of Joram, and the too strong influence of instant circumstances upon his faith and conduct. So in his conduct to Elisha, we find him at one time obedient to the prophet, and full of respectful admiration of his office and character; and at another time devoting his head to destruction, sending messengers to put him to death, and then starting himself after them—probably to prevent his own orders from being executed (2 Kings vii. 31-33).

After the death of Benhadad, Joram found a new and active enemy in his murderer and successor, Hazael. During the illness of Benhadad, the king of Israel seems to have employed himself in strengthening his eastern frontier against the Syrians, and in fortifying Ramoth-Gilead, which had fallen into his hands, and which his father had perished in the attempt to recover from the Syrians. This strong fortress thenceforth became the head-quarters of the operations beyond the river. Hazael was scarcely settled on the throne before he took arms, and marched against Ramoth, in the environs of which the Israelites sustained a defeat, and the king was wounded. He returned to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds, leaving the army in the charge of Jehu, one of his ablest and most active generals. It was in this interval that Jehu was anointed king of Israel by the messenger of Elisha, and immediately proceeded to Jezreel to fulfil his commission to exterminate the house of Ahab. The king, who went forth from the city to meet him when the watchman on the tower of Jezreel announced his approach, was slain under the circumstances described in the article Jehu; and Ahaziah, the king of Judah, who was at Jezreel on a visit to his sick cousin, shared his fate (B.C. 884). With Joram ended the dynasty of

Ahab, which reigned forty-four years in Israel (2 Kings viii. 25-29; ix. 1-20).

JORDAN, the principal river of Palestine. [PALESTINE.]

JOSEPH (יוֹסֵף; Sept. Ἰωσήφ), son of Jacob and Rachel, born under peculiar circumstances, as may be seen in Gen. xxx. 22; on which account, and because he was the son of his old age (xxxvii. 3), he was beloved by his father more than were the rest of his children, though Benjamin, as being also a son of Jacob's favourite wife, Rachel, was in a peculiar manner dear to the patriarch. The partiality evinced towards Joseph by his father excited jealousy on the part of his brethren, the rather that they were born of different mothers (xxxvii. 2). Joseph had reached his seventeenth year, having hitherto been engaged in boyish sports, or aiding in pastoral duties, when some conduct on the part of 'the sons of Bilhah and the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives,' seems to have been such as in the opinion of Joseph to require the special attention of Jacob, to whom, accordingly, he communicated the facts. This regard to virtue, and this manifestation of filial fidelity, greatly increased his brothers' dislike, who henceforth 'hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him' (xxxvii. 4). Their aversion, however, was carried to the highest pitch when Joseph acquainted them with two dreams that he had had, to the effect—the first, that while he and they were binding sheaves, his sheaf arose and stood erect, while theirs stood round and did obeisance to his; the second, that 'the sun and the moon and the eleven stars paid him homage.' These dreams appeared to indicate that Joseph would acquire pre-eminence in the family, if not sovereignty; and while even his father rebuked him, his brothers were filled with envy. Jacob, however, was not aware of the depth of their ill will; so that on one occasion, having a desire to hear intelligence of his sons, who were pasturing their flocks at a distance, he did not hesitate to make Joseph his messenger for that purpose. His appearing in view of his brothers was the signal for their malice to gain head. They began to devise means for his immediate destruction, which they would unhesitatingly have effected, but for his half-brother, Reuben, who, as the eldest son, might well be the party to interfere on behalf of Joseph. A compromise was entered into, in virtue of which the youth was stripped of the distinguishing vestments which he owed to his father's affection, and cast into a pit. Having performed this evil deed, and while they were taking refreshment, the brothers beheld a caravan of Arabian merchants, who were bearing the spices and aromatic gums of India down to the well-known and much-frequented mart, Egypt. Judah on this feels a bitter emotion arise in his mind, and proposes that, instead of allowing Joseph to perish, they should sell him to the merchants, whose trade obviously from this embraced human beings as well as spicery. Accordingly the unhappy young man was sold for a slave, to be conveyed by his masters into Egypt. While on his way thither, Reuben returned to the pit, intending to rescue his brother, and convey him safely back to their father. Joseph was gone. On which Reuben went to the wicked young men, who, not content with selling a brother into slavery, determined to punish their father for his partiality towards the unoffending sufferer. With this view they dipped Joseph's party-coloured garment in the blood of a kid and sent it to Jacob, in order to make him believe that his favourite child had been torn to pieces by some wild beast. The trick succeeded, and Jacob was grieved beyond measure.

Meanwhile the merchants sold Joseph to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the royal guard, who was a native of the country. It is by no means easy to determine who at this time was the Pharaoh, or ruling monarch, though, what is far more important, the condition of the country, and therein the progress of civilization, are in certain general and important features made clear in the course of the narration. According to Syncellus, however, the general opinion in his day was that the sovereign's name who ruled Egypt at the time of the deportation of Joseph was Aphophis.

In Potiphar's house Joseph enjoyed the highest confidence and the largest prosperity. A higher power watched over him; and whatever he undertook succeeded, till at length his master gave every thing into his hands. The Hebrew race have always been remarkable for personal beauty, of which Joseph seems to have had an unusual share. This fact explains, if it cannot palliate, the conduct of Potiphar's wife, who tried every means to bring the uncontaminated and pure-minded youth to fulfil her unchaste desires. Foiled in her evil wishes, she resolved to punish Joseph, who thus a second time innocently brings on himself the vengeance of the ill-disposed. Charged with the very crime to which he had in vain been tempted, he is, with a fickleness characteristic of Oriental lords, at once cast into the state prison.

The narrative, which is obviously constructed in order to show the workings of divine Providence, and may not impossibly have received some shape or hue from the predominant idea, states, however, that Joseph was not left without special aid, in consequence of which he gained favour with the keeper of the prison to such an extent that every thing was put under his direction. If the suddenness and magnitude of this and other changes in the lot of Joseph should surprise any one, the feeling will be mainly owing to his want of acquaintance with the manners and customs of the East, where vicissitudes not less marked and sudden than are those presented in our present history are not uncommon; for those who come into the charmed circle of an Eastern court, especially if they are persons of great energy of character, are subject to the most wonderful alternations of fortune, the slave of to-day being the vizier of to-morrow.

Among the many advantages secured to posterity by this interesting and admirable narrative regarding the patriarch Joseph, is an intimate acquaintance (so far as it goes) with the state, at the time to which it refers, of civilization in Egypt. In the part at which we are now arrived we read of 'the chief of the butlers' and 'the chief of the bakers;' officers who vouch, by the duties which they had to discharge, for the advanced and complex condition of society in which their services were required and supplied. How true and trustworthy, too, the Biblical narrative is, may be learned by an implication which is here offered.

The head-butler had a dream in which he saw a vine. On the authority of Herodotus and others, it was long denied that the vine grew in Egypt; and if so, the imagery of the butler's dream would hardly have been appropriate. Wilkinson, however, has shown beyond a question that vines did grow in Egypt, and thus not only removed a doubt, but given a positive confirmation of the sacred record (*Manners of the Anc. Egypt.* ii. 152).

The two regal officers just mentioned had, while in prison with Joseph, each one a dream, which Joseph interpreted correctly. The butler, whose fate was auspicious, promised the young Hebrew to employ his influence to procure his restoration to the free air of day; but when again in the enjoyment of his 'butlership,' 'he forgat' Joseph (xl.). Pharaoh himself, however, had two dreams, which found in Joseph a successful expounder; for the butler remembered the skill of his prison-companion, and advised his royal master to put it to the test in his own case. Pharaoh's dream, as interpreted by Joseph, foreboded the approach of a seven years' famine; to abate the evils of which Joseph recommended that some 'discreet and wise' man should be chosen and set in full power over the land of Egypt. The monarch was alarmed, and called a council of his advisers. The wisdom of Joseph was recognised as of divine origin and supereminent value; and the king and his ministers (whence it appears that the Egyptian monarchy—at Memphis—was not despotic, but constitutional) resolved that Joseph should be made (to borrow a term from Rome) Dictator in the approaching time of need. 'And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this, there is none so discreet and wise as thou art. Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh took off his ring and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah ('saviour of the world'; comp. Jablonsky, *Opusc.* i. 207, sq.); and he gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On. And Joseph went out over all the land of Egypt' (xli. 39, sq.). It has been supposed that Joseph was taken into the priestly order, and thus ennobled. The Biblical narrative does not support this opinion, though it leaves it without a doubt that in reality, if not in form as well, the highest trust and the proudest honours of the state were conferred on one so recently a Hebrew slave.

Seven years of abundance afforded Joseph opportunity to carry into effect such plans as secured an ample provision against the seven years of need. The famine came, but it found a prepared people. The visitation did not depend on any mere local causes, for 'the famine was over all the face of the earth;' 'and all countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn' (ver. 56, 57). Among these customers appeared ten brethren, sons of the Hebrew Jacob. They had of necessity to appear before Joseph, whose licence for the purchase of corn was indispensable. Joseph had probably expected to see them, and he seems to have formed a deliberate plan of action. His conduct has brought on him the always ready charges of those who would rather impeach than study the Bible, and even friends of that sacred book have hardly in this case done Joseph full justice (Niemeyer, *Charakt.* ii. 366; Heuser, *Diss. non inhumaniter sed prudentissime Josephum cum fratribus fecisse*, Hal. 1773). Joseph's main object appears to have been to make his brothers feel and recognise their guilt in their conduct towards him. For this purpose suffering, then as well as now, was indispensable. Accordingly Joseph feigned not to know his brothers, charged them with being spies, threatened them with imprisonment, and allowed them to return home to fetch their younger brother, as a proof of their veracity, only on condition that one of them should remain behind in chains, with a prospect of death before him should not their words be verified. Then it was, and not before, that 'they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul and would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us. And Reuben said, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required' (xlii. 21). On which, after weeping bitterly, he by common agreement bound his brother Simeon, and left him in custody. How deeply concerned Joseph was for his family, how true and affectionate a heart he had, may be learned from the words which escape from the brothers in their entreaty that Jacob would allow Benjamin to go into Egypt, as required by Joseph: 'The man asked us straitly of our state and of our kindred, saying, Is your father yet alive? have ye another brother?' (xliii. 7). At length Jacob consents to Benjamin's going in company with his brothers: 'And God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother, and Benjamin. If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved' (ver. 14). Thus provided, with a present consisting of balm, honey, spices and myrrh, nuts and almonds, and with double money in their hands (double, in order that they might repay the sum which Joseph had caused to be put into each man's sack at their departure, if, as Jacob supposed, 'it was an oversight'), they went again down to Egypt and stood before Joseph (xliii. 15); and there, too, stood Benjamin, Joseph's beloved brother. The required pledge of truthfulness was given. If it is asked why such a pledge was demanded, since the giving of it caused pain to Jacob, the answer may be thus: Joseph knew not how to demean himself towards his family until he ascertained its actual condition. That knowledge he could hardly be certain he had gained from the mere words of men who had spared his life only to sell himself into slavery. How had these wicked men behaved towards his venerable father? His beloved brother Benjamin, was he safe? or had he suffered from their jealousy and realised the worse fate with which he himself had been threatened? Nothing but the sight of Benjamin could answer these questions, and resolve these doubts.

Benjamin had come, and immediately a natural change took place in Joseph's conduct: the

brother began to claim his rights in Joseph's bosom. Jacob was safe, and Benjamin was safe. Joseph's heart melted at the sight of Benjamin: 'And he said to the ruler of his house, Bring these men home, and slay and make ready, for these men shall dine with me at noon' (xliii. 16). But guilt is always the ready parent of fear. Accordingly the brothers expected nothing but being reduced to slavery. When taken to their own brother's house, they imagined they were being entrapped. A colloquy ensued between them and Joseph's steward, whence it appeared that the money put into their sacks, to which they now attributed their peril, was in truth a present from Joseph, designed, after his own brotherly manner, to aid his family in their actual necessities. The steward said, 'Peace be to you, fear not: your God and the God of your father hath given you the treasure in your sacks. I had your money' (ver. 23).

Noon came, and with it Joseph, whose first question regarded home: 'He asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? is he yet alive? And he lifted up his eyes and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, Is this your younger brother? And he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son!' 'And Joseph made haste, for his bowels did yearn upon his brother, and he sought where to weep, and he entered into his chamber and wept there.' Does this look like harshness?

The connection brings into view an Egyptian custom, which is of more than ordinary importance, in consequence of its being adopted in the Jewish polity; 'And they set on (food) for him by himself (Joseph), and for them by themselves (the brethren), and for the Egyptians which did eat with them, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination with the Egyptians' (ver. 32). This passage is also interesting, as proving that Joseph had not, in his princely grandeur, become ashamed of his origin, nor consented to receive adoption into a strange nation: he was still a Hebrew, waiting, like Moses after him, for the proper season to use his power for the good of his own people.

Other customs appear in this interesting narrative: 'And they (the brothers) sat before him (Joseph), *the first-born according to his birthright*, and the youngest according to his youth.' 'And he sent messes (delicacies) unto them from before him; but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs' (ver. 32, 33). Fear had now given place to wonder, and wonder at length issued in joy and mirth (comp. ver. 18, 33, 34). Thus ended the second act in the drama. Another now opens.

Joseph, apparently with a view to ascertain how far his brethren were faithful to their father, hit upon a plan which would in its issue serve to show whether they would make any, and what, sacrifice, in order to fulfil their solemn promise of restoring Benjamin in safety to Jacob. Accordingly he orders not only that every man's money (as before) should be put in his sack's mouth, but also that his 'silver cup, in which my lord drinketh, and whereby he divineth,' should be put in the sack's mouth of the youngest. The brethren leave, but are soon overtaken by Joseph's steward, who charges them with having surreptitiously carried off this costly and highly-valued vessel. They on their part vehemently repel the accusation, adding, 'with whomsoever of thy servants it be found, both let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen.' A search is made, and the cup is found in Benjamin's sack. Accordingly they return to the city. And now comes the hour of trial: Would they purchase their own liberation by surrendering Benjamin? After a most touching interview, in which they prove themselves worthy and faithful, Joseph declares himself unable any longer to withstand the appeal of natural affection. On this occasion Judah, who is the spokesman, shows the deepest regard to his aged father's feelings, and entreats for the liberation of Benjamin even at the price of his own liberty. In the whole of literature we know of nothing more simple, natural, true, and impressive; nor, while passages of this kind stand in the Pentateuch, can we even understand what is meant by terming that collection of writings 'the Hebrew national epic,' or regarding it as an aggregation of historical legends. If here we have not history, we can in no case be sure that history is before us (xliv.).

Most natural and impressive is the scene also which ensues, in which Joseph, after informing his brethren who he was, and inquiring, first of all, 'Is my father alive?' expresses feelings free from the slightest taint of revenge, and even shows how, under Divine Providence, the conduct of his brothers had issued in good—'God sent me before you to preserve a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance.' Five years had yet to ensue in which 'there would be neither earing nor harvest;' and therefore the brethren were directed to return home and bring Jacob down to Egypt with all speed. 'And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. Moreover, he kissed all his brethren and wept upon them; and after that his brethren talked with him' (xlv. 14, 15).

The news of these striking events was carried to Pharaoh, who being pleased at Joseph's conduct, gave directions that Jacob and his family should come forthwith into Egypt—'I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land; regard not your stuff, for the good of all the land is yours.' The brethren departed, being well provided for—'And to his father Joseph sent ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she asses laden with corn and bread and meat for his father by the way.'

The intelligence which they bore to their father was of such a nature that 'Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not.' When, however, he had recovered from the thus naturally told effects of his surprise, the venerable patriarch said, 'Enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die' (xlv. 26, 28).

Accordingly Jacob and his family, to the number of threescore and ten souls, go down to Egypt, and by the express efforts of Joseph, are allowed to settle in the district of Goshen, where Joseph met his father: 'And he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while.' There Joseph 'nourished his father and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread, according to their families' (xlvii. 12).

Meanwhile the predicted famine was pauper-

ising Egypt. The inhabitants found their money exhausted, and their cattle and substance all gone, being parted with in order to purchase food from the public granaries, until at length they had nothing to give in return for sustenance but themselves. 'Buy us'—they then imploringly said to Joseph—'and our land for bread, and we and our land will be slaves unto Pharaoh.' 'And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh, so the land became Pharaoh's.' The people too, 'Joseph removed to cities from one end of the borders of the land to the other end.' Religion, however, was too strong to submit to these political and social changes, and so the priests still retained their land, being supplied with provisions out of the common store gratuitously. The land, which was previously the people's own, was now let to them on a tenancy, at the rent of one-fifth of the produce: the land of the priests being exempted.

This is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, social revolution recorded in history. Under the pressure of famine an entire nation is reduced from freedom to dependance; while the population, which had been apparently limited to certain districts, was distributed all over the land on different spots.

At this distant period it may not be easy to understand and explain the entire conduct observed by Joseph in this crisis of the nation's fate; but we must protest against the application to it of measures of judgment which are derived from modern notions, and the pure and lofty morality of the Gospel. If a great change was suddenly effected in the social condition of the people, we are not hastily to conclude that the change was for the worse, especially considering that a very long and grievous famine had afflicted so fertile a land as Egypt under the previously existing social condition. And if an opportunity was taken to increase the royal power over the nation, it cannot be denied that the nation was saved from impending destruction by the foresight, wisdom, and benevolence of the Hebrew vizier.

Joseph had now to pass through the mournful scenes which attend on the death and burial of a father. Having had Jacob embalmed, and seen the rites of mourning fully observed, the faithful and affectionate son—leave being obtained of the monarch—proceeded into the land of Canaan, in order, agreeably to a promise which the patriarch had exacted, to lay the old man's bones with those of his fathers, in 'the field of Ephron the Hittite.' Having performed with long and bitter mourning Jacob's funeral rites, Joseph returned into Egypt. The last recorded act of his life forms a most becoming close. After the death of their father, his brethren, unable, like all guilty people, to forget their criminality, and characteristically finding it difficult to think that Joseph had really forgiven them, grew afraid now they were in his power, that he would take an opportunity of inflicting some punishment on them. They accordingly go into his presence, and in imploring terms and an abject manner, entreat his forgiveness. 'Fear not'—this is his noble reply—'I will nourish you and your little ones.'

Joseph lived an hundred and ten years, kind and gentle in his affections to the last; for we are told, 'The children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were brought up upon Joseph's knees' (l. 23). And so having obtained a promise from his brethren, that when the time came, as he assured them it would come, that God should visit them, and 'bring them unto the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob,' they would carry up his bones out of Egypt, Joseph at length 'died, and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin' (l. 26). This promise was religiously fulfilled. His descendants, after carrying the corpse about with them in their wanderings, at length put it in its final resting-place in Shechem, in a parcel of ground that Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, which became the inheritance of the children of Joseph (Josh. xxiv. 32).

By his Egyptian wife Asenath, daughter of the high priest of Heliopolis, Joseph had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim (Gen. xli. 50, sq.), whom Jacob adopted (Gen. xlviii. 5), and who accordingly took their place among the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel. Among other authorities the following may be consulted:—Wolfenb. *Fragment;* Less, *Geschichte der Rel.* i. 267; J. T. Jacobi, *Sämmtl. Schrift.* 3 thl.; Hess, *Gesch. der Patriarch.* ii. 324; Niemeyer, *Charakt.* ii. 340; *Allg. Welthist.* ii. 322; Heeren, *Ideen,* ii. 551.—J. R. B.

JOSEPH, 'the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ' (Matt. i. 16). By Matthew he is said to have been the son of Jacob, whose lineage is traced by the same writer through David up to Abraham. Luke represents him as being the son of Heli, and traces his origin up to Adam. This is not the place to attempt to reconcile these two accounts, as it would lead to discussion and detail, for which we have not space; but it may be mentioned that Luke appears to have had some specific object in view, since he introduces his genealogical line with words of peculiar import:—'Jesus being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli' (Luke iii. 23)—ὡς ἐνομίζετο, 'as was supposed,' in other terms, as accounted by law, as enrolled in the family registers; for Joseph being the husband of Mary, became thereby, in law (νόμος), the father of Jesus. And as being the legal father of Jesus, he might have his origin traced in the line of Mary's family, as well as in that of his own.

The statements of Holy Writ in regard to Joseph are few and simple. According to a custom among the Jews, traces of which are still found, such as hand-fasting among the Scotch, and betrothing among the Germans, Joseph had pledged his faith to Mary; but before the marriage was consummated she proved to be with child. Grieved at this, Joseph was disposed to break off the connection; but, not wishing to make a public example of one whom he loved, he contemplated a private disruption of their bond. From this step, however, he is deterred by a heavenly messenger, who assures him that Mary has conceived under a divine influence. 'And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins' (Matt. i. 18, sq.; Luke i. 27). To this account various objections have been taken; but most of them are drawn from the ground of a narrow, short-sighted, and half-informed rationalism, which judges everything by its own small standard, and either denies miracles alto-

gether, or admits only such miracles as find favour in its sight; attempting not to learn what Christianity is, nor what was suitable and proper in the days of Christ, but to construct a Christianity of its own, and then to impose the new creation on the writers of the Gospel, and the primitive church.

Joseph was by trade a carpenter, in which business he probably educated Jesus. In Matt. xiii. 55, we read, 'Is not this the son of the carpenter?' and in Mark vi. 3, 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?' The term employed, τεκτων, is of a general character (from τεύχω, 'I form'), and may be fitly rendered by the English word 'artificer' or 'artizan,' signifying any one that labours in the *fabr*ication (*faber* in Latin) of articles of ordinary use, whatever the material may be out of which they are made. Accordingly, sometimes it denotes a smith as well as a carpenter or joiner, and in the Septuagint the additional term 'iron' (σιδήρου) or 'wood' (ξύλων) is employed, in order to denote its specific application. If some doubt may exist whether 'carpenter' is the necessary rendering of the word when applied to Joseph, yet there is no impropriety in that rendering, for not seldom the word, when used without any explanatory addition, has that signification. Schleusner (*in voc.*) asserts that the universal testimony of the ancient church represents our Lord as being a carpenter's son. This is, indeed, the statement of Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryphone*, § 88), for he explains the term τέκτων, which he applies to Jesus, by saying that he made ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγά, *ploughs and yokes;* but Origen, in replying to Celsus, who indulged in jokes against the humble employment of our Lord, expressly denied that Jesus was so termed in the Gospels (see the passage cited in Otho's *Justin Martyr*, tom. ii. p. 306, Jenæ, 1843)—a declaration which suggests the idea that the copies which Origen read differed from our own; while Hilarius, on Matthew (quoted in Simon's *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, i. 691), asserts, in terms which cannot be mistaken, that Jesus was a smith (*ferrum igne vincentis, massamque formantis, etc.*). Of the same opinion was the venerable Bede; while others have held that our Lord was a mason, and Cardinal Cajetan, that he was a goldsmith.

The last notion probably had its origin in those false associations of more modern times which disparage hand-labour. Among the ancient Jews all handicrafts were held in so much honour, that they were learned and pursued by the first men of the nation.

Jewish tradition (*Hieros. Schaph.* c. 14) names the father of Jesus פנדירא, Phenedira, and represents him (Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 32) as a rough soldier, who became the father of Jesus, after Mary was betrothed to Joseph. Another form of the legend sets him forth (*Toled Jeschu*, p. 3, ed. Wagenseil; Epiphan. *Hær.* 78. 7) under the name of Pandira. Christian tradition makes Joseph an old man when first espoused to Mary (Epiphan. *Hær.* 78. 7), being no less than eighty years of age, and father of four sons and two daughters. Theophylact, on Matt. xiii. 55, says that Jesus Christ had brothers and sisters, all children of Joseph, whom he had by his sister-in-law, wife of his brother Cleophas, who having died without issue, Joseph was obliged by law to marry his widow. Of the sons, James, the brother of the Lord, was, he states, the first bishop of Jerusalem. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 1) agrees in substance with Theophylact; so also does Epiphanius, adding that Joseph was fourscore years old when he married Mary. Jerome, from whom it appears that the alleged mother's name was Escha, opposes this tradition, and is of opinion that what are termed the brothers of Jesus were really his cousins. The painters of Christian antiquity conspire with the writers in representing Joseph as an old man at the period of the birth of our Lord—an evidence which is not to be lightly rejected, though the precise age mentioned may be but an approximation to fact.

Another account (Niceph. ii. 3) gives the name of Salome as that of Joseph's first wife, who was related to the family of John the Baptist.

It is not easy to determine when Joseph died. That event may have taken place before Jesus entered on his public ministry. This has been argued from the fact, that his mother only appeared at the feast at Cana in Galilee. The premises, however, hardly bear out the inference. With more force of argument, it has been alleged (Simon, *Dict. de la Bible*) that Joseph must have been dead before the crucifixion of Jesus, else he would in all probability have appeared with Mary at the cross. Certainly the absence of Joseph from the public life of Christ, and the absence of reference to him in the discourses and history, while 'Mary' and 'His brethren' not unfrequently appear, afford evidence not only of Joseph's death, but of the inferior part which, as the legal father only of our Lord, Joseph might have been expected to sustain. So far as our scanty materials enable us to form an opinion, Joseph appears to have been a good, kind, simple-minded man, who, while he afforded aid in protecting and sustaining the family, would leave Mary unrestrained to use all the impressive and formative influence of her gentle, affectionate, pious, and thoughtful soul. Those who may wish to pursue this subject in its details, we refer to the following works:—J. T. Meyer, *Num Jos. tempore Nativ. C. fuerit senex decrepitus; Hist. Joseph. fabri lignar.*, Arab. ed. G. Wallin, a Latin translation of which may be found in Fabricii *Pseudepigr.* i. 309. The traditions respecting Joseph are collected in *Act. Sanct.* iii. p. 4, sq.; there is a Life of Joseph written in Italian by Affaitati.—J. R. B.

JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA. The name Arimathea denotes probably the place where Joseph was born, not that where he resided. We make this remark because Michaelis (*Begräbniss- und auferstehungs gesch. Christi*, p. 44, translated into English) states it as his opinion that it was unlikely that Joseph possessed a burial-place in or near Jerusalem, since that city was not his ordinary abode. So easy is it to be led away by modern associations in interpreting the Scripture, that even a man of Michaelis' learning could allow Germany to overpower Palestine, and modern days to give their colouring to ancient ones, and thus hold that 'of Arimathea' must of necessity denote the residence and not the birth-place of Joseph; whereas a little reflection might have taught him that in a measure in his own times, and fully so in the days of our Lord, such a form of speech indicated rather a man's birth-place than his customary abode.

Arimathea lay in the territory of Benjamin, on the mountain range of Ephraim, at no great distance south of Jerusalem (Josh. xviii. 25; Judg. iv. 5), not far from Gibeah (Judg. xix. 13; Isa. x. 29; Hos. v. 8).

Joseph was a secret disciple of Jesus—'an honourable counseller (*βουλευτής*), who waited for the kingdom of God' (Mark xv. 43), and who, on learning the death of our Lord, 'came and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus.' Pilate having learned from the centurion, who commanded at the execution, that 'Jesus was actually dead,' gave the body to Joseph, who took it down and wrapped his deceased Lord in fine linen which he had purchased for the purpose; after which he laid the corpse in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre (Mark xv. 43, sq.). From the parallel passages in Matthew (xxvii. 58, sq.), Luke (xxiii. 50, seq.), and John (xix. 38, seq.), it appears that the body was previously embalmed at the cost of another secret disciple, Nicodemus, and that the sepulchre was new, 'wherein never man before was laid;' also that it lay in a garden, and was the property of Joseph himself. This garden was 'in the place where Jesus was crucified.' Luke describes the character of Joseph as 'a good man and a just,' adding that 'he had not consented to the counsel and deed of them,' *i. e.* of the Jewish authorities. From this remark it is clear that Joseph was a member of the Sanhedrim: a conclusion which is corroborated by the epithet 'counsellor,' applied to him by both Luke and Mark. Whether or not Joseph was a priest, as Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* p. 669) thought, there is not evidence to determine. Various opinions as to his social condition may be found in Thiess (*Krit. Comment.* ii. 149). Tradition represents Joseph as having been one of the Seventy, and as having first preached the Gospel in our own country (Ittig, *Diss. de Pat. Apostol.* § 13; Assemani *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. 1. 319, sq.). For an attempt to fix the precise spot where Jesus died and was buried, see the article Golgotha.—J. R. B.

JOSEPH called BARSABAS was one of the two persons whom the primitive church, immediately after the resurrection of Christ, nominated, praying that the Holy Spirit would show which of them should enter the apostolic band in place of the wretched Judas. On the lots being cast, it proved that not Joseph, but Matthias, was chosen.

Joseph bore the honourable surname of Justus, which was not improbably given him on account of his well-known probity. He was one of those who had 'companied with the Apostles all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out amongst them, beginning from the baptism of John,' until the ascension (Acts i. 15, sq.). Tradition also accounted him one of the Seventy (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* i. 12). The same historian relates (iii. 39), on the authority of Papias, that Joseph the Just 'drank deadly poison, and by the grace of God sustained no harm.' It has been maintained that he is the same as Joses surnamed Barnabas, mentioned in Acts iv. 36; but the manner in which the latter is characterized seems to point to a different person (Heinrichs, *On Acts* i. 23; Ullmann, in the *Theolog. Stud. und Kritik*, i. 377).—J. R. B.

1. JOSES (Ἰωσῆς), son of Mary and Cleopas, and brother of James the Less, of Simon and of Jude, and, consequently, one of those who are called the 'brethren' of our Lord (Matt. xiii. 55; xxvii. 56; Mark vi. 3; xv. 40, 47). [James; Jude]. He was the only one of these brethren who was not an apostle—a circumstance which has given occasion to some unsatisfactory conjecture. It is perhaps more remarkable that three of them were apostles than that the fourth was not.

2. JOSES [Barnabas].

JOSHUA. The name יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, or יֵשׁוּעַ, is rendered by Josephus, the Septuagint, and the New Testament, Ἰησοῦς. In the same manner is spelt the name of the author of the apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus. This is the name of four persons in the Old Testament, and means *whose salvation is Jehovah* (compare the German name *Gotthilf*). The most distinguished of the four persons, so called, who occur in the Old Testament, is Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, the assistant and successor of Moses. His name was originally הוֹשֵׁעַ, *salvation* (Num. xiii. 8); and it seems that the subsequent alteration of it by Moses (Num. xiii. 16) was significant, and proceeded on the same principle as that of Abram into Abraham (Gen. xvii. 5), and of Sarai into Sarah (Gen. xvii. 15).

According to the *Tsemach David*, Joshua was born in Egypt, in the year of the Jewish era 2406 (B.C. 1037). In the Bible he is first mentioned as being the victorious commander of the Israelites in their battle against the Amalekites at Rephidim (Exod. xvii. 8-16). He distinguished himself by his courage and intelligence during and after the exploration of the land of Canaan, on which occasion he represented his tribe, which was that of Ephraim (Num. xiii., xiv.). Moses, with the divine sanction, appointed him to command the Israelites, even during his own lifetime (Num. xxvii. 18-23; Deut. iii. 28; xxxi. 23). After the death of Moses he led the Israelites over the Jordan, fortified a camp at Gilgal (Josh. ix. 6; x. 6-43), conquered the southern and middle portions of Canaan (vi.-x.), and also some of the northern districts (ix.). But the hostile nations, although subdued, were not entirely driven out and destroyed (xiii.; xxiii. 13; Judg. i. 27-35). In the seventh year after entering the land, it was distributed among the various tribes, which then commenced individually to complete the conquest by separate warfare (xv. 13, sq.; xvi. 10; xvii. 12, sq.). Joshua died 110 years old (B.C. 1427), and was buried at Timnath-serah (Josh. xxiv.), on Mount Ephraim. According to the *Archæologia* or *Antiquities* of Josephus (v. 1. 29), Joshua commanded the Jews twenty-five years, but, according to other Jewish chronologers, twenty-seven years. The *Tsemach David*, on the years of the Jewish era 2489 and 2490, remarks:—'It is written in the *Seder Olam* that Joshua judged Israel twenty-five years, commencing from the year 2488, immediately from the death of Moses, to the year 2516. This, however, would not be known to us but for cabbalistic tradition, but in some degree also by reasoning,' &c. Hottinger (*Smegma*, p. 409), says:—'According to the *Midrash*, Rahab was ten years old when the Israelites left Egypt, she played the whore

during the forty years in which the Israelites were in the desert. She became the wife of Joshua, and eight prophets descended from her, viz. Jeremiah, Mahasia, Hanamael, Shallum, Baruch, Ezekiel. Some say also that Huldah the prophetess was her descendant.' Some chronologers have endeavoured to reduce the rule of Joshua to seventeen, and others to twenty-one years.

There occur some vestiges of the deeds of Joshua in other historians besides those of the Bible. Procopius mentions a Phœnician inscription near the city of Tingis in Mauritania, the sense of which in Greek was:—'Ημεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λῃστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ—'We are those who fled before the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun' (*De Bell. Vandal.* ii. 10). Suidas (sub voce Χαναάν):—ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν Χαναναῖοι οὓς ἐδίωξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ λῃστής—'We are the Canaanites whom Joshua the robber persecuted.' Compare Fabricii *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, i. 889, sq., and the doubts respecting this statement in Dale, *De Origine et Progressu Idolatriæ*, p. 749, sq.

A letter of Shaubech, שובך, king of Armenia Minor, in the Samaritan book of Joshua (ch. xxvi.), styles Joshua אלדיב אלקאתול, *lupus percussor*, 'the murderous wolf;' or, according to another reading in the book *Juchasin* (p. 154, f. 1), and in the *Shalsheleth Rakkabbalah* (p. 96), זאב ערבות, *lupus vespertinus*, 'the evening wolf' (comp. Hab. i. 8; Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, Tiguri, 1651, p. 40, sq.; Budder, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 964, sq.). A comparison of Hercules, according to the Phœnician and Greek mythology, with Joshua has been attempted by Hercklitz (*Quod Hercules idem sit ac Josua*, Lipsiæ, 1706, 4to.)

The book of Joshua is so called from the personage who occupies the principal place in the narration of events contained therein, and may be considered as a continuation of the Pentateuch. It commences with the word ויהי, which may be rendered *thereupon it happened*. Books beginning with what Dr. Samuel Lee calls *the illative vau*, are to be regarded as continuations of earlier works. The Pentateuch, and especially Deuteronomy, are repeatedly referred to in the book of Joshua, the narration of which begins with the death of Moses and extends to the death of Joshua, embracing a chronological period of somewhat less than thirty years. The subject of the book is thus briefly stated in ch. i. 5, 6: 'There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life. As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee. Be strong and of a good courage; for unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance the land which I sware unto their fathers to give them.' In these two verses is also indicated the division of the book into two principal portions, with reference to the conquest and the distribution of the land of Canaan. The conquest is narrated in the first twelve, and the distribution in the following ten chapters. In the last two chapters are subjoined the events subsequent to the distribution up to the death of Joshua. The history of the conquest of Canaan is a series of miracles, than which none more remarkable are recorded in any part of sacred history. The passage into the Promised Land, as well as that out of Egypt, was through water. Jericho was taken not by might, but by the falling of the walls on the blast of the trumpets of seven priests; and in the war against Gibeon the day was prolonged to afford time for the completion of the victory.

It is generally granted that the first twelve chapters form a continuous whole: although the author in ch. x. 13, refers to another work, he not merely transcribes but intimately combines the quotation with the tenor of his narration. It is certain that there sometimes occur episodes which seem to interrupt the chronological connection, as for instance the portion intervening between chs. i., ii., and iii. 1. Especially it has been asserted that the whole of the second chapter is an episode interposed between chapters i. and iii.; but it belongs to the nature of detailed historical works to contain such episodes. It would not be difficult to select analogous instances from profane works which are considered to be finished models of historiography. Even in writers who have most carefully digested their materials, such as Thucydides, Tacitus, Gibbon, Hume, Robertson, and others, we meet occasionally with such episodes; and it may be truly said that, from the nature of history in general, occasional digressions must occur; consequently it is an indication of thoughtless assertion when those which are found in the book of Joshua are declared to prove a variety of authorship, if anything is meant beyond the truism, that no historical writer originates, but only communicates, historical truth.

We return to our subject, and assert that if the facts contained in the second chapter were to be related at all, they stand very properly between those of the first and third chapters, and that it would be difficult to find for them a more fitting place.

The whole tenor of the first twelve chapters bespeaks an eye-witness who bore some part in the transactions. Compare the expression עברנו, WE *passed over*, in ch. v. 1, where the *kri* has עברם, Sept. διαβαίνειν αὐτούς, Vulg. *transirent*. The Chaldee paraphrase in the *Targum* of Jonathan has also עד דעברו, *until* THEY *passed over*, and so the Syriac and Arabic. On account of this *kri* and the various ancient renderings, which substitute the third for the first person, we must not lay too much stress on the usual reading, although we deem it correct, corresponding as it does to לנו, *to us*, in the sixth verse. But we rely less on such isolated expressions than on the circumstantial vividness of the narrative, which clearly indicates that the writer was an eye-witness. This feature is so striking that Van Herweden, who, in his *Disputatio de libro Josuæ, sive de diversis ex quibus constat Josuæ liber monumentis, deque ætate qua eorum vixerunt auctores*, Groningæ, 1826, has endeavoured to dissect the book of Joshua into ten different *monumenta*, or original documents, nevertheless, in page 123, says, in reference to Josh. vi. 25:—alterutrum esse verum oportet: aut impostor hæc scripsit, æqualem se esse rerum gestarum præ se ferens, quem tamen non esset, AUT REVERA SCRIPSIT ÆQUALIS—'This was written either by an impostor who falsely pretended that he was a contemporary of the events related, or a contemporary really wrote it.'

The authority ascribed to the book of Joshua by the Apostles, compels us to embrace the latter horn of this dilemma. Therefore we maintain that the first twelve chapters were written by a contemporary of the events recorded, and most probably by Joshua himself, towards the close of his life. The statement that the monuments which he erected were extant *to this day*, indicates that he did not promulgate the book immediately after the events narrated (comp. iv. 9; vii. 26; viii. 28, 29; x. 27). The book could not have been written very long after the time of Joshua, because we find that Rahab was still alive when it was composed (vi. 29). The section from chapter xiii. to xxii. inclusive, which contains an account of the distribution of the land, seems to be based upon written documents, in which the property was accurately described. That this was the case is likely not merely on account of the peculiar nature of the diplomatic contents by which this 'Doomsday Book' is distinguished from the preceding part of Joshua, but also on account of the statement in chapter xviii. 4, where Joshua says to the children of Israel, 'Give out from among you three men from each tribe: and I will send them, and they shall rise, and go through the land, and describe it (ויכתבו אותה) according to the inheritance of them; and they shall come again to me.' Compare verse 6, 'Ye therefore shall describe the land (תכתבו את הארץ) into seven parts.' Compare also verses 8 and 9, 'And the men arose and went away; and Joshua charged them that went to *describe* the land, saying, Go, and walk through the land, and *describe* it, and come again to me, that I may here cast lots for you before the Lord in Shiloh. And the men went and passed through the land, and *described* it by cities into seven parts in a *book*, and came again to Joshua to the host at Shiloh.' It seems that the author of this section, following the 'Doomsday Book' compiled by the body, to which each tribe sent three representatives, furnished a more accurate description than was contained in the book compiled under Joshua's direction. It may thus be explained how, when the various towns mentioned are summed up, they seem to be more than the towns introduced into the lists of the possessions of the separate tribes, and *vice versâ*. This circumstance cannot be explained by supposing a corruption of the Hebrew text, since the text in the book of Joshua is particularly correct. However Judah had more towns than are mentioned in chapter xv. Zabulon had more towns than are mentioned in chapter xix. 15. Naphtali had more towns than are mentioned in xix. 35-39. This discrepancy arose not merely from new towns springing up, but also from the fact, that it was unnecessary to specify in the 'Doomsday Book' all the inferior localities of the various tribes, especially since the constant addition subjoined to the names of the more important towns (וחצריהן, literally *and their inclosures*, usually translated *and their villages*) obviates all quibbles.

Although there is a degree of uniformity in the commencement and close of the descriptions of the various tribes, there is a considerable difference in the contents. There is no little variety in the arrangement and order of the notices concerning each tribe. The boundaries are stated sometimes with greater, sometimes with less precision; and in the description of the tribe of Issachar (xix. 17-23), they are omitted altogether. Such discrepancies in the mode of description will be found particularly striking on comparing chapters xiii. and xiv. with xviii. and xix. Hence we infer that the original documents from which these chapters were compiled differed considerably in form, and that the compiler did not feel authorized, in his manifest endeavour after uniformity, to introduce any changes in the contents.

The list of towns granted to the Levites in Josh. xxi. differs from that in 1 Chron. vi. 39-66 so much that we must suppose the latter to contain abstracts from a source different from that in the book of Joshua. That a change of circumstances might demand changes in such lists becomes evident, if we consider the fate of individual cities. For instance, Ziklag was given to the tribe of Simeon (Josh. xix. 5); nevertheless we read in 1 Sam. xxvii. 6, that Achish gave Ziklag to David, and therefore 'Ziklag pertaineth to the kings of Judah unto this day.' The town of Nob does not occur in the list of Levitical towns in the book of Joshua, but in the days of Saul it is styled עיר הכהנים, *city of the priests*. All this abundantly proves that there took place changes in regard to particular places which required corresponding changes in the lists written at various periods.

Since the book of Joshua contains also a description of the territories of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, situated on the left bank of the Jordan, which tribes entered into possession before the death of Moses, the Pentateuch itself may be considered as one of the sources from which the second part of the book of Joshua has been compiled. That the author of the book of Joshua derived part of his information from the Pentateuch is evident, if we compare Deut. xviii. 1, 2, and Num. xviii. 20, with Josh. xiii. 14, 33; xiv. 4. Even the unusual form אִשֵּׁי is repeated in Joshua. Compare also Num. xxxi. 8, with Josh. xiii. 21 and 22.

The author of the book of Joshua frequently repeats the statements of the Pentateuch in a more detailed form, and mentions the changes which had taken place since the Pentateuch was written. Compare Num. xxxiv. 13 and 14, with Josh. xiii. 7, sq.; Num. xxxii. 37, with Josh. xiii. 17, sq.; Num. xxxv. with Josh. xxi.

There is also considerable similarity between the following passages in the books of Joshua and Judges:—Josh. xiii. 4, Judg. iii. 3; Josh. xv. 13, sq., Judg. i. 10, 20; Josh. xv. 15-19, Judg. i. 11-15; Josh. xv. 62, Judg. i. 21; Josh. xvi. 10, Judg. i. 29; Josh. xvii. 12, Judg. i. 27; Josh. xix. 47, Judg. xviii. The book of Joshua seems to explain the text of the book of Judges by brief notices; as, for instance, the names Shesha, Achiman, and Talmai (Josh. xv. 14), by בני הענק and ילודי הענק (comp. Judg. i. 13), and makes use of more regular grammatical forms, such as עליות and תחתיות, instead of the more unusual forms in the book of Judges, עלית and תחתית. For these and other equally inconclusive reasons, even Hävernick asserts that the second part of the book of Joshua was written after the book of Judges. Hävernick particularly urges that the fact mentioned in Josh. xix. 47, happened according to Judges xviii. 2, after the death of Joshua, and

that the private expeditions of separate tribes against the inhabitants of the land of Canaan commenced, according to the express statement of the book of Judges, only after the death of Joshua. These assertions of Hävernick are not sufficiently supported by the sacred text. We certainly learn from the book of Judges that the private expeditions against the Canaanites were especially frequent subsequently to the death of Joshua, but it is nowhere stated that no such expedition happened before the death of Joshua. On the contrary, we read in Josh. xvii. 15, that Joshua replied to the children of Joseph, who complained that their territory was not proportionate to their numbers, 'Get thee up to the wood-country, and cut down *for thyself* there in the land of the Perizzites and the giants.'

The whole position of the tribes would render it likely that such expeditions were as frequent as the hostile incursions of the Dutch boors at the Cape of Good Hope are into the territories of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Caffres; which incursions, if they do not lead to permanent possession, are frequently repeated under similar circumstances. If we take this into consideration it must appear very doubtful, whether the facts mentioned in Josh. xix. 47, and Judg. xviii. 2, are one and the same; and even if they are admitted to be so, the priority of the book of Judges does not necessarily follow.

The discourses of Caleb, Joshua, and Phinehas, recorded in Josh. xiii. 1-6; xiv. 6-15; xvii. 14; xviii. 22, are not contained in the above-mentioned sources, and are either derived from written documents, or are the condensations of a witness present at their delivery.

It seems to have been the intention of the author of chapters xiii.-xxii. to furnish authentic records concerning the arrangements made by Joshua after the conquest of Canaan. Since we do not find in the subsequent history that the tribes, after the death of Joshua, disagreed among themselves about the ownership of the land, it would appear that the object of the book of Joshua, as a 'Doomsday Book,' was fully attained. The circumstance that the book of Joshua contains many Canaanitish names of places to which the Hebrew names are added, seems also to indicate that the second part originated in an early age, when neither the Canaanitish name was entirely forgotten, nor the Hebrew name fully introduced; so that it was expedient to mention both.

In the last two chapters occur two orations of Joshua, in which he bids farewell to the people whom he had commanded. In chapter xxiv. 26, we read, 'And Joshua WROTE these words in the book of the law of God.' The expression, *these words*, seems to refer only to his last address, and the subsequent resolution of the people to follow his example. We are here, however, expressly informed that Joshua did WRITE this much; and consequently, we deem it the more likely that he also committed to writing the other memorable events connected with his career, such as the conquest and the distribution of the land.

Viewing all the circumstances together, we consider it highly probable that the whole book of Joshua was composed by himself up to the twenty-eighth verse of the last chapter; to which a friendly hand subjoined some brief notices, contained in verses 29-33, concerning the death, age, and burial of Joshua; the continuance of his influence upon the people; the interment, in Shechem, of the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel had brought from Egypt; and the death and burial of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, whom his son Phinehas interred in his allotment on Mount Ephraim. We wish, however, to imitate the modesty of Hermann Witsius, who, in the second edition of his *Miscellanea Sacra* (p. 209), thus sums up the argument on this head:—'It seems to me that the argumentation of Huet has not the weight of a real demonstration, who, from the words just quoted—"Joshua wrote all these words in the book of the law of the Lord"—makes the following inference:—"This certainly proves that Joshua, like Moses, wrote an account of his own doings, and that he subjoined his book to the Mosaical law, which is still its place." But I say that every attentive reader will easily perceive that in Josh. xxiv. 26 there is not mentioned the whole history of Joshua, but only the solemn renewal of the covenant, and that it is by no means stated there that another volume should be subjoined to the volume of the law, but only that the repetition of the covenant was inscribed in the volume of the law. But the opposite arguments also are mostly such as might easily be refuted. Therefore I beg leave to withhold my decision.'

The authority of the book of Joshua mainly rests upon the manner in which it is treated in other parts of the Bible.

Besides the above allusions in the book of Judges, we find Joshua referred to in 1 Kings xvi. 34:—'In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram, his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by Joshua the son of Nun.' (Comp. Josh. vi. 26.) The second and third verses of Psalm xliv. contain a brief summary of the whole book of Joshua:—'Thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them: thou didst afflict the people, and cast them out. For they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them: but thy right hand and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favour unto them.' (Compare Psalm lxviii. 12-14; lxxviii. 54, 55; cxiv. 3 and 5, which refer to the book of Joshua.) Also, Hab. iii. 11: 'The sun and moon stood still in their habitation,' &c. Heb. xiii. 5: 'For he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.' (Compare Josh. i. 5.) Heb. xi. 31: 'By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with them that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace;' and James ii. 25: 'Likewise also was not Rahab the harlot justified by works, when she had received the messengers, and had sent them out another way?' (Compare Josh. ii. and vi. 22-25.) Acts vii. 45: 'Which (the tabernacle) also our fathers that came after brought in with Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, whom God drave out before the face of our fathers.' (Compare Josh. iii. 14.) Heb. xi. 30: 'By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about seven days.' (Compare Josh. vi. 17-23.) Heb. iv. 8: 'For if Jesus [JOSHUA] had given them rest, then would he not afterwards have spoken of another day.'

The value ascribed to the book of Joshua will be variously estimated according to the theological and philosophical system of the divines who have ventured, and who venture, to express their opinion on this subject. It is evident that writers who proceed on the supposition that nothing miraculous ever has happened, must, in consistency, declare the contents of the book of Joshua to be fabulous, mythical, unhistorical, and even immoral and wicked; while those divines who are convinced that miracles are possible, and have actually happened, find no difficulty in admitting the authority ascribed to the book of Joshua in the New Testament, where it is repeatedly quoted. The chief stumbling-block has been the quotation from the book of Jasher respecting the standing still of the sun and moon at the command of Joshua: but this subject has been already considered in the article JASHER.

The inquiry respecting the author of the book of Joshua, led Carpzov to a result which he thus expresses in his Introduction, p. 155: 'It is likely that Joshua himself committed to writing most of the contents of this book, although it cannot be said that he composed the whole book; and it cannot be made out clearly whether Samuel, or some other pious person, composed the whole book, or only augmented and completed it by adding the events which happened after the death of Joshua.'

Our investigations have led us to a more definite result; namely, that the book was written before the death of Rahab (vi. 26), but not immediately after the erection of monuments by Joshua, because it is said that they exist *until this day*—an observation which indicates that they had been standing for some time. As, however, various opinions concerning the author, and concerning the so-called apparent contradictions of the book of Joshua, have occupied the attention of biblical scholars, so much so as to become themselves subjects of history, it is becoming that we furnish our readers with a brief survey of these rather inconclusive lucubrations.

It has been urged especially that the conquest of the whole country is ascribed to Joshua in some passages of this book, while in others, and in the book of Judges, it is stated that some portions were still to be subdued. To this we reply that Joshua conquered the whole country, so far as to render it possible for individual tribes and families gradually to complete its occupation by private warfare. We read in x. 40, 'Joshua smote all the country of the hills, and of the south; and in xi. 16, 'Joshua took all that land, the hills, and all the south country.' It is urged that these passages strikingly contradict xiii. 4, where it is read, 'There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed from the south, all the land of the Canaanites unto Mearah, that beside the Sidonians,' &c. Here it has been overlooked, that the south country beside the Sidonians differs from the southern regions of Palestine.

In a similar manner the distribution of the country ascribed to Joshua, has been said to be contradicted by subsequent distributions in the book of Judges; but we reply that the later distribution in detail is perfectly consistent with an earlier general distribution.

When the destruction of all the Canaanites is ascribed to Joshua, it is meant that none could stand in battle before him, and that he destroyed those whom he overcame. But this is not contradicted by the fact that some Canaanites kept out of the way, having taken refuge in their fastnesses, and that these gathered strength again after the days of Joshua. It has also been urged that Jericho and Ai, which Joshua destroyed, were at a later period inhabited again; but this argument seems to have no weight, and therefore requires no answer, the purpose of Joshua being fulfilled by the demolition of their fortifications. It is also doubtful whether the new cities stood on the sites which the old ones occupied [JERICHO].

The quotation from the book of Jasher (Josh. x. 13) is said to be contradicted by 2 Sam. i. 18, where it appears that this book was written in the days of David. But this is by no means clear from the passage referred to; and even if it were so, it would seem that the book of Jasher was an anthologia, augmented in the days of David. Others have based upon this quotation the inference that the book of Joshua was written after the times of David. De Wette, in his *Einleitung* (Berlin, 1833, p. 219), asserts that the book of Joshua was written after the Babylonian captivity.

The mention of the book of Jasher has given rise to some spurious compilations under that name, as well in Hebrew as in English. See the article JASHER.

The Samaritans, who for dogmatical purposes endeavoured to depreciate the authority of persons mentioned in the latter books of the Old Testament, such as Eli, Samuel, Zerubbabel, and others, had no such interest to attack the person of Joshua. Eulogius, according to Photii *Codex*, p. 230, states: Τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν τὸ πλῆθος οἱ μὲν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναυῆ ἐδόξαζον εἶναι περὶ οὗ Μωυσῆς εἶπε, προφήτην ἡμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος, etc.—'The Samaritan multitude believes that Joshua, the son of Nun, is the person concerning whom Moses said, "The Lord will raise us up a prophet,"' &c. (Compare Lampe, *Comment. in Evangelium Johannis*, vol. i. p. 748.) The Samaritans even endeavoured to exalt the memory of Joshua by making him the nucleus of many strange legends which they embodied into their Arabic book of Joshua, a work which seems to have been compiled in the middle ages, and is quoted by the Rabbinical chroniclers of that period, Sepher Juchasin, R. Samuel, Schullam (f. 154), Schalscheleth (*Nakabbalah*, p .96), Hottinger (*Historia Orientalis*, p. 40, sq.), Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Gebräische der Juden*, p. 140). Reland supposed that this book was written at an earlier period, and augmented in the middle ages; but it is more likely that the whole is a late compilation. (Compare Johannis Henrici Hottingeri *Historia Orientalis*, p. 40, sq.; and Hottingeri *Smegma*, p. 468.)

The so-called book of Joshua of the Samaritans consists of compilations from the Pentateuch, our book of Joshua, the books of Judges, and of Samuel, intermixed with many Jewish legends. Its compiler pretends that it is translated from the Hebrew into Arabic, but it was probably originally written in Arabic, and manifestly after the promulgation of the Koran, which exercised a perceptible influence upon it. Compare Reland *De Samaritanis*, *Dissertationes Miscellaneæ*, ii. pp. 12 and 68. The author of this compilation

endeavours to prove that the Samaritans are Israelites, and he claims for them the celebrity of the Jews. He attempts to turn the traditions of Jewish history in favour of the Samaritans. By his account Joshua built the temple on Mount Gerizim, and there established public worship; the schism between Jews and Samaritans commenced under Eli, who, as well as Samuel, was an apostate and sorcerer; after the return from the Babylonian exile, the Samaritan form of worship was declared to be the legitimate form; Zerubbabel and his sacred books, which were corrupted, were authoritatively rejected; Alexander the Great expressed his veneration, not for the Jews, but for the Samaritans; these were oppressed under the Emperor Adrian, but again obtained permission to worship publicly on Mount Gerizim. The whole book consists of a mixture of biblical history and legends, the manifest aim being to falsify facts for dogmatical purposes. This book terminates with the history of the Jewish war under Adrian. The only known copy of this book is that of Jos. Scaliger, which is now in the library at Leyden. Although the language is Arabic, it is written in Samaritan characters. Even the Samaritans themselves seem to have lost it. Huntington, in his *Epistolæ*, London, 1704, p. 48, mentions that he could not find it at Nabulus, nor have subsequent inquiries led to its discovery there.

Besides this adulterated version of the history of Joshua, there exists still another in the Samaritan chronicles of Abul Phetach. See *Acta Eruditorum Lips.*, anni 1691, p. 167; Schnurrer's *Samaritanischer Briefwechsel*, in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, ix. 54; a specimen by Schnurrer, in Paulus's *Neuem Repertorium*, i. 117, sq.

For further information see, besides the *Introductions* of Eichhorn, De Wette, and Hävernick, the following works: *Josuæ Historia illustrata ab Andr. Masio*, Antverpiæ, 1574, fol.; Sebastiani Schmidt *Prælectiones in* viii. *priora capita libri Josuæ;* Johannis Clerici *Commentarius in Josuam*; Johannis Drusii *Annotationes in loca difficiliora Josuæ;* A. J. Osiandri *Commentarius in Josuam*, Tubingæ, 1681; Jacobi Bonfrerii *Commentarius in Josuam, Judices, et Ruth*, Paris, 1631, fol.; Nic. Serarii *Commentarius in libros Josuæ, Judicum, Ruth, Regum, et Paralipomenon*, Mog. 1609, x. 2 vols. fol.; *Exegetisches Handbuch des Alten Testamentes; Erstes und drittes Stück;* Paulus Bliche, *In das Buch Josua*, in his *Theologisch-exegetisches Conservatorium*, ii. 149, sq.; T. J. V. D. Maurer, *Commentar über das Buch Josua*, Stuttgart, 1831; Rosenmüller *in Josuam*, Lipsiæ, 1833; George Bush, *Notes on Joshua and Judges*, New York, 1838.

The other persons of this name in the Bible are:

Joshua, a Beth-shemite (1 Sam. vi. 14, 18), an Israelite, the owner of the field into which the cart came which bore the ark on its return from the land of the Philistines.

Joshua (2 Kings xxiii. 8), the governor of the city of Jerusalem at the commencement of the reign of Josiah.

Joshua, the son of Josedec (Hagg. i. 1, 12, 14; Zech. iii. 1, 3, 9; vi. 11), a high-priest in the time of Haggai and Zechariah [Jeshua].

JOSIAH (יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ, *God-healed;* Sept. Ἰωσίας), seventeenth king of Judah, and son of Amon, whom he succeeded on the throne in B.C. 698, at the early age of eight years, and reigned thirty-one years.

As Josiah thus early ascended the throne, we may the more admire the good qualities which he manifested, seeing, as Coquerel remarks, 'qu'il est difficile de recevoir une bonne éducation sur le trône' (*Biographie Sacrée*, p. 305). Avoiding the example of his immediate predecessors, he 'did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in all the ways of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left' (2 Kings xxii. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1, 2). So early as the sixteenth year of his age he began to manifest that enmity to idolatry in all its forms which distinguished his character and reign; and he was not quite twenty years old when he proclaimed open war against it, although more or less favoured by many men of rank and influence in the court and kingdom. He then commenced a thorough purification of the land from all taint of idolatry, by going about and superintending in person the operations of the men who were employed in breaking down idolatrous altars and images, and cutting down the groves which had been consecrated to idol-worship. His detestation of idolatry could not have been more strongly expressed than by ransacking the sepulchres of the idolatrous priests of former days, and consuming their bones upon the idol altars before they were overturned. Yet this operation, although unexampled in Jewish history, was foretold 326 years before Josiah was born, by the prophet who was commissioned to denounce to Jeroboam the future punishment of his sin. He even named Josiah as the person by whom this act was to be performed; and said that it should be performed in Beth-el, which was then a part of the kingdom of Israel (1 Kings xiii. 2). All this seemed much beyond the range of human probabilities. But it was performed to the letter; for Josiah did not confine his proceedings to his own kingdom, but went over a considerable part of the neighbouring kingdom of Israel, which then lay comparatively desolate, with the same object in view; and at Beth-el, in particular, executed all that the prophet had foretold (2 Kings xxiii. 1-19; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3-7, 32). In these proceedings Josiah seems to have been actuated by an absolute *hatred* of idolatry, such as no other king since David had manifested, and which David had scarcely occasion to manifest in the same degree.

In the eighteenth year of his reign and the twenty-sixth of his age, when the land had been thoroughly purified from idolatry and all that belonged to it, Josiah proceeded to repair and beautify the temple of the Lord. In the course of this pious labour, the high-priest Hilkiah discovered in the sanctuary a volume, which proved to contain the books of Moses, and which, from the terms employed, seems to have been considered the original of the law as written by Moses. On this point there has been much anxious discussion and some rash assertion. Some writers of the German school allege that there is no external evidence—that is, evidence beside the law itself—that the book of the law existed till it was thus produced by Hilkiah. This assertion it is the less

necessary to answer here, as it is duly noticed in the art. PENTATEUCH. But it may be observed that it is founded very much on the fact that the king was greatly astonished when some parts of the law were read to him. It is indeed perfectly manifest that he had previously been entirely ignorant of much that he then heard; and he rent his clothes in consternation when he found that, with the best intentions to serve the Lord, he and all his people had been living in the neglect of duties which the law declared to be of vital importance. It is certainly difficult to account for this ignorance. Some suppose that all the copies of the law had perished, and that the king had never seen one. But this is very unlikely; but however scarce complete copies may have been, the pious king was likely to have been the possessor of one. The probability seems to be that the passages read were those awful denunciations against disobedience with which the book of Deuteronomy concludes, and which from some cause or other the king had never before read, or which had never before produced on his mind the same strong conviction of the imminent dangers under which the nation lay, as now when read to him from a volume invested with a character so venerable, and brought with such interesting circumstances under his notice.

The king in his alarm sent to Huldah 'the prophetess,' for her counsel in this emergency [HULDAH]: her answer assured him that, although the dread penalties threatened by the law had been incurred and would be inflicted, he should be gathered in peace to his fathers before the days of punishment and sorrow came.

It was perhaps not without some hope of averting this doom that the king immediately called the people together at Jerusalem, and engaged them in a solemn renewal of the ancient covenant with God. When this had been done, the Passover was celebrated with careful attention to the directions given in the law, and on a scale of unexampled magnificence. But all was too late; the hour of mercy had passed; for 'the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah' (2 Kings xxii. 3-20; xxiii. 21-27; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8-33; xxxv. 1-19).

That removal from the world which had been promised to Josiah as a blessing, was not long delayed, and was brought about in a way which he had probably not expected. His kingdom was tributary to the Chaldæan empire; and when Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, sought a passage through his territories, on an expedition against the Chaldæans, Josiah, with a very high sense of the obligations which his vassalage imposed, refused to allow the march of the Egyptian army through his dominions, and prepared to resist the attempt by force of arms. Necho was very unwilling to engage in hostilities with Josiah: the appearance of the Hebrew army at Megiddo, however, brought on a battle, in which the king of Judah was so desperately wounded by arrows that his attendants removed him from the war-chariot, and placed him in another, in which he was taken to Jerusalem, where he died. No king that reigned in Israel was ever more deeply lamented by all his subjects than Josiah: and we are told that the prophet composed on the occasion an elegiac ode, which was long preserved among the people, but which is not now in existence (2 Kings xxiii. 29-37; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20-27).

1. JOTHAM (יוֹתָם, *God is upright;* Sept. Ἰωάθαμ), the youngest of Gideon's seventy legitimate sons; and the only one who escaped when the rest were massacred by the order of Abimelech. When the fratricide was made king by the people of Shechem, the young Jotham was so daring as to make his appearance on Mount Gerizim for the purpose of lifting up a protesting voice, and of giving vent to his feelings. This he did in a beautiful parable, wherein the trees are represented as making choice of a king, and bestowing on the bramble the honour which the cedar, the olive, and the vine would not accept. The obvious application, which indeed Jotham failed not himself to point out, must have been highly exasperating to Abimelech and his friends; but the speaker fled, as soon as he had delivered his parable, to the town of Beer, and remained there out of his brother's reach. We hear no more of him; but three years after, if then living, he saw the accomplishment of the malediction he had pronounced (Judg. ix. 5-21).

2. JOTHAM, tenth king of Judah, and son of Uzziah, whom he succeeded in B.C. 758, at the age of twenty-five: he reigned sixteen years. His father having during his last years been excluded by leprosy from public life [UZZIAH], the government was administered by his son. Jotham profited by the experience which the reign of his father, and of the kings who preceded him, afforded, and he ruled in the fear of God, although he was unable to correct all the corrupt practices into which the people had fallen. His sincere intentions were rewarded with a prosperous reign. He was successful in his wars. The Ammonites, who had 'given gifts' as a sort of tribute to Uzziah, but had ceased to do so after his leprosy had incapacitated him from governing, were constrained by Jotham to pay for three years a heavy tribute in silver, wheat, and barley (2 Chron. xxvi. 8; xxvii. 5, 6). Many important public works were also undertaken and accomplished by Jotham. The principal gate of the temple was rebuilt by him on a more magnificent scale; the quarter of Ophel, in Jerusalem, was strengthened by new fortifications; various towns were built or rebuilt in the mountains of Judah; and castles and towers of defence were erected in the wilderness. Jotham died greatly lamented by his people, and was buried in the sepulchre of the kings (2 Kings xv. 38; 2 Chron. xvii. 3-9).

JUBAL (יוּבָל, *jubilum*, i. e. *music;* Sept. Ἰουβάλ), one of Cain's descendants, son of Lamech and Adah. He is described as the inventor of the כִּנּוֹר *kimor*, and the עוּגָב *ugab*, rendered in our version 'the harp and the organ,' but perhaps more properly 'the lyre and mouth-organ,' or Pandean pipe (Gen. iv. 21) [MUSIC].

JUBILEE (שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל, or merely יוֹבֵל, as in Lev. xxv. 28; Sept. ἔτος τῆς ἀφέσεως, or simply ἄφεσις; Vulg. *Annus Jubilei*, or *Jubileus*), according to some a period of fifty years, according to others, of forty-nine years, the termination of which led to certain great changes in the condition of the Hebrews, all of which seem to have been designed and fitted to bring about from time

to time a restoration of the original social state instituted by Moses, and so to sustain in its unimpaired integrity the constitution of which he was the author. We remark at the commencement, that notwithstanding the many great names which favour the shorter period — namely, forty-nine years—we consider that the language of Scripture is very clear in behalf of the longer one: an opinion for which it would be easy to marshal at least as many and as great authorities as for the other. Many of these authorities may be found mentioned in the most recent tractate with which we are acquainted on the subject, that of J. T. Kranold, *De Anno Hebræo Jubilæo*, Gotting. p. 23. In the same piece the reader may find a pretty full discussion respecting the derivation and import of the term Jubilee (p. 18 sq.); of which it may suffice here to say that, while difference of opinion prevails as to its exact signification—and hence appears the propriety of the course taken by King James's translators in retaining the original word itself—the root-idea of the word seems to be connected with two external acts—*flowing* (Gen. vi. 17) and *sounding* (Gen. iv. 21), which are obviously one and the same in different aspects; for sound is but the flow of breath or wind, as a stream is the flow of water. From this idea of pouring forth came the particular meaning of the term Jubilee, as employed in relation to the year so called, which was announced and introduced by the blast of a trumpet, the signal for the dissolution of certain existing arrangements, and a general system of restitution: whence is seen the propriety of that translation of the Hebrew which the Seventy give, ἔτος ἀφέσεως, 'year of release' or 'restoration.' And as the restitutions which then took place were occasions of joy to thousands, so the term Jubilee came to imply a period of general gladness.

Intimately connected with the Jubilee was another singular Mosaic institution, namely, the Sabbatical year. On this account we shall speak briefly of the latter, as preparatory to a right understanding of the former.

While yet wandering in the wilderness, and therefore, before they had entered 'the land of promise,' the children of Israel received from the lips of their great legislator the following law—'six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof: but the *seventh year* thou shalt let it rest; that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid and the stranger may be refreshed' (Exod. xxiii. 10 sq.). This injunction is repeated in Lev. xxv. 1-7, where it stands as proceeding immediately from the Lord. The land is to keep 'a sabbath for the Lord.' It is added—'that which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed. And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy cattle.' Then in immediate sequence follows the law relating to the Jubilee (Lev. xxi. 8). 'And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years, forty and nine years; then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the Jubilee to sound in the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land. And ye shall *hallow the fiftieth year*, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; and ye shall return every man unto his possession and unto his family. A Jubilee shall *that fiftieth* year be unto you. Ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes of thy vine undressed; for it is the Jubilee; it shall be holy unto you; ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field. And if thou sell ought unto thy neighbour or buyest ought, according to the number of years after the Jubilee thou shalt buy, and according to the fewness of years (to the ensuing Jubilee) thou shalt diminish the price of it, for according to the number of the fruits (or harvests) doth he sell. And the land shall yield her fruits, and ye shall eat your fill and dwell therein in safety. I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year ('in six years' conjectures Michaelis, *Comment.* vol. i. p. 290), and it shall bring forth fruit for three years. And ye shall sow the eighth year and eat of old fruit until the ninth year. The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine: in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land' (Lev. xxv. 8-24). Land might be redeemed by a kinsman or by the party who sold it; but in the Jubilee year it must return to its original proprietor. Dwelling-houses within a walled city might be redeemed within the first year; if not redeemed within the space of a full year they became the freehold of the purchaser. The houses of villages were to be counted as the fields of the country. The cities and houses of the Levites were redeemable at any time, and could never be held longer than the ensuing Jubilee: the field of the suburbs of their cities might not be sold (vers. 25-38). Israelites who were hired servants (Israelitish *bond*-servants were not allowed) might serve till the year of Jubilee, when they returned to their possessions. A Hebrew sold as a slave to a foreigner resident in Palestine was redeemable by himself or relatives at any time, by making payment according to the number of years to elapse before the next Jubilee; but at the Jubilee such bondsman was, under all circumstances, to be set at liberty (vers. 39-55). The only exception to this system of general restitution was in the case of property set apart and devoted to the Divine service—'Every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord; none devoted shall be redeemed' (Lev. xxvii. 28-29).

With these scriptural details the account given by Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 12. 3) substantially agrees. The latter, however, states that in the year of Jubilee 'debtors are freed from their debts.' And in regard to the restitution of land, he says, 'when the Jubilee is come, which name denotes liberty, he that sold the land and he that bought it meet together, and make an estimate on one hand of the fruits gathered, and on the other of the expenses laid out upon it. If the fruits gathered come to more than the expenses laid out, he who sold it takes the land again; but if the expenses prove more than the fruits, the present possessor receives of the former owner the difference, and leaves the land to him; and if the fruits received and the expenses laid out prove equal, the present possessor relinquishes it to the former owner.'

Our object in making this quotation is not merely to afford an illustration of the way in which the law of release was worked, but to show

that the Jewish historian speaks of the law as a reality, as a present reality, as something in actual operation: the importance of which evidence will presently appear.

The time required by the Sabbatical year and by the Jubilee to be rescued from the labours of the field, was very considerable. Strictly interpreted the language we have cited would take out of the ordinary course of things every sixth, seventh, and eighth year, during each successive septenary, till the circle of fifty years was in each period completed. Nay more, the old store, produced in the sixth year, was to last until the ninth year, for the sixth year was to bring forth fruits for three years.

The reader has now before him the whole of this extraordinary piece of legislation, which, viewed in all its bearings—in its effects on human labour, on character, on religious institutions and observances, as well as on the general condition of society, no less than on the productiveness of the land, and the means of sustenance to its inhabitants—is wholly unparalleled by any event in the history of the world. But are we therefore to disbelieve and reject it? The admission that these laws were not only given but executed, is of course an acknowledgment of the divinity of the Mosaic institutions: an acknowledgment which involves the further recognition of miracle—indeed of a continually revolving cycle of miracles. Such a recognition, however, is opposed to what some theologians, with a strange perversion of the name, have regarded as a first principle in their system, namely, that miracles are inadmissible, either as being impossible or improbable. Accordingly, since the existence of the law is unquestionable, its execution has been denied.

We at once admit that the Scriptures do not afford strictly historical data by which we are enabled to prove that the law was carried into effect in the earlier periods of the Jewish state. But how rash to deduce a positive conclusion from a mere negation! In order that such an inference should possess any weight, it is necessary to show that the sacred history was designed and fitted to give a complete detail of all that concerned the Hebrew nation, and specially to exhibit in actual operation the laws given by Moses. No such aim have the Scriptures in view, no such office do they execute; nor are we sure that their credibility would be at all enhanced, did they appear framed for any such unlikely, not to say suspicious, purpose.

There are some presumptions in favour of the reality of the laws under consideration. The recurring periods of seven years are in keeping with the institution of the seventh day as a Sabbath for man and beast. The aim in both is similar—needful repose. The leading idea involved in the Jubilee—namely, restitution—also harmonizes with the fundamental principles of the Mosaic system. The land was God's, and was entrusted for use to the chosen people in such a way that every individual had his portion. A power of perpetual alienation would have been a virtual denial of God's sovereign rights, while the law of Jubilee was one continued recognition of them. The conception is purely *theocratical* in its whole character and tendencies. The theocracy was of such a nature as to disallow all subordinate 'thrones, principalities, and powers;' and consequently, to demand entire equality on the part of the people. But the power of perpetual alienation in regard to land would have soon given rise to the greatest inequalities of social condition, presenting what modern states have, alas! exhibited but too much of—splendid affluence on one side and sordid pauperism on the other. But these laws tended to preserve the original level which had a divine origin; for they would prevent vast accumulations, restrain cupidity, preclude domestic tyranny, and constantly remind rich and poor of their essential equality in themselves, in the state, and before God. A passage in Deuteronomy (xv. 4), when rightly understood, as in the marginal translation—'to the end that there be no poor among you'—seems expressly to declare that the aim in view, at least, of the Sabbatical release, was to prevent the rise of any great inequality of social condition, and thus to preserve unimpaired the essential character of the theocracy. Equally benevolent in its aim and tendency does this institution thus appear, showing how thoroughly the great Hebrew legislator cared and provided for individuals, instead of favouring classes. Beginning with a narrow cycle of seven days, he went on to a wider one of as many years, embracing at last seven times seven annual revolutions, seeking in all his arrangements rest for man and beast, and, by a happy personification, rest even for the brute earth; and in the rest which he required for human beings, providing for that more needful rest of mind which the sharp competitions and eager rivalries of modern society deny to ten thousand times ten thousand. As being of a benign character and tendency, the law of the Sabbatical and Jubilee year is in accordance with the general spirit of the Mosaic legislation, and appears not unworthy of its divine origin.

Warburton adduced this law (*Divine Legation of Moses*) in order to show that Moses was in truth sent and sustained by God, since nothing but a divine power could have given the necessary supplies of food in the sixth year. That there is some force in this argument no unprejudiced person can well deny: how much surprised then will the reader be, after perusing the foregoing remarks, to find Michaelis (*Comment.* i. 389, note) speaking thus:—'This proof would in plain English amount to this: this law is *so extremely absurd*, that he who gave it must necessarily have been sent from God, because none but God is capable of counteracting the destructive effects of such a law.'

To our mind, we remark in continuation of these presumptive evidences, there is something noble, as well as self-relying in the announciation of these laws in the desert, ere yet the land was gained, as a part of a general system of religious and social polity, before a horde rather than a nation, a people thirsting for a tranquil settlement, and therefore hostile to any mere illusions, and likely to visit on their author's head such fond notions as, according to Michaelis, these commands appeared. And why, if the attempt was unreal or unsupported, why this legislation for future times? Why, unless Moses was supported by a consciousness of a divine guidance, this risk of provoking either the ridicule or the disgust of his wandering tribes? In truth, however, Moses in these laws lays the foundation, while yet in

the wilderness, of institutions which were in full harmony with the entire system which he said he had received of God.

But these laws either emanated from Moses, or they did not. If they did not, they arose after the settlement in Canaan, and are of such a nature as to convict their fabricator of imposture, if, indeed, any one could have been found so daring as to bring forth laws implying institutions which did not exist, and which under ordinary circumstances could not find permanence, even if they could ever be carried into operation at all. But if these laws emanated from Moses, is it credible that he would have given utterance to commands which convict themselves of impossibility? or caused the rise of institutions, which, if unsupported of heaven, must come to a speedy termination, and in so doing act to his own discredit as a professed divine messenger? There is a species of self-confidence, there is a moral daring which of itself vindicates its divine origin: the case before us seems to be an instance.

Nor can we see that the law is either 'absurd' or 'pernicious' (Michaelis, *ut supra*). That for its successful execution special divine aid was needful, we by no means deny; but the Mosaic polity was in its origin, and in its very nature, special, and, 'according to the Scriptures,' received special aid of God.

So far as the system of restitution is concerned, we see nothing but what the power of law and the authority of religion were capable of bringing about. But could the land sustain the people? Why not? Palestine had a most fertile soil. Every man having land, would be a husbandman, and therefore every part would be carefully tilled. And as his sustenance and that of his family would, in the case of each proprietor, depend, not only on his industry but his forethought, on making provision not for a contingent but a certain want; so every head of a house would labour wisely and well, and husband with due care for the year of rest: thus, while making provision for his bodily wants, rising in a proper self-respect, and cultivating many important moral qualities. Besides, a year of rest was a great thing to work for; which would sharpen all a man's faculties and quicken his hands; and when at length the wished for time arrived, the excellence of character which the system fostered would save the licence from abuse, if not turn it to most important intellectual and religious purposes. We shall be much deceived in our estimate of the moral and social effects of the Jubilee, if we judge from what is probable in regard to the overworked, uninstructed, and irreligious thousands which crowd our modern cities or cover our fields. On the possibility of the land's affording sufficient food, we find the following important passage in Palfrey's '*Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures*,' Boston, 1841, vol. i. p. 303: 'I find no difficulty arising from any inadequacy of the produce of six years to afford sustenance to the people for seven. To say that this was intended would merely be to say that the design was that the consumption of each year should only amount on an average to six-sevenths of its produce. In such an arrangement it cannot be thought that there was anything impracticable. There are states of this Union which export yearly more than half their produce, and subsist substantially on the remainder, their imports consisting mostly of luxuries. Again, in England nearly three quarters of the families are engaged in commerce, manufactures, professions, and unproductive pursuits; but in Judæa every man was a producer of food, with the advantage of a fine climate and a rich soil.' The remainder is worth consulting.

It may be of some importance to remark that those who believe that these laws were good, and were also executed, are not therefore required to maintain that the regular and intended series of things was never interrupted. The promises of God are in all cases conditioned on human obedience. This condition is expressly laid down in the case before us (Lev. xxv. 18, 36, 38). At the same time, the silence of the sacred history before the captivity looks as if the law in question was so uninterruptedly, regularly, and as a matter of course, observed from Jubilee to Jubilee, that no occasion transpired for remark. In history, as in every day life, more is said of the exceptional than the periodical and the ordinary.

The tenor of these observations will probably lead the reader to consider it a somewhat surprising assertion, that these laws were not executed before the Babylonish exile; yet such is the statement of Winer (*Real-wörterb.* s. v. 'Jubeljahr') and De Wette (*Lehrb. der Archäol.* p. 158). Some passages of Scripture are referred to, which are thought to imply the truth of this position, as 1 Kings xxi. 2; Isa. v. 8; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21; Lev. xxvi. 34. Our space does not allow us to go into a critical examination of these texts, but we may say, that having carefully considered their import and bearing, we cannot find in them the alleged implication.

For the opposite view, there is, in agreement with the general tenor of this article, some positive evidence which must be briefly indicated. The Roman historian Tacitus bears witness to the observance of the Sabbatical year at least, in the following terms:—'Septimo die otium placuisse ferunt, quod is finem laborum tulerit; dein blandiente inertia, septimum quoque annum ignaviæ datum:' 'They give the seventh day to ease because it put an end to labours; moreover, through the allurements of idleness, the seventh year also is given to inactivity' (Tac. *Hist.* v. 4). Of course this is an enemy's version, but the evidence is distinct, pointed, and unquestionable. We find another strong evidence furnished by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6), where, giving certain decrees of Julius Cæsar in the terms in which they were issued, he records these words:—'Cæsar hath ordained that the Jews pay a tribute yearly excepting *the seventh*, which they call the *Sabbatical year*, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land;' further on he says: 'every year, the seventh year excepted, which they call the Sabbatic year, whereon they neither plough nor receive the product of their trees.' Another testimony is found in 1 Macc. vi. 49: 'for they came out of the city (Bethura), because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, *it being a year of rest to the land*.' In Ezekiel a passage occurs, where beyond a question the year of Jubilee is intended (xlvi. 17): 'if he give a gift of his inheritance to one of his servants, then it shall be his *to the year of liberty*.' But there is a passage in Isaiah (lxi.

1, 2) which appears to us to furnish remarkable and satisfactory evidence that the Jubilee itself was observed before the captivity:—'The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, *to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord*.'

The words of Isaiah we consider very strong. It is admitted that they allude to the year of Jubilee (Kranold *De Anno Jubilæo*, p. 80)—but then they are poetry, not history. Why, what a purblind objection is this! The clear implications of poetry are the best and truest history, for they are an appeal to what is generally known and recognised in the public mind. There would have been no pertinency in the words of Isaiah, had not the Jubilee been a thing of which the world around him had actual experience; just as the force and import of the words do not appear to the mind of a modern reader, until he is acquainted with the Mosaic laws, and the Jewish observances on the point.

If, however, the essential element of this system of law, namely the Sabbatical year, was, as we have seen, an established institution in the days of Tacitus, Josephus, the Maccabees, Ezekiel, and Isaiah, we think the fair and legitimate inference is in favour of those laws having been long previously observed, probably from the early periods of the Hebrew republic. Their existence in a declining state of the commonwealth cannot be explained without seeking their origin nearer the fountain-head of those pure, living waters, which, with the force of all primitive enthusiasm, easily effected great social wonders, especially when divinely guided and divinely sustained.—

J. R. B.

JUDÆA, the southernmost of the three divisions of the Holy Land. It denoted the kingdom of Judah as distinguished from that of Israel. But after the captivity, as most of the exiles who returned belonged to the kingdom of Judah, the name Judæa (Judah) was applied generally to the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan (Hag. i. 1, 14; ii. 2). Under the Romans, in the time of Christ, Palestine was divided into Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria (John iv. 4, 5; Acts ix. 31), the last including the whole of the southern part west of the Jordan. But this division was only observed as a political and local distinction, for the sake of indicating the part of the country, just as we use the name of a county (Matt. ii. 1, 5; iii. 1; iv. 25; Luke i. 65); but when the whole of Palestine was to be indicated in a general way, the term Judæa was still employed. Thus persons in Galilee and elsewhere spoke of going to Judæa (John vii. 3; xi. 7), to distinguish the part of Palestine to which they were proceeding; but when persons in Rome and other places spoke of Judæa (Acts xxviii. 21), they used the word as a general denomination for the country of the Jews, or Palestine. Indeed, the name seems to have had a more extensive application than even to Palestine west of the Jordan. It denoted all the dominions of Herod the Great, who was called king of Judæa; and much of these lay beyond the river. After the death of Herod, however, the Judæa to which his son Archelaus succeeded was only the southern province so called (Matt. ii. 22); which afterwards became a Roman province dependent on Syria and governed by procurators, and this was its condition during our Lord's ministry. It was afterwards for a time partly under the dominion of Herod Agrippa the elder (Acts xii. 1-19), but on his death it reverted to its former condition under the Romans.

It is only Judæa, in the provincial sense, that requires our present notice, the country at large being described in the article PALESTINE. In this sense, however, it was much more extensive than the domain of the tribe of Judah, even more so than the kingdom of the same name. There are no materials for describing its limits with precision; but it included the ancient territories of Judah, Benjamin, Dan, Simeon, and part of Ephraim. It is, however, not correct to describe Idumæa as not anciently belonging to Judah. The Idumæa of later times, or that which belonged to Judæa, was the southern part of the ancient Judah, into which the Idumæans had intruded during the exile, and the annexation of which to Judæa only restored what had anciently belonged to it.

In the rabbinical writings Judæa, as a division of Palestine, is frequently called 'the south,' or 'the south country,' to distinguish it from Galilee, which was called 'the north' (Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.* xii.). The distinction of the tribe of Judah into 'the Mountain,' 'the Plain,' and 'the Vale,' which we meet with in the Old Testament (Num. xiii. 30), was preserved under the more extended denomination of Judæa. The *Mountain*, or hill country of Judæa (Josh. xxi. 11; Luke i. 39), was that 'broad back of mountains,' as Lightfoot calls it (*Chorog. Cent.* xi.), which fills the centre of the country from Hebron northward to beyond Jerusalem. The *Plain* was the low country towards the sea-coast, and seems to have included not only the broad plain which extends between the sea and the hill country, but the lower parts of the hilly region itself in that direction. Thus the rabbins allege that from Betheron to the sea is one region (*T. Hieros. Sheviith*, ix. 2). The *Vale* is defined by the rabbins as extending from Engedi to Jericho (Lightfoot, *Panergon*, § 2); from which, and other indications, it seems to have included such parts of the Ghor, or great plain of the Jordan, as lay within the territory of Judæa. This appropriation of the terms is far preferable to that of some writers, such as Lightfoot, who suppose 'the Plain' to be the broad plain of the Jordan, and 'the Valley' to be the lower valley of the same river. That which is called *the Wilderness of Judæa*, was the wild and inhospitable region lying eastward of Jerusalem, in the direction of the Jordan and Dead Sea (Isa. xl. 3; Matt. iii. 1; Luke i. 80; iii. 2-4). We may have some notion of the extent northward which Judæa had obtained, from Josephus calling Jerusalem the centre of the country (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, 5); which is remarkable, seeing that Jerusalem was originally in the northernmost border of the tribe of Judah. In fact, he describes the breadth of the country as extending from the Jordan to Joppa, which shows that this city was in Judæa. How much further to the north the boundary lay, we cannot know with precision, as we are unacquainted with the site of Annath, otherwise Borceos, which he says lay on the boundary line between Judæa and Samaria. The

mere fact that Josephus makes Jerusalem the centre of the land seems to prove that the province did not extend so far to the south as the ancient kingdom of the same name. As the southern boundary of Judæa was also that of the whole country, the questions connected with it belong to the article PALESTINE; and it is only necessary to remark that Josephus places the southern boundary of the Judæa of the time of Christ at a village called Jardan, on the confines of Arabia Petræa. No place of this name has been found; and the indication is very indistinct, from the fact that all the country which lay beyond the Idumæa of those times was then called Arabia. In fixing this boundary, Josephus regards Idumæa as part of Judæa, for he immediately after reckons that as one of the eleven districts into which Judæa was divided. Most of these districts were denominated, like our counties, from the chief towns. They were, 1. Jerusalem; 2. Gophna; 3. Acrabatta; 4. Thumna; 5. Lydda; 6. Emmaus; 7. Pella; 8. Idumæa; 9. Engaddi; 10. Herodium; and 11. Jericho.

Judæa is, as the above intimations would suggest, a country full of hills and valleys. The hills are generally separated from one another by valleys and torrents, and are, for the most part, of moderate height, uneven, and seldom of any regular figure. The rock of which they are composed is easily converted into soil, which being arrested by the terraces when washed down by the rains, renders the hills cultivable in a series of long, narrow gardens, formed by these terraces from the base upwards. In this manner the hills were in ancient times cultivated most industriously, and enriched and beautified with the fig-tree, the olive-tree, and the vine; and it is thus that the scanty cultivation which still subsists is now carried on. But when the inhabitants were rooted out, and the culture neglected, the terraces fell to decay, and the soil which had been collected in them was washed down into the valleys, leaving only the arid rock, naked and desolate. This is the general character of the scenery; but in some parts the hills are beautifully wooded, and in others the application of the ancient mode of cultivation still suggests to the traveller how rich the country once was and might be again, and how beautiful the prospects which it offered. As, however, much of this was the result of cultivation, the country was probably anciently, as at present, *naturally* less fertile than either Samaria or Galilee. The present difference is very pointedly remarked by different travellers; and Lord Lindsay plainly declares that 'all Judæa, except the hills of Hebron and the vales immediately about Jerusalem, is barren and desolate. But the prospect brightens as soon as you quit it, and Samaria and Galilee still smile like the land of promise.' But there is a season—after the spring-rains, and before the summer heat has absorbed all the moisture left by them—when even the desert is clothed with verdure; and at that season the valleys of Judæa present a refreshingly green appearance. This vernal season, however, is of short duration, and by the beginning of May the grass upon the mountains, and every vestige of vegetation upon the lower grounds, have in general completely disappeared (see *Pictorial History of Palestine; Introduct.* pp. 39, 40, 119, 120; Nau, p. 439; Roger, p. 182; Mariti, ii. 362; Lindsay, ii. 70; Stephens, ii. 249; Elliot, p. 408, 409; Olin, ii. 323).

JUDAH (יְהוּדָה, *celebrated;* Sept. Ἰούδας), fourth son of Jacob and Leah (B.C. 1755). The narrative in Genesis brings this patriarch more before the reader, and makes known more of his history and character, than it does in the case of any other of the twelve sons of Jacob, with the single exception of Joseph. It is indeed chiefly in connection with Joseph that the facts respecting Judah transpire; and as they have already been given in the articles JACOB and JOSEPH, it is only necessary to indicate them shortly in this place. It was Judah's advice that the brethren followed when they sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites, instead of taking his life. By the light of his subsequent actions we can see that his conduct on this occasion arose from a generous impulse, although the form of the question he put to them has been sometimes held to suggest an interested motive:—'What profit is it if we slay our brother and conceal his blood? Come, let us sell him,' &c. (Gen. xxxvii. 26, 27).

Not long after this Judah withdrew from the paternal tents, and went to reside at Adullam, in the country which afterwards bore his name. Here he married a woman of Canaan, called Shuah, and had by her three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. When the eldest of these sons became of fit age, he was married to a woman named Tamar, but soon after died. As he died childless, the patriarchal law, afterwards adopted into the Mosaic code (Deut. xxv. 6), required him to bestow upon the widow his second son. This he did: but as Onan also soon died childless, Judah became reluctant to bestow his only surviving son upon this woman, and put her off with the excuse that he was not yet of sufficient age. Tamar accordingly remained in her father's house at Adullam. She had the usual passion of Eastern women for offspring, and could not endure the stigma of having been twice married without bearing children, while the law precluded her from contracting any alliance but that which Judah withheld her from completing.

Meanwhile Judah's wife died, and after the time of mourning had expired, he went, accompanied by his friend Hirah, to attend the shearing of his sheep at Timnath in the same neighbourhood. These circumstances suggested to Tamar the strange thought of connecting herself with Judah himself, under the guise of a loose woman. Having waylaid him on the road to Timnath, she succeeded in her object, and when the consequences began to be manifest in the person of Tamar, Judah was highly enraged at her crime, and, exercising the powers which belonged to him as the head of the family she had dishonoured, he commanded her to be brought forth, and committed to the flames as an adulteress. But when she appeared, she produced the ring, the bracelet, and the staff, which he had left in pledge with her; and put him to confusion by declaring that they belonged to the father of her coming offspring. Judah acknowledged them to be his, and confessed that he had been wrong in withholding Shelah from her. The result of this painful affair was the birth of two sons, Zerah and Pharez, from whom, with Shelah, the tribe of

Judah descended. Pharez was the ancestor of the line from which David, the kings of Judah, and Jesus came (Gen. xxxviii.; xlvi. 12; 1 Chron. ii. 3-5; Matt. i. 3; Luke iii. 33).

These circumstances seem to have disgusted Judah with his residence in towns; for we find him ever afterwards at his father's tents. His experience of life, and the strength of his character, appear to have given him much influence with Jacob; and it was chiefly from confidence in him that the aged father at length consented to allow Benjamin to go down to Egypt. That this confidence was not misplaced has already been shown [JOSEPH]; and there is not in the whole range of literature a finer piece of true natural eloquence than that in which Judah offers himself to remain as a bond-slave in the place of Benjamin, for whose safe return he had made himself responsible to his father. The strong emotions which it raised in Joseph disabled him from keeping up longer the disguise he had hitherto maintained, and there are few who have read it without being, like him, moved even to tears.

We hear nothing more of Judah till he received, along with his brothers, the final blessing of his father, which was conveyed in lofty language, glancing far into futurity, and strongly indicative of the high destinies which awaited the tribe that was to descend from him.

2. JUDAH, TRIBE OF. This tribe sprang from Judah, the son of Jacob. When the Israelites quitted Egypt, it already exhibited the elements of its future distinction in a larger population than any of the other tribes possessed. It numbered 74,000 adult males, being nearly 12,000 more than Dan, the next in point of numbers, and 34,100 more than Ephraim, which in the end contested with it the superiority among the tribes. During the sojourn in the wilderness, Judah neither gained, like some tribes, nor lost like others. Its numbers had increased to 76,500, being 12,100 more than Issachar, which had become next to it in population (Num. i. 25). In the first distribution of lands, the tribe of Judah received the southernmost part of Palestine, to the extent of fully one-third of the whole country to be distributed among the nine and a half tribes for which provision was to be made. This oversight was discovered and rectified at the time of the second distribution, which was founded on an actual survey of the country, when Simeon and Dan received allotments out of the territory which had before been wholly assigned to Judah (Josh. xix. 9). That which remained was still very large, and more proportioned to the future greatness than the actual wants of the tribe. We now also know, through the researches of recent travellers, that the extent of good land belonging to this tribe, southward, was much greater than had usually been supposed, much of that which had been laid down in maps as mere desert, being actually composed of excellent pasture land, and in part of arable soil, still exhibiting some traces of ancient cultivation. When Judah became a kingdom, the original extent of territory assigned to the tribe was more than restored or compensated, for it must have included the domains of Simeon, and we know that Benjamin was included in it.

The history of the Judges contains fewer facts respecting this important tribe than might be expected. It seems however to have been usually considered that the birthright which Reuben forfeited had passed to Judah under the blessing of Jacob; and a sanction was given to this impression when, after the death of Joshua, the divine oracle nominated Judah to take precedence of the other tribes in the war against the Canaanites (Judg. i. 2). It does not appear that any tribe was disposed to dispute the superior claim of Judah on its own account, except Ephraim, although in doing this Ephraim had the support of other tribes. Ephraim appears to have rested its claims to the leadership of the tribes upon the ground that the house of Joseph, whose interest it represented, had received the birthright, or double portion of the eldest, by the adoption of the two sons of Joseph, who became the founders of *two* tribes in Israel. The existence of the sacerdotal establishment at Shiloh, in Ephraim, was doubtless also alleged by the tribe as a ground of superiority over Judah. When, therefore, Judah assumed the sceptre in the person of David, and when the sacerdotal establishment was removed to Jerusalem, Ephraim could not brook the eclipse it had sustained, and took the first opportunity of erecting a separate throne, and forming separate establishments for worship and sacrifice. Perhaps the separation of the kingdoms may thus be traced to the rivalry of Judah and Ephraim. After that separation the rivalry was between the two kingdoms; but it was still popularly considered as representing the ancient rivalry of these great tribes; for the prophet, in foretelling the repose of a coming time, describes it by saying, 'The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim' (Isa. xiii. 12).

3. JUDAH, KINGDOM OF. When the territory of all the rest of Israel, except Judah and Benjamin, was lost to the kingdom of Rehoboam, a special single name was needed to denote that which remained to him; and almost of necessity the word *Judah* received an extended meaning, according to which it comprised not Benjamin only, but the priests and Levites, who were ejected in great numbers from Israel, and rallied round the house of David. At a still later time, when the nationality of the ten tribes had been dissolved, and every practical distinction between the ten and the two had vanished during the captivity, the scattered body had no visible head, except in Jerusalem, which had been re-occupied by a portion of *Judah's* exiles. In consequence the name Judah (or *Jew*) attached itself to the entire nation from about the epoch of the restoration. But in this article Judah is understood of the people over which David's successors reigned, from Rehoboam to Zedekiah. Under the article ISRAEL the chronology of the two kingdoms has been discussed, which, however, was not carried below the capture of Samaria. In the lower part of the list we lose the check which the double line of kings afforded; but for the same reason the problem is simpler. The only difficulty encountered here rises out of the ages assigned to some of the kings of Judah. For this reason, in the following list, all their ages are inserted, so far as they are recorded. It has been thought sufficient to add Ussher's chronology to the dates as given above in the article ISRAEL.

Accession of	Years of Reign.	Age.	B. C.	Father's Age at Son's Birth.
Rehoboam . .	17	41	975	—
Abijah . . .	3	—	957	*22
Asa	41	—	955	*22
Jehoshaphat . .	25	35	914	*22
[Jehoram *installed*]	8	32	—	—
Jehoram *alone* .	—	(35)	889	25
Ahaziah . . .	1	22	885	17
[Queen Athaliah]	7	—	884	—
Jehoash . . .	39?	7	878	22
Amaziah . . .	29	25	838	22
Uzziah . . .	53?	16	809	38
Jotham . . .	16	25	757	43
Ahaz	16	20	741	22
Hezekiah . . .	29	25	726	10
Manasseh . . .	55	12	696	42
Amon	2	22	641	45
Josiah	31	8	639	16
Jehoahaz . . .	¼	23	609	15
Jehoiakim, his brother	11	25?	609	13?
Jehoiachin . .	¼	18	598	18
Zedekiah, his father's brother .	11	21	598	28
Zedekiah is deposed	—	—	588	—

The ages of Abijah and Asa at their accession not being given, the three first numbers in the last column are averages only, Rehoboam having been born 66 or 67 years before Jehoshaphat. It is clearly impossible that Ahaz should have been only 10 years older than his son Hezekiah. To lessen the absurdity, Mr. Clinton follows the reading of the Sept. in 2 Chron. xxviii. 1, which makes Ahaz 25 years of age at his accession But in 2 Kings xvi. 2, the Sept. has 20, so that no weight can be laid on its reading in the other passage. Besides, this is inadequate to untie the knot; for it still remains that Jotham was a grandfather by the male line at the age of 31 (indeed, a year earlier in Mr. Clinton's scheme, who places the accession of Jotham in B.C. 756); nor is it probable that three kings in succession ascended the throne at the age of 25 years. If arbitrary change must be used, the most effectual would be to lower the age of Hezekiah at his accession by 10 years; but no certainty on these matters can be effected. A similar difficulty occurs with Jehoiakim, whose father Josiah is made to have been but 13 years older than he. Since, however, it is probable that Jehoahaz was older than Jehoiakim, perhaps the number 25, which expresses Jehoiakim's age at his accession, is corrupt.

From Rehoboam to Jehoiachin are 16 generations and 400 years, between the births of the first and last; which gives an average of 25 years to a generation. This is rather short for the direct line of descent, especially when we consider that, where polygamy is practised, the *eldest* son is by no means so certain, when alive, to succeed to the throne as with us. In fact, from the ages of their fathers we may probably infer that Amon, Manasseh, Jotham, and Uzziah, were younger sons, as Ahaziah is said to have been (2 Chron. xxii. 1). The three last generations of the series together occupy but 16+13+18 = 47 years; so that Amon, had he lived, would have been a great-grandfather (*in the male line*) at the age of 47; a thing so unparalleled as to lead to the suspicion that the later chronology, where we lose the double series of kings, is less to be depended on. There is an apparent difficulty also as to Ahaziah, found in 2 Chron. xxii. 1, 2. That he was '42 years old' at his accession is an obvious error for 22 (2 Kings viii. 26): that he should have been the youngest of many sons, and yet only 17 years younger than his father, is to be explained by his father *already* having many wives; but still it is remarkable.

Where polygamy prevails, the extermination of a royal house by the enmity of brothers is notoriously to be dreaded, in spite of the number of posterity which single monarchs can sometimes count. That the house of David encountered *this* danger is not expressly mentioned in the Kings. Two massacres are therein found; one of 'the brethren of Ahaziah,' 'forty-two men,' the sons of Jehoram, by the hypocritical zeal of Jehu; and, almost simultaneously, 'all the seed-royal' (the *sons* of Ahaziah?) by Queen Athaliah (2 Kings x. 13, 14; xi. 1). Only an infant son of Ahaziah (*all* in fact must have been of tender age) was saved from this slaughter, who, 44 years afterwards, was assassinated by his own people (2 Kings xii. 20), as was his son Amaziah (xiv. 19), and at a later period Amon (xxi. 23); but no massacre of the royal family accompanied either of these murders. In the Chronicles (2 Chron. xxi. 4) we read that Jehoram slew all his brethren, the sons of Jehoshaphat, from jealousy of the power with which their father had invested them; and Jehoram's own sons are said to have been all slain, but one, by the Philistines and Arabians; so that Ahaziah had no *brethren* left for Jehu to slay; but 'brethren' must be taken with some latitude to mean 'brothers' sons' (2 Chron. xxi. 4, 17; xxii. 1, 8). It must, however, be confessed that this is irreconcilable with the chronology; for at this time the age of Jehoram, their supposed grandfather (had he been alive), would have been 38 years; so that the eldest of these 'forty-two men' could barely have been 6 years old. Some error, therefore, must be admitted in the narrative of the Chronicler concerning Jehoram and his son; and, in fact, this is not the only point in which it is inconsistent with that in the Kings. Jehoram is said to have received a letter from Elijah the prophet (2 Chron. xxi. 12) at a time when he had already ascended into heaven, according to the Kings: also, in 2 Kings viii. 24, he is stated to have been buried 'with his fathers,' which is directly contradicted by 2 Chron. xxi. 20. To finish the subject of chronology it may be observed: (1.) It is remarkable that Jehoshabeath, the daughter of Ahaziah, should have been wife of Jehoiada the priest (2 Chron. xxii. 11). For as Jehoiada lived to the age of 130 (xxiv. 15), and died many years before Jehoash, the priest must have been some 70 years older than his wife. (2.) The date '36 years,' in 2 Chron. xvi. 1, is certainly wrong, since Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa. The number 16 instead of 36 would agree sufficiently well with the history; but we cannot with propriety so correct the text, because of the date 35 in the last verse of the preceding chapter; not to mention that the narrative in the Chronicles represents the

declension of the pious Asa as being only towards the end of his reign (xv. 17). Clinton overlooks this, and wishes ('with many commentators') to interpret 'the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Asa' to mean 'the thirty-sixth year of the divided monarchy;' but this is not interpretation at all.

When the kingdom of Solomon became rent with intestine war, it might have been foreseen that the Edomites, Moabites, and other surrounding nations would at once refuse their accustomed tribute, and become again practically independent; and some irregular invasion of these tribes might have been dreaded. It was a mark of conscious weakness, and not a result of strength, that Rehoboam fortified 15 cities (2 Chron. xi. 5-11), in which his people might find defence against the irregular armies of his roving neighbours. But a more formidable enemy came in, Shishak king of Egypt, against whom the fortresses were of no avail (xii. 4), and to whom Jerusalem was forced to open its gates; and, from the despoiling of his treasures, Rehoboam probably sustained a still greater shock in its moral effect on the Moabites and Edomites, than in the direct loss: nor is it easy to conceive that he any longer retained the commerce of the Red Sea, or any very lucrative trade. Judged of by the number of soldiers recounted in the Chronicles, the strength of the early kings of Judah must have been not only great, but rapidly increasing. The following are the armies there given:—

Rehoboam gathered 180,000 chosen men (2 Chron. xi. 1). (Shishak attacked him with 60,000 horse, 1200 chariots, besides infantry.) Abijah set in array 400,000 valiant men (xiii. 3, 17), and slew 500,000 of Jeroboam's 800,000 in one battle. Asa had 300,000 heavy armed, and 280,000 light armed men (xiv. 8). (Zerah invaded him with 1,000,000 men and 300 chariots.) Jehoshaphat kept up:—

300,000	under Adnah,
280,000	under Jehonahan,
200,000	under Amasiah.
200,000	(light armed) under Eliadah,
180,000	under Jehozabad (xvii. 14-19).
Total . 1,160,000	for field service.

'These waited on the king;' *besides* the garrisons 'in the fenced cities.'

After Jehoshaphat followed the calamitous affinity with the house of Ahab, and the massacres of both families. Under Jehoiada the priest, and Jehoash his pupil, no martial efforts were made; but Amaziah son of Jehoash, after hiring 100,000 Israelites to no purpose, made war on the Edomites, slew 10,000, and threw 10,000 more down from the top of their rock (xxv. 5, 6, 11, 12). His own force in Judah, from 20 years old and upwards, was numbered at only 300,000 choice men, able to handle spear and shield. His son Uzziah had 2600 military officers, and 307,500 men of war (xxvi. 12, 13). Ahaz lost, in a single battle with Pekah, 120,000 valiant men (xxviii. 6), after the severe slaughter he had received from Rezin king of Syria; after which no further military strength is ascribed to the kings of Judah. As to all these numbers the Vatican Sept. agrees with the received Hebrew text.

These figures have caused no small perplexity, and have suggested to some the need of conjectural emendation. But if they have been corrupted, it is by system, and on purpose; for there is far too great uniformity in them to be the result of accident. It perhaps deserves remark, that in the book of Kings no numbers of such startling magnitude are found. The army ascribed to Rehoboam (1 Kings xii. 21) is, indeed, as in Chronicles, 180,000 men; but if we explain it of those *able* to fight, the number, though certainly large, may be dealt with historically. See the article on Population.

As the most important external relations of Israel were with Damascus, so were those of Judah with Edom and Egypt. Some revolution in the state of Egypt appears to have followed the reign of Shishak. Apparently the country must have fallen under the power of an Ethiopian dynasty; for the name of the *Lubim*, who accompanied Zerah in his attack on Asa, is generally regarded as proving that Zerah was from Sennaar, the ancient Meroë. But as this invasion was signally repulsed, the attempt was not repeated; and Judah enjoyed entire tranquillity from that quarter until the invasion of Pharaoh-necho. In fact it may seem that this success assisted the reaction, favourable to the power of Judah, which was already begun, in consequence of a change in the policy of Damascus. Whether Abijah had been in league with the father of Benhadad I. (as is generally inferred from 1 Kings xv. 19) may be doubted; for the address cannot be rendered, '*Let there be* a league between me and thee, *as there was* between my father and thine;' and it possibly is only a hyperbolical phrase of friendship for, 'Let us be in close alliance; *let us count* our fathers *to have been* allies.' However this may be, Asa bought, by a costly sacrifice, the serviceable aid of the Damascene king. Israel was soon distressed, and Judah became once more formidable to her southern neighbours. Jehoshaphat appears to have reasserted the Jewish authority over the Edomites without war, and to have set his own viceroy over them (1 Kings xxii. 47). Intending to resume the distant commerce which had been so profitable to Solomon, he built ships suitable for long voyages ('ships *of* Tarshish' as they are rightly called in 1 Kings xxii. 48—a phrase which the Chronicler has misunderstood, and translated into 'ships *to go to* Tarshish,' 2 Chron. xx. 36); but not having the advantage of Tyrian sailors, as Solomon had, he lost the vessels by violent weather before they had sailed. Upon this, Ahaziah, king of Judah, offered the service of his own mariners, probably from the tribe of Asher and others accustomed to the Mediterranean; but Jehoshaphat was too discouraged to accept his offer, and the experiment was never renewed by any Hebrew king. The Edomites, who paid only a forced allegiance, soon after revolted from Jehoram, and elected their own king (2 Kings viii. 20, 22). At a later time they were severely defeated by Amaziah (2 Kings xiv. 7), whose son, Uzziah, fortified the town of Elath, intending, probably, to resume maritime enterprise; but it remained a barren possession, and was finally taken from them by Rezin, in the reign of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 6). The Philistines, in these times, seem to have fallen from their former greatness, their league having been so long dissolved. The most remarkable event in which they are concerned is the assault on Je-

rusalem, in the reign of Jehoram (2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17).

It is strikingly indicative of the stormy scenes through which the line of David passed, that the treasures of the king and of the Temple were so often plundered or bargained away. First, under Rehoboam, all the hoards of Solomon, consecrated and common alike, were carried off by Shishak (1 Kings xiv. 26). Two generations later, Asa emptied out to Benhadad all that had since accumulated 'in the house of Jehovah or in the king's house.' A third time, when Hazael had taken Gath, and was preparing to march on Jerusalem, Jehoash, king of Judah, turned him away by sending to him all 'that Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah and Jehoash himself had dedicated, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of Jehovah and in the king's house' (2 Kings xii. 18). In the very next reign Jehoash, king of Israel, defeated and captured Amaziah, took Jerusalem, broke down the walls, carried off hostages, and plundered the gold and silver deposited in the temple and in the royal palace (2 Kings xiv. 11-14). A fifth sacrifice of the sacred and of the royal treasure was made by Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xvi. 8). The act was repeated by his son Hezekiah to Sennacherib, who had demanded '300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold.' It is added, 'Hezekiah cut off the gold which he had overlaid, from the doors of the temple and from the pillars' (2 Kings xviii. 14-16). In the days of Josiah, as in those of Jehoash, the temple appears to have been greatly out of repair (xii. and xxii.); and when Pharaoh-necho, having slain Josiah, had reduced Judah to submission, the utmost tribute that could be exacted was 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold. Even this sum was obtained by direct taxation, and no allusion is made to any treasure at all, either in the temple or in the king's house. It is the more extraordinary to find expressions used when Nebuchadnezzar took the city, which at first sight imply that Solomon's far-famed stores were still untouched. 'Nebuchadnezzar carried out all the treasures of the house of Jehovah and of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon had made in the temple of Jehovah' (2 Kings xxiv. 13). They must evidently have been few in number, for in 1 Kings xiv. 26, 'all' must, at least, mean 'nearly all:' 'Shishak took away the treasures of the house of Jehovah, and of the king's house; he *even* took away *all*.' Yet the vessels of gold and silver taken away by Nebuchadnezzar and restored by Cyrus are reckoned 5400 in number (Ezra i. 11).

The severest shock which the house of David received was the double massacre which it endured from Jehu and from Athaliah. After a long minority, a youthful king, the sole surviving male descendant of his great-grandfather, and reared under the paternal rule of the priest Jehoiada, to whom he was indebted not only for his throne but even for his recognition as a son of Ahaziah, was not in a situation to uphold the royal authority. That Jehoash conceived the priests to have abused the power which they had gained, sufficiently appears in 2 Kings xii., where he complains that they had for twenty-three years appropriated the money, which they ought to have spent on the repairs of the temple. Jehoiada gave way; but we see here the beginning of a feud (hitherto unknown in the house of David) between the crown and the priestly order; which, after Jehoiada's death, led to the murder of his son Zachariah. The massacre of the priests of Baal, and of Athaliah, grand-daughter of a king of Sidon, must also have destroyed cordiality between the Phœnicians and the kingdom of Judah; and when the victorious Hazael had subjugated all Israel and showed himself near Jerusalem, Jehoash could look for no help from without, and had neither the faith of Hezekiah nor a prophet like Isaiah to support him. The assassination of Jehoash in his bed by 'his own servants' is described in the Chronicles as a revenge taken upon him by the priestly party for his murder of 'the sons' of Jehoiada; and the same fate, from the same influence, fell upon his son Amaziah, if we may so interpret the words in 2 Chron. xxv. 27: 'From the time that Amaziah turned away from following Jehovah they made a conspiracy against him,' &c. Thus the house of David appeared to be committing itself, like that of Saul, to permanent enmity with the priests. The wisdom of Uzziah, during a long reign, averted this collision, though a symptom of it returned towards its close. No further mischief from this cause followed, until the reign of his grandson, the weak and unfortunate Ahaz: after which the power of the kingdom rapidly mouldered away. On the whole it would appear that, from Jehoiada downward, the authority of the priests was growing stronger, and that of the crown weaker; for the king could not rule successfully, except by submitting to (what we might call) 'the constitutional check' of the priests; and although it is reasonable to believe that the priests became less simple-minded, more worldly, and less religious, as their order advanced in authority (whence the keen rebukes of them by the prophets), it is not the less certain that it was desirable for Judah, both in a temporal and a spiritual sense, to have the despotic power of the king subjected to a strong priestly pressure.

The struggle of the crown against this control was perhaps the most immediate cause of the ruin of Judah. Ahaz was probably less guided by policy than by superstition, or by architectural taste, in erecting his Damascene altar (2 Kings xvi. 10-18). But the far more outrageous proceedings of Manasseh seem to have been a systematic attempt to extirpate the national religion because of its supporting the priestly power; and the 'innocent blood very much,' which he is stigmatized for shedding (2 Kings xxi. 16), was undoubtedly a sanguinary attack on the party opposed to his impious and despotic innovations. The storm which he had raised did not burst in his lifetime; but, two years after, it fell on the head of his son Amon; and the disorganization of the kingdom which his madness had wrought is commemorated as the cause of the Babylonish captivity (2 Kings xxiii. 26; xxiv. 3, 4). It is also credible that the long-continued despotism had greatly lessened patriotic spirit; and that the Jewish people of the declining kingdom were less brave against foreign invaders than against kindred and neighbour tribes or civil opponents. Faction had become very fierce within Jerusalem itself (Ezek. xxii.), and civil bloodshed was common. Wealth, where it existed, was generally a source of corruption, by introducing foreign luxury, tastes, manners, superstitions, immo-

rality, or idolatry; and when consecrated to pious purposes, as by Hezekiah and Josiah, produced little more than a formal and exterior religion.

Thoroughly to understand the political working of the monarchy, we ought to know, 1. What control the king exercised over ecclesiastical appointments; 2. How the Levites were supported when ejected from Israel; 3. What proportion of them acted as judges, lawyers, and scribes, and how far they were independent of the king. The nature of the case and the precedent of David may satisfy us that the king appointed the high-priest at his own pleasure out of the Aaronites; but (as Henry II. of England and hundreds of monarchs besides have found) ecclesiastics once in office often disappoint the hopes of their patron, and to eject them again is a most dangerous exertion of the prerogative. The Jewish king would naturally avoid following the law of descent, in order to preserve his right of election unimpaired; and it may be suspected that the line of Zadok was rather kept in the background by royal jealousy. Hilkiah belonged to that line; and if any inference can be drawn from his genealogy, as given in 1 Chron. vi. 8-15, it is, that none of his ancestors between the reigns of Solomon and Josiah held the high-priesthood. Even Azariah, who is named in 2 Chron. xxxi. 10 as of the line of Zadok, is not found among Hilkiah's progenitors. Jehoiada, the celebrated priest, and Urijah, who was so complaisant to the innovating Ahaz (2 Kings xvi.), were of a different family. It would seem that too many high-priests gained a reputation for subservience (for it often happens in history that the ecclesiastical heads are more subservient to royalty than the mass of their order); so that, after Hilkiah, the race of Zadok became celebrated for uprightness, in invidious contrast to the rest of the priests; and even the Levites were regarded as more zealous than the generality of the Aaronites (2 Chron. xxix. 34). Hence in Ezekiel and other late writers the phrase 'the priests the sons of Zadok,' or even 'the priests the Levites,' is a more honourable title than 'the priests the sons of Aaron.' Hilkiah's name seems to mark the era at which (by a reaction after the atrocities of Manasseh and Amon) the purer priestly sentiment obtained its triumph over the crown. But the victory came too late. Society was corrupt and convulsed within, and the two great powers of Egypt and Babylon menaced it from without. True lovers of their God and of their country, like Jeremiah, saw that it was a time rather for weeping than for action; and that the faithful must resign themselves to the bitter lot which the sins of their nation had earned.—F. W. N.

JUDAS is merely the Greek form of the Hebrew name JUDAH. The Septuagint, however, represents Judah by Ἰούδα, *Juda*, which we find also in Luke iii. 26, 30, as the name of two of the ancestors of Christ not otherwise known. The persons named Judas were the following:—

1. JUDAS MACCABÆUS. [MACCABEES.]

2. JUDAS ISCARIOT. The object of this article is not to elucidate all the circumstances recorded respecting this person, but simply to investigate his motives in delivering up Jesus to the chief-priests. The evangelists relate his proceedings, but give no opinion. The subject is consequently open to inquiry. Our conclusions must be guided by the facts of the case, and the known feelings and principles of human nature. Some hypothesis is necessarily formed by every reader. That one of our Lord's immediate followers and delegates, the treasurer of his household, who was admitted to his most secret counsels, and to the observation of his most private character, should at that particular juncture wait upon the Jewish rulers, and engage, for a pecuniary recompense, to lead their officers to his retiring-place, and, after time for reflection, should actually fulfil his engagement, and thus become the means of bringing his Master to the cross, is a fact too nearly connected with the honour of Christianity to allow us to remain unconcerned as to his motives. Even the credibility of this part of the narrative depends upon our being able to form a rational conception of them. There is no reason to doubt his sanity. We can neither ascribe his conduct to the mere love of evil, nor can we entertain the idea that it resulted from an arbitrary decree or impulse of the Almighty. His conduct might have been foreseen (Acts i. 16), but surely it was not commanded. Even supposing him to have been perfectly obdurate, and judicially abandoned to fall by his own wickedness, we must still seek the proximate cause of his ruin in his own intelligible motives. But his well known confession and remorse clearly prove that he was not wholly obdurate. Had he been so, he would have persisted in his conduct, or have attempted to calumniate Jesus and his disciples; or, perhaps, under the auspices of the chief-priests, have headed a most powerful opposition to Christianity. The only conceivable motives for the conduct of Judas are, a sense of duty in bringing his Master to justice, resentment, avarice, dissatisfaction with the procedure of Jesus, and a consequent scheme for the accomplishment of his own views. With regard to the first of these motives, if Judas had been actuated by a sense of duty in bringing his Master to justice for anything censurable in his intentions, words, or actions, he would certainly have alleged some charge against him in his first interview with the chief-priests, and they would have brought him forward as a witness against Jesus, especially when they were at so great a loss for evidence; or they would have reminded him of his accusations when he appealed to them after our Lord's condemnation, saying, 'I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood'—a confession which amounts to an avowal that he had never seen anything to blame in his Master, but everything to approve. Moreover, the knowledge of the slightest fault in Jesus would have served, at least for the present, to tranquillize his own feelings, and prevent his immediate despair. The chief-priests would also most certainly have alleged any charge he had made against Jesus, as a justification of their conduct, when they afterwards endeavoured to prevent his apostles from preaching in his name (Acts iv. 15-23; v. 27, 28-40). The second motive supposed, namely, that of resentment, is rather more plausible. Jesus had certainly rebuked him for blaming the woman who had anointed him in the house of Simon the leper, at Bethany (comp. Matt. xxvi. 8-17; John xii. 4, 5); and Matthew's narrative seems to connect his going to the

chief-priests with that rebuke (ver. 14). 'Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief-priests;' but closer inspection will convince the reader that those words are more properly connected with ver. 3. Besides, the rebuke was general, 'Why trouble *ye* the woman?' Nor was it nearly so harsh as that received by Peter, 'Get thee behind me, Satan' (Matt. xvi. 23), and certainly not so public (Mark viii. 32, 33). Even if Judas had felt ever so much resentment, it could scarcely have been his sole motive; and as nearly two days elapsed between his contract with the chief-priests and its completion, it would have subsided during the interval, and have yielded to that covetousness which we have every reason to believe was his ruling passion. St. John expressly declares that Judas 'was a thief, and had the bag, and bare (that is, conveyed away from it, stole, ἐβάσταζεν) what was put therein' (xii. 6; comp. xx. 15, in the original, and see a similar use of the word in Joseph. p. 402. 39, ed. Huds.). This rebuke, or rather certain circumstances attending it, might have determined him to act as he did, but is insufficient, of itself, to account entirely for his conduct, by which he endangered all his expectations of worldly advancement from Jesus, at the very moment when they seemed upon the verge of being fulfilled. It is, indeed, a most important feature in the case, that the hopes entertained by Judas, and all the apostles, from their Master's expected elevation, as the Messiah, to the throne of Judæa, and, as they believed, to the empire of the whole world, were never more stedfast than at the time when he covenanted with the chief-priests to deliver him into their hands. Nor does the theory of mere resentment agree with the terms of censure in which the conduct and character of Judas are spoken of by our Lord and the evangelists. Since, then, this supposition is insufficient, we may consider another motive to which his conduct is more commonly ascribed, namely, covetousness. But if by covetousness be meant the eager desire to obtain 'the thirty pieces of silver,' with which the chief-priests 'covenanted with him' (Matt. xxvi. 15), it presents scarcely a less inadequate motive. Can it be conceived that Judas would deliberately forego the prospect of immense wealth from his Master, by delivering him up for about four pounds ten shillings of our money, upon the highest computation, and not more than double in value, a sum which he might easily have purloined from the bag? Is it likely that he would have made such a sacrifice for any further sum, however large, which we may suppose 'they *promised* him' (Mark xiv. 11), and of which the thirty pieces of silver might have been the mere earnest (Luke xxii. 5)? Had covetousness been his motive, he would have ultimately applied to the chief-priests, not to bring again the thirty pieces of silver with the confession, 'I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood' (Matt. xxvii. 4), but to demand the completion of their agreement with him. We are now at liberty to consider the only remaining motive for the conduct of Judas, namely, dissatisfaction with the procedure of his Master, and a consequent scheme for the furtherance of his own views. It seems to us likely, that the impatience of Judas for the accomplishment of his worldly views, which we conceive to have ever actuated him in following Jesus, could no longer be restrained, and that our Lord's observations at Bethany served to mature a stratagem he had meditated long before. He had no doubt been greatly disappointed at seeing his Master avoid being made a king, after feeding the five thousand in Galilee. Many a favourable crisis had he seemed to lose, or had not dared to embrace, and now while at Bethany he talks of his burial (John xii. 7); and though none of his apostles, so firm were their worldly expectations from their Master, could clearly understand such 'sayings' (Luke xviii. 34); yet they had been made 'exceeding sorry' by them (Matt. xvii. 23). At the same time Judas had long been convinced by the miracles he had seen his Master perform that he was the Messiah (John vii. 31). He had even heard him accept this title from his apostles in private (Matt. xvi. 16). He had promised them that when he should 'sit upon the throne of his glory, they should sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel' (Matt. xix. 28). Yet now, when everything seemed most favourable to the assumption of empire, he hesitates and desponds. In his daily public conferences, too, with the chief-priests and pharisees, he appears to offend them by his reproofs, rather than to conciliate their favour. Within a few days, the people, who had lately given him a triumphal entry into the city, having kept the passover, would be dispersed to their homes, and Judas and his fellow apostles be, perhaps, required to attend their Master on another tedious expedition through the country. Hence it seems most probable that Judas resolved upon the plan of delivering up his Master to the Jewish authorities, when he would be compelled, in self-defence, to prove his claims, by giving them the sign from heaven they had so often demanded; they would, he believed, elect him in due form as the King Messiah, and thus enable him to reward his followers. He did, indeed, receive from Jesus many alarming admonitions against his design; but the plainest warnings are lost upon a mind totally absorbed by a purpose, and agitated by many violent passions. The worst he would permit himself to expect, was a temporary displeasure for placing his Master in this dilemma; but as he most likely believed, judging from himself, that Jesus anticipated worldly aggrandizement, he might calculate upon his forgiveness when the emergency should have been triumphantly surmounted. Nor was this calculation wholly unreasonable. Many an ambitious man would gladly be spared the responsibility of grasping at an empire, which he would willingly find forced upon him. Sextus Pompey is recorded to have rebuked his servant Menas, who offered to put him in possession of the empire by the treacherous seizure of the triumvirs, for not having, unknown to him, performed the service, which, when proposed to him, he felt bound in honour to reject (Suet. *Octav.*). In Shakspeare's version of his language—

> 'Ah, this thou shouldst have done,
> And not have spoke on't. . . . .
> Being done unknown
> I should have found it afterwards well done.'
> *Ant. and Cleop.*

Judas could not doubt his master's ability to extricate himself from his enemies by miracle. He had known him do so more than once (Luke

iv. 30; John viii. 59; x. 39). Hence his directions to the officers to 'hold him fast,' when he was apprehended (Matt. xxvi. 48). With other Jews he believed the Messiah would never die (John xii. 34); accordingly, we regard his pecuniary stipulation with the priests as a mere artful cover to his deeper and more comprehensive design; and so that he served their purpose in causing the apprehension of Jesus, they would little care to scrutinize his motive. All they felt was being 'glad' at his proposal (Mark xiv. 11), and the plan appeared to hold good up to the very moment of our Lord's condemnation; for after his apprehension his miraculous power seemed unabated, from his healing Malchus. Judas heard him declare that he could even then 'ask, and his father would give him twelve legions of angels' for his rescue. But when Judas, who awaited the issue of the trial with such different expectations, saw that though Jesus had avowed himself to be the Messiah, he had not convinced the Sanhedrim; and, instead of extricating himself from their power by miracle, had submitted to be 'condemned, buffeted, and spit upon' by his judges and accusers; then it should seem he awoke to a full view of all the consequences of his conduct. The prophecies of the Old Testament, 'that Christ should suffer,' and of Jesus, concerning his own rejection and death, flashed on his mind in their true sense and full force, and he found himself the wretched instrument of their fulfilment. He made a last desperate effort to stay proceedings. He presented himself to the chief-priests, offered to return the money, confessed that he had sinned in that he had betrayed the innocent blood, and upon receiving their heartless answer was wrought into a phrenzy of despair, during which he committed suicide. There is much significancy in these words of Matt. xxvii. 3, 'Then Judas, *when he saw he was condemned*,' not expiring on the cross, 'repented himself,' &c. If such be the true hypothesis of his conduct, then, however culpable it may have been, as originating in the most inordinate covetousness, impatience of the procedure of Providence, crooked policy, or any other bad quality, he is certainly absolved from the direct *intention* of procuring his Master's death. 'The difference,' says Archbishop Whately, 'between Iscariot and his fellow apostles was, that though they all had the same expectations and conjectures, *he* dared to *act* on his conjectures, departing from the plain course of his known duty to follow the calculations of his worldly wisdom, and the schemes of his worldly ambition.' The reader is directed to the Primate's admirable *Discourse on the Treason of Judas Iscariot, and Notes*, annexed to *Essays on some of the Dangers to Christian Faith*, Lond. 1839; Whitby on Matt. xxvii. 3, for the opinions of Theophylact, and some of the Fathers; Bishop Bull's *Sermons*, ii. and iii., *On some Important Points*, vol. i., Lond. 1713; Hales's *New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. ii. b. ii. pp. 877, 878; Macknight's *Harmony of the Gospels*, vol. ii. pp. 427-30, Lond. 1822; Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, *in loc.*—J. F. D.

3. JUDAS, or JUDE, surnamed Barsabas, a Christian teacher sent from Jerusalem to Antioch along with Paul and Barnabas (Acts xv. 22, 27, 32). He is supposed to have been one of the seventy disciples, and brother of Joseph, also surnamed Barsabas (son of Sabas), who was proposed, with Matthias, to fill up the place of the traitor Judas (Acts i. 23). Judas and Silas (who was also of the party) are mentioned together as 'prophets' and 'chief men among the brethren.'

4. JUDAS. [Jude.]

5. JUDAS, a Jew of Damascus with whom Paul lodged (Acts ix. 11).

6. JUDAS, surnamed the Galilæan (ὁ Γαλιλαῖος, Acts v. 37), so called also by Josephus (*Antiq.* xviii. 1. 6; xx. 5. 2; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 1), and likewise 'the Gaulonite' (ὁ Γαυλονίτης; *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1). In company with one Sadoc he attempted to raise a sedition among the Jews, but was destroyed by Cyrenius (Quirinus), then proconsul of Syria and Judæa.

JUDE, or JUDAS (Ἰούδας). There were two of this name among the twelve Apostles—Judas, called also Lebbæus and Thaddæus (Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 18, which see), and Judas Iscariot. Judas is the name of one of our Lord's brethren, but it is not agreed whether our Lord's brother is the same with the Apostle of this name [James]. Luke (Gospel, vi. 16; Acts i. 13) calls him Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, which in the English Authorized Version is translated 'Judas, *the brother* of James.' The ellipsis, however, between Ἰούδας and Ἰακώβου is supplied by the old Syriac translator (who was unacquainted with the epistle of Jude, the writer of which calls himself Ἰούδας ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου) with the word *son*, and not *brother*. Among our Lord's brethren are named James, Joses, and Judas (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3). If, with Helvidius among the ancients (see Jerome, *Contra Helvidium*), and Kuinoel, Neander, and a few other modern commentators, we were to consider our Lord's brethren to be children of Joseph and the Blessed Virgin (an hypothesis which Kuinoel acknowledges to be incapable of proof from Scripture), we should be under the necessity of supposing that there was a James, a Joses, and a Judas, who were uterine brothers of our Lord, together with the Apostles James and Judas, who were children of Mary, the sister or cousin of the Virgin (see Pearson *On the Creed*, art. iv.). If, however, the hypothesis of their being children of the Blessed Virgin be rejected, an hypothesis inconsistent with the ancient and universal tradition of the perpetual virginity of the Virgin, a tradition the truth of which is received even by Dr. Lardner (*Hist. of the Apostles*), there remains for us only a choice between the two opinions, that our Lord's brethren were children of Joseph by a former wife (Escha or Salome, according to an Apocryphal tradition), which was the sentiment of the majority of the fathers (still received in the Oriental church), and that adopted in the Western church, and first broached by St. Jerome (*Cont. Helvid.*), that the brethren of our Lord were his cousins, as being children of Mary, the wife of Cleophas, who must therefore be considered as the same with Alphæus [see James]. If we consider James, the brother of our Lord, to be a different person from James the son of Alphæus, and not one of the twelve, Jude, the brother of James, must consequently be placed in the same category [James]; but if they are one and the same, Jude must be considered as the person who is numbered with our Lord's Apostles. We are not informed as to the time of the vocation of the

Apostle Jude to that dignity. Indeed, the only circumstance relating to him which is recorded in the Gospels consists in the question put by him to our Lord (John xiv. 22). 'Judas saith unto him (not Iscariot), Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself to us, and not unto the world?' Nor have we any account given of his proceedings after our Lord's resurrection, for the traditionary notices which have been preserved of him rest on no very certain foundation. It has been asserted that he was sent to Edessa, to Abgarus, king of Osroëne (Jerome, *Annot. in Matt.*), and that he preached in Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia; in which latter country he suffered martyrdom (Lardner's *Hist. of the Apostles*). Jude the Apostle is commemorated in the Western church, together with the Apostle Simon (the name, also, of one of our Lord's brethren) on the 8th of October. There is an interesting account preserved by Hegesippus (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 20) concerning some of Jude's posterity: 'When Domitian,' he observes, 'inquired after David's posterity, some grandsons of Jude, called the Lord's brother, were brought into his presence. Being asked concerning their possessions and mode of life, they assured him that they had thirty-nine acres of land, the value of which was nine thousand denarii, out of which they paid him taxes, and maintained themselves by the labour of their hands. The truth of this was confirmed by the hardness of their hands. Being asked concerning Christ and the nature of his kingdom, they replied that it was not a kingdom of this world, but of a heavenly and angelic nature; that it would be manifested at the end of the world, when he would come in glory to judge the living and the dead, and render to every man according to his works. Having observed their humble condition and their harmless principles, he dismissed them with contempt, after which they ruled the churches, both as witnesses and relatives of the Lord.'

St. Luke (Acts xv. 22, 27-33) speaks of Judas, the son of Barsabas, in company with Silas, both of whom he styles 'prophets,' and 'chief men among the brethren.' Schott supposes that Barsabas means the son of Sabas, or Zabas, which he looks upon as an abridged form for Zebedee, and concludes that the Judas here mentioned was a brother of the elder James and of John.

JUDE, EPISTLE OF [Antilegomena], is placed by Eusebius among the *controverted books* (*Hist. Eccles.*, vii. 25), having been rejected by many of the ancients. 'Jude, the brother of James,' says Jerome, 'has left us a short epistle, which is one of the seven called Catholic, and because it cites a testimony from the apocryphal book of Enoch it is rejected by most. It has, however, obtained such authority by antiquity and use that it is now reckoned among the Holy Scriptures.' It is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* iii. 431), by Origen (*Com. in Matt.*, &c. &c.), and by Tertullian (*De Habit. Fœm*). It is also included among the books of the New Testament in the ancient catalogue discovered by Muratori, a work of the second century. It is found in the catalogues of the Councils of Laodicea, Hippo, and Carthage, and in the Apostolical canons, but is wanting in the Peshito, or ancient Syriac version. It is, however, cited as of authority by Ephrem. In modern times its apostolic source at least, if not its canonicity, was called in question by Luther (*Walchised.* vol. xiv. 150), Grotius, Bolten, Dahl, Berger, and Michaelis, but it is acknowledged by most to be genuine. Indeed, the doubts thrown upon its genuineness arose, as we have already seen, from the fact of the writer having cited two apocryphal books (Enoch and the Assumption of Moses). In reference to this subject Tertullian has a long statement, in which, from the fact that 'Enoch had *some value as an authority with the apostle Jude*,' he is disposed to uphold the authenticity of the book of Enoch. As, however, that book, which is still extant, is universally reckoned a spurious production, the circumstance of Jude's having employed a citation from it is one of the most difficult and embarrassing in sacred criticism, especially as Jude expressly calls Enoch the 'seventh from Adam' (ver. 14). That the ancients were acquainted with the *Prophecy of Enoch* is evident from the testimony of several of the fathers, and from the copious fragments of it preserved by Syncellus in his *Chronography* (Fabricii *Cod. Pseud.*), which were discovered by George Scaliger. None of these, however, contain the passage in Jude 14.

It was not until the eighth century that the book of Enoch sunk into oblivion. Since the commencement of the seventeenth century, however, it had been supposed that this long-lost book was still extant in an Ethiopic version in Abyssinia, and this fact was fully established by Bruce, who first brought it into Europe [Enoch]. This work contains the words of the prophecy cited by Jude; but whether Jude cited it from the book of Enoch, or from a Jewish tradition, is a point still in debate. The decision of this question is inseparably connected with that of the age of the present book of Enoch, a point on which critics are not quite agreed. Dr. Laurence (its learned translator) attributes the book of Enoch to an early period of the reign of Herod the Great, to which time Hoffmann (*Das Buch Henoch*) also assigns it; while Lücke and others, who have subsequently investigated the subject, place it in the second half of the first century, and after the destruction of Jerusalem (see Lücke, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*). It was a well known book at the time of the writing of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* at the close of the first or commencement of the second century* [Revelations, Spurious].

The writer of the epistle is also supposed to have cited an apocryphal work (in ver. 9), where he speaks of the dispute of the archangel Michael with the Devil respecting the body of Moses. Origen found this very relation in a Jewish Greek book called the *Assumption of Moses* (Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως), and was so persuaded that this was the book which Jude had cited, that he quoted the work itself as of authority (Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. vi. p. 379). The work is also cited by Œcumenius (vol. ii. p. 629), where the passage actually refers to the dispute of Michael the archangel and the devil respecting the body

* A writer in the *Christian Observer* (vol. xxx.) attempts to prove the book of Enoch a work which could not have been written earlier than the middle of the second century.

of Moses. There is a work still extant in Hebrew, entitled *Phetirah Moshe*, or 'The death of Moses:' of this two editions have been published, one at Constantinople in 1518, and the other at Venice in 1544 and 1605. De la Rue and other critics have supposed that this is the same work which was known to Origen. But Michaelis has shown that the present work is so unlike the former (besides containing quotations from the Talmud also, and even from Aben Ezra), that, although it contains similar relations, it is unquestionably a modern production.

Others, embarrassed by the circumstance of Jude's citing an apocryphal book, not merely for illustration, as St. Paul cites Aratus, Menander, and Epimenides, but as of authority (as when he cites Enoch, the *seventh from Adam*), have endeavoured to give a mystical explanation to Jude's assertion respecting the dispute about the body of Moses. Among these are Vitringa and Dr. Lardner. They think that by the body of Moses is meant the Jewish nation, and that Jude alludes to the vision in Zech. iii. 1; and Vitringa even proposes to alter the 'body of Moses' into the 'body of *Joshua*.' For the details of this ingenious explanation we must refer the reader to Lardner's *Hist. of the Apostles*.

Author, age, &c.—Notwithstanding these difficulties, this epistle was treated by the ancients with the highest respect, and regarded as the genuine work of an inspired writer. Although Origen on one occasion speaks doubtfully, calling it the 'reputed epistle of Jude,' yet on another occasion, and in the same work (*Com. in Matt.*), he says, 'Jude wrote an epistle, of few lines indeed, but full of the powerful words of heavenly grace, who at the beginning says, "Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James."' The same writer (*Com. in Rom.* and *De Princip.* iii. 2, i. 138) calls it the writing of Jude the *Apostle*. The moderns are, however, divided in opinion between Jude the apostle and Jude the Lord's brother, if indeed they be different persons: Hug and De Wette ascribe it to the latter. The author simply calls himself Jude, the brother of James, and a servant of Jesus Christ. This form of expression has given rise to various conjectures. Hug supposes that he intimates thereby a nearer degree of relationship than that of an apostle. This accords also with the sentiment of Clemens Alexandrinus (*Adumb.; Opp.* ii. p. 1007, ed. Venet.): 'Jude, who wrote the Catholic epistle, one of the sons of Joseph, a pious man, although he well knew his relationship to Jesus, yet did not call himself his brother, but said, Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ (as the Lord), and the brother of James.' At the same time it must be acknowledged that the circumstance of his not naming himself an apostle is not of itself necessarily sufficient to militate against his being the apostle of that name, inasmuch as St. Paul does not upon all occasions (as in Philippians, Thessalonians, and Philemon) use this title. From his calling himself the brother of James, rather than the brother of the Lord, Michaelis deduces that he was the son of Joseph by a former wife, and not a full brother of our Lord's, as Herder contends [JAMES, JUDE]. From the great coincidence both in sentiment and subject which exists between our epistle and the second of St. Peter, it has been thought by many critics that one of these writers had seen the other's work; but we shall reserve the discussion as to which was the earlier writing until we come to treat of St. Peter's Epistle. Dr. Lardner supposes that Jude's Epistle was written between the years 64 and 66, Beausobre and L'Enfant between 70 and 75 (from which Dodwell and Cave do not materially differ), and Dr. Mill fixes it to the year 90. If Jude has quoted the apocryphal book of Enoch, as seems to be agreed upon by most modern critics, and if this book was written, as Lücke thinks, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the age of our epistle best accords with the date assigned to it by Mill.

It is difficult to decide who the persons were to whom this epistle was addressed, some supposing that it was written to converted Jews, others to all Christians without distinction. Many of the arguments seem best adapted to convince the Jewish Christians, as appeals are so strikingly made to their sacred books and traditions.

The design of this epistle is to warn the Christians against the false teachers who had insinuated themselves among them and disseminated dangerous tenets of insubordination and licentiousness. The author reminds them, by the example of Sodom and Gomorrah, that God had punished the rebellious Jews; and that even the disobedient angels had shared the same fate. The false teachers to whom he alludes 'speak evil of dignities,' while the archangel Michael did not even revile Satan. He compares them to Balaam and Korah, to clouds without water, and to raging waves. Enoch, he says, foretold their wickedness; at the same time he consoles believers, and exhorts them to persevere in faith and love. The epistle is remarkable for the vehemence, fervour, and energy of its composition and style.—W. W.

JUDGES. This name is applied to fifteen persons who at intervals presided over the affairs of the Israelites during the 450 years which elapsed from the death of Joshua to the accession of Saul. The term *Judges*, used in the English Bibles, does not exactly represent the original שֹׁפְטִים *shophetim*, *i. e.* 'rulers of the people,' from שׁפט, which is not synonymous with דִּין *judicare*, but signifies in its general acceptation, *causam alicujus agere, tueri* (see Bertholdt, *Theolog. Litt. Blatt.* vii. 1, sq.; comp. Gesenius *s.v.* שׁפט). The station and office of these *shophetim* are involved in great obscurity, partly from the want of clear intimations in the history in which their exploits and government are recorded, and partly from the absence of parallels in the history of other nations, by which our notions might be assisted. In fact the government of the judges forms the most singular part of the Hebrew institutions, and that which appears most difficult to comprehend. The kings, the priests, the generals, the heads of tribes—all these offer some points of comparison with the same functionaries in other nations; but the judges stand alone in the history of the world: and when we think that we have found officers resembling them in other nations, the comparison soon breaks down in some point of importance, and we still find that nothing remains but to collect and arrange the concise intimations of the sacred text, and draw our conclusions from the facts which it records.

The splendid administrations of Moses and of Joshua so fill the mind of the reader of Scrip-

ture, that after their death a sense of vacancy is experienced, and we wonder how it happens that no successor to them was appointed, and how the machinery of the government was to be carried on without some similar leaders. But when we come to examine the matter more closely, we perceive that the offices filled by Moses and Joshua, whose presence was so essential for the time and the occasion, were not at all involved in the general machinery of the Hebrew government. These persons formed no part of the system: they were specially appointed for particular services, for the performance of which they were invested with extraordinary powers; but when their mission was accomplished, society reverted to its permanent institutions and its established forms of government. It is, therefore, in the working of these institutions, after the functions of the legislator and the military leader had ceased, that we must look for the circumstances that gave rise to the extraordinary leaders which engage our present attention. Now we shall find that, apart from such offices as those of Moses and Joshua, a very excellent provision existed for the government of the chosen people, both as regarded the interests of the nation generally, as well as of the several tribes.

To this latter branch of the government it is important to draw particular attention, because, as it existed before the law, and is *assumed* throughout as the basis of the theocratical constitution, we hear but little of it in the books of Moses, and are apt to lose sight of it altogether. This part of the subject belongs, however, to the art. TRIBE; and it suffices to mention in this place that every tribe had its own hereditary chief or 'prince,' who presided over its affairs, administered justice in all ordinary cases, and led the troops in time of war. His station resembled that of the Arabian emirs, or rather, perhaps, of the khans of the Tartar tribes inhabiting Persia and the countries further east. He was assisted in these important duties by the subordinate officers, the chiefs of families, who formed his council in such matters of policy as affected their particular district, supported his decisions in civil or criminal inquiries, and commanded under him in the field of battle (Num. xxvi. xxvii.; Josh. vii. 16-18). This was, in fact, the old patriarchal government, to which the Hebrews were greatly attached. It seems to have been sufficient for all the purposes of the separate government of the tribes: but, as we find in similar cases, it was deficient in force of cohesion among the tribes, or in forming them into a compacted nation. In fact, it was an institution suited to the wants of men who live dispersed in loosely connected tribes, and not to the wants and exigencies of a nation. It was in principle segregative, not aggregative; and although there are traces of united agreement through a congress of delegates, or rather of national chiefs and elders of the tribes, this was an inefficient instrument of general government, seeing that it was only applicable or applied to great occasions, and could have no bearing on the numerous questions of an administrative nature which arise from day to day in every state, and which there should somewhere exist the power to arrange and determine. This defect of the general government it was one of the objects of the theocratical institutions to remedy.

Jehovah had taken upon himself the function of king of the chosen people, and he dwelt among them in his palace-tabernacle. Here he was always ready, through his priest, to counsel them in matters of general interest, as well as in those having reference only to particular tribes; and to his court they were all required by the law to repair three times every year. Here, then, was the principle of a general administration, calculated and designed to unite the tribes into a nation, by giving them a common government in all the higher and more general branches of administration, and a common centre of interest for all the political and ecclesiastical relations of the community.

It was on this footing that the law destined the government of the Hebrews to proceed, after the peculiar functions of the legislator and the conqueror had been fulfilled.

The fact is, however, that, through the perversity of the people, this settlement of the general government on theocratical principles was not carried out in its proper form and extent; and it is in this neglect we are to seek the necessity for those officers called Judges, who were from time to time raised up to correct some of the evils which resulted from it. It is very evident, from the whole history of the judges, that after the death of Joshua the Israelites threw themselves back upon the segregative principles of their government by tribes, and all but utterly neglected, and for long periods did utterly neglect, the rules and usages on which the general government was established. There was, in fact, no human power adequate to enforce them. They were good in themselves, they were gracious, they conferred high privileges; but they were enforced by no sufficient authority. No one was amenable to any tribunal for neglecting the annual feasts, or for not referring the direction of public affairs to the Divine King. Omissions on these points involved the absence of the divine protection and blessing, and were left to be punished by their consequences. The man who obeyed in this and other things, was blessed; the man who did not, was not blessed; and general obedience was rewarded with national blessing, and general disobedience with national punishment. The enormities and transgressions into which the people fell in consequence of such neglect, which left them an easy prey to idolatrous influences, are fully recorded in the book of Judges. The people could not grasp the idea of a Divine and Invisible King: they could not bring themselves to recur to him in all those cases in which the judgment of a human king would have determined the course of action, or in which his arm would have worked for their deliverance. Therefore it was that God allowed them judges, in the persons of faithful men, who acted for the most part as agents of the divine will, regents for the Invisible King; and who, holding their commission directly from him, or with his sanction, would be more inclined to act as dependent vassals of Jehovah than kings, who, as members of royal dynasties, would come to reign with notions of independent rights and royal privileges, which would draw away their attention from their true place in the theocracy. In this greater dependence of the judges upon the Divine King we see the secret of their institution. The Israelites were disposed to rest upon their separate interests as

tribes; and having thus allowed the standing general government to remain inoperative through disuse, they would in cases of emergency have been disposed 'to make themselves a king like the nations,' had their attention not been directed to the appointment of officers whose authority could rest on no tangible *right* apart from character and services; which, with the temporary nature of their power, rendered their functions more accordant with the principles of the theocracy than those of any other public officers could be. And it is probably in this adaptation to the peculiar circumstances of the Hebrew theocracy that we shall discover the reason of our inability to find any similar office among other nations. In being thus peculiar it resembled the Dictatorship among the Romans; to which office indeed that of the judges has been compared; and perhaps this parallel is the nearest that can be found. But there is this great difference, that the dictator laid down his power as soon as the crisis which had called for its exercise had passed away, and in no case could this unwonted supremacy be retained beyond a limited time (Liv. ix. 34); but the Hebrew judge remained invested with his high authority during the whole period of his life; and is therefore usually described by the sacred historian as presiding to the end of his days over the tribes of Israel, amid the peace and security which his military skill and counsels had, under the divine blessing, restored to the land.

Having thus traced the origin of the office to the circumstances of the times and the condition of the people, it only remains to inquire into the nature of the office itself, and the powers and privileges which were connected with it. This is by no means an easy task, as the nature of the record enables us to perceive better what they were not than what they were, what they could not than what they could accomplish.

It is usual to consider them as commencing their career with military exploits to deliver Israel from foreign oppression; but this is by no means invariably the case. Eli and Samuel were not military men; Deborah judged Israel before she planned the war against Jabin; and of Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, it is at least uncertain whether they ever held any military command. The command of the army can therefore be scarcely considered the distinguishing characteristic of these men, or military exploits the necessary introduction to the office. In many cases it is true that military achievements were the means by which they elevated themselves to the rank of judges; but in general the appointment may be said to have varied with the exigencies of the times, and with the particular circumstances which in times of trouble would draw the public attention to persons who appeared suited by their gifts or influence to advise in matters of general concernment, to decide in questions arising between tribe and tribe, to administer public affairs, and to appear as their recognised head in their intercourse with their neighbours and oppressors. As we find that many of these judges arose *during* times of oppression, it seems to us that this last circumstance, which has never been taken into account, must have had a remarkable influence in the appointment of the judge. Foreigners could not be expected to enter into the peculiarities of the Hebrew constitution, and would expect to receive the proposals, remonstrances, or complaints of the people through some person representing the whole nation, or that part of it to which their intercourse applied. The law provided no such officer except in the high-priest; but as the Hebrews themselves did not recognise the true operation of their theocracy, much less were strangers likely to do so. On the officer they appointed to represent the body of the people, under circumstances which compelled them to deal with foreigners mightier than themselves, would naturally devolve the command of the army in war, and the administration of justice in peace. This last was among ancient nations, as it is still in the East, regarded as the first and most important duty of a ruler, and the interference of the judges was probably confined to the cases arising between different tribes, for which the ordinary magistrates would find it difficult to secure due authority to their decisions.

In nearly all the instances recorded the appointment seems to have been by the free unsolicited choice of the people. The election of Jephthah, who was nominated as the fittest man for the existing emergency, probably resembled that which was usually followed on such occasions; and probably, as in his case, the judge, in accepting the office, took care to make such stipulations as he deemed necessary. The only cases of direct divine apointment are those of Gideon and Samson, and the last stood in the peculiar position of having been from before his birth ordained 'to begin to deliver Israel.' Deborah was called to deliver Israel, but was already a judge. Samuel was called by the Lord to be a prophet, but not a judge, which ensued from the high gifts which the people recognised as dwelling in him; and as to Eli, the office of judge seems to have devolved naturally, or rather *ex-officio*, upon him; and his case seems to be the only one in which the high-priest appears in the character which the theocratical institutions designed for him.

The following clear summary of their duties and privileges is from Jahn (*Biblisches Archäologie*, th. ii. bd. 1, sect. 22; Stowe's translation, ii. 86):—'The office of judges or regents was held during life, but it was not hereditary, neither could they appoint their successors. Their authority was limited by the law alone; and in doubtful cases they were directed to consult the Divine King through the priest by Urim and Thummim (Num. xxvii. 21). They were not obliged in common cases to ask advice of the ordinary rulers; it was sufficient if these did not remonstrate against the measures of the judge. In important emergencies, however, they convoked a general assembly of the rulers, over which they presided and exerted a powerful influence. They could issue orders, but not enact laws; they could neither levy taxes nor appoint officers, except perhaps in the army. Their authority extended only over those tribes by whom they had been elected or acknowledged; for it is clear that several of the judges presided over separate tribes. There was no income attached to their office, nor was there any income appropriated to them, unless it might be a larger share in the spoils, and those presents which were made them as testimonials of respect (Judg. viii. 24). They bore no external marks of dignity, and maintained no retinue of cour-

tiers, though some of them were very opulent. They were not only simple in their manners, moderate in their desires, and free from avarice and ambition, but noble and magnanimous men, who felt that whatever they did for their country was above all reward, and could not be recompensed; who desired merely to promote the public good, and who chose rather to deserve well of their country than to be enriched by its wealth. This exalted patriotism, like everything else connected with politics in the theocratical state of the Hebrews, was partly of a religious character, and those regents always conducted themselves as the officers of God; in all their enterprises they relied upon Him, and their only care was, that their countrymen should acknowledge the authority of Jehovah, their invisible king (Judg. viii. 22, sq.; comp. Heb. xi.). Still they were not without faults, neither are they so represented by their historians; they relate, on the contrary, with the utmost frankness, the great sins of which some of them were guilty. They were not merely deliverers of the state from a foreign yoke, but destroyers of idolatry, foes of pagan vices, promoters of the knowledge of God, of religion, and of morality; restorers of theocracy in the minds of the Hebrews, and powerful instruments of Divine Providence in the promotion of the great design of preserving the Hebrew constitution, and, by that means, of rescuing the true religion from destruction.'

The same writer, in the ensuing section, gives a clear view of the general condition of the Hebrews in the time of the judges. 'By comparing the periods during which the Hebrews were oppressed by their enemies, with those in which they were independent and governed by their own constitution, it is apparent that the nation in general experienced much more prosperity than adversity in the time of the judges. Their dominion continued four hundred and fifty years; but the whole time of foreign oppression amounts only to one hundred and eleven years, scarcely a fourth part of that period. Even during these one hundred and eleven years, the whole nation was seldom under the yoke at the same time, but for the most part separate tribes only were held in servitude; nor were their oppressions always very severe; and all the calamities terminated in the advantage and glory of the people, so soon as they abolished idolatry and returned to their King, Jehovah. Neither was the nation in such a state of anarchy at this time as had been generally supposed. There were regular judicial tribunals at which justice could be obtained; and when there was no supreme regent, the public welfare was provided for by the ordinary rulers' (Ruth iv. 1-11; Judg. viii. 22; x. 17, 18; xi. 1-11; 1 Sam. iv. 1; vii. 1-2).

'These times would certainly not be considered so turbulent and barbarous, much less would they be taken, contrary to the clearest evidence and to the analogy of all history, for a heroic age, if they were viewed without the prejudices of a preconceived hypothesis. It must never be forgotten that the book of Judges is by no means a complete history. This no impartial inquirer can ever deny. It is, in a manner, a mere register of diseases, from which, however, we have no right to conclude that there were no healthy men, much less that there were no healthy seasons; since the book itself, for the most part, mentions only a few tribes in which the epidemic prevailed, and notices long periods during which it had universally ceased. Whatever may be the result of more accurate investigation, it remains undeniable that the condition of the Hebrews during this period perfectly corresponds throughout to the sanctions of the law; and they were always prosperous when they complied with the conditions on which prosperity was promised them; it remains undeniable that the government of God was clearly manifested, not only to the Hebrews, but to their heathen neighbours; that the fulfilling of the promises and threatenings of the law were so many sensible proofs of the universal dominion of the Divine King of the Hebrews; and, consequently, that all the various fortunes of that nation were so many means of preserving the knowledge of God on the earth. The Hebrews had no sufficient reason to desire a change in their constitution; all required was, that they should observe the conditions on which national prosperity was promised them.'

The chronology of the period in which the judges ruled is beset with great and perhaps insuperable difficulties. There are intervals of time the extent of which is not specified; as, for instance, that from Joshua's death to the yoke of Cushan Rishathaim (ii. 8); that of the rule of Shamgar (iii. 31); that between Gideon's death and Abimelech's accession (viii. 31, 32); and that of Israel's renewal of idolatry previous to their oppression by the Ammonites (x. 6, 7). Sometimes round numbers seem to have been given, as forty years for the rule of Othniel, forty years for that of Gideon, and forty years also for the duration of the oppression by the Philistines. Twenty years are given for the subjection to Jabin, and twenty years for the government of Samson; yet the latter never completely conquered the Philistines, who, on the contrary, succeeded in capturing him. Some judges, who are commonly considered to have been successive, were in all probability contemporaneous, and ruled over different districts. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to fix the date of each particular event in the book of Judges; but attempts have been made to settle its general chronology, of which we must in this place mention the most successful.

The whole period of the judges, from Joshua to Eli, is usually estimated at 299 years, in order to meet the 480 years which (1 Kings vi. 1) are said to have elapsed from the departure of the Israelites from Egypt to the foundation of the temple by Solomon. But St. Paul says (Acts xiii. 20), 'God gave unto the people of Israel judges about the space of 450 years until Samuel, the prophet.' Again, if the number of years specified by the author of our book, in stating facts, is summed up, we have 410 years, exclusive of those years not specified for certain intervals of time above mentioned. In order to reduce these 410 years and upwards to 299, events and reigns must, in computing their years of duration, either be entirely passed over, or, in a most arbitrary way, included in other periods preceding or subsequent. This has been done by Archbishop Usher, whose peculiarly faulty system has been adopted in the Authorized Version of the Scriptures. He excludes the repeated intervals during which the Hebrews were in subjection to their enemies, and

reckons only the years of peace and rest which were assigned to the successive judges. For example, he passes over the eight years of servitude inflicted upon the Hebrews by Cushan-rishathaim, and, without any interruption, connects the peace obtained by the victories of Othniel with that which had been conferred on the land by the government of Joshua; and although the sacred historian relates in the plainest terms possible that the children of Israel served the king of Mesopotamia eight years, and were afterwards delivered by Othniel, who gave the land rest forty years, the archbishop maintains that the forty years now mentioned began, not after the successes of this judge, but immediately after the demise of Joshua. Nothing certainly can be more obvious than that in this case the years of tranquillity and the years of oppression ought to be reckoned separately. Again, we are informed by the sacred writer, that after the death of Ehud the children of Israel were under the oppression of Jabin king of Hazor for twenty years, and that afterwards, when their deliverance was effected by Deborah and Barak, the land had rest forty years. Nothing can be clearer than this; yet Usher's system leads him to include the twenty years of oppression in the forty of peace, making both but forty years. All this arises from the obligation which Usher unfortunately conceived himself under of following the scheme adopted by the Masoretic Jews, who, as Dr. Hales remarks, have by a curious invention included the four first servitudes in the years of the judges who put an end to them, contrary to the express declarations of Scripture, which represents the administrations of the judges, not as synchronising with the servitudes, but as succeeding them. The Rabbins were indeed forced to allow the fifth servitude to have been distinct from the administration of Jephthah, because it was too long to be included in that administration; but they deducted a year from the Scripture account of the servitude, making it only six instead of seven years. They sank entirely the sixth servitude of forty years under the Philistines, because it was too long to be contained in Samson's administration; and, to crown all, they reduced Saul's reign of forty years to two years only.

The necessity for all these tortuous operations has arisen from a desire to produce a conformity with the date in 1 Kings vi. 1, which, as already cited, gives a period of only 480 years from the Exode to the foundation of Solomon's temple. As this date is incompatible with the sum of the different numbers given in the book of Judges, and as it differs from the computation of Josephus and of all the ancient writers on the subject, whether Jewish or Christian, it is not unsatisfactory to find grounds which leave this text open to much doubt and suspicion. We cannot here enter into any lengthened proof; but that the text did not exist in the Hebrew and Greek copies of the Scripture till nearly three centuries after Christ, is evident from the absence of all reference to it in the works of the learned men who composed histories of the Jews from the materials supplied to them in the sacred books. This may be shown by reference to various authors, who, if the number specified in it had existed, could not fail to have adduced it. In particular, it is certain that it did not exist in the Hebrew or Greek Bibles in the days of Josephus; for he alludes to the verse in which it is contained without making the slightest observation in regard to it, although the period which he, *at the same time*, states as having elapsed between the exode and the foundation of the temple, is directly at variance with it to the extent of not less than 112 years (*Antiq.* viii. 3). If the number '480 years' had then existed in the text, he could not, while referring to the passage where it is now inserted, have dared to state a number so very different. Then we have the testimony of St. Paul (Acts xiii. 20), who makes the rule of 'the judges until Samuel' extend over 450 years, which, with the addition of ascertained numbers, raises the amount for the whole period to 592 years. This evidence seems so conclusive that it is scarcely necessary to add any other; but it may be mentioned that Origen, in his *Commentary on St. John*, cites 1 Kings vi. 1, and even mentions the year of Solomon's reign, and the month in which he began to build the temple, without the slightest notice of the number of years (as now stated in the text) which intervened between that event and the exode. It has consequently been inferred, with good reason, that in A.D. 230, when Origen wrote, the interpolation of the date in question had not yet taken place. Eusebius, however, in his *Chronicon*, written about A.D. 325, does use the date as the basis of a chronological hypothesis; whence it is inferred that the date was inserted about the beginning of the fourth century, and probably under the direction of the Masoretic doctors of Tiberias. It is also to be remarked that Eusebius, in the *Præp. Evangelica*, a work written some years *after* the *Chronicon*, and in all his other works, uses the more common and ancient system of dates.

It may also be remarked that even the ancient versions, as they at present exist, do not agree in the number. The present copies of the Septuagint, for instance, have 440, not 480 years; on which and other grounds some scholars, who have hesitated to regard the text as an interlopation, have deemed themselves authorized to alter it to 592 years instead of 480, producing in this way the same result which would be obtained if the text had no existence. This, it has been already remarked, is the number given by Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 1), and is in agreement with the statement of St. Paul. The computation of the Jews in China has also been produced in support of it (see Isaac Voss, *Dissert. de LXX. Interp. eorumque translatione et chronologia.* Hagæ Comit. 1664. 4; Michaelis, *Orientalische Bibliothek*, v. 81). There would then be for the period from Moses's death to Saul's accession 468 years, and the whole period of the judges from the death of Joshua to that of Samuel might be estimated at 450 years, agreeably to Acts xiii. 20. If we add to these 450 years forty years for the march in the desert, eighty-four years for the reign of Saul, David, and Solomon, until the foundation of the temple, the amount would be 574 years. For the time when Joshua acted as an independent chieftain, eighteen years may be counted, which added to 574 would make up the above number of 592 years (comp. Michaelis, *Orientalische Bibliothek*, v. 228, whose arrangement of years differs in some points from the above). It must, however, be observed that the

number of 450 years represents only the sum total of all chronologically specified facts of our book down to the death of Eli, and does not include the intervals of time of which the years are not given. The statement of Josephus above referred to rests only on his own individual computation, and is contrary to another statement of the same author (*Antiq.* xx. 10; *Cont. Apion.* ii. 2).

The latest attempt towards settling the chronology of the Judges is that of Dr. Keil, in his work *Dörptsche Beiträge zu den Theologischen Wissenschaften*, or, 'Contributions towards the furtherance of the theological sciences,' by professors of the university of Dorpat. He supports the number of 480 years in 1 Kings vi. 1, and from the invasion of Cushan-rishathaim to Jair (Judg. iii.-x.) retains the chronological statements of our book for events which he considers successive. But the period of the domination of the Philistines over the (western) Israelites until the death of Saul, a space of seventy-nine years, he considers contemporaneous with the time of oppression and deliverance of the eastern and northern tribes, for which (Judg. x. 12) are reckoned forty years. He next estimates the period from the distribution of the land under Joshua to the invasion by the king of Mesopotamia at ten years, and the period from the time when the Philistines were conquered until the death of Saul at thirty-nine years, thus making up the above number of 480 years. In this attempt at settling the chronology of the book of Judges Dr. Kiel evinces great ingenuity and learning; but it appears that his computations rest on historical and chronological assumptions which can never be fully established. In order satisfactorily to settle the chronology we lack sufficient data, and the task has therefore been abandoned by the ablest modern critics, as Eichhorn, De Wette, and others. Nothing beyond general views is attainable on this subject.

Having explained this matter, it only remains to arrange the different systems of the chronology of this period so as to exhibit them in one view to the eye of the reader. It has been deemed right, for the better apprehension of the differences,

	Hales.		Jackson.		Russell.	Josephus.	Theophilus.	Eusebius.	Usher.	
	Yrs.	B.C.	Years.	B.C.	Yrs.	Yrs.	Yrs.	Years.	Years.	B.C.
Exode to death of Moses	40	1648	40	1593	40	40	40	40	40	1491
Joshua (and the) Elders	26	1608		..	25	25	27	27	..	1451
First Division of Lands	..	1602	27	1553						
Second Division of Lands	..	1596	..	..	..	..	..	..	6 4 m.	1444
Anarchy or Interregnum	10	1582	..	..	2					
I. Servitude, Mesopotam.	8	1572	8	1526	8	18	8	8	40	1413
1. Othniel	40	1564	40	1518	40	40	40	40		1405
II. Servitude, Moabit.	18	1524	18	1478	..	..	18	18		1343
2. Ehud (and) 3. Shamgar	80	1506	80	1460	80	80 / 1	80 / 1	80 / omitted.	80	1323
III. Servitude, Canaanit.	20	1426	20	1380	20	20	20	20	40	1285
4. Deborah and Barak	40	1406	40	1360	40	40	40	40		1265
IV. Servitude, Midian.	7	1368	7	1320	7	7	7	7	40	1252
5. Gideon	40	1359	40	1313	40	40	40	40		1245
6. Abimelech	3	1319	3	1273	3	3	3	3	9 2 m.	1236
7. Tola	23	1316	22	1270	22	22	22	23	48	1232
8. Jair	22	1293	22	1248	22	22	22	22		1210
V. Servitude, Ammon.	18	1271	18	1226	18	18	18	18	6	1206
9. Jephthah	6	1253	6	1208	6	6	6	6		1188
10. Ibzan	7	1247	7	1202	7	7	7	7		1182
11. Elon	10	1240	10	1195	10	10	10	10	25	1175
12. Abdon	8	1230	8	1185	8		8	8		1165
VI. Servitude, Philist. 20	40	1222	40	1177	40	40	40	40		
13. Samson 20						20	20	20	40	
Interregnum	..	..	..	..	..	..	40			
14. Eli 30	40	1182	20*	1137	20†	40	20	40		1157
Samuel called as a prophet 10										
VII. Servitude or Anarchy	20	1142	20	1117	20½					
15. Samuel	12	1122	20	1097	12	12	..	..	21	1116
Samuel and Saul 18	40	1110	..	..	40	18				
Saul 22			20	1077	..	2	20	40	40	1095
David	40	1070	40	1057	40	40	40	40	43	1055
Solomon to Found. of the Temple	3	1030	3	1017	3	3	3	3		1014
Exode to F. of Temple	621	1027	579	1014	591½	592	612	600	478½	1012

* Samson and Eli are supposed to have been judges simultaneously during 20 years of this period.

† Besides the 20 years under the sixth servitude.

to make the table embrace the whole period from the exode to the building of Solomon's temple. The *headings* are taken from Hales, simply because, from being the most copious, they afford a framework within which all the explanations may be inserted.

The authorities for this table are: Josephus, *Antiquities*, v. 1-10; Theophilus, Bp. of Antioch (A.D. 330), *Epist. ad Autolycum*, iii.; Eusebius (A.D. 330), *Præparatio Evangelica*, x. 14; Usher (1650), *Chronologia Sacra*, p. 71; Jackson, (1752), *Chronological Antiquities*, p. 145; Hales, (1811), *Analysis of Chronology*, i. 101; Russell (1827), *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, i. 147. In the last work the full tables, with others, are given; and we have here combined them for the sake of comparison. Other authorities on the subject of this article are: Herzfeld, *Chronologia Judicum*, Berol. 1836; Moldenhauer, *Gedanken über die Zeitrechnung im Buch der Richter*, p. 15, sq.; Ditmar, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, p. 91; Hug, in the *Freiburger Zeitschrift*, i. p. 129, sq.; Carpzov, *Introduct. V. T.*, i. 169; Simon, *Hist. Crit. de V. Test.*; Jahn, *Bibl. Archäolog.*, ii. 1. 85; De Wette, *Lehrbuch*, p. 30.

JUDGES, BOOK OF, the third in the list of the historical compositions of the Old Testament. It consists of two divisions, the first comprising chaps. i-xvii.; the second, being an appendix, chaps. xvii.-xxi.

I. Plan of the Book.—That the author, in composing this work, had a certain design in view, is evident from ch. ii. 11-23, where he states the leading features of his narrative. He introduces it by relating (ch. i.) the extent to which the wars against the Canaanites were continued after the death of Joshua, and what tribes had spared them in consideration of a tribute imposed; also by alluding (ch. ii. 1-10) to the benefits which Jehovah had conferred on them, and the distinguished protection with which he had honoured them. Next he states his leading object, namely, to prove that the calamities to which the Hebrews had been exposed since the death of Joshua were owing to their apostacy from Jehovah, and to their idolatry. 'They forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth' (ch. ii. 13); for which crimes they were deservedly punished and greatly distressed (ch. ii. 15). Nevertheless, when they repented and obeyed again the commandments of the Lord, he delivered them out of the hand of their enemies by the *Shophetim* whom he raised up, and made them prosper (ch. ii. 16-23). To illustrate this theme, the author collected several fragments of the Hebrew history during the period between Joshua and Eli. Some episodes occur; but in arguing his subject he never loses sight of his leading theme, to which, on the contrary, he frequently recurs while stating facts, and shows how it applied to them; the moral evidently being, that the only way to happiness was to shun idolatry and obey the commandments of the Lord. The design of the author was not to give a connected and complete history of the Hebrews in the period between Joshua and the kings; for if he had intended a plan of that kind, he would also have described the state of the domestic affairs and of the government in the several tribes, the relation in which they stood to each other, and the extent of power exercised by a judge; he would have further stated the number of tribes over whom a judge ruled, and the number of years during which the tribes were not oppressed by their heathen neighbours, but enjoyed rest and peace. The appendix, containing two narratives, further illustrates the lawlessness and anarchy prevailing in Israel after Joshua's death. In the first narrative (chaps. xvii.-xviii.), a rather wealthy man, Micah, dwelling in Mount Ephraim, is introduced. He had 'a house of gods,' and molten and graven images in it, which he worshipped. After having, at an annual salary, engaged an itinerant Levite to act as his priest and to settle in his family, the Danites, not having as yet an inheritance to dwell in, turn in thither, seize the images, and take the priest along with them. They then establish idolatry at Leshem, or Laish, in Cœle-Syria, which they conquered, smiting the quiet and secure inhabitants with the edge of the sword. The second narrative (chaps. xix.-xxi.) first gives an account of the brutal and criminal outrage committed by the Benjamites of Sibeah against the family of a Levite dwelling, in the age immediately subsequent to Joshua's death, on the side of Mount Ephraim; and next relates its consequence, a bloody civil war, in which all the tribes joined against the tribe of Benjamin and nearly destroyed it. The appendix then does not continue the history of the first sixteen chapters, and may have an author different from him who composed the first division of the book, to which inquiry we now turn.

II. Author.—If the first and second divisions had been by the same author, the chronological indications would also have been the same. Now the author of the second division always describes the period of which he speaks thus: 'In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes' (ch. xvii. 6; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 25); but this expression never once occurs in the first division. If one author had composed both divisions, instead of this chronological formula, we should rather have expected, 'In the days of the Shophetim,' 'At a time when there was no Shophet,' &c., which would be consonant with the tenor of the first sixteen chapters. The style also in the two divisions is different, and it will be shown that the appendix was written much later than the first part. All modern critics, then, agree in this, that the author of the first sixteen chapters of our book is different from him who composed the appendix (see L. Bertholdt, *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in die sämmtlichen Schriften des A. und N. T.*, p. 876; Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das A. T.*, iii. § 457). The authorship of the first sixteen chapters has been assigned to Joshua, Samuel, and Ezra. That they were not written by Joshua appears from the difference of the method of relating subjects, as well as from the difference of the style. In the book of Joshua there is a continual reference to the law of Moses, which is much less frequent in the book of Judges; and in Joshua, again, there are no such inferences from history as are common in Judges (ch. iii. 1, 4; viii. 27; ix. 56). The style of the book of Joshua is neater than that of Judges; the narration is more clear, and the arrangement is better (comp. ch. i. 10, 11, 20, with Josh. xiv. 6-15, and xv. 13-19; also ch. ii. 7-10, with Josh. xxiv. 29-31). That the book of Judges was composed by Samuel is an invention of the Talmudists, unsupported by any evidence; nor

will the opinion that it was written by Ezra be entertained by any who attentively peruses the original. For it has a phraseology of its own, and certain favourite ideas, to which it constantly reverts, but of which there is not a trace in Ezra. If Ezra had intended to continue the history of the Hebrews from Joshua down to Eli in a separate work, he would not have given a selection of incidents to prove a particular theme, but a complete history. The orthography of the book of Ezra, with many phrases characteristic of his age, do not appear in the book of Judges. The prefix שׁ occurs, indeed (ch. v. 7; vi. 17; vii. 12; viii. 26); but this cannot be referred to in proof that the language is of the time of Ezra, for it belonged to the dialect of North Palestine, as Ewald and others have proved. מה, instead of אשר, is found also in Deut. xxiii. 3. Forms like עממים, ver. 14, and יבב, ver. 28, מדין, ver. 10, תנה, ver. 11, resemble Chaldaisms, but may be accounted for by the poetical style of the song of Deborah. The forms אתי (ch. xvii. 2), and פלגש (ch. xix. 1), belonging to a late age of the Hebrew language, may be considered as changes introduced by copyists (see Ottmar, in *Henke's Magazin*, vol. iv.; W. M. L. de Wette, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in die Bibel*, Berlin, 1833-39, 2 vols. 8vo.).

But though we cannot determine the authorship of the book of Judges, still its age may be determined from internal evidence. The first sixteen chapters must have been written under Saul, whom the Israelites made their king in the hope of improving their condition. Phrases used in the period of the Judges may be traced in them, and the author must consequently have lived near the time when they were yet current. He says that in his time 'the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem' (ch. i. 21): now this was the case only before David, who conquered the town and drove out the Jebusites. Consequently, the author of the first division of the book of Judges must have lived and written before David, and under king Saul. If he had lived under David, he would have mentioned the capture of Jerusalem by that monarch, as the nature of his subject did not allow him to pass it over in silence. The omission, moreover, of the history, not only of Samuel but also of Eli, indicates an author who, living in an age very near that of Eli, considered his history as generally known, because so recent. The exact time when the appendix was added to the book of Judges cannot indeed be determined, but its author certainly lived in an age much later than that of the recorded events. In his time the period of the events which he relates had been long forgotten: which may be inferred from the frequent chronological formula, 'in those days there was no king in Israel' (ch. xvii. 6); and certain particulars of his narrative could no longer be ascertained, which caused him to omit the name of the Levite whose history is given in ch. xix. In his time also the house of God was no longer in Shiloh (ch. xviii. 31); and it will be recollected that it was David who brought the ark to Jerusalem. The author knew also that the posterity of Jonathan were priests of the graven image in Dan, or Laish, 'until the day of the captivity of the land' עד יום גלות הארץ (ch. xviii. 30). This latter circumstance proves, as already observed by Le Clerc and others, that the appendix was not published until after the Babylonian captivity, or at least until after that of Israel by Shalmaneser and Esar-haddon. It cannot be understood of the domination of the Philistines over the Israelites, which would very improperly be called גלות הארץ, this expression always implying the deportation of the inhabitants of a country. The circumstance that the author, in mentioning Shiloh, adds, 'which is in the land of Canaan' (ch. xxi. 12), and that the topographical description of the site of Shiloh is given (ch. xxi. 19), has led some interpreters to assert that the author of the appendix must have been a foreigner, as to an Israelite such remarks would have appeared trivial (see *Briefe einiger Holländischen Gottesgelehrten über R. Simon's kritische Geschichte des A. T.*, edited by Le Clerc at Zurich, p. 490). The inference is certainly specious, but to judge of it duly we must look at the context. The first passage runs thus: 'And they found among the inhabitants of *Jabesh-gilead* four hundred young virgins that had known no man, and they brought them unto the camp to *Shiloh*, *which is in the land of Canaan*.' The second passage is: 'There is a feast of the Lord in Shiloh yearly, in a place which is on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goes up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah.' It appears that in the first passage Shiloh is opposed to Jabesh in Gilead, a town without the land of Canaan, and that this led the author to add to Shiloh that it was in Canaan. The second passage describes not the site of Shiloh, but of a place in its neighbourhood, where an annual feast was celebrated, when the daughters of Shiloh came out to dance, to sing, and to play on instruments of music. The author thus enabled his readers, and all those who had never been at Shiloh, to form a distinct idea of the festival, and to find its scene without the employment of a guide; his topographical observation was calculated to raise the interest of his narrative, and was consequently very proper and judicious. It cannot, therefore, authorize us to infer that he was a foreigner.

III. Character of the Book.—Parts of the work are undoubtedly taken from ancient records and genealogies, others from traditions and oral information. From ancient authentic documents are probably copied the song of Deborah (ch. v.), the beautiful parable of Jotham (ch. ix. 8-15), and the beginning of Samson's epinician, or triumphal poem (ch. xv. 16). In their genealogies the Hebrews usually inserted also some historical accounts, and from this source may have been derived the narrative of the circumstances that preceded the conception of Samson, which were given as the parents related them to others (ch. xiii.). These genealogies were sometimes further illustrated by tradition, and several incidents in the history of Samson appear to have been derived from this kind of information. But on many points tradition offered nothing, or the author rejected its information as not genuine, and unworthy of belief. Thus it is that of Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, the author gives only the number of years that they governed and the number of their children, but relates none of their

transactions (ch. x. 1-5; xii. 8, 9, 11, 13). In some instances the very words of the ancient documents which the author used seem to have been preserved; and this proves the care with which he composed. Thus in the first division of our book, but nowhere else, rich and powerful men are described as men riding on ass-colts רכבים על עירים (ch. x. 4; xii. 14, &c.). It is remarkable that this phrase occurs also in the song of Deborah, which is supposed to have been written out in her time (ch. v. 9, 10): 'My heart is towards the governors of Israel, that offered themselves willingly among the people. Speak ye *that ride on white asses*, ye that sit in judgment.' In the appendix also of this book, but nowhere else, a priest has the honorary title of father given him (ch. xvii. 10; xviii. 19). But though the author sometimes retained the words of his sources, still the whole of the composition is written in a particular style, distinguishing it from all other books of the Old Testament. The idea of the Israelites being overcome by their enemies, he expresses often in this way: 'The anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies,' ויחר אף יהוה בישראל וימכרם ביד אויביהם (ch. ii. 14; iii. 8; iv. 2; x. 7). A courageous and valiant warrior is described as a person upon whom rests the spirit of Jehovah, ותהי רוח יהוה עליו, or as a person whom the spirit of Jehovah clothed, רוח יהוה לבשה את גדעון (ch. vi. 34; ix. 29; xiv. 6, 19; xv. 14, &c.).

IV. Authority of the Book.—It was published at a time when the events related were generally known, and when the veracity of the author could be ascertained by a reference to the original documents. Several of its narratives are confirmed by the books of Samuel (comp. Judg. iv. 2; vi. 14; xi., with 1 Sam. xii. 9-12: Judg. ix. 53 with 2 Sam. xi. 21). The Psalms not only allude to the book of Judges (comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 11, with Judg. vii. 25), but copy from it entire verses (comp. Ps. lxviii. 8, 9; xcvii. 5; with Judg. v. 4, 5). Philo and Josephus knew the book, and made use of it in their own compositions. The New Testament alludes to it in several places (comp. Matt. ii. 13-23 with Judg. xiii. 5; xvi. 17; Acts xiii. 20; Heb. xi. 32). This external evidence in support of the authority of the book of Judges is corroborated by many internal proofs of its authenticity. All its narratives are in character with the age to which they belong, and agree with the natural order of things. We find here that shortly after the death of Joshua the Hebrew nation had, by several victories, gained courage and become valorous (ch. i. and xix.); but that it afterwards turned to agriculture, preferred a quiet life, and allowed the Canaanites to reside in its territory in consideration of a tribute imposed on them, when the original plan was that they should be expelled. This changed their character entirely: they became effeminate and indolent—a result which we find in the case of all nations who, from a nomadic and warlike life, turn to agriculture. The intercourse with their heathen neighbours frequently led the uncultivated Hebrews to idolatry; and this, again, further prepared them for servitude. They were consequently overpowered and oppressed by their heathen neighbours. The first subjugation, indeed, by a king of Mesopotamia, they endured but eight years; but the second, more severe, by Eglon, lasted longer: it was the natural consequence of the public spirit having gradually more and more declined, and of Eglon having removed his residence to Jericho with a view of closely watching all their movements (Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 5). When Ehud sounded the trumpet of revolt, the whole nation no longer rose in arms, but only the inhabitants of Mount Ephraim (ch. iii. 27); and when Barak called to arms against Sisera, many tribes remained quietly with their herds (ch. v. 14, 15, 26, 28). Of the 30,000 men who offered to follow Gideon, he could make use of no more than 300, this small number only being, as it would seem, filled with true patriotism and courage. Thus the people had sunk gradually, and deserved for forty years to bear the yoke of the Philistines, to whom they had the meanness to deliver Samson, who, however, loosed the cords with which he was tied, and killed a large number of them (ch. xv.). It is impossible to consider such an historical work, which perfectly agrees with the natural course of things, as a fiction: at that early period of authorship, no writer could have, from fancy, depicted the character of the Hebrews so conformably with nature and established facts. All in this book breathes the spirit of the ancient world. Martial law we find in it, as could not but be expected, hard and wild. The conquered people are subjected to rough treatment, as is the case in the wars of all uncivilized people; the inhabitants of cities are destroyed wholesale (ch. viii. 16, 17; xx.). Hospitality and the protection of strangers received as guests is considered the highest virtue: a father will rather resign his daughter than allow violence to be done to a stranger who stops in his house for the night (ch. xix.; comp. Gen. xix.).

In the state of oppression in which the Hebrews often found themselves during the period from Joshua to Eli, it was to be expected that men, filled with heroism, should now and then rise up and call the people to arms in order to deliver them from their enemies. Such valiant men are introduced by our author, and he extols them, indeed, highly; but on the other hand he is not silent respecting their faults, as may be seen in the instances of Ehud, whom he reports to have murdered a king to recover liberty for his country (ch. iii. 16, sq.); of Gideon, who is recorded to have punished the inhabitants of Succoth and Penuel cruelly, for having refused bread to his weary troops (ch. viii. 16, 17); and of Jephthah, who vows a vow that if he should return home as a conqueror of the Ammonites, he would offer as a burnt-offering whatever should first come out of the door of his house to meet him: in consequence of this inconsiderate vow, his only daughter is sacrificed by a savage father, who thus becomes a gross offender against the Mosaic law, which expressly forbids human immolations (ch. xi. 34). This cannot be a fiction; it is no panegyric on Israel to describe them in the manner the author has done. And this frank, impartial tone pervades the whole work. It begins with displaying the Israelites as a refractory and obstinate people, and the appendix ends with the statement of a crime committed by the Benjamites, which had the

most disastrous consequences. At the same time due praise is bestowed on acts of generosity and justice, and valiant feats are carefully recorded.

But are not the exploits of its heroes exaggerated in our book, like those of Sesostris, Semiramis, and Hercules? Their deeds are, no doubt, often splendid; but they do not surpass belief, provided we do not add to the narrative anything which the original text does not sanction, nor give to particular words and phrases a meaning which does not belong to them. Thus, when we read that 'Shamgar *slew* of the Philistines 600 men' (ch. iii. 31), it would have been more correct if the Hebrew וַיַּךְ had been rendered by 'put to flight;' and it should be further recollected, that Shamgar is not stated to have been alone and unassisted in repelling the enemy: he did it, no doubt, supported by those brave men whose leader he was. It frequently happens that to the leader is attributed what has been performed by his followers. We find (1 Sam. xiii. 3) that Jonathan repulsed the Philistines, and no one doubts that it was done by the 1000 men mentioned in the beginning of the chapter. We read also (1 Sam. xviii. 7) that 'Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands,' but of course with the assistance of troops; and many more passages of the Old Testament are to be interpreted on the same principle, as 1 Sam. xviii. 27; 2 Sam. viii. 2. Nor can it offend when, in the passage quoted above, it is said that Shamgar repelled the Philistines with an ox-goad; for this was exactly the weapon which an uncultivated Oriental warrior, who had been brought up to husbandry, would choose in preference to other instruments of offence. From the description which travellers give of it, it appears to have been well suited to such a purpose [AGRICULTURE]. It is, however, chiefly the prodigious strength of Samson which to very many readers seems exaggerated, and surpassing all belief. He is, *e. g.*, reported to have, unarmed, slain a lion, (ch. xiv. 5, 6); to have caught 300 jackals (שׁוּעָלִים), bound their tails to one another, put a firebrand between two tails, and let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines, which was thus burnt up (ch. xv. 4, 5, 8); to have broken, with perfect ease, the new cords with which his arms were bound, &c. (ch. xv. 14; xvi. 7-9, 11). Now, there is in these and other recorded feats of Samson nothing which ought to create difficulty, for history affords many instances of men of extraordinary strength, of whom Goliath among the Philistines is not the least remarkable; and for others we refer to T. Ludolf, *Historia Æthiopiæ*, i. 10; to the *Acta Dei per Francos*, i. 75, 314; and to Schillinger, *Missionsbericht*, iv. 79. Lions were also slain by other persons unarmed, as by David (1 Sam. xvii. 36) and Benaiah (2 Sam. xxiii. 20). The explanation of Samson's other great exploits will be found under his name [SAMSON]. It will be easy to show that, when properly understood, they do not necessarily exceed the limits of human power. Extraordinary indeed they were; but they are not alleged by the Scripture itself to have been supernatural. Those, however, who do hold them to have been supernatural cannot reasonably take exception to them on the ground of their extraordinary character. A cautious reader may, perhaps, resolve on abstaining entirely from giving his views of Samson's feats; but, at all events, he will not presume to say that they exceed human power, and are fabulous. He may say that they do not necessarily exceed human power, and are therefore neither supernatural on the one hand, nor fabulous on the other; or if he believes them above human power, he must admit that they are supernatural, and will have no right to conclude that they are fabulous. Considering the very remote period at which our book was written—considering also the manner of viewing and describing events and persons which prevailed with the ancient Hebrews, and which very much differs from that of our age—taking, moreover, into account the brevity of the narratives, which consist of historical fragments, we may well wonder that there do not occur in it more difficulties, and that not more doubts have been raised as to its historical authority (see Herder, *Geist der Hebräischen Poesie*, ii. 250, 59; Eichhorn, *Repertorium der Biblischen und Morgenländischen Litteratur*, vii. 78).—J. v. H.

JUDGMENT-HALL. Πραιτώριον occurs Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28, 33; xix. 9; Acts xxiii. 35; Phil. i. 13; in all which places the Vulgate has *prætorium*. The English version, however, uses prætorium but once only, and then unavoidably, Mark xv. 16, 'The hall called Prætorium.' In all the other instances it gives an explanation of the word rather than a translation: thus, Matt. xxvii. 27, 'the common-hall;' margin, 'or governor's house:' John xviii. 28, 33, 'the judgment-hall;' margin, 'or Pilate's house:' Philipp. i. 13, 'the palace;' margin, 'or Cæsar's court.' The object of the translators, probably, was to make their version intelligible to the mere English reader, and to exhibit the various senses in which they considered the word to be used in the several passages. It is plainly one of the many Latin words to be found in the New Testament [LATINISMS], being the word *prætorium* in a Greek dress, a derivative from *prætor;* which latter, from *præeo*, 'to go before,' was originally applied by the Romans to a military officer—the general. But because the Romans subdued many countries and reduced them to provinces, and governed them afterwards, at first by the generals who had subdued them, or by some other military commanders, the word prætor came ultimately to be used for any civil governor of a province, whether he had been engaged in war or not; and who acted in the capacity of Chief Justice, having a council associated with him (Acts xxv. 12). Accordingly the word prætorium, also, which originally signified the general's tent in a camp, came at length to be applied to the residence of the civil governor in provinces and cities (Cic. *Verr.* ii. v. 12); and being properly an adjective, as is also its Greek representative, it was used to signify *whatever* appertained to the prætor or governor; for instance, his residence, either the whole or any part of it, as his dwelling-house, or the place where he administered justice, or even the large enclosed court at the entrance to the prætorian residence (Bynæus, *De Morte Jes. Christ.* ii. 407, Amst. 1696).

These observations serve to elucidate the several uses of the word in the New Testament, which have, however, much exercised the ingenuity and research of many eminent scholars, as may be seen upon referring to Pitisci *Lex. Antiq. Roman.*,

s. v. 'Prætorium.' Upon comparing the instances in which the evangelists mention the prætorium, it will be seen, first, that it was the residence of Pilate; for that which John relates in ch. xviii. 28, 'Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas into the prætorium,' &c., is most certainly the same incident which Luke relates in ch. xxiii. 1, 'And the whole multitude arose and led him to Pilate,' &c. A collation of the subsequent verses in each passage will place this point beyond doubt. Nonnus says, that leaving the house of Caiaphas, they took Jesus εἰς δόμον ἡγεμόνος, 'to the governor's house.' This residence of Pilate seems to have been the magnificent palace built by Herod, situated in the north part of the upper city, west of the temple (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 9. 3), and overlooking the temple (xx. 8. 11). The reasons for this opinion are, that the Roman procurators, whose ordinary residence was at Cæsarea (Acts xxiii. 23, &c.; xxv. 1, &c.), took up their residence in this palace when they visited Jerusalem, their tribunal being erected in the open court or area before it. Thus Josephus states that Florus took up his quarters at the palace (ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐλίζεται); and on the next day he had his tribunal set up before it, and sat upon it (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 8). Philo expressly says that the palace, which had hitherto been Herod's, was now called τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, 'the house of the prætors' (*Legat. ad Caium*, p. 1033, ed. Franc.). Secondly, the word is applied in the New Testament, by synecdoche, to a particular *part* of the prætorian residence. Thus, Matt. xxvii. 27, and Mark xv. 16, 'And the soldiers led Jesus away into the hall called Prætorium, and gathered unto them the whole band, and they clothed him with purple,' &c.; where the word rather refers to the court or area in front of the prætorium, or some other court where the procurator's guards were stationed. In John xix. 9, the word seems applied, when all the circumstances are considered, to Pilate's *private examination room*. In like manner, when Felix 'commanded Paul to be kept in Herod's prætorium' (Acts xxiii. 25), the words apply not only to the whole palace originally built at Cæsarea by Herod, and now most likely inhabited by the prætor, but also to the *keep* or *donjon*, a prison for confining offenders, such as existed in our ancient royal palaces and grand baronial castles. Thirdly, in the remaining instance of the word, Phil. i. 3, 'So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the prætorium,' 'palace,' it is, in the opinion of the best commentators, used by hypallage to signify the *prætorian camp* at Rome, a select body of troops constituted by Augustus to guard his person and to have charge of the city, the 'cohortes prætorianæ' (Suet. *Tib.* 37; *Claud.* 10; *Ner.* 8; Tacitus, *Annal.* xii. 69); so that the words of the apostle really mean, 'My bonds in Christ are manifest to all the prætorians, and by their means to the public at large' (Bloomfield's *Recensio Synopt.*, in loc.). The præfect of this camp was the στρατοπεδάρχης to whose charge Paul was committed (Acts xxviii. 26), as the younger Agrippa was once imprisoned by this officer at the express command of the Emperor Tiberius (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 6; Olshausen, *Topogr. des alt Jerusalem*, § iii. 9; Perizonius, *De Origine et Significatione et usu vocum Prætoris et Prætorii*, Frank. 1690; Perizonius, *Disquisitio cum Ulrico Hubero*, Lugdm. Bat. 1696; Shorzius, *De Prætorio Pilati* in *Exercit. Phil.* Hag. Com. 1771; Zornius, *Opuscula Sacra*, ii. 699; Winer, *Bibl. Real-Wörterbuch*, art. 'Richthaus').—J. F. D.

JUDITH ('Ιουδίθ; or 'Ιουδήθ, *Judeth*, as in the English version, and in Origen) [APOCRYPHA], the name of one of the apocryphal or deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament, is placed in manuscripts of the Alexandrine version between the books of Tobit and Esther. In its external form this book bears the character of the record of an historical event, describing the complete defeat of the Assyrians by the Jews through the prowess of a woman.

The following is a sketch of the narrative:—Nebuchadnezzar, or, as he is called in the Greek, Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, having, in the twelfth year of his reign, conquered and taken Arphaxad, by whom his territory had been invaded, formed the design of subduing the people of Asia to the westward of Nineveh his capital, who had declined to aid him against Arphaxad. With this view he sent his general, Holofernes, at the head of a powerful army, and soon made himself master of Mesopotamia, Syria, Libya, Cilicia, and Idumæa. The inhabitants of the sea-coast made a voluntary submission; which, however, did not prevent their territories from being laid waste, their sacred groves burned, and their idols destroyed, in order that divine honours should be paid only to Nebuchadnezzar. Holofernes, having finally encamped in the plain of Esdraelon (ch. i. 3), remained inactive for a whole month—or two, according to the Latin version. But the Jews, who had not long returned from captivity, and who had just restored their temple and its worship, prepared for war under the direction of their high-priest Joacim, or Eliakim, and the senate. The high-priest addressed letters to the inhabitants of Bethulia (Gr. Βετυλούα) and Betomestham, near Esdraelon (ch. iv. 6), charging them to guard the passes of the mountains. The Jews at the same time kept a fast, and called upon God for protection against their enemies. Holofernes, astonished at their audacity and preparations, inquired of the Moabites and Ammonites who these people were. Achior, the leader of the Ammonites, informed him of the history of the Jews, adding, that if they offended their God he would deliver them into the hands of their enemies, but that otherwise they would be invincible. Holofernes, however, prepares to lay siege to Bethulia, and commences operations by taking the mountain passes, and intercepting the water, in order to compel the inhabitants to surrender. Ozias, the governor of the city, holds out as long as possible; but at the end of thirty-four days' siege, the inhabitants are reduced to that degree of distress from drought, that they are determined to surrender unless relieved within five days. Meantime Judith, a rich and beautiful woman, the widow of Manasseh, forms the patriotic design of delivering the city and the nation. With this view she entreats the governor and elders to give up all idea of surrender, and to permit the gates of the city to be opened for her. Arrayed in rich attire, she proceeds to the camp of Holofernes, attended only by her maid, bearing a bag of provisions. She is admitted into the presence of Holofernes, and informs him that the Jews could not be overcome so long as they remained faithful to God, but that they had now

sinned against Him in converting to their own use the tithes, which were sacred to the priests alone; and that she had fled from the city to escape the impending and inevitable destruction which awaited it. She obtains leave to remain in the camp, with the liberty of retiring by night for the purpose of prayer, and promises that at the proper moment she will herself be the guide of Holofernes to the very walls of Jerusalem. Judith is favourably entertained; Holofernes is smitten with her charms, gives her a magnificent entertainment, at which, having drunk too freely, he is shut up with her alone in the tent. Taking advantage of her opportunity, while he is sunk in sleep, she seizes his falchion and strikes off his head. Giving it to her maid, who was outside the tent door, she leaves the camp as usual, under pretence of devotion, and returns to Bethulia, displaying the head of Holofernes. The Israelites, next morning, fall on the Assyrians, who, panic-struck at the loss of their general, are soon discomfited, leaving an immense spoil in the hands of their enemies. The whole concludes with the triumphal song of Judith, who accompanies all the people to Jerusalem to give thanks to the Lord. After this she returns to her native city Bethulia, gives freedom to her maid, and dies at the advanced age of 105 years. The Jews enjoying a profound and happy peace, a yearly festival (according to the Vulgate) is instituted in honour of the victory.

The difficulties, historical, chronological, and geographical, comprised in the narrative of Judith are so numerous and serious as to be held by many divines altogether insuperable. Events, times, and manners are said to be confounded, and the chronology of the times before and those after the exile, of the Persian and Assyrian, and even of the Maccabæan period, confusedly and unaccountably blended.

The first and greatest difficulty is to fix the period when the alleged events took place. Those who place them before the exile are divided in opinion between the time of Manasses and that of Zedekiah. Among those who refer the history to the time of Manasseh are Calmet (*Commentary*), Prideaux (*Connection*), Montfaucon, who places the scene in the latter part of his reign (*Hist. Ver. Judith.*), and Bellarmine (*De Verbo Dei*). These writers consider Nebuchadnezzar to be the same with Saosduchin. See also Lud. Capell (*Comm. Crit.*), and Huet (*Dem. Evangel.*).

As the events in Judith are positively asserted to have taken place after the captivity (ch. iv. 3; v. 18, 19 in the Greek; ch. v. 22, 23 in the Vulgate), the commentators who adopt the view just referred to assume that it is only some temporary and transient captivity (as that of Manasseh) which is here meant. Calmet is not disconcerted by supposing that Judith might in this case be sixty-three or sixty years old, 'being then what we call a fine woman, and having an engaging air and person,' 'likely,' adds Du Pin, 'to charm an old general.' Jahn, however, maintains that it would be altogether inconsistent with historical truth to assert that the Jews had no idols in the reign of Manasseh (ch. viii. 18).

The reign of Zedekiah has been held by others as the era of Judith; and Genebrard is of opinion that the Nebuchadnezzar of Judith is Nebuchadnezzar the Great [NEBUCHADNEZZAR]. Jahn conceives that the author of Judith confounds Nebuchadnezzar with Nereglissor, who, in preparing his expedition against the Medes, invited the Lydians, Phrygians, Carians, Cappadocians, Cilicians, Paphlagonians, and other neighbouring nations to the war, when, however, he was himself overcome and slain by Cyrus (*Bibl. Archæol.* part ii. tom. i. § 47, p. 216).

Those who consider the events recorded in Judith to have taken place after the captivity, find equal difficulty in fixing the era. The most ancient tradition of the Jews (preserved by Eusebius in his *Chronicon*) considers Cambyses as the Nebuchadnezzar of Judith. Julius Africanus, who is followed by the Roman Catholic Professor Alber, of Pesth, ascribes the history to the time of Xerxes, others to that of Darius Hystaspis (Whiston, *Hist. of the Old Test.*), or of Artaxerxes Ochus (Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. Sac.* ii. 12). Jahn (*Introd.*) maintains that there was no time *after the exile* when it was possible for these events to have taken place, for he observes that the Jews were subject to the Persians for 207 years, after which they were subject to Alexander the Great, then to the Ptolemies, and to the kings of Syria, until they obtained their independence. The only time to which they could possibly be referred is that of Antiochus Epiphanes, but this supposition is inconsistent with the fact that the Jews had but recently returned from captivity, and restored the worship of God in the Temple. The geographical difficulties are equally embarrassing.

While some have endeavoured to account for these difficulties by imputing them to the errors of transcribers, others have supposed that the book of Judith could not possibly have been intended by its author to be a purely historical narrative. Grotius conceived it to be an allegory, the design of which was to encourage the Jews in their hopes of deliverance from the Syrians, when the Temple was polluted by Antiochus Epiphanes. Judith, he says, represents the Jewish nation; Bethulia, the Temple; the sword issuing from them, the prayers of the saints; Nebuchadnezzar, the devil; and Holofernes (הלפר נחש, the Officer of the Serpent), Antiochus Epiphanes, who wishes to overcome the beautiful but widowed Judæa. The prayers of the saints were heard, and he was punished by God. Eliakim, the name of the high-priest, signifies that God will arise. Among the Roman Catholics this notion of an allegory is favoured by Jahn, who maintains that the difficulties are otherwise insuperable. De Wette, however, considers that the fact of Holofernes being an historical name (together with other reasons), militates against the notion of an allegory, as maintained by Grotius. The name Holofernes is found in Appian (*In Syriac.* c. 47), and in Polybius (x. 11). The latter historian states that Holofernes, having conquered Cappadocia, lost it by endeavouring to change the customs of the country, and to introduce the drunken rites of Bacchus; and Casaubon (*ad Athen.*) conjectures that this was the Holofernes of Judith. From its termination the name is supposed to be of Persian extraction, as Tissaphernes, Artaphernes, Bargaphernes, &c.

Luther first conceived the idea that the book of Judith was a patriotic romance, a drama or sacred poem, written by some pious man, with the

intention of showing that God was accustomed to assist the Israelites who had faith in his promises. This view was subsequently adopted by Buddeus (*Hist. Eccles. V. T.*, ii. 611, sq.), Semler, and Bertholdt. 'Judith,' says Luther, 'is a beautiful composition; it is good, sound, and worthy of being read with attention by Christians. Its contents ought to be read as the work of a sacred poet, or of a prophet animated by the Holy Spirit, who instructs by the characters whom he introduces on the stage to speak in his name' (*Pref. to Judith*). And again, 'If the action of Judith could be justified by proof drawn from incontestable historical documents, it would doubtless merit to be received into the number of sacred books as an excellent work.'

Date of the composition, and author.—The authorship of the book is as uncertain as its date. It is not named either by Philo or Josephus; nor have we any indication whatever by which to form a conjecture respecting its author. But it has been supposed by some that it could not have been written by a contemporary, from the circumstance of the family of Achior being mentioned as still in existence, and of the Festival of Judith being still celebrated. If this festival ever took place, it must have been of temporary duration, for, as Calmet observes, no record of it can be traced since the exile. Professor Alber of Pesth, however, maintains that it is still recorded in the Jewish calendars. Jahn, after Grotius, refers the date of the book to the Maccabæan period, and derives an argument for its late composition from the fact of the Feast of the New Moon being mentioned (ch. viii. 6, compared with Mark xv. 42). De Wette (*Einleitung*) conceives that the whole composition bespeaks an author who was a native of Palestine, who could not have lived beyond the end of the first century of the Christian era (the date assigned to it by Eichhorn), inasmuch as it is then cited by Clement of Rome; but that the probability is that it was much earlier written. Movers, a Roman Catholic Professor at Bonn, a man of great penetration in similar investigations respecting the canonical books of the Old Testament, endeavours to fix the date of its composition in the year B.C. 104. 'The author,' he observes, 'who has transferred the geographical relations of his own time to a former period,* makes the Jewish territory commence at Scythopolis (ch. iii. 10), and makes Bethulia, against which Holofernes directed his attack, the first Jewish city at the entrance into Judæa (iv. 7), reckoning the territory intervening between this and Samaria as tributary to the Jewish high-priest. This state of affairs continued from the time of John Hyrcanus to Pompey's invasion of Judæa. Hyrcanus had seized upon Samaria, and wrested Scythopolis, with the surrounding territory, from Epicrates, the general of Ptolemy Lathurus (Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 3), B.C. 110, according to Usher. But Samaria and Scythopolis, with other acquisitions of the Maccabees, were lost for ever to the Jewish nation, when Pompey, B.C. 48, reduced Judæa to its ancient limits. The sea-coast (ch. iii. 1), independent of the Jews, continued, since the last years of the reign of Alexander Jannæus, to be a Jewish possession; but Carmel, which (ch. i. 8) was inhabited by the Gentiles, was still independent in the beginning of his reign, and he first seized it after the war with Ptolemy Lathurus (xiii. 15. 4). It is to this war that Movers considers the book of Judith to refer, and he supposes it to have been written after the unfortunate battle at Asochis in Galilee (or rather Asophen on the Jordan) (Movers, *Ueber die Ursprache der Deuterokan. Bueher*, in the *Bonner Zeitschrift*, xiii. 36, sq.). De Wette conceives that this hypothesis is opposed by the following geographical combinations:—1. Galilee belonged to the Asmonæans, the proof of which, indeed, is by no means certain, while the following indications thereof present themselves:—(*a*) Asochis seems to have belonged to Alexander Jannæus, as it received Ptolemy Lathurus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 12. 4, comp. with xv. 4). (*b*) Hyrcanus had his son Alexander Jannæus brought up in Galilee (xiii. 12. 1). (*c*) Antigonus returned from Galilee (*De Bell. Jud.* i. 3. 3). (*d*) Aristobulus seized upon Ituræa (*Antiq.* xiii. 11. 3), which presupposes the possession of Galilee. (*e*) Even after the limits of Galilee were circumscribed by Pompey, it still belonged to the Jewish high-priest (*De Bell. Jud.* i. 10. 4). 2. Idumæa belonged to the Jewish state, but the sons of Esau came to Holofernes (vii. 8. 18). 3. If the author had the war with Ptolemy Lathurus in view, the irruption of Holofernes would rather correspond with the movements of the Cyprian army, which proceeded from Asochis to Sepphoris, and thence to Asophen (*Einleitung*, § 307).

Language of Judith.—The original language is uncertain. Eichhorn and Jahn (*Introduction*) and Seiler (*Biblical Hermeneutics*), with whom is Bertholdt, conceive it to have been Greek. Calmet states on the authority of Origen (*Ep. ad African.*), that the Jews had the book of Judith in Hebrew in his time. Origen's words, however, are, 'They make no use of Tobit, nor of Judith, nor have they them even in the Apocrypha in Hebrew, as we have learned from themselves.' Jerome (*Pref. to Judith*) states that it is written in Chaldee, from which he translated it, with the aid of an interpreter, giving rather the sense than the words. He also complains of numbers of incorrect copies of Judith in the Latin translation, which he had expurgated, retaining only what was in the Chaldee. Many of the errors of Jerome's translation can be corrected by the Greek; as, for instance, ἀπάτης, 'of deceit' (ch. xi. 5), was mistaken for ἀγάπης, and translated *caritatis*; κλαύσονται was mistaken for καύσονται, and translated *urentur*, &c. &c. The Chaldee text, from which Jerome translates, and which varies

* The Rev. Charles Forster (*Geography of Arabia*, 1844) observes (i. 185), 'that in the book of Judith the race of Ishmael is noticed by their patronymic as extending to the southern confines of Syria and Cilicia. Holofernes, moving south from Cilicia, spoiled all the children of Rasses and the children of Ishmael which were towards the wilderness, at the south of the land of the Chillians. The same verse,' he adds (Judith ii. 23), 'makes mention of "Phud and Lud" as inhabitants of the hill country, or Upper Cilicia, and thereby corrects the geography of Bochart and Wells, who not only carry these two nations into Africa, but confine them exclusively to that continent. The march of Holofernes is wholly inconsistent with this notion.'

considerably from the Greek, betrays, according to De Wette, many and undoubted marks of a Hebrew original. It is impossible, however, to say whether this was best represented by the Greek or by the Chaldee. Jerome probably himself, or his interpreter, took many liberties with the original, with which he states that he was but imperfectly acquainted.

The Syriac version seems evidently taken from the Greek, and the more correct manner in which the names of cities are given, as well as other variations, have been supposed to attest the existence of more correct Greek copies than those which we now possess, as no book in the Septuagint has so few Greek particles as the book of Judith.

Gesenius, and especially Movers, have been very successful in their efforts to correct the present geographical errors by the supposition of a Hebrew original. Betani (ch. i. 9) the latter conceives to be Beth-anoth (Josh. xv), and the *two seas* (ch. i. 12), the two arms of the Nile. For χαλλαίων he reads χαλδαίων, and considers Rasses to be an oversight for Tarshish. Movers, observes De Wette, explains the historical inaccuracies and anachronisms, by a free poetical use of history after the manner of Shakspeare. Movers may therefore be included among those writers who have followed Luther in considering Judith an historical romance. Seiler (*Biblical Hermeneutics*) conceives it to be a fiction, founded on fact, written by a Palestinian Jew.

The old Latin ante-hieronymian version (from the Greek) is still extant, and the many discrepancies between it and Jerome's version, confirm the fact of the great and faulty variety in the copies, of which that father complains. The text of this version is by some supposed to have been mixed with that of Jerome, and the variations between the Vulgate and the Greek are numerous and considerable.

Authority of Judith in the Church.—Although the book of Judith never formed part of the Jewish canon [DEUTERO-CANONICAL], and finds no place in the ancient catalogues, its authority in the Christian church has been very great. It is thus referred to by Clemens Romanus, the companion of the Apostles, in his first (or genuine) epistle to the Corinthians :—'The blessed Judith, when the city was besieged, asked leave of the elders to go to the camp of the foreigners, and fearless of danger in her patriotism, she proceeded, and the Lord delivered Holofernes into the hands of a woman. In like manner, Esther,' &c. &c. Jerome observes that 'Ruth, Esther, and Judith had the honor of giving their names to sacred books' (*Ad Principiam*). Among the Hebrews, he observes, 'it is reckoned among the Hagiographa (or Apocrypha) whose authority is not proper for confirming controverted matters,' but he adds, 'since the council of Nicæa is read (*legitur*) to have reckoned Judith among the sacred Scriptures, I have agreed to your request (to translate it). . . . Receive Judith as an example of chastity. . . . He who was the rewarder of her chastity gave her such virtue as to enable her to overcome him who was invincible.' It is spoken of by Origen as received by the church (*Hom.* xix. *in Gen.* & i. iii. *in Johan.*), and is cited by Tertullian (*De Monogamia*), Ambrose (lib. iii. *De Offic.*), and Chrysostom (*Homil.*).

Indeed, no question as to Judith's being an historical personage appears to have been raised before the era of the Reformation, and this question is still unsettled. 'Even,' says Calmet (*ut supra*), 'if by the force of our adversaries' reasons we should be compelled to acknowledge that the book contains but a parable, or a fiction written for the encouragement of the Jews in their affliction, and to give them a model of virtue in the person of Judith, we do not perceive what advantage they would derive against us, and against the authenticity of the book. Would it be on that account the less divine, less inspired, less worthy of the Holy Spirit? The fathers who have cited it, the councils which have received it into the canon, the church which authorizes it and receives it,—would they be on this account in error? and would religion suffer the least injury? Does not the Old Testament, as well as the New, abound in parables, so circumstantially detailed as to present the appearance of real histories, &c.?' (*Pref. to Comm.*) And as to the action of Judith, the same able commentator observes: 'We cannot approve in all respects, either the prayer or the action of Judith; we commend her good intentions, and think that the uprightness of her design and her ignorance abate much of the crime. . . . Yet will not this suffice entirely to excuse her; a lie told with so much solemnity, and carried on through her whole conversation with Holofernes, is still indefensible. The employing her beauty and her little winning arts to inflame his passion, and thereby exposing her person to a rude attack, is a step likewise not to be justified.'

The book of Judith is supposed by some to be referred to by St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 9, 10, comp. with Judith viii. 24, 25). Judith, with the other deuterocanonical books, has been at all times read in the church, and lessons are taken from it in the Church of England in course.—W. W.

JULIA (Ἰουλία, a name common among the Romans), a Christian woman of Rome, to whom St. Paul sent his salutations (Rom. xvi. 15); she is named with Philologus, and is supposed to have been his wife or sister.

JULIUS (Ἰούλιος), the centurion who had the charge of conducting Paul as a prisoner to Rome, and who treated him with much consideration and kindness on the way (Acts xxvii. 1, 3).

JUNIAS (Ἰουνίας), a person who is joined with Andronicus in Rom. xvi. 7: 'Salute Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen and fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the apostles.' They were, doubtless, Jewish Christians.

JUSTIFICATION. Justification may be defined, in its theological sense, as the non-imputation of sin, and the imputation of righteousness. That there is a reciprocation between Christ and believers, *i. e.* in the *imputation* of their sins unto Him, and of His righteousness unto them; and that this forms the ground of the sinner's justification and acceptance with God, it will be the object of the following remarks to demonstrate.

The *vicarious* nature of the Redeemer's sufferings was set forth under the Mosaic dispensation by very significant types, one of the most expressive of which was the offering of the scapegoat: 'And Aaron shall lay his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them

on the head of the goat, and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities' (Lev. xvi. 21, 22). Abarbinel, in the introduction to his commentary on Leviticus (*De Viel.* p. 301), represents this ceremony as a symbolical translation of the sins of the offender upon the head of the sacrifice, and as a way by which the evil due to his transgression was to be deprecated.

Nachmaindes also, commenting on Lev. i., observes, respecting the burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin: 'It was right the offerer's own blood should be shed, and his body burnt, but that the Creator, in His mercy, hath accepted this victim from him as a *vicarious* substitute and atonement, that its blood should be poured out instead of his blood, and its life stand in place of his life.'

We are informed by Herodotus (ii. 39) that the practice of imprecating on the head of the victim the evils which the sacrificer wished to avert from himself was usual also amongst the heathen. The Egyptians, he adds, would not taste the head of any animal, but flung it into the river as an abomination.

If this type foreshadowed the vicarious nature of the sufferings and death of Christ—and who with the inspired comment of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews before him can doubt this?—we may with confidence appeal also to the voice of prophecy, and the expositions of apostles, for the further illustration and enforcement of the same truth. The 53rd chapter of Isaiah is so full upon this point, that Bishop Louth says, 'This chapter declares the circumstances of our Saviour's sufferings so exactly, that it seems rather a history of His passion than a prophecy.' In verses 5 and 6 we are told that God 'laid upon Him the iniquities of us all, that by His stripes we might be healed'—that our sin was laid on Him, and He bare it (ver. 11). St. Paul, re-echoing the same truth, says, 'He was made sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him' (2 Cor. v. 21). This is the reciprocation spoken of above. Again, in Rom. viii. 3, 4, the apostle informs us that God sent His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us; that sin was made His, and he bore its penalty; His righteousness is forensically transferred to the believer, and he becomes a happy participator of its benefits. This, then, is the change in relation to God from which the soul of a convinced sinner can find peace. Before we notice the objections which have been, and still are, urged against this view of the question, we may inquire *how far* it is confirmed by the earliest and most eminently pious fathers of the Christian church.

Amongst these fathers none could have been better acquainted with the mind of St. Paul than the venerable Clement of Rome, inasmuch as he is honourably recorded by the apostle as one of his fellow-labourers in the Gospel whose names are written in the book of life (Philipp. iv. 3). Nothing can be more explicit than this writer is on the point of *forensic justifying righteousness*, and of *intrinsic sanctifying righteousness* (see Clem. Rom. *Epist. ad Corinth.* i. sect. 32, 33). Chrysostom's commentary on 2 Cor. (ch. v. *Hom.* 11) is also very expressive on this subject: 'What word, what speech is this, what mind can comprehend or speak it? for he saith, He made Him who was righteous to be made a sinner, that He might make sinners righteous; nor yet doth He say so neither, but that which is far more sublime and excellent. For He speaks not of an inclination or affection, but expresseth the quality itself. For He says not, He made Him a sinner, but sin, that we might be made not merely righteous, but righteousness, and that the righteousness of God, when we are justified not by works (for if we should, there must be no spot found in them), but by grace, whereby all sin is blotted out.'

Again, Justin Martyr (*Epist. ad Diognet.*) speaks to the same purpose: 'He gave His son a ransom for us; the holy for transgressors; the innocent for the guilty; the just for the unjust; the incorruptible for the corrupt; the immortal for mortals. For what else could hide our sins but His righteousness? In whom else could we wicked and ungodly ones be justified, or esteemed righteous, but in the Son of God alone? O sweet permutation or change! O unsearchable work, or curious operation! O blessed beneficence, exceeding all expectation! That the iniquity of many should be hid in one Just One, and the righteousness of one should justify many transgressors!'

So Gregory Nyssen (*Orat. II. in Cant.*) deserves notice: 'He hath transferred to Himself the filth of my sins, and communicated unto me His purity, and made me partaker of His beauty!'

Augustine also speaks to the same effect: 'He was sin that we might be righteousness, not our own, but the righteousness of God, not in ourselves, but in Him' (*Enchirid. ad Laurent.* c. 41).

As our limits will not admit of more quotations from those who are usually designated 'the fathers of the church,' we must refer the reader to Suicer's *Thesaurus*, tom. i. p. 900.

In accordance with the above expressed views of the fathers on the important doctrine of justification, is that which is taken by the church of England. Articles eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth run thus:—

'We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.'

'Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.'

'Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.'

The homily referred to in the eleventh article, under the title of the Homily of Justification, is styled in the first book of Homilies itself, 'A

Sermon of the Salvation of Mankind, by only Christ our Saviour, from sin and death everlasting.' In this sermon the reader will find strikingly set forth the inseparable connection there is between *justification* and *sanctification*, the one the cause, the other the effect.

It was this doctrine of justification which constituted the great ground of controversy between the reformers and the church of Rome (see Luther to Geo. Spenlein, *Epist.* Ann. 1516, tom. i.). That the reader may be able to see in a contrasted form the essential differences upon this head between the two churches, we subjoin what the Tridentine fathers have stated. In sess. vi. c. xvi. p. 54, they announce the views of their church on justification in the following language :—

'Jesus Christ, as the head into the members, and as the vine into the branches, perpetually causes His virtue to flow into the justified. This virtue always precedes, accompanies, and follows their good works; so that without it such good works could in nowise be acceptable to God, and bear the character of meritoriousness. Hence we must believe, that to the justified themselves nothing more is wanting which needs to prevent us from thinking both that they have satisfied the divine law, according to the state of this life, by those works which are performed in God; and also that, in their own time, provided they depart in grace, they truly merit the attainment of eternal life. Thus neither our own proper righteousness is so determined to be our own, as if it were from ourselves; nor is the righteousness of God either unknown or rejected. For that which is called our righteousness, because through its being inherent in us we are justified, that same is the righteousness of God, because it is infused into us by God through the merit of Christ. Far, however, be it from a Christian man that he should either trust or glory in himself, and not in the Lord; whose goodness to all is so great, that what are truly His gifts He willeth to be estimated as their merits.'

Such, so far as the justification and acceptance of man before God are concerned, is the doctrinal scheme of the church of Rome; and nothing can be more foreign than it is from the system set forth by the church of England. In the view of the latter, justification signifies making *just* in trial and judgment, as sanctification is making holy; but not making just by infusion of grace and holiness into a person, according to the view of the former, thus confounding justification and sanctification together. On the Protestant principle justification is not a real change of a sinner in himself, though a real change is annexed to it; but only a relative change in reference to God's judgment. Thus we find the word used in Rom. iii. 23, 24, 25, 26. In fine, the doctrine of Justification by Faith may be expressed in Scriptural language thus: 'All have sinned and come short of the glory of God; every mouth must be stopped, and all the world become guilty before God; therefore, by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh living be justified in His sight. But we are justified freely by His grace through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth as a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God. Where is boasting, then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay: but by the law of faith. Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.' For a full exposition of the differences between the two churches, see Möhler's *Symbolik*, translated from the German by Robertson.

We now come to notice the objections which may be urged against this view of justification.

1. It does not consist, say some, with the truth and holiness of God, that the *innocent* should suffer for the *guilty*. We answer, that it is no injustice, or cruelty, for an innocent person to suffer for the guilty, as Christ did, provided there be these conditions :—

1. That the person suffering be of the same nature with those for whom he suffers.
2. That he suffers of his own free will.
3. That he be able to sustain all that shall be laid upon him.
4. That a greater amount of glory redound to the divine attributes than if he had not so suffered. Now the Scriptures assure us that all these conditions were realized in the incarnate Saviour.

Bishop Butler (*Analogy*, ch. v.) has a striking answer to this objection. He shows that in the daily course of God's natural providence the innocent do often and constantly suffer for the guilty; and then argues that the Christian appointment against which this objection is taken, is not only of the same kind, but is even less open to exception, 'because, under the former, we are in many cases commanded, and even necessitated, whether we will or no, to suffer for the faults of others; whereas the sufferings of Christ were voluntary. The world's being under the righteous government of God does, indeed, imply that, finally, and upon the whole, every one shall receive according to his personal deserts; and the general doctrine of the whole Scripture is, that this shall be the completion of the divine government. But during the progress, and for aught we know, even in order to the completion of this moral scheme, vicarious punishments may be fit, and absolutely necessary. Men, by their follies, run themselves into extreme distress—into difficulties which would be absolutely fatal to them, were it not for the interposition and assistance of others. God commands by the law of nature that we afford them this assistance, in many cases where we cannot do it without very great pains, and labour, and sufferings to ourselves. And we see in what variety of ways one person's sufferings contribute to the relief of another, and how, or by what particular means, this comes to pass, or follows from the constitution or laws of nature which come under our notice, and, being familiarised with it, men are not shocked with it. So that the reason of their insisting upon objections of the foregoing kind against the satisfaction of Christ, is either that they do not consider God's settled and uniform appointments as His appointments at all, or else, they forget that vicarious punishment is a providential appointment of every day's experience; and then, from their being unacquainted with the more general laws of nature or divine government over the world, and not seeing how the sufferings of Christ could contribute to the redemption of it unless by arbitrary and tyrannical will, they conclude his sufferings could not contribute to it any other

way. And yet, what has been often alleged in justification of this doctrine, even from the apparent natural tendency of this method of our redemption—its tendencies to vindicate the authority of God's laws and deter his creatures from sin,—this has never yet been answered, and is, I think, plainly unanswerable.'

2. Again it is objected, if we are justified on receiving Christ by faith as the Lord our righteousness, and if this be the sole ground of salvation propounded by St. Paul, there is then a palpable discrepancy between him and St. James; for the former states, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law (Rom. iii. 8; Gal. ii. 16); while the latter says, 'a man is justified by works and not by faith only' (James ii. 24). That there is a difficulty here there can be no question, and that it led Eusebius and Jerome, together with Luther and Erasmus, to question the authority of St. James's Epistle, is notorious to every reader of ecclesiastical history. The church of Rome builds her system of man being justified by reason of inherent righteousness, on the assumption that when St. Paul says 'by the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified,' he means the *ceremonial* and not the *moral* law. In this way she would establish her own system of human merit, and harmonise the two apostles. But it is quite clear to the impartial reader of the Epistle to the Romans, that the scope of St. Paul's argument must include both the moral and the ceremonial law; for he proves both Jew and Gentile guilty before God, and this with the view of establishing the righteousness of faith in the imputed merits of Christ as the only ground of a sinner's salvation. Leaving, then, this sophistical reconcilement, we come to that which our Protestant divines propose. This is of a two-fold character, viz., first, by distinguishing the double sense of *justification*, which may be taken either for the absolution of a sinner in God's judgment, or for the declaration of his righteousness before men. This distinction is found in Scripture, in which the word *justify* is used in both acceptations. Thus St. Paul speaks of justification *in foro Dei;* St. James speaks of it *in foro hominis.* A man is justified by faith without works, saith the one; a man is justified by works, and not by faith only, declares the other. That this is the true solution of the difficulty appears from the fact that the two apostles draw their apparently opposite conclusions from the same example of *Abraham* (Rom. iv. 9-23; comp. James ii. 21-24).

'If Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory, but not before God. For what saith the Scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness' (Rom. iv. 2, 3). Thus speaks St. Paul; yet St. James argues in manner following: 'Was not Abraham our father justified by works when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar? Seest thou how faith wrought with his works; and from works faith was perfected? And the Scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. Ye see then how from works a man is justified, and not from faith only.'

Another mode of reconciling the apostles is by regarding *faith* in the double sense in which it is often found in Scripture. St. Paul, when he affirms that we are justified by faith only, speaks of that faith which is true and living, working by love. St. James, when he denies that a man is justified by faith only, disputes against that faith which is false and unproductive; when the true Christian, speaking to the hypocritical boaster of his faith, asks, 'Show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works.'

3. One objection more may be urged against this fundamental doctrine, that sinners are justified by the free grace of God through the imputed righteousness of the Redeemer, namely, that it weakens the obligations to *holiness* of life. This objection the apostle himself anticipates when he asks, 'What shall we say then? shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?' To which he answers by rejecting the consequence with the utmost abhorrence, and in the strongest manner affirming it to be without any foundation. 'How shall we,' he continues, 'that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?' (Rom. vi. 1-2). He who expects justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, has the clearest and strongest convictions of the obligation of the law of God, and of its extent and purity. He sees in the vicarious sufferings of his Saviour the awful nature of sin and the infinite love of God; and this love of God, being thus manifested, constrains him to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this world. In a word, he loves *much* because he feels that God hath forgiven him much, because the love of God is shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost which is given unto him. What a practical illustration have we of this in the life of the great apostle of the Gentiles himself? (See further on this subject the several treatises on Justification by Hooker; Winterspoon, vol. i.; Anthony Burgess, Lond. 1655; Wm. Pemble, Oxon. 1629; Faber, Lond. 1839; Walter Marshall, Lond. 1692).—J. W. D.

1. JUSTUS (Ἰοῦστος), surnamed Barsabas. [JOSEPH.]

2. JUSTUS, a Christian at Corinth, with whom Paul lodged (Acts xviii. 7).

3. JUSTUS, called also JESUS, a believing Jew, who was with Paul at Rome when he wrote to the Colossians (Col. iv. 11). The apostle names him and Marcus as being at that time his only fellow-labourers.

K.

KABBALAH (קַבָּלָה, from קבל, *to receive*). This word is an abstract, and means *reception*, a doctrine received by oral transmission; so that with mere reference to its etymological signification, it is the correlate of מְסוֹרָה, *tradition*. The term Kabbalah is employed in the Jewish writings to denote several traditional doctrines, as, for example, that which constituted the creed of the patriarchal age before the giving of the law; that unwritten ritual interpretation which the Jews believe was revealed by God to Moses on the mount, and which was at length committed to writing and formed the Mishnah. Besides being applied to these and other similar traditions, it has also been used in, comparatively speaking, modern times, to denote a singular mystical mode

of interpreting the Old Testament, in which sense only it forms the subject of the present article.

This Kabbalah is an art of eliciting mysteries from the words and letters of the Old Testament by means of some subtle devices of interpretation, or it is an abstruse theosophical and metaphysical doctrine containing the traditional arcana of the remotest times. It is of two kinds, practical * and speculative (מעשׂית and עיונית). The speculative Kabbalah, to which we confine ourselves, is again subdivided into the artificial and inartificial, which correspond to the terms of our definition.

The artificial Kabbalah, which is so called because it is a system of interpretation the application of which is bound by certain rules, is divided into three species. The first, Gematria (גימטריא, from the Greek γεωμετρία, but used in a wider sense), is the arithmetical mode of interpretation, in which the letters of a word are regarded with reference to their value as numeral signs, and a word is explained by another whose united letters produce the same sum. For example, the word *Shiloh* (שילה, Gen. xlix. 10), the letters of which amount, when considered as numerals, to 358, is explained to be *Messiah* (משיח), because they are both numerically equivalent, and the three Targums have actually so rendered it. The second species, Temurah (תמורה, *permutation*), is the mode by which one word is transformed into another different one by the transposition or systematic interchange of their letters; as when מלאכי, *my angel* (Exod. xxiii. 23), is made into מיכאל, *Michael*. The kinds of commutation described in the article Atbach also belong to this species. The third species, Notarikon (נוטריקון, from the Latin *notare*), is that in which some or all of the letters of a word are considered to be signs denoting other words of which they are the initials, and is of two kinds. In the one, either the *initial* or the *final* letter of two or more words occurring together in the Old Testament are combined to form one new word, as when מכבי, *Maccabee*, is made out of מי כמוך באלים יהוה (Exod. xv. 11); or when the divine name יהוה is extracted from לי מה שׁמו מה (Exod. iii. 13). In the other, the several letters of one word are taken in *their series* to be the initials of several other words, as when אדם is explained by מרה, דם, אפר, *dust, blood, gall*.

The inartificial or dogmatical Kabbalah consists solely of a traditional doctrine on things divine and metaphysical, propounded in a symbolical form. It treats principally of the mysteries of the doctrine of emanation, of angels and spirits, of the four Kabbalistical worlds, and of the ten Sephiroth or so-called Kabbalistic tree. It is a system made up of elements which are also found in the Magian doctrine of emanation, in the Pythagorean theory of numbers, in the philosophy of the later Platonists, and in the tenets of the Gnostics; but these doctrines are here stated with enigmatical obscurity, and without the coherence and development of a single and entire scheme. Its general tenor may be conceived from the eminent prerogatives which it assigns to the law, and from the consequent latitude of interpretation. Thus, it is argued in the book of Sohar: 'Alas for the man who thinks that the law contains nothing but what appears on its surface; for, if that were true, there would be men in our day who could excel it. But the law assumed a body; for if angels are obliged, when they descend to this world, to assume a body in order that they may subsist in the world, and it be able to receive them, how much more necessary was it that the law, which created them and which was the instrument by which the world was created, should be invested with a body in order that it might be adapted to the comprehension of man? That body is a history, in which if any man think there is not a soul, let him have no part in the life to come.' Manasseh-ben-Israel, who makes this citation from the book of Sohar, enforces this view with many arguments (*Conciliator*, Amstelod. 1633, p. 169).

The ten Sephiroth have been represented in three different forms, all of which may be seen in H. More's *Opera Philos.* i. 423; and one of which, although not the most usual one, has been already given in the article God. The Sephiroth have been the theme of endless discussion; and it has even been disputed whether they are designed to express theological, philosophical, or physical mysteries. The Jews themselves generally regard them as the sum and substance of Kabbalistical theology, as indicating the emanating grades and order of efflux according to which the nature and manifested operation of the Supreme Being may be comprehended. Several Christian scholars have discerned in them the mysteries of their own faith, the trinity, and the incarnation of the Messiah.* In this they have received some sanction by the fact noticed by Wolf, that most learned Jewish converts endeavour to demonstrate the truth of Christianity out of the doctrines of the Kabbalah (*Biblioth. Hebr.* i. 360). The majority of all parties appear to concur in considering the first three Sephiroth to belong to the essence of God, and the last seven to denote his attributes, or modes of existence. The following treatises on this subject

* It may suffice for our present purpose merely to notice the existence of the *practical* Kabbalah, which differs little from magic. He who is curious in such things will find one of the fullest details of the portentous miracles which are said to have been effected by its agency in Edzard's edition of the second chapter of the tract *Abodah Zarah*, p. 346, sq.

* It is worth while to adduce the words of Count G. Pico della Mirandola, as cited in Hottinger's *Thesaurus Philologicus*, p. 439: 'Hos ego libros non mediocri impensa mihi cum comparassem, summa diligentia, indefessis laboribus cum perlegissem, vidi in illis (testis est Deus) religionem non tam Mosaicam, quam Christianam. Ibi Trinitatis mysterium, ibi Verbi incarnatio, ibi Messiæ divinitas, ibi de peccato originali, de illius per Christum expiatione, de cœlesti Hierusalem, de casu dæmonum, de ordinibus angelorum, de purgatoriis, de inferorum pœnis: eadem legi, quæ apud Paulum et Dionysium, apud Hieronymum et Augustinum quotidie legimus .... In plenum, nulla est ferme de re nobis cum Hebræis controversia, de qua ex libris Cabbalistarum ita redargui convincique non possint, ut ne angulus quidem reliquus sit, in quem se condant.'

are among the most remarkable: a dissertation by Rhenferd, *De Stylo Apocalypseos Cabbalistico*, in Danz's *Nov. Test. ex Talmude illust.* p. 1090, in which he endeavours to point out many extraordinary coincidences between the theosophy of the Kabbalah and the book of Revelation (which may be compared with an essay of similar tendency in Eichhorn's *Bibl. Biblioth.* iii. 191); and a dissertation by Vitringa, *De Sephiroth Kabbalistarum*, in his *Observat. Sacr.* i. 126, in which he first showed how the Sephiroth accorded with the human form.

The origin of the Kabbalah is involved in great obscurity. The Jews ascribe it to Adam, or to Abraham, or to Moses, or to Ezra; the last being apparently countenanced by 2 Esdras xiv. 20-48. The opinions of Christian writers are as variously divided; and the Kabbalah is such a complex whole, and has been aggregated together at such distant periods, that no general judgment can apply to it. Their opinions need only be noticed in their extremes. Thus, on the one hand, Rhenferd and others maintain that the Jewish church possessed, in its inartificial Kabbalah, an ancient unwritten traditional doctrine, by which they were instructed that the types and symbols of the Mosaic dispensation were (to use Luther's words) but the manger and the swaddling-clothes in which the Messiah lay—of which genuine doctrine, however, they nevertheless believe our present Kabbalah to contain only fragments amidst a mass of Gentile additions. On the other hand, Eichhorn accounts for the origin of that important part of this Kabbalah, the system of allegorical interpretation (by which their occult doctrine was either generated, or, if not, at least brought into harmony with the law), by supposing that the Jews adopted it immediately from the Greeks. According to him, when the Jews were brought into contact with the enlightened speculations of the Greek philosophers, they felt that their law (as they had hitherto interpreted it) was so far behind the wisdom of the Gentiles, that—both to vindicate its honour in the eyes of the scoffing heathen, as well as to reconcile their newly adopted philosophical convictions with their ancient creed—they borrowed from the Greek allegorizers of Homer the same art of interpretation, and applied it to conjure away the unacceptable sense or the letter, or to extort another sense which harmonized with the philosophy of the age (*Bibl. Biblioth.* v. 237, sq.).

Both these opinions, however, coincide at a certain point, in assuming that the Jews did adopt the doctrines of Gentile philosophy; and a wide field is open for conjectures as to the particular sources from which the several elements of the Kabbalah have been derived. Thus, whether the Persian religion, in which the doctrine of emanation is so prominent (the *zeruane akerene*, or *infinite time*, being the אין סוף of the Sephiroth), supplied that theory to the Jews during the Babylonian captivity; or whether it was borrowed from any other scheme containing that doctrine, down as late as the origin of Gnosticism; or even whether, as H. More asserts, the Kabbalah itself is the primitive fountain from which the Gentiles have themselves drawn—these, and the many such questions which could be raised about the origin of the other Kabbalistic doctrines, can only receive a probable solution.

However these matters may be decided, the date of the most important works in which the doctrine of the Kabbalah is contained may be brought to a nearer certainty. Of these the book Jezirah (יצירה, *creation*), which is the oldest of them, and which is attributed to the patriarch Abraham, cannot be credibly ascribed to any earlier author than the Rabbi Akibah, who lived in the first century of our era; but the cautious Wolf thinks that it is prudent not to insist on any earlier or more precise date for it than that it was written before the completion of the Talmud, as it is cited in the treatise Sanhedrin. It has often been printed; as by Rittangel, a converted Jew, with a Latin version and notes, Amsterd. 1642, 4to.; and, more recently, with a German version, notes, and a glossary, by J. F. von Meyer, Leipz. 1830, 4to. The obscure book of Sohar (זוהר, *splendour*), which has been called the Bible of the Kabbalists, is ascribed to Simeon ben Jochai, who was a pupil of R. Akibah; but the earliest mention of its existence occurs in the year 1290; and the anachronisms of its style, and of the facts referred to, together with the circumstance that it speaks of the vowel-points and other Masoretic inventions, which are clearly posterior to the Talmud, justify J. Morinus (although too often extravagant in his wilful attempts to depreciate the antiquity of the later Jewish writings) in asserting that the author could not have lived much before the year 1000 of the Christian era (*Exercitationes Biblicæ*, pp. 358-369). The best edition of the book of Sohar is that by Baron C. von Rosenroth, with Jewish commentaries, Sulzbach, 1684, fol., to which his rare *Cabbala Denudata*, 1677-1684, 4to., forms an ample introduction.

Wolf has given an extended account of the Kabbalah, and of the numerous manuscripts and printed Jewish works in which its principles are contained, as well as abundant references to Christian authors who have treated of it (*Biblioth. Hebr.* ii. 1191, sq.). The work of P. Beer (*Geschichte der Lehren aller Secten der Juden, und der Cabbala*, Brünn, 1822, 2 vols. 8vo.), which is mentioned with approbation, has not been available for this article.—J. N.

KADESH (קָדֵשׁ; Sept. Καδής), or KADESH-BARNEA, a site on the south-eastern border of the Promised Land towards Edom, of much interest as being the point at which the Israelites twice encamped with the intention of entering Palestine, and from which they were twice sent back; the first time in pursuance of their sentence to wander forty years in the wilderness, and the second time from the refusal of the king of Edom to permit a passage through his territories. It was from Kadesh that the spies entered Palestine by ascending the mountains; and the murmuring Israelites afterwards attempting to do the same were driven back by the Amalekites and Canaanites, and afterwards apparently by the king of Arad, as far as Hormah, then called Zephath (Num. xiii. 17; xiv. 40-45; xxi. 1-3; Deut. i. 41-44; comp. Josh. x. 7). There was also at Kadesh a fountain (Kadesh-mishpat) mentioned long before the exode of the Israelites (Gen. xiv. 7), and the miraculous supply of water took place only on the second visit, which implies that at the first there was no lack of this necessary article. After this Moses sent messengers to the

king of Edom, informing him that they were in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost part of his border, and asking leave to pass through his country, so as to continue their course round Moab, and approach Palestine from the East. This Edom refused, and the Israelites accordingly marched to Mount Hor, where Aaron died; and then along the Arabah (desert of Zin) to the Red Sea (Num. xx. 14-29). The name of Kadesh again occurs in describing the southern quarter of Judah, the line defining which is drawn 'from the shore of the Salt Sea, from the bay that looked southward; and it went out to the south side of Akrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and ascended up on the south side to Kadesh-barnea' (Josh. xv. 1-3; comp. Num. xxxiv. 3, 4).

From these intimations the map-makers, who found it difficult to reconcile them with the place usually assigned to Kadesh (in the desert about midway between the Mediterranean and Dead Sea), were in the habit of placing a second Kadesh nearer the Dead Sea and the Wady Arabah. It was left for the editor of the *Pictorial Bible* to show (Note on Num. xx. 1) that one Kadesh would sufficiently answer all the conditions required, by being placed more to the south, nearer to Mount Hor, on the west border of the Wady Arabah, than this second Kadesh. The gist of the argument lies in the following passage:—'We conclude that there is but one Kadesh mentioned in Scripture, and that the difficulties which have seemed to require that there should be a second or even a third place of the name, may be easily and effectually obviated by altering the position commonly assigned to Kadesh-barnea, that is, the Kadesh from which the spies were sent in the fifteenth chapter, and from which the wanderings commenced. We are at perfect liberty to make this alteration, because nothing whatever is distinctly known of such a place, and its position has been entirely fixed upon conjectural probabilities. But being once fixed, it has generally been received and reasoned upon as a truth, and it has been thought better to create another Kadesh to meet the difficulties which this location occasioned, than to disturb old maps and old topographical doctrines. Kadesh is usually placed within or close upon the southern frontier of Palestine, about midway between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. This location would seem in itself improbable without strong counter-reasons in its favour. For we do not find that a hostile people, when not prepared for immediate action, confront themselves directly with their enemies, but encamp at some considerable distance and send scouts and spies to reconnoitre the country; nor is it by any means likely that they would remain so long at Kadesh as they seem to have done at their first visit, if they had been in the very face of their enemies, as must have been the case in the assigned position. We should, therefore, on this ground alone, be inclined to place Kadesh more to the south or south-east than this. Besides, if this were Kadesh, how could Kadesh be on the borders of Edom, seeing that the Edomites did not, till many centuries later, occupy the country to the south of Canaan, and were at this time confined to the region of Seir? Moreover, from a Kadesh so far to the north they were not likely to send to the king of Edom without moving down towards the place where they hoped to obtain permission to cross Mount Seir, particularly as by so moving they would at the same time be making progress towards the point which the refusal of the Edomites would oblige them to pass, and which they actually did pass. Therefore, the stay of the host at Kadesh, waiting for the king's answer, seems to imply that Kadesh was so near as not to make it worth while to move till they knew the result of their application to him. Further, we read in ch. xxxiii., xxxvi., after an enumeration of distances of manifestly no great length, that in the present instance (the second) the move to Kadesh was Eziongeber, at the head of the Gulf of Akabah, the distance between which and the Kadesh of the maps is about 120 miles; and this is the consideration which has chiefly influenced those who have determined that there must have been two places of the name. And we must confess that while thinking over the other reasons which have been stated we were, for a time, inclined to consider them as leading to that conclusion, and that the second Kadesh must have been very near Mount Hor. And this impression (as to Kadesh being near Mount Hor) was confirmed when, happening to find that Eusebius describes the tomb of Miriam (who died at Kadesh), being still in his time shown at Kadesh, *near Petra, the capital of Arabia Petræa*, we perceived it important to ascertain where this author fixed Petra, since one account places this city more to the north than another; and we found that he places Petra near Mount Hor, on which Aaron died and was buried; and consequently the Kadesh of Num. xx. 1, where Miriam died and was buried, must, in the view of Eusebius, have been at no very great distance from Mount Hor.'

Other arguments are adduced to show that if there were two Kadeshes, the one of the second journey must have been in the position indicated, and that *one* in this position would answer all the demands of Scripture. According to these views Kadesh was laid down in the map (in the *Illuminated Atlas*) prepared under the writer's direction, in the same line, and not far from the place which has since been assigned to it from actual observation by Dr. Robinson. This concurrence of different lines of research in the same result is curious and valuable, and the position of Kadesh will be regarded as now scarcely open to dispute. It was clear that the discovery of the fountain in the northern part of the great valley would go far to fix the question. Robinson accordingly discovered a fountain called Ain el-Weibeh, which is even at this day the most frequented watering-place in all the Arabah, and he was struck by the entire adaptedness of the site to the Scriptural account of the proceedings of the Israelites on their second arrival at Kadesh. 'Over against us lay the land of Edom; we were in its uttermost border; and the great Wady el-Ghuweir afforded a direct and easy passage through the mountains to the table-land above, which was directly before us; while further in the south Mount Hor formed a prominent and striking object, at the distance of two good days' journey for such a host' (*Bib. Researches*, ii. 538). Further on (p. 610) he adds: 'There the Israelites would have Mount Hor in the S.S.E. towering directly before them

. . . . in the N.W. rises the mountain by which they attempted to ascend to Palestine, with the pass still called Sufah (Zephath); while further north we find also Tell Arad, marking the site of the ancient Arad. To all this comes then the vicinity of the southern bay of the Dead Sea, the line of cliffs or offset separating the Ghôr from the Arabah, answering to the ascent of Akrabbim; and the desert of Zin, with the place of the same name between Akrabbim and Kadesh, not improbably at the water of Hasb, in the Arabah. In this way all becomes easy and natural, and the Scriptural account is entirely accordant with the character of the country.'

KADMONITES (קַדְמֹנִי; Sept. Κεδμωναῖοι), one of the nations of Canaan, which is supposed to have dwelt in the north-east part of Palestine, under Mount Hermon, at the time that Abraham sojourned in the land (Gen. xv. 19). As the name is derived from קדם *kedem*, which means 'east,' it is supposed by Dr. Wells and others to denote '*an eastern* people,' and that they were situated to the east of the Jordan, or rather that it was a term applied collectively, like 'Easterns,' or 'Orientals,' to all the people living in the countries beyond that river. To this opinion we incline, as the Kadmonites are not elsewhere mentioned as a distinct nation; and the subsequent discontinuance of the term, in the assigned acceptation, may be easily accounted for, by the nations beyond the river having afterwards become more distinctly known, so as to be mentioned by their several distinctive names. The reader may see much ingenious trifling respecting this name in Bochart (*Canaan*, i. 19); the substance of which is, that Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, in Bœotia, was originally a Kadmonite, and that the name of his wife Hermione, was derived from Mount Hermon.

KALI (קָלִי, קָלְיָא). This word occurs in several passages of the Old Testament, in all of which, in the Authorized Version, it is translated *parched corn*. The correctness of this translation has not, however, been assented to by all commentators. Thus, as Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. 231) says, 'Syrus interpres, Onkelos, et Jonathan Ebræa voce utuntur, Lev. xxiii. 14; 1 Sam. xvii. 17; xxv. 18; 2 Sam. xvii. 28.' Arias Montanus and others, he adds, render *kali* by the word *tostum*, considering it to be derived from קָלָה, which in the Hebrew signifies *torrere*, 'to toast' or 'parch.' So in the Arabic قلي *kali* signifies anything cooked in a frying-pan, and is applied to the common Indian dish which by Europeans is called currie or curry. قالي *kalee*, and قلا *kalla* signify one that fries, or a cook. From the same root is supposed to be derived the word *kali* or *al'kali*, now so familiarly known as alkali, which is obtained from the ashes of burnt vegetables. But as, in the various passages of Scripture where it occurs, *kali* is without any adjunct, different opinions have been entertained respecting the substance which is to be understood as having been toasted or parched. By some it is supposed to have been corn in general; by others, only wheat. Some Hebrew writers maintain that flour or meal, and others, that *parched meal*, is intended, as in the passage of Ruth ii. 14, where the Septuagint translates *kali* by ἄλφιτον, and the Vulgate by *polenta*. A difficulty, however, occurs in the case of 2 Sam. xvii. 28, where the word occurs twice in the same verse. We are told that Shobi and others, on David's arrival at Mahanaim, in the further limit of the tribe of Gad, 'brought beds, and basins, and earthen vessels, and wheat, and barley, and flour, and *parched corn* (kali), and beans, and lentils, and *parched pulse* (kali), and honey, and butter, and sheep, and cheese of kine, for David and for the people that were with him to eat.' This is a striking representation of what may be seen every day in the East: when a traveller arrives at a village, the common light beds of the country are brought him, as well as earthen pots, with food of different kinds. The meaning of the above passage is explained by the statement of Hebrew writers, that there are two kinds of kali—one made of *parched corn*, the other of *parched pulse;* or, according to R. Salomon, *ex Avoda Zarah*, fol. xxxviii. 2, as quoted by Celsius (ii. 233), 'Dicunt Rabbini nostri, duas diversas species kali debere hic intelligi. Nam duplicis generis schetitam adduxerat Barsillai Davidi; unum e tritico, et alterum e lentibus, sicut (*in textu*) dicitur: *farinam et kali:* et hæc fuit e tritico. *Fabas, et lentes, et kali:* hæc fuit e speciebus leguminum, quæ arefecerant in fornace, utpote viridia et dulcia. Postea molebant ea, et faciebant ex illis cibum, quam vocabant שחית.'

There is no doubt that in the East a little meal, either parched or not, mixed with a little water, often constitutes the dinner of the natives, especially of those engaged in laborious occupations, as boatmen while dragging their vessels up rivers, and unable to make any long delay. Another principal preparation, much and constantly in use in Western Asia, is *burgoul*, that is, corn first boiled, then bruised in the mill to take the husk off, and afterwards dried or parched in the sun. In this state it is preserved for use, and employed for the same purposes as rice. The meal of parched corn is also much used, particularly by travellers, who mix it with honey, butter, and spices, and so eat it; or else mix it with water only, and drink it as a draught, the refrigerating and satisfying qualities of which they justly extol (*Pictorial Bible*, ii. p. 537). Parched grain is also, no doubt, very common. Thus, in the bazaars of India not only may rice be obtained in a parched state, but also the seeds of the *Nymphæa*, and of the *Nelumbsium Speciosum*, or bean of Pythagoras, and most abundantly the pulse called *gram* by the English, on which their cattle are chiefly fed. This is the *Cicer Arietinum* of botanists, or chick-pea, which is common even in Egypt and the south of Europe, and may be obtained everywhere in India in a parched state, under the name of *chebenne*. We know not whether it be the same pulse that is mentioned in the article Dove's Dung, a sort of pulse or pea, which appears to have been very common in Judæa. Belon (*Observat.* ii. 53) informs us that large quantities of it are parched and dried, and stored in magazines at Cairo and Damascus. It is much used during journeys, and particularly by the great pilgrim caravans to Mecca.

Considering all these points, it does not appear to us by any means certain that *kali* is correctly translated 'parched corn,' in all the passages of Scripture. Thus, in Lev. xxiii. 14: 'Ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn (kali), nor green ears, until....'. So in Ruth ii. 14, 'And he (Boaz) reached her *parched corn* (kali), and she did eat.' 1 Sam. xvii. 17: 'Take now for thy brethren an ephah of *parched corn*.' And again, xxv. 18, where five measures of parched corn are mentioned. Bochart says (*Hieroz.* part ii. lib. i. c. 7) 'kali ab Hieronymo redditur *frixum cicer*;' and to show that it was the practice among the ancients to parch the cicer, he quotes Plautus (*Bacch.* iv. 5. 7): 'Tam frictum ego illum reddam, quam frictum est cicer;' also Horace (*De Arte Poetica, l.* 249) and others: and shows from the writings of the Rabbins, that *kali* was also applied to some kind of pulse. 'Kali sunt leguminum species, quæ adhuc recentia in furno exsiccantur, et semper manent dulcia et commoluntur, et fit ex iis cibus quem vocant *sethith*' (R. Selomo). The name *kali* seems, moreover, to have been widely spread through Asiatic countries. Thus in Shakspeare's *Hindee Dictionary*, قلاي *kalae*, from the Sanscrit कलाय translated *pulse* — leguminous seeds in general. The present writer found it applied in the Himalayas to the common field-pea, and has thus mentioned it elsewhere: '*Pisum arvense*. Cultivated in the Himalayas, also in the plains of north-west India, found wild in the Khadie of the Jumna, near Delhi; the *corra muttur* of the natives, called *Kullae* in the hills' (*Illust. of Himalayan Botany*, p. 200). Hence we are disposed to consider the pea, or the chick-pea, as more correct than parched corn in some of the above passages of Scripture.—J. F. R.

KANEH (קָנֶה) occurs in several places of the Old Testament, in all of which, in the Authorized Version, it is translated *reed;* as in 1 Kings xiv. 15; 2 Kings xviii. 21; Job xl. 21; Isa. xix. 6; xxxv. 7; xxxvi. 6; xlii. 3; Ezek. xxix. 6. The Hebrew *Kaneh* would seem to be the original of the Greek κάννα, the Latin *canna*, and the modern *canna, canne, cane*, &c., signifying a 'reed' or 'cane,' also a fence or mat made of reeds or rushes: the Latin word also denotes the sugar-cane, a pipe, &c. Hence the term appears to have been used in a general sense in ancient as well as in modern times. Thus we find in Hakluyt, 'Then they pricke him (the elephant) with sharp *canes*;' Milton (*Par. Lost.* iii. 439) describes the Tatars as driving—

'With sails and wind their cany waggons light;'

Grainger also, when referring to the Indians, as described by Lucan, says 'That sucke sweete liquor from their sugar-canes.' In later times the term cane has been applied more particularly to the stems of the *Calamus Rotang*, and other species of rattan canes, which we have good grounds for believing were unknown to the ancients, notwithstanding the opinion of Sprengel (*Hist. Rei Herb.* i. 171), 'Ctesias duo genera καλάμου facit, marem sine medulla et feminam eo præditam, hanc sine dubio *Calamum Rotang*, illam *Bambusam* nostram. Repetit ea Plinius (xvi. 36).'

The Greek word κάλαμος appears to have been considered the proper equivalent for the Hebrew *Kaneh*, being the term used by St. Matthew (xii. 20), when quoting the words of Isaiah (xlii. 3), 'A bruised *reed* (Kaneh) shall he not break.' The Greek word Latinized is well known in the forms of *calamus* and *culmus*. Both seem to have been derived from the Arabic قلم *kalm*, signifying a 'reed' or 'pen,' and forming numerous compounds, with the latter signification, in the languages of the East. It also denotes a weaver's reed, and even cuttings of trees for planting or grafting. Or they may all be derived from the Sanscrit कलम *kalm*, having the same signification. The German *halm*, and the English *haulm*, usually applied to the straw or stems of grasses, would seem to have the same origin. The Greek κάλαμος, and the Latin *calamus*, were used with as wide a signification as the Oriental *kalm*, and denoted a reed, the stalk or stem of corn, or anything made therefrom, as a pen, an arrow, a reed-pipe. Κάλαμος is also applied to any plant which is neither shrub, bush (ὕλη), nor tree (δένδρον) (*vid.* Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lex.*). So *calamus* means any twig, sprig, or scion. Thus Pliny (xvi. 14. 24), 'ipsique in eo medullæ calamum imprimebant;' and in India we every day hear the expression 'kalm lugana,' *i. e.* 'to apply' or 'fix' a graft. Pliny (xxiv. 14. 75), speaking of the *Rubus*, or bramble, says, 'Rarioribus calamis innocentioribusque, sub arborum umbra nascens.'

Such references to the meaning of these words in different languages, may appear to have little relation to our present subject; but κάλαμος occurs very frequently in the New Testament, and apparently with the same latitude of meaning: thus, in the sense of a reed or culm of a grass, Matt. xi. 7; Luke vii. 24, 'A reed shaken by the wind;' of a pen, in 3 John 13, 'But I will not with *pen* (κάλαμος) and ink write unto thee;' Matt. xxvii. 29, 'Put a reed in his right hand;' ver. 30, 'took the reed and smote him on the head;' and in Mark xv. 19, it may mean a reed or twig of any kind. So also in Matt. xxvii. 48, and Mark xv. 36, where it is said that they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it on a *reed*, while in the parallel passage, John xix. 29, it is said that they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon *hyssop*, and put it to his mouth. From which it is probable that the term κάλαμος was applied by both the Evangelists to the stem of the plant named hyssop, whatever this may have been, in like manner as Pliny applied the term *Calamus* to the stem of a bramble.

In most of the passages of the Old Testament the word *Kaneh* seems to be applied strictly to reeds of different kinds growing in water, that is, to the hollow stems or culms of grasses, which are usually weak, easily shaken about by wind or by water, fragile, and breaking into sharp-pointed splinters. Thus in 1 Kings xiv. 15, 'As a reed is shaken in the water;' Job xl. 21, 'He lieth in the covert of the reed (*Kaneh*); Isa. xix. 6, 'And they shall turn the rivers far away; and the reeds and flags shall wither.' Also in ch. xxxv. 7; while in 2 Kings xviii. 21; Isa. xxxvi. 6; and Ezek. xxix. 7, there is reference to the weak and fragile nature of the reed, 'Lo,

thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed, on Egypt, whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it.'



366. [Arundo donax.]

In order to determine what particular kinds of reed-like plants are intended in these several passages, the preferable mode is probably first to ascertain the plants to which the above names were applied by the Greeks and Romans, and particularly those which are indigenous in Syria and Egypt. Dioscorides describes the different kinds in his chapter περὶ καλάμου (i. 114). 1. Κάλαμος ὁ ναστός, or the *Arundo farcta*, of which arrows are made (*Arundo arenaria?*). 2. The female, of which reed pipes were made (*A. Donax?*). 3. Hollow, with frequent knots, fitted for writing, probably a species of *Saccharum*. 4. Thick and hollow, growing in rivers, which is called *donax*, and also *Cypria* (*Arundo Donax*). 5. *Phragmites* (*Arundo Phragmites*), slender, light-coloured, and well-known. 6. The reed called *Phleos* (*Arundo ampelodesmos Cyrillii*). (*Flora Neapol.* t. xii.). These are all described (*l. c.*) immediately before the Papyrus, while κάλαμος ἀρωματικός is described in a different part of the book, namely, in ch. 17, along with spices and perfumes. The Arabs describe the different kinds of reed under the head of قصب *Kusb*, or *Kussub*, of which they give *Kalamus*, as the synonymous Greek term. Under the head of *Kussub*, both the Bamboo and the Arundo are included as varieties, while *Kusb-al-Sukr* is the sugar-cane, or *Saccharum officinarum*, and *Kusb-el-Zurireh* appears to be the *Calamus aromaticus* (Kaneh-bosem). All these were, no doubt, partially known to the ancients. Pliny mentions what must have been the Bamboo, as to be seen of a large size in temples.

From the context of the several passages of Scripture in which *Kaneh* is mentioned, it is evident that it was a plant growing in water; and we have seen from the meaning of the word in other languages that it must have been applied to one of the true reeds; as for instance, *Arundo Ægyptiaca* (perhaps only a variety of *A. Donax*), mentioned by M. Bové as growing on the banks of the Nile; or it may have been the *Arundo isiaca* of Delile, which is closely allied to *A. Phragmites*, the *Canna* and *Canne* of the south of Europe, which has been already mentioned under Agmon.

In the New Testament κάλαμος seems to be applied chiefly to plants growing in dry and even barren situations, as in Luke vii. 24; 'What went ye into the wilderness to see? a reed shaken by the wind?' To such passages, some of the species of reed-like grasses, with slender stems and light flocculent inflorescence, formerly referred to *Saccharum*, but now separated as distinct genera, are well suited; as, for instance, *Imperata cylindrica* (*Arundo epigeios*, Forsk.), the *hulfeh* of the Arabs; which is found in such situations, as by Desfontaines in the north of Africa, by Delile in Lower Egypt, by Forskal near Cairo and Rosetta. Bové mentions that near Mount Sinai, 'Dans les déserts qui environnent ces montagnes, j'ai trouvé plusieurs Saccharum,' &c. In India, the natives employ the culm of different species of this genus for making their reed-pens and arrows.

Hence, as has already been suggested by Rosenmüller, the noun *Kaneh* ought to be restricted to reeds, or reed-like grasses, while *Agmon* may indicate the more slender and delicate grasses or sedges growing in wet situations, but which are still tough enough to be made into ropes.—J. F. R.

KANEH BOSEM (קָנֶה בֹשֶׂם, 'reed of fragrance'), and Kaneh Hattob (קָנֶה חַטּוֹב, *calamus bonus*, 'good' or 'fragrant reed'), appear to have reference to the same substance. It is mentioned under the name of *kaneh bosem* in Exod. xxx. 23, and under that of *kaneh hattob* in Jer. vi. 20. It is probably intended also by *kaneh* ('reed') simply in Cant. iv. 14; Isa. xliii. 24; and Ezek. xxvii. 17; as it is enumerated with other fragrant and aromatic substances. *Kaneh*, as we have seen in the preceding article, is probably the original of *canna*, κάλαμος being the Greek equivalent for both. Of all these the primary signification seems to have been the hollow stems of grasses. They were applied afterwards to things made of such stems. From the passages in which this sweet cane or *calamus* is mentioned we learn that it was fragrant and reed-like, and that it was brought from a far country (Jer. vi. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 19): Dan also and Javan going to and fro carried bright iron, cassia, and calamus to the markets of Tyre.

If we recur to the method which we have adopted in other cases, of examining the writings of ancient heathen authors, to ascertain if they describe anything like the substances noticed in the sacred writings, we shall experience no difficulty in identifying the 'sweet cane, or reed, from

a far country.' For though the common reeds are described by Dioscorides, in book i. c. 114, we find in a very different part of the same book, namely, in c. 17, a *κάλαμος ἀρωματικός*, described among the *aromata*, immediately after *Σχοῖνος*.



367. [Andropogon calamus aromaticus.]

It is stated to be a produce of India, of a tawny colour, much jointed, breaking into splinters, and having the hollow stem filled with pith, like the web of a spider; also that it is mixed with ointments and fumigations on account of its odour. Hippocrates was acquainted with apparently the same substance, which he calls *κάλαμος εὐώδης* and *σχοῖνος εὔοσμος*, also *κάλαμος σχοῖνος*: though it is impossible to say that the *σχοῖνος* of Dioscorides, or schœnanthus, is not intended by some of these names. Theophrastus describes both the calamus and schœnus as natives of Syria, or more precisely, of a valley between Mount Lebanon and a small mountain, where there is a plain and a lake, in parts of which there is a marsh, where they are produced, the smell being perceived by any one entering the place. This account is virtually followed by Pliny, though he also mentions the sweet calamus as a produce of Arabia. A writer in the *Gardener's Chronicle* (ii. 756) has adduced a passage from Polybius (v. 46), as elucidating the foregoing statement of Theophrastus: 'From Laodicea Antiochus marched with all his army, and having passed the desert, entered a close and narrow valley, which lies between the Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and is called the Vale of Marsyas. The narrowest part of the valley is covered by a lake with marshy ground, *from whence are gathered aromatic reeds, ἐξ ὧν ὁ μυρεψικὸς κείρεται κάλαμος.*' A British officer who had an opportunity of examining this locality writes thus from Beyrout, 6th Feb. 1842: 'Further down, about twenty miles, the vale of Marsyas, or the vale of Baalbec, becomes much narrower, and about four miles south of Zachli the ground is now very marshy, and intersected with endless ditches to draw off the water. Here formerly there might have been a large lake. This is the narrowest part of the valley, and is covered with reeds, but whether aromatic or not I cannot say.' Among the ancient authorities Strabo ought not to be omitted. He mentions that the calamus grows in the country of the Sabæi (xvi. 4); but speaking of Cœle-Syria and its mountains, Libanus and Anti-Libanus, he says (xvi. 2), 'It is intersected by rivers, irrigating a rich country, abounding in all things. It also contains a lake, which produces the aromatic rush (*σχοῖνος*) and reed (*κάλαμος*). There are also marshes. The lake is called Gennesaritis. The balsam also grows here.' But how little dependence is to be placed upon the statements of those who do not pay special attention to the localities of plants, might be made evident by quotations from several modern authors, who often mistake the last place of export for the native country of a plant, and sometimes even place in the Old World plants which are only found in America. Rauwolff even, who was so good and intelligent an observer, on leaving Mount Libanus, says, 'I was also informed of others, viz. of the *costus Syriacus*, which they still know by the name of *chast*, and is found about Antiochia; and not far off from thence is also found the *nux vomica*, as some esteem them, by the inhabitants called *cutschula*, which, together with a great many other famous ones, I might have obtained, if I could have had a true, faithful, and experienced guide.' It is hardly necessary to say that no guide would have availed him; because both the substances he mentions are articles of Indian commerce, about which there can be no mistake, as he has given us their Asiatic, in addition to their scientific names; for *chast* is no doubt the *koot* or *koost* of the Arabs, which has been traced within the last few years to the mountains which surround Cashmere, while the *nux vomica* is the produce of *strychnes nux vomica*, a native of the south of India, and there called *koochla*. A portion of the confusion respecting the native country of these Indian drugs, must be ascribed partly to the undue extension of the name Syria in ancient times, and partly to many Indian drugs making their way into Europe by the route of the caravans, or by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, across Syria, to the shores of the Mediterranean.

That there may be some moderately sweet-scented grass, or rush-like plant, such as the *Acorus Calamus* of botanists (long used as a substitute for the true calamus), in the flat country between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, is quite possible; but we have no proof of the fact. Burckhardt, in that situation, could find only ordinary rushes and reeds. Though Theophrastus, Polybius, and Strabo mention this locality as that producing the calamus, yet Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and others, even including Pliny, give Arabia, or the country of the Sabæans,

as that which produced the aromatic reed; while Dioscorides, the only author who writes expressly of the drugs known to the ancients, mentions it being the produce of India. Bochart argues against India being the sole country producing calamus, because he supposes that it could not have been open to commerce in those early times: 'Tamen solum in India crevisse non concesserim, cum *Mosis* ævo Judæis jam fuerit notus, ejusque adeo mentio fiat, Exod. xxx. 23. Indiam enim Judæis, aut vicinis gentibus, jam tum fuisse apertam, mihi non fit verisimile' (*Hieroz.* pars ii. lib. v. c. 6). Dr. Vincent, on the contrary (*Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, ii. 365), says, 'So far as a private opinion is of weight, I am fully persuaded that this line of communication with the East is the oldest in the world—older than Moses or Abraham.' Indeed it is now generally acknowledged that India and Egypt must have had commercial intercourse during the flourishing state of the kingdom of the Pharaohs. For in this way only can we account for numerous Indian products being mentioned in the Bible, and for their being known to the early Greek writers. Many of these substances are treated of under their respective heads in this work.

The author of the present article, in his *Essay on the Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*, p. 33, remarks, 'With this (that is, the true Spikenard or Nard) has often been confounded another far-famed aromatic of Eastern climes, that is, the true *calamus aromaticus*, *κάλαμος ἀρωματικὸς* of Dioscorides, said by him to grow in India. This he describes immediately after *σχοῖνος*, translated *juncus odoratus*, a produce of Africa and Arabia, and generally acknowledged by botanists to be the *andropogon schœnanthus*, or lemon-grass, a native both of Arabia and India, perhaps also of Africa. The *calamus aromaticus* immediately following this, stated to be also a native of India, and among other uses being mixed with ointments on account of its odour, appears to me to have been a plant allied to the former. There is no plant which more closely coincides with every thing that is required, that is, correspondence in description, analogy to *σχοῖνος*, the possession of remarkable fragrance and stimulant properties, being costly, and the produce of a far country, than the plant which yields the fragrant grass-oil of Namur (*Calcutta Med. Trans.* vol. i. p. 367). This oil has been already described by Mr. Hatchett (*On the Spikenard of the Ancients*), who refers it to *andropogon Iwarancusa*. It is derived, however, as appears by specimens in my possession, from a different plant; to which, believing it to be a new species, I have given the name of *andropogon calamus aromaticus*' (p. 34). 'This species is found in Central India, extends north as far as Delhi, and south to between the Godavery and Nagpore, where, according to Dr. Malcolmson, it is called spear-grass. The specimens which Mr. H. obtained from Mr. Swinton, I have had an opportunity of examining: they are identical with my own from the same part of India' (Royle, *Illust. Himal. Bot.* p. 425).

As this plant is a true grass, it has necessarily reed-like stems (the *συρίγγια* of Dioscorides). They are remarkable for their agreeable odour: so are the leaves when bruised, and also the delightfully fragrant oil distilled from them. Hence it appears more fully entitled to the commendations which the *calamus aromaticus* or sweet-cane has received, than any other plant that has been described, even the attar of roses hardly excepted. That a grass similar to the fragrant *andropogon*, or at least one growing in the same kind of soil and climate, was employed by the ancients, we have evidence in the fact of the Phœnicians who accompanied Alexander in his march across the arid country of Gedrosia having recognised and loaded their cattle with it, as one of the perfumes of commerce. It is in a similar country, that is, the arid plains of Central India, that the above *andropogon calamus aromaticus* is found, and where the fragrant essential oil is distilled from its leaves, culms, and roots (*Essay on Hindoo Medicine*, p. 142).

If we compare the foregoing statement with the different passages of Scripture, we shall find that this fragrant grass answers to all that is required. Thus in Exod. xxx. 23, the fragrant reed, along with the principal spices, such as myrrh, sweet cinnamon, and cassia, is directed to be made into an oil of holy ointment. So the *calamus aromaticus* may be found mentioned as an ingredient in numerous fragrant oils and ointments, from the time of Theophrastus to that of the Arabs. Its essential oil is now sold in the shops, but under the erroneous name of oil of spikenard, which is a very different substance [Nard]. In Cant. iv. 14 it is mentioned along with spikenard, saffron, cinnamon, trees of frankincense, myrrh, and aloes. Again, its value is indicated in Isa. (xliii. 24) 'thou hast bought me no sweet cane with money;' and that it was obtained from a distant land is indicated in Jer. vi. 20, 'to what purpose cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country?'—while the route of the commerce is pointed out in Ezek. xxvii. 19, 'Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs: bright iron, cassia, and calamus were in thy market.' To the Scripture notices, then, as well as to the description of Dioscorides, the tall grass which yields the fragrant grass-oil of Central India answers in every respect: the author of this article consequently named and figured it as the *Kaneh bosem* in his *Illustr. of Himal. Botany*, p. 425, t. 97.—J. F. R.

KARCOM (כַּרְכֹּם; Sept. *κρόκος*) occurs only once in the Old Testament, viz. in Cant. iv. 14, where it is mentioned along with several fragrant and stimulant substances, such as spikenard, calamus, and cinnamon, trees of frankincense, myrrh, and aloes (ahalim); we may, therefore, suppose that it was some substance possessed of similar properties. The name, however, is so similar to the Persian كركم *karkam*, and both to the Greek *κρόκος*, that we have no difficulty in tracing the Hebrew *karcom* to the modern crocus or saffron; but, in fact, the most ancient Greek translators of the Old Testament considered *κρόκος* as the synonyme for *karcom*. It is also probable that all three names had one common origin, saffron having from the earliest times been cultivated in Asiatic countries, as it still is in Persia and Cashmere. Crocus is mentioned by Homer, Hippocrates, and Theophrastus. Dioscorides describes the different kinds of it, and Pliny states that the benches of the public theatres

were strewed with saffron: indeed 'the ancients frequently made use of this flower in perfumes. Not only saloons, theatres, and places which were to be filled with a pleasant fragrance were strewed with this substance, but all sorts of vinous tinctures retaining the scent were made of it, and this costly perfume was poured into small fountains, which diffused the odour which was so highly esteemed. Even fruit and confitures placed before guests and the ornaments of the rooms were spread over with it. It was used for the same purposes as the modern pot-pourri' (Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Bot.* p. 138). In the present day a very high price is given in India for saffron imported from Cashmere; native dishes are often coloured and flavoured with it, and it is in high esteem as a stimulant medicine. The common name, saffron, is no doubt derived from the Arabic زعفران *zafran*, as are the corresponding terms in most of the languages of Europe.



368. [Crocus sativus.]

Nothing, therefore, was more likely than that saffron should be associated with the foregoing fragrant substances in the passage of Canticles, as it still continues to be esteemed by Asiatic nations, and, as we have seen, to be cultivated by them. Hasselquist also, in reference to this Biblical plant, describes the ground between Smyrna and Magnesia as in some places covered with saffron, and Rauwolf mentions gardens and fields of crocus in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and particularizes a fragrant variety in Syria.

The name *saffron*, as usually applied, does not denote the whole plant, nor even the whole flower of *crocus sativus*, but only the stigmas, with part of the style, which, being plucked out, are carefully dried. These, when prepared, are dry, narrow, thread-like, and twisted together, of an orange-yellow colour, having a peculiar aromatic and penetrating odour, with a bitterish and somewhat aromatic taste, tinging the mouth and saliva of a yellow colour. Sometimes the stigmas are prepared by being submitted to pressure, and thus made into what is called *cake* saffron, a form in which it is still imported from Persia into India. Hay saffron is obtained in this country chiefly from France and Spain, though it is also sometimes prepared from the native crocus cultivated for this purpose. Saffron was formerly highly esteemed as a stimulant medicine, and still enjoys high repute in Eastern countries, both as a medicine and as a condiment.—J. F. R.

KARPAS (כַּרְפַּס) occurs in the book of Esther (i. 6), in the description of the hangings 'in the court of the garden of the king's palace,' at the time of the great feast given in the city Shushan, or Susan, by Ahasuerus, who 'reigned from India even unto Ethiopia.' We are told that there were white, *green* (*karpas*), and blue hangings fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble. *Karpas* is translated *green* in our version, on the authority, it is said, 'of the Chaldee paraphrase,' where it is interpreted *leek-green*. Rosenmüller and others derive the Hebrew word from the Arabic كرفس *kurufs*, which signifies 'garden-parsley,' *apium petroselinum*, as if it alluded to the green colour of this plant; at the same time arguing that as 'the word *karpas* is placed between two other words which undoubtedly denote colours, viz., the *white* and the *purple-blue*, it probably also does the same.' But if two of the words denote colours, it would appear a good reason why the third should refer to the substance which was coloured. This, there is little doubt, is what was intended. If we consider that the occurrences related took place at the Persian court at a time when it held sway even unto India, and that the account is by some supposed to have been originally written in the ancient language of Persia, we may suppose that some foreign words may have been introduced to indicate even an already well-known substance: but more especially so if the substance itself was then first made known to the Hebrews.

The Hebrew *karpas* is very similar to the Sanscrit *karpasum*, *karpasa*, or *karpase*, signifying the cotton-plant. Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 159) states that the Arabs and Persians have *karphas* and *kirbas* as names for cotton. These must no doubt be derived from the Sanscrit, while the word *kapas* is now applied throughout India to cotton with the seed, and may even be seen in English prices-current. Κάρπασος occurs in the Periplus of Arrian, who states that the region about the Gulf of Barygaze, in India, was productive of *carpasus*, and of the fine Indian muslins made of it. The word is no doubt derived from the Sanscrit *karpasa*, and though it has been translated *fine muslin* by Dr. Vincent, it may mean cotton cloths, or calico in general. Mr. Yates, in his recently published and valuable work, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, states that the earliest notice of this Oriental name in any classical author which he has met with, is the line '*Carbasina*, molochina, ampelina' of Cæcilius Statius, who died B.C. 169. Mr. Yates infers that as this poet translated from the Greek, so the Greeks must have made use of muslins or calicoes, &c., which were brought from India as early as 200 years B.C. See his work, as well as that of Celsius, for numerous quotations from classical authors, where *carbasus* occurs; proving that not only the word, but the substance which it indicated, was known to the ancients subsequent

to this period. It might, indeed must, have been known long before to the Persians, as constant communication took place by caravans between the north of India and Persia, as has been clearly shown by Heeren. Cotton was known to Ctesias, who lived so long at the Persian court.

Nothing can be more suitable than cotton, white and blue, in the above passage of Esther, as the writer of this article long since (1837) remarked in a note in his *Essay on the Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*, p. 145: 'Hanging curtains made with calico, usually in stripes of different colours and padded with cotton, called purdahs, are employed throughout India as a substitute for doors.' They may be seen used for the very purposes mentioned in the text in the court of the King of Delhi's palace, where, on a paved mosaic terrace, rows of slender pillars support a light roof, from which hang by rings immense padded and striped curtains, which may be rolled up or removed at pleasure. These either increase light or ventilation, and form, in fact, a kind of movable wall to the building, which is used as one of the halls of audience. This kind of structure was probably introduced by the Persian conquerors of India, and therefore may serve to explain the object of the colonnade in front of the palace in the ruins of Persepolis [Cotton].

J. F. R.

KEDAR (קֵדָר, *black;* Sept. Κηδάρ), a son of Ishmael, and the name of the tribe of which he was the founder. The name is sometimes used in Scripture as that of the Bedouins generally, probably because this tribe was the nearest to them, and was best acquainted with them (Cant. i. 5; Isa. xxi. 16, 17; lx. 7). A great body of speculation founded upon the meaning of the word, namely, 'black,' may be dismissed as wholly useless. The Kedarenes were so called from Kedar, and not because they lived in 'black' tents, or because they were 'blackened' by the hot sun of Southern Arabia; neither of which circumstances could, even if true, have been foreseen at the time that Kedar received his name.

KEDEMOTH (קְדֵמֹת; Sept. Βακεδμώθ), a city in the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18), near the river Arnon, which gave its name to the wilderness of Kedemoth, on the borders of that river, from whence Moses sent messengers of peace to Sihon, king of Heshbon (Deut. ii. 26), the southern frontier of whose kingdom, and the boundary between the kingdom of the Ammonites and the Moabites, was the Arnon.

KEDESH (קֶדֶשׁ; Sept. Κάδης). There were two cities of this name, one in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 23), and the other in the tribe of Naphtali (xix. 37). This last was the more considerable of the two: it was a Levitical city, and one of the six cities of refuge. As the Kedesh, whose king was slain by Joshua, is mentioned among the cities of the north (xii. 22), it was doubtless the Kedesh of Naphtali, of which also Barak was a native (Judg. iv. 6).

KEDRON. [Kidron.]

KEILAH (קְעִילָה; Sept. Κειλά), a city of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 44), about twenty miles south-west from Jerusalem. When this city was besieged by the Philistines, David was commissioned by God to relieve it; notwithstanding which, if he had not made his escape, the ungrateful inhabitants would have delivered him into the hands of Saul (1 Sam. xxiii. 1-13). Keilah was a considerable city in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 17, 18), and existed in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, who place it eight Roman miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron.

KEMUEL (קְמוּאֵל, *assembly of God;* Sept. Καμουήλ), third son of Abraham's brother Nahor, and father of six sons, the first of whom is named Aram, and the last Bethuel (Gen. xxii. 21, 23). All these are unknown, except the last, who was the father of Laban and Rebekah (Gen. xxiv. 15). Aram is manifestly no other than a proper name which Kemuel gave to his firstborn; but as it is also the Hebrew name of Syria, some commentators have most strangely conceived that the Syrians were descended from him. This is truly surprising, seeing that Syria was already peopled ere he was born, and that Laban (Gen. xxviii. 5) and Jacob (Deut. xxvi. 5) are both called 'Syrians,' although neither of them was descended from Kemuel's son Aram. The misconception originated with the Septuagint, which too often undertakes to *translate* proper names, and in this case renders אבי ארם, 'father of Aram,' by πατέρα Σύρων, 'father of the Syrians.'

KENAZ (קְנַז, *hunting;* Sept. Κενέζ). 1. A descendant of Esau; also a place or tract of country in Arabia Petræa, named after him (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42).

2. The younger brother of Caleb, and father of Othniel, who married Caleb's daughter (Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 13; 1 Chron. iv. 13).

3. A grandson of Caleb (1 Chron. iv. 15).

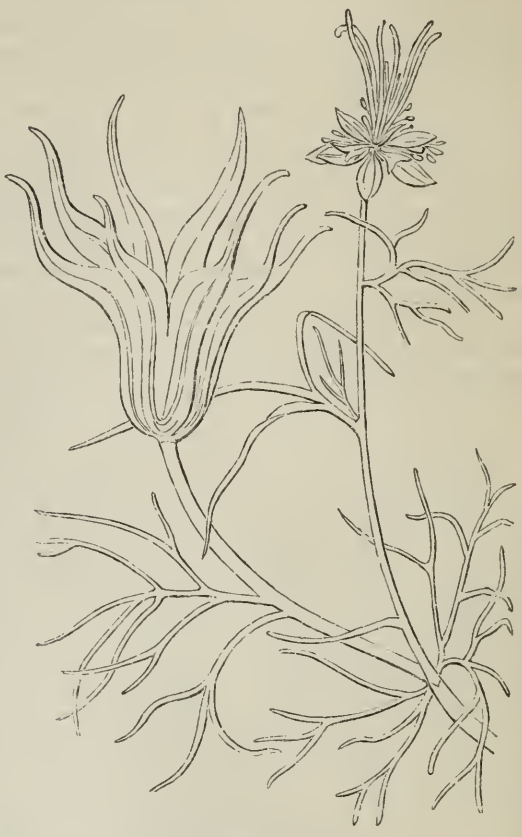
KENITES (קֵינִי; Sept. Κιναῖοι), a tribe of Midianites dwelling among the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 6; comp. Num. xxiv. 20, 21), or occupying in semi-nomadic life the same region with the latter people in Arabia Petræa. When Saul was sent to destroy the Amalekites, the Kenites, who had joined them, perhaps upon compulsion, were ordered to depart from them that they might not share their fate; and the reason assigned was, that they 'shewed kindness to the children of Israel when they came out of Egypt.' This kindness is supposed to have been that which Jethro and his family showed to Moses, as well as to the Israelites themselves, in consequence of which the whole tribe appears to have been treated with consideration, while the family of Jethro itself accompanied the Israelites into Palestine, where they continued to lead a nomadic life, occupying there a position similar to that of the Tartar tribes in Persia at the present day. To this family belonged Heber, the husband of that Jael who slew Sisera, and who is hence called 'Heber the Kenite' (Judg. iv. 11). At a later age other families of Kenites are mentioned as resident in Palestine, among whom were the Rechabites (1 Chron. ii. 55; Jer. xxxv. 2); but it is not clear whether these were subdivisions of the increasing descendants of Jethro, as seems most likely, or families which availed themselves of the friendly dispositions of the Israelites towards the tribe to settle in the country. It appears

that, whatever was the general condition of the Midianites, the tribe of the Kenites possessed a knowledge of the true God in the time of Jethro [HOBAB]; and that those families which settled in Palestine did not afterwards lose that knowledge, but increased it, is clear from the passages which have been cited [MIDIANITES; RECHABITES].

KENIZZITES (קְנִזִּי; Sept. Κενεζαῖοι), a Canaanitish tribe, mentioned in Gen. xv. 19, along with others, over which it was promised that the seed of Abraham should have dominion. The notion that they sprung from Kenaz, the grandson of Edom, and had their dwelling somewhere in Idumæa, cannot be entertained, seeing that the tribe is named long before Kenaz had existence. The Kenizzites of Num. xxxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6, appear, however, to be a different race, the origin of which may without improbability be ascribed to Kenaz. The Kenizzites are not named among the nations whom the Israelites eventually subdued; whence it may be supposed that they had by that time merged into some of the other nations which Israel overcame.

KETURAH (קְטוּרָה, *incense;* Sept. Χετ-τούρα), the second wife, or, as she is called in 1 Chron. i. 32, the concubine of Abraham, by whom he had six sons, Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah, whom he lived to see grow to man's estate, and whom he established 'in the East country,' that they might not interfere with Isaac (Gen. xxv. 1-6). As Abraham was 100 years old when Isaac was born, who was given to him by the special bounty of Providence when 'he was as good as dead' (Heb. xi. 12), as he was 140 years old when Sarah died; and as he himself died at the age of 175 years,—it has seemed improbable that these six sons should have been born to Abraham by one woman after he was 140 years old, and that he should have seen them all grow up to adult age, and have sent them forth to form independent settlements in that last and feeble period of his life. If Isaac was born to him out of the course of nature when he was 100 years old, how could six sons be born to him in the course of nature after he was 140? It has therefore been suggested by good commentators, that as Keturah is called Abraham's 'concubine' in Chronicles, and as she and Hagar are probably indicated as his 'concubines' in Gen. xxv. 6, Keturah had in fact been taken by Abraham as his secondary or concubine-wife before the death of Sarah, although the historian relates the incident after that event, that his leading narrative might not be interrupted. According to the standard of morality then acknowledged, Abraham might quite as properly have taken Keturah before as after Sarah's death; nor can any reason why he should not have done so, or why he should have waited till then, be conceived. This explanation obviates many difficulties, and does not itself contain any.

KETZACH (קֶצַח; Sept. μελάνθιον), also written KEZACH and KETSAH, occurs only in Isa. xxviii. 25, 27, and is translated *fitches*, that is, *vetches*, in the Authorized Version. It is no doubt from the difficulty of proving the precise meaning of *ketzach*, that different plants have been assigned as its representative. But if we refer to the context, we learn some particulars which at least restrict it to a certain group, namely, to such as are cultivated. Thus, ver. 25, 'When he (the ploughman) hath made plain the face thereof, doth he not cast abroad the *fitches* (*ketzach*)?' And again, ver. 27, 'For the *fitches* are not threshed with a threshing instrument, neither is a cart-wheel turned about upon the cummin; but *fitches* are beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod.' From which we learn that the grain called *ketzach* was easily separated from its capsule, and therefore beaten out with a stick.



369. [Nigella sativa.]

Although *ketzach*, in Chaldee *kizcha*, is always acknowledged to denote some seed, yet interpreters have had great difficulty in determining the particular kind intended, some translating it *peas*, others, as Luther and the English Version, *vetches*, but without any proof. Meibomius considers it to be the *white poppy*, and others, a *black seed*. This last interpretation has the most numerous, as well as the oldest, authorities in its support. Of these a few are in favour of the black poppy-seed, but the majority, of a black seed common in Egypt, &c. (Celsius, *Hierobot.* ii. 70). The Sept. translates it μελάνθιον, the Vulg. *git*, and Tremellius *melanthium*, while the Arabic has *shoonez*. All these mean the same thing, namely, a very black-coloured and aromatic seed, still cultivated and in daily employment as a condiment in the East. Thus Pliny (xx. 17. 71), '*Gith* ex Græcis, alii melanthion, alii melanspermon vocant. Optimum, quam excitatissimi odoris et quam nigerrimum.' By Dioscorides (iii. 93), or the ancient author who is supposed to have added the synonymes, we are informed that μελάνθιον was also called the 'wild black poppy,' that the seed was black, acrid, and aromatic, and that it was

added to bread or cakes. Σπέρμα μέλαν, δριμύ, εὐῶδες, καταπλασσόμενον εἰς ἄρτους. Pliny also says, 'Melanthii, vel melanspermi semen gratissime panes condit.' Melanthium is universally recognised by botanists to be the Nigella. Thus Bauhin Pinax, 'Nigella, a nigro seminis colore communiter dicta μελάνθιον est.' The شونيز *shoonez*, of the Arabs is, moreover, the same plant or seed, which is usually called 'black cumin.' So one kind of cumin is said by Dioscorides to have seeds like those of melanthion or nigella. It was commonly cultivated in Egypt, and P. Alpinus mentions it as 'Sunneg Ægyptiis.' The Arabs, besides *shoonez*, also call it *hub-al-souda*, and the Persians *seah dana*, both words signifying *black seed*. One species, named *N. Indica* by Dr. Roxburgh, is called *kala jeera* in India, that is, black zeera or cumin, of the family of Ranunculaceæ. 'Nigella sativa is alone cultivated in India, as in most eastern countries, and continues in the present day, as in the most ancient times, to be used both as a condiment and as a medicine' (*Illust. Himal. Bot.*, p. 46). If we consider that this appears to have been always one of the cultivated grains of the East, and compare the character of nigella with the passages in which *ketzach* is mentioned, we shall find that the former is applicable to them all. Indeed, Rabbi Obadias de Bartenora states, that the barbarous or vulgar name of the *kezach*, was nielle, that is, nigella. The various species of nigella are herbaceous (several of them being indigenous in Europe, others cultivated in most parts of Asia), with their leaves deeply cut and linear, their flowers terminal, most of them having under the calyx leafy involucres which often half surround the flower. The fruit is composed of five or six capsules, which are compressed, oblong, pointed, sometimes said to be hornlike, united below, and divided into several cells, and enclosing numerous, angular, scabrous, black-coloured seeds. From the nature of the capsules, it is evident, that when they are ripe, the seeds might easily be shaken out by moderate blows of a stick, as is related to have been the case with the *ketzach* of the text.—J. F. R.

KETZIOTH (קְצִיעוֹת) is translated Cassia in the Authorized Version, and is said to be derived from קָצַע, *to cut off*: it therefore denotes 'pieces cut off,' or 'fragments,' and hence is applicable to *cassia*. But many of these derivations have often been traced out in ignorance of the names and properties of the various substances known to the nations of antiquity. Cassia is mentioned in three places (Exod. xxx. 24; Ezek. xxvii. 19; and in Ps. xlv. 8), in conjunction with myrrh, cinnamon, sweet calamus, and ahalim, or eaglewood. All these are aromatic substances, and, with the exception of myrrh, which is obtained from Africa, are products of India and its islands. It is probable, therefore, that *ketzioth* is of a similar nature, and obtained from the same countries. Both cinnamon [Kinnamon] and cassia [Kiddah] were no doubt known to the ancients, and this is one step of the investigation; but to prove that the Hebrew words are correctly translated is another, which must be proceeded with before we can infer that the *kiddah* of Exod. xxx. 24 and Ezek. xxvii. 19, and the *ketzioth* of Ps. xlv. 8, both signify the same thing. This has not been the opinion of several translators and commentators; the first having been variously rendered iris, stacte, *costus*, ginger, canna, fistula, amber, *ketziah*, and cassia, while *ketzioth*, or *ketziah*, has been rendered cassia, acacia, amber, ginger, and aloes. The Arabic translator has considered it synonymous with the Arabic name *salicha*, which is no doubt applied to cassia.

Mr. Harmer has already remarked that, little copious as the Hebrew language is, there are in it no fewer than four different words, at least, which have been rendered 'linen,' or 'fine linen,' by our translators. This would hardly have been the case had there not been different kinds of linen. The same thing may be said of cassia, for which we have seen that there are two distinct words in the Hebrew—*Kiddah*, which will be treated of in a separate article, and *Ketzioth*, to which it is now our object to direct attention. It occurs only once, in Ps. xlv. 8: 'All thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes (*ahalim*), and *cassia* (*ketzioth*).' It has been observed with reference to this passage that 'The garments of princes are often imbued with costly perfumes, those of the high-priests were anointed with holy ointment.' We have seen above that *ketzioth* has been variously translated, but no one seems to have noticed the resemblance of this word to the *kooth* and *koost* of the Arabs, of which *Kooshta* is said by their authors to be the Syriac name, and from which there is little doubt that the κόστος of the Greeks, and *costus* of the Latins, are derived.

'Costum molle date, et blande mihi turis odores,
Ure puer costum Assyrium redolentibus aris.'

Κόστος is enumerated by Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* ix. 7.) among the fragrant substances employed in making ointment. Three kinds of it are described by Dioscorides, among his *Aromata* (i. 15), of which the Arabian is said to be the best, the Indian to hold the second place, and the *Syrian* the third. Pliny mentions only two kinds (xv. 12), 'Radix et folium Indis est maximo pretio. Radix costi gustu fervens, odore eximio, frutice alias inutili. Primo statim introitu amnis Indi in Patale insula, duo sunt ejus genera — nigrum, et quod melius, candicans.' The Persian writers on Materia Medica in use in India, in giving the above synonymes, evidently refer to two of the three kinds of *Costus* described by Dioscorides, one being called *Koost Hindee*, and the other *Koost Arabee*. The writer of this article obtained both these kinds in the bazaars of India, and found, moreover, that the *koot* or *koost* of the natives was often, by European merchants, called Indian orris, *i. e.* Iris root, the odour of which it somewhat resembles. Subsequently he ascertained that this article was known in Calcutta as *Puchuk*, the name under which it is exported to China. The identity of the substance indicated by these various names was long ago ascertained, though not then known to the present writer. Thus Garcias ab Horto, 'Est ergo Costus dictus Arabibus *Cost* aut *Cast*:'— 'In Malacca, ubi ejus plurimus est usus, *Pucho*, et inde vehitur in Sinarum regionem.' Having obtained the *koost* in the north-western provinces of India, the writer traced it afterwards as one

of the substances brought across the Indus from Lahore (*Illust. Himal. Bot.* p. 360). When Dr. Falconer proceeded on his journey to Cashmere, he was requested to make inquiries respecting this substance, and he discovered that it was exported from that valley in large quantities into the Punjab; whence it finds its way to Bombay (as in the time of Pliny to Patala) and Calcutta, for export to China, where it is highly valued as one of the ingredients in the incense which the Chinese burn in their temples and private houses. Finding the plant to belong to a new genus, he named it *Aucklandia*, in compliment to the Governor-General of India, and the species *Aucklandia Costus* (*Linn. Trans.* xix. 23). Considering, therefore, that *costus* was one of the articles of ancient commerce and is mentioned by Theophrastus as employed in the composition of perfumed unguents, and considering the similarity of the Syriac *kooshta*, and the Arabic *kast*, to the *ketzioth* of Scripture, and from their correspondence in properties and uses, the latter appears more likely to be the *costus* of the ancients, than *cassia*, for which there is another name [KIDDAH].—J. F. R.

KIBEROTH-HATTAVAH, an encampment of the Israelites in the wilderness [WANDERING].

KIDDAH (קְדָה), as well as KETZIOTH, is rendered CASSIA in our Authorized Version; but translators do not uniformly coincide in, though the great majority are in favour of, this interpretation. It is well known that the Greeks were acquainted with several varieties of cassia; and as one of these was called *kitto*, κιττώ (Dioscor. i. 12), this has been thought to be the same word as the Hebrew קדה, from קדד, in Arabic قدّ, *to split, hew, or tear anything lengthwise*, as must be done in separating cassia bark from the tree. But it does not follow that this is a correct interpretation of the origin of the name of an Eastern product. The word occurs first in Exod. xxx. 24, where cassia (*kiddah*) is mentioned in connection with olive oil, pure myrrh, sweet cinnamon, and sweet calamus; secondly, in Ezek. xxviii. 19, where Dan and Javan are described as bringing bright iron, cassia (*kiddah*), and calamus to the markets of Tyre. There is no reason why the substance now called cassia might not have been imported from the shores of India into Egypt and Palestine. Considerable confusion has, however, been created by the same name having been applied by botanists to a genus containing the plants yielding senna, and to others, as the *cassia fistula*, which have nothing to do with the original cassia. Cassia-buds, again, though no doubt produced by a plant belonging to the same, or to some genus allied to that producing cinnamon and cassia, were probably not known in commerce at so early a period as the two latter substances. There is some difficulty also in determining what the ancient cassia was. The author of this article, in his *Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*, p. 84, has already remarked, 'The cassia of the ancients it is not easy to determine; that of commerce, Mr. Marshall says, consists of only the inferior kinds of cinnamon. Some consider cassia to be distinguished from cinnamon by the outer cellular covering of the bark being scraped off the latter, but allowed to remain on the former. This is, however, the characteristic of the (Cochin-Chinese) *cinnamomum aromaticum*, as we are informed by Mr. Crawford (*Embassy to Siam*, p. 470) that it is not cured, like that of Ceylon, by freeing it from the epidermis.' There is, certainly, no doubt that some cassia is produced on the coast of Malabar. The name also would appear to be of Eastern origin, as *kasse koronde* is one kind of cinnamon, as mentioned by Burmann in his *Flora Zeylonica;* but it will be preferable to treat of the whole subject in connection with cinnamon [KINNAMON].—J. F. R.

KIDRON (קִדְרוֹן, *the turbid:* Sept. Κέδρων), the brook or winter torrent which flows through the valley of Jehoshaphat (as it is now called), on the east side of Jerusalem. 'The brook Kidron' is the only name by which 'the valley' itself is known in Scripture; for it is by no means certain, nor even probable, that the name 'valley of Jehoshaphat' in Joel (iii. 12) was intended to apply to this valley. The word rendered 'brook' (2 Sam. xv. 23; 1 Kings ii. 37, &c.), is נחל *nachal*, which may be taken as equivalent to the Arabic *Wady*, meaning a stream *and* its bed or valley, or properly the valley of a stream, even when the stream is dry. The Septuagint, Josephus, and the Evangelists (John xviii. 1), designate it χειμάρρος, a storm brook, or winter torrent.

The brook Kidron derives all its importance from its vicinity to the holy city, being nothing more than the dry bed of a winter torrent, bearing marks of being occasionally swept over by a large volume of water. No stream flows through it, except during the heavy rains of winter, when the waters descend into it from the neighbouring hills. But even in winter there is no constant flow, and the resident missionaries assured Dr. Robinson that they had not during several years seen a stream running through the valley. The ravine in which the stream is collected takes its origin above a mile to the north-east of the city. This ravine deepens as it proceeds, and forms an angle opposite the temple. It then takes a south-east direction, and, passing between the village of Siloam and the city, runs off in the direction of the Dead Sea, through a singularly wild gorge, the course of which few travellers have traced (*Pictorial Palestine*, Introd. p. cxciv.). It is in this ravine that the celebrated monastery of Santa Saba is situated. Mr. Madden, who went through the valley to the Dead Sea, thus speaks of the character which it assumes as it approaches the monastery:—'After traversing for the last hour a wild ravine, formed by two rugged perpendicular mountains, the sides of which contained innumerable caverns, which once formed a sort of troglodyte city, in which the early Christians resided, the sight of the convent in this desolate place was like a glimpse of paradise.' On leaving the convent the next day he says that he 'marched through the bed of the Kidron, along the horrible ravine which he entered the day before;' but he gives no account of its outlet into the Dead Sea. This defect is supplied by Dr. Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, ii. 249), who, on passing along the western borders of the lake, came 'to the deep and almost impassable ravine of the Kidron, running down by Mar Saba, and thence called Wady-er-Rahib, "Monk's Valley;"

but here also bearing the name of Wady en-Nar, "Fire Valley." At this place it was running E.S.E., in a deep narrow channel, between perpendicular walls of rock, as if worn away by the rushing waters between these desolate chalky hills. There was, however, no water in it now; nor had there apparently been any for a long time.'

KIKAYON (קִיקָיוֹן) occurs only in Jonah iv., where it is several times mentioned, as in ver. 6, 7, 9, 10. It is translated *gourd* in our Authorized Version, probably from the κολοκύνθη of the Septuagint, often rendered *cucurbita*. In the margin of the English Bible, *Palm-Christ* is given. In the Vulgate *kikayon* is translated *hedera*, 'ivy.' Neither the gourd nor ivy is considered by modern writers to indicate the plant intended; which is remarkable for having given rise to some fierce controversies in the early ages of the Church. The difficulties here, however, do not appear to be so great as in many other instances. But before considering these, it is desirable to ascertain what are the characteristics of the plant as required by the text. We are told, 'The Lord God prepared a *gourd* (*kikayon*), and made it to come over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head,' &c. (ver. 6). 'But God prepared a worm when the morning rose the next day, and it smote the gourd that it withered' (ver. 7). And in ver. 10 it is said of the gourd that it 'came up in a night, and perished in a night.' Hence it appears that the growth of the *kikayon* was miraculous, but that it was probably a plant of the country, being named specifically; also that it was capable of affording shade, and might be easily destroyed. There does not appear anything in this account to warrant us in considering it to be the ivy, which is a plant of slow growth, cannot support itself, and is, moreover, not likely to be found in the hot and arid country of ancient Nineveh, though we have ourselves found it in more southern latitudes, but only in the temperate climate of the Himalayan Mountains. The ivy was adduced probably only from the resemblance of its Greek name, κισσός, to *kikayon*. That the *kikayon* was thought to be a gourd seems to have arisen from the *kiki* of the Egyptians being the خروع *kherwa*, of the Arabs, often incorrectly written *keroa*, that is, without the aspirate, which makes it very similar to قرع *kara*, when written in Roman characters; which last in the East is applied to the gourd or pumpkin (Avicenna, c. 622), and is probably the *Lagenaria vulgaris*. Many modern authors mistake the one for the other. To this plant, no doubt, the following passages refer, 'The Christians and Jews of Mosul (Nineveh) say it was not the *keroa* whose shadow refreshed Jonah, but a sort of gourd, *el-kera*, which has very large leaves, very large fruit, and lasts but about four months' (Niebuhr, *Arabia*, as quoted by Dr. Harris). So Volney: 'Whoever has travelled to Cairo or Rosetta knows that the species of gourd called *kerra* will, in twenty-four hours, send out shoots near four inches long' (*Trav.* i. 71).

The Hebrew name *kikayon* is so similar to the *kiki* of Dioscorides, that it was early thought to indicate the same plant. Dioscorides (iv. 164, περὶ κίκεως) states that the *kiki*, or *cratum*, is called *wild sesamum* by some:—'Ricini autem nomen accepit a similitudine quæ est illius semini cum ricino animali. Arbuscula est parvæ ficus altitudine, foliis platani, truncis ramisque cavis in calami modum, semine in uvis asperis. Ex eo *oleum kikinum* exprimitur, cibis quidem ineptum; sed alias et ad lucernas et emplastra utile.' Thus giving in a few words a graphic description of *Ricinus communis*, or castor-oil plant, of which the seeds have some resemblance to the insect commonly called *tick* in English, and which is found on dogs and



370. [Ricinus communis.]

other animals. It has also been called *Pentadactylus* and *Palma Christi*, from the palmate division of its leaves. It was known at much earlier times, as Hippocrates employed it in medicine; and Herodotus mentions it by the name of σιλλικύπριον (ii. 94) when speaking of Egypt:—'The inhabitants of the marshy grounds make use of an oil which they term *kiki*, expressed from the Sillicyprian plant.' That it has been known there from the earliest times is evident from Cailliaud having found castor-oil seeds in some very ancient sarcophagi. That the Arabs considered their خروع *kherwa* to be the same plant, is evident from Avicenna on this article, or *kharwa* of the translation of Plempius (p. 301):—'Plantum hic scribit Dioscorides, quidam *crotona* appellant, hoc est *ricinum*, a similitudine quæ est illius semini cum ricino animali.' So Serapion (xii. c. 79):—'Cherva sive kerua, sicuti ejus oleum, oleum *kiche*.' This oil was not only employed by the Greeks, but also by the Jews, being the קִיק שֶׁמֶן, *kik*-oil of the Talmudists, prepared from the seeds of the *ricinus* (Rosenmüller, p. 127). 'Oleum (*kik*) est quod exit ex grano.' Lady Calcott states that the modern Jews of London use this oil, by the name of oil of *kik*, for their Sabbath lamps, it

being one of the five kinds of oil which their traditions allow them to employ.

Having ascertained that the *kiki* of the Greeks is what is now called *Ricinus communis*, we shall find that its characters correspond with everything that is required, except the rapidity of growth, which must be granted was miraculous. Dr. Harris indeed states that the passage means, 'Son of the night it was, and as a son of the night it died;' and that, therefore, we are not compelled to believe that it grew in a single night, but rather, by a strong Oriental figure, that it was of rapid growth. This, there is no doubt, it is highly susceptible of in warm countries where there is some moisture. It attains a considerable size in one season; and though in Europe it is only known as a herb, in India it frequently may be seen, especially at the margins of fields, the size of a tree. So at Busra Niebuhr saw an *el-keroa* which had the form and appearance of a tree. The stems are erect, round, and hollow; the leaves broad, palmate, 5 to 8 or 10 lobed, peltate, supported on long foot-stalks. The flowers in terminal panicles; the lower, male; the upper, female. Capsule tricoccous, covered with spines. The seeds are oblong, oval, externally of a greyish colour, but mottled with darker-coloured spots and stripes. From the erect habit, and the breadth of its foliage, this plant throws an ample shade, especially when young. From the softness and little substance of its stem, it may easily be destroyed by insects, which Rumphius describes as sometimes being the case. It would then necessarily dry up rapidly. As it is well suited to the country, and to the purpose indicated in the text, and as its name *kiki* is so similar to *kikayon*, it is doubtless the plant which the sacred penman had in view.—J. F. R.

KIMOSH and KIMSHON (קִמּוֹשׂ and קִמְשׁוֹן) occur, the first in Isa. xxxiv. 13, and Hos. ix. 6, and the second in Prov. xxiv. 31, where it is mentioned along with *charul*, which we believe to indicate *charlock*. The field of the slothful is there described as being grown over with thorns (*charullim*), 'and nettles (*kimshon*) had covered the face thereof.' In Isaiah it is said, 'And thorns (*choach*) shall come up in the palaces, nettles (*kimosh*) and brambles in the fortresses thereof.' Hos. ix. 6, 'The pleasant places for their silver, nettles (*kimosh*) shall possess them; thorns (*choach*) shall be in their tabernacles.'

Though different interpretations have been given of this word, as thorns, thistles, wild chamomile, &c., the greatest number of authors have united in adopting nettles, chiefly in consequence of the authority of Jewish writers. Thus, Rosenmüller says, Rabbi Tanchum, on Hos. ix. 6, explains *kimosh* by the common nettle, قرسص in Pococke's *Comment. on Hosea.* So R. Ben Melech, as quoted and translated by Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. p. 207) 'ex antiquioribus Ebræis, ad Proverb. xxiii. 13, *species est spinarum, et dicitur vulgo* Urtica.' Nettles no doubt spring up rapidly in deserted as in inhabited places, in fields, ditches, and road sides, but most frequently where there is some moisture in the soil or climate. Though they are found in tropical situations, as well as in temperate climes, yet the springing up of nettles in deserted places is rather an European than an Oriental idea. Though *kimosh* has not yet been proved to indicate the nettle, this plant has been received by the rabbins, and is as well suited to the passages in which it occurs as any other which has hitherto been suggested.—J. F. R.

KING, a title applied in the Scriptures to men (Luke xxii. 25; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2; 1 Pet. ii. 13-17), to God (1 Tim. i. 17; vi. 15, 16), and to Christ (Matt. xxvii. 11; Luke xix. 38; John i. 49; vi. 15; xviii. 32-37)—to men, as invested with regal authority by their fellows; to God, as the sole proper sovereign and ruler of the universe; and to Christ, as the Messiah, the Son of God, the King of the Jews, the sole Head and Governor of his church. The kingdom of Christ, in Luke i. 32, 33, is declared to be without end; whereas, in 1 Cor. xv. 28, we are taught that it will have a period, when God shall be all in all. The contradiction is only in form and appearance. The kingdom of the Messiah, considered as a mediatorial instrumentality for effecting the salvation of the world, will, of course, terminate when the purposes for which it was established shall have been accomplished; while the reign of the Son of God, associated with his Father in the empire of the world, will last as long as that empire itself, and never cease, so long as the effects endure which the redemption of the world shall produce alike in its remotest as in its nearer consequences.

Regal authority was altogether alien to the institutions of Moses in their original and unadulterated form. Their fundamental idea was that Jehovah was the sole king of the nation (1 Sam. viii. 7): to use the emphatic words in Isa. xxxiii. 22, 'The Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king.' This important fact, however, does not rest on the evidence of single texts, but is implied in the entire Pentateuch, not to say the whole of the Old Testament. The Scriptural statements or implications are as follows:—God is the creator of the world; he saved a remnant from the flood; towards the descendants of Noah he manifested his special favour; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he promised a land flowing with milk and honey; in the fulness of time he accomplished, by apparently the most unlikely and untoward means, the oath which he more than once sware to the fathers of Israel; so that eventually, having furnished his people with a complete code of laws, he put them in possession of the promised territory, assuming the government, and setting forth sanctions alike of ample good and terrible ill, in order to keep the people loyal to himself as to the only Creator and God of the universe, and specially as their supreme sovereign.

We consider it as a sign of that self-confidence and moral enterprise which are produced in great men by a consciousness of being what they profess, that Moses ventured, with his half-civilized hordes, on the bold experiment of founding a society without a king, and that in the solicitude which he must have felt for the success of his great undertaking, he forewent the advantages which a regal government would have afforded. Nor is such an attempt a little singular and novel at a period and in a part of the world in which royalty was not only general, but held in the greatest respect, and sometimes rose to the very height of pure despotism. Its novelty is an evi-

dence of the divine original to which Moses referred all his polity. Equally honourable is the conduct of Moses in denying to his lower nature the gratifications which a crown would have imparted—we say denying himself, because it is beyond a question that the man who rescued the Jews from bondage and conducted them to the land of Canaan, might, had he chosen, have kept the dominion in his own hands, and transmitted a crown to his posterity. If Washington, at this late period of human history, after the accumulating experience of above three thousand years, has added its sanctions to the great law of disinterested benevolence, is held deserving of high honour for having preferred to found a republic rather than attempt to build up a throne, surely very unequal justice is done to Moses, if, as is too generally the case, we pass in neglect the extraordinary fact that, with supreme power in his hands, and, to all appearance, scarcely any hindrance to the assumption of regal splendour, the great Hebrew patriot and legislator was content to die within sight of the land of promise, a simple, unrewarded, unhonoured individual, content to do God's work regardless of self. It is equally obvious that this self-denial on the part of Moses, this omission to create any human kingship, is in entire accordance with the import, aim, and spirit of the Mosaic institutions, as being divine in their origin, and designed to accomplish a special work of Providence for man; and, therefore, affords, by its consistency with the very essence of the system of which it forms a part, a very forcible argument in favour of the divine legation of Moses.

That great man, however, well knew what were the elements with which he had to deal in framing institutions for the rescued Israelites. Slaves they had been, and the spirit of slavery was not yet wholly eradicated from their souls. They had, too, witnessed in Egypt the more than ordinary pomp and splendour which environ a throne, dazzling the eyes and captivating the heart of the uncultured. Not improbably the prosperity and abundance which they had seen in Egypt, and in which they had been, in a measure, allowed to partake, might have been ascribed by them to the regal form of the Egyptian government. Moses may well, therefore, have apprehended a not very remote departure from the fundamental type of his institutions. Accordingly he makes a special provision for this contingency (Deut. xvii. 14), and labours, by anticipation, to guard against the abuses of royal power. Should a king be demanded by the people, then he was to be a native Israelite; he was not to be drawn away by the love of show, especially by a desire for that regal display in which horses have always borne so large a part, to send down to Egypt, still less to cause the people to return to that land; he was to avoid the corrupting influence of a large harem, so common among Eastern monarchs; he was to abstain from amassing silver and gold; he was to have a copy of the law made expressly for his own study—a study which he was never to intermit till the end of his days; so that his heart might not be lifted up above his brethren, that he might not be turned aside from the living God, but observing the divine statutes, and thus acknowledging himself to be no more than the vicegerent of heaven, he might enjoy happiness, and transmit his authority to his descendants.

This passage has, indeed, been pronounced to stand apart from any connection in the Pentateuch, and to betray a much later hand than that of Moses. If our view is correct, it has a very obvious connection, and proceeds from the Hebrew legislator himself. Nor can it, we think, be denied that the reason is by no means an unlikely nor insufficient one, by which we have supposed Moses to have been prompted in promulgating the provisional and contingent arrangements which are found in the passage under consideration. Most emphatically is the act of taking a king ascribed by Moses to the people themselves, whom he represents as being influenced by considerations not dissimilar to those which we have assigned: 'When thou,' &c., 'and shalt say, *I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me.*' Winer, however, from whom (*Real-wörterb.*) we have taken this objection, argues in opposition to Stäudlin (Bertholdt's *Theol. Journ.*, iii. 259, 361, sq.), that if Moses had anticipated a demand for a king, he would have made provision for such a demand at an earlier period—a remark which rests on no evidence of verisimilitude whatever, the opposite of the supposed course being just as probable. Besides, it may be affirmed, without the possibility of receiving any contradiction but that of mere assertion, that he made the provision as soon as he foresaw the probable need. Less solid, if possible, is Winer's other argument, namely, that in the passage (1 Sam. viii.) in which are recorded the people's demand of a king and the prophet Samuel's reply, no trace is found of a reference to the alleged Mosaic law on the point. A reference in form Winer could scarcely expect, a reference in substance we see very clearly. We have not room to go into particulars; but recommend the reader carefully to compare the two passages.

The Jewish polity, then, was a sort of sacerdotal republic—we say sacerdotal, because of the great influence which, from the first, the priestly order enjoyed, having no human head, but being under the special supervision, protection, and guidance of the Almighty. The nature of the consequences, however, of that divine influence avowedly depended on the degree of obedience and the general faithfulness of the nation. The good, therefore, of such a superintendence in its immediate results was not necessary, but contingent. The removal of Moses and of Joshua by death soon left the people to the natural results of their own condition and character. Anarchy ensued. Noble minds, indeed, and stout hearts appeared in those who were termed Judges; but the state of the country was not so satisfactory as to prevent an unenlightened people, having low and gross affections, from preferring the glare of a crown and the apparent protection of a sceptre, to the invisible and, therefore, mostly unrecognised arm of omnipotence. A king accordingly is requested. The misconduct of Samuel's sons, who had been made judges, was the immediate occasion of the demand being put forth. The request came with authority, for it emanated from all the elders of Israel, who, after holding a formal conference, proceeded to Samuel, in order to make him acquainted with their wish. Samuel was displeased; but, having sought in prayer to learn the divine

will, he is instructed to yield to the demand on a ground which we should not assuredly have found stated, had the book in which it appears have been tampered with or fabricated for any courtly purposes or any personal ends, whether by Samuel himself, or by David, or any of his successors—'for they have not rejected thee (Samuel), but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them' (ver. 7, see also ver. 8). Samuel is, moreover, directed to 'protest solemnly unto them, and show them the manner of the king that shall reign over them.' Faithfully does the prophet depict the evils which a monarchy would inflict on the people. In vain: they said, 'Nay, but we will have a king over us.' Accordingly, Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, was, by divine direction, selected, and privately anointed by Samuel 'to be captain over God's inheritance:' thus he was to hold only a delegated and subordinate authority. Under the guidance of Samuel, Saul is subsequently chosen by lot from among the assembled tribes; and though his personal appearance had no influence in the choice, yet when he was plainly pointed out to be the individual designed for the sceptre, Samuel called attention to those qualities which in less civilized nations have a preponderating influence, and are never without effect, at least, in supporting 'the divinity which doth hedge a king:' 'See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people,' for he was higher than any of the people from his shoulders and upward; 'and all the people shouted, God save the king.'

Emanating as the royal power did from the demand of the people and the permission of a prophet, it was not likely to be unlimited in its extent or arbitrary in its exercise. The government of God, indeed, remained, being rather concealed and complicated than disowned, much less superseded. The king ruled not in his own right, nor in virtue of the choice of the people, but by concession from on high, and partly as the servant and partly as the representative of the theocracy. How insecure, indeed, was the tenure of the kingly power, how restricted it was in its authority, appears clear from the comparative facility with which the crown was transferred from Saul to David; and the part which the prophet Samuel took in effecting that transference points out the quarter where lay the power which limited, if it did not primarily, at least, control the royal authority. It must, however, be added, that if religion narrowed this authority, it also invested it with a sacredness which could emanate from no other source. Liable as the Israelite kings were to interference on the part of priest and prophet, they were, by the same divine power, shielded from the unholy hands of the profane vulgar; and it was at once impiety and rebellion to do injury to 'the Lord's anointed' (Ps. ii. 6, 7, sq.). Instances are not wanting to corroborate and extend these general observations. When Saul was in an extremity before the Philistines (1 Sam. xxviii.), he resorted to the usual methods of obtaining counsel: 'Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets.' So David, when in need of advice in war (1 Sam. xxx. 7), resorted to Abiathar the priest, who, by means of the ephod, inquired of the Lord, and thereupon urged the king to take a certain course, which proved successful (see also 2 Sam. ii. 1). Sometimes, indeed, as appears from 1 Sam. xxviii., it was a prophet who acted the part of prime minister, or chief counsellor, to the king, and who, as bearing that sacred character, must have possessed very weighty influence in the royal divan (1 Kings xxii. 7, sq.). We must not, however, expect to find any definite and permanent distribution of power, any legal determination of the royal prerogatives as discriminated from the divine authority; circumstances, as they prompted certain deeds, restricted or enlarged the sphere of the monarch's action. Thus, in 1 Sam. xi. 4, sq., we find Saul, in an emergency, assuming, without consultation or deliberation, the power of demanding something like a levy *en masse*, and of proclaiming instant war. With the king lay the administration of justice in the last resort (2 Sam. xv. 2; 1 Kings iii. 16, sq.). He also possessed the power of life and death (2 Sam. xiv.). To provide for and superintend the public worship was at once his duty and his highest honour (1 Kings viii.; 2 Kings xii. 4; xviii. 4; xxiii. 1). One reason why the people requested a king was, that they might have a recognised leader in war (1 Sam. viii. 20). The Mosaic law offered a powerful hindrance to royal despotism (1 Sam. x. 25). The people also, by means of their elders, formed an express compact, by which they stipulated for their rights (1 Kings xii. 4), and were from time to time appealed to, generally in cases of 'great pith and moment' (1 Chron. xxix. 1; 2 Kings xi. 17; Joseph., *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 1. 2). Nor did the people fail to interpose their will, where they thought it necessary, in opposition to that of the monarch (1 Sam. xiv. 45). The part which Nathan took against David shows how effective, as well as bold, was the check exerted by the prophets; indeed, most of the prophetic history is the history of the noblest opposition ever made to the vices alike of royalty, priesthood, and people. If needful, the prophet hesitated not to demand an audience of the king, nor was he dazzled or deterred by royal power and pomp (1 Kings xx. 22, 38; 2 Kings i. 15). As, however, the monarch held the sword, the instrument of death was sometimes made to prevail over every restraining influence (1 Sam. xxii. 17).

After the transfer of the crown from Saul to David, the royal power was annexed to the house of the latter, passing from father to son, with preference to the eldest born, though he might be a minor. Jehoash was seven years old when he began to reign (2 Kings xi. 21). This rule was not, however, rigidly observed, for instances are not wanting in which nomination of a younger son gave him a preferable title to the crown (1 Kings i. 17; 2 Chron. xi. 21): the people, too, and even foreign powers, at a later period, interrupted the regular transmission of royal authority (2 Kings xxi. 24; xxiii. 24, 30; xxiv. 17). The ceremony of anointing, which was observed at least in the case of Saul, David, and Solomon (1 Sam. ix. 14; x. 1; xv. 1; xvi. 12; 2 Sam. ii. 4; v. 1; 1 Kings i. 34; xxxix. 5), and in which the prophet or high-priest who performed the rite acted as the representative of the theocracy and the expounder of the will of heaven, must have given to the spiritual power very considerable influence; and both in this particular

and in the very nature of the observance directs the mind to Egypt, where the same custom prevailed, and where the power of the priestly caste was immense (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, v. 279). Indeed, the ceremony seems to have been essential to constitute a legitimate monarch (2 Kings xi. 12; xxiii. 30); and thus the authorities of the Jewish church held in their hands, and had subject to their will, a most important power, which they could use either for their own purposes or the common good. In consequence of the general observance of this ceremony, the term 'anointed,' 'the Lord's anointed' (1 Sam. ii. 10; xvi. 6; xxiv. 6; 2 Sam. xix. 21; Ps. ii. 2; Lam. iv. 20), came to be employed in rhetorical and poetical diction as equivalent in meaning to the designation king. We have seen in the case of Saul that personal and even external qualities had their influence in procuring ready obedience to a sovereign; and further evidence to the same effect may be found in Ps. xlv. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 12: such qualities would naturally excite the enthusiasm of the people, who appear to have manifested their approval by acclamations (1 Sam. x. 24; 1 Kings i. 25; 2 Kings ix. 13; xi. 13; 2 Chron. xxiii. 11; see also Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.*, i. 33. 9). Jubilant music formed a part of the popular rejoicings (1 Kings i. 40); thank-offerings were made (1 Kings i. 25); the new sovereign rode in solemn procession on the royal mule of his predecessor (1 Kings i. 38), and took possession of the royal harem—an act which seems to have been scarcely less essential than other observances which appear to us to wear a higher character (1 Kings ii. 13, 22; 2 Sam. xvi. 22). A numerous harem, indeed, was among the most highly estimated of the royal luxuries (2 Sam. v. 13; 1 Kings xi. 1; xx. 3). It was under the supervision and control of eunuchs, and passed from one monarch to another as a part of the crown-property (2 Sam. xii. 8). The law (Deut. xvii. 17), foreseeing evils such as that by which Solomon, in his later years, was turned away from his fidelity to God, had strictly forbidden many wives; but Eastern passions and usages were too strong for a mere written prohibition, and a corrupted religion became a pander to royal lust, interpreting the divine command as sanctioning eighteen as the minimum of wives and concubines. In the original distribution of the land no share, of course, was reserved for a merely possible monarch; yet the kings were not without several sources of income. In the earlier periods of the monarchy the simple manners which prevailed would render copious revenues unnecessary; and a throne which was the result of a spontaneous demand on the part of the people, would easily find support in free-will offerings, especially in a part of the world where the great are never approached without a present. There seems also reason to conclude that the amount of the contributions made by the people for the sustenance of the monarch depended, in a measure, on the degree of popularity which, in any particular case, he enjoyed, or the degree of service which he obviously rendered to the state (1 Sam. x. 27; xvi. 20; 2 Sam. viii. 11; 1 Kings x. 11, 25, sq.). That presents of small value and humble nature were not despised or thought unfit for the acceptance of royalty, may be learnt from that which Jesse sent to Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 20), 'an ass, with bread and a bottle of wine, and a kid.' The indirect detail 'of the substance which was king David's,' found in 1 Chron. xxvii. 25, sq. (comp. 1 Sam. viii. 14; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, sq.), shows at how early a period the Israelitish throne was in possession of very large property, both personal and real. The royal treasury was replenished by confiscation, as in the case of Naboth (1 Kings xxi. 16; comp. Ezek. xlvi. 16, sq.; 2 Sam. xvi. 4). Nor were taxes unknown. Samuel had predicted (1 Sam. viii. 15), 'He will take the tenth of your seed and of your vineyards,' &c.; and so in other passages (1 Kings v. 13; ix. 21) we find that levies both of men and money were made for the monarch's purposes; and, in cases of special need, these exactions were large and rigorously levied (2 Kings xxiii. 35), as when Jehoiakim 'taxed the land to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh; he exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, of every one according to his taxation.' So long, however, as the native vigour of a young monarchy made victory easy and frequent, large revenues came to the king from the spoils of war (2 Sam. viii. 2, sq.). Commerce also supplied abundant resources (1 Kings x. 15). In the 14th verse of the chapter last referred to, it is said that 'the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred three score and six talents of gold.' In the same connection we find particulars which give a high idea of Solomon's opulence and splendour: 'Two hundred targets of beaten gold, each of six hundred shekels; three hundred shields of beaten gold, of three pounds of gold each; a great throne of ivory, overlaid with the best gold; drinking-vessels of gold: silver was accounted nothing of in Solomon's days.' A navy is also spoken of, which was at sea with the navy of Hiram, king of Tyre: this navy came once in every three years, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. 'So king Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches.'

According to Oriental custom, much ceremony and outward show of respect were observed. Those who were intended to be received with special honour were placed on the king's right hand (1 Kings ii. 19). The most profound homage was paid to the monarch, which was required not merely by common usage, but by the voice of religious wisdom (Prov. xxiv. 21)—a requirement which was not unnatural in regard to an office that was accounted of divine origin, and to have a sort of vice-divine authority. Those who presented themselves before the royal presence fell with their face towards the ground till their forehead touched it (1 Sam. xxv. 23; 2 Sam. ix. 6; xix. 18), thus worshipping or doing obeisance to the monarch, a ceremony from which even the royal spouse was not exempted (1 Kings i. 16). A kiss was among the established tokens of reverence (1 Sam. x. 1; Ps. ii. 12), as were also hyperbolical wishes of good (Dan. ii. 4; iii. 9). Serious offences against the king were punished with death (1 Kings xxi. 10).

Deriving their power originally from the wishes of the people, and being one of the same race, the Hebrew kings were naturally less despotic than other Oriental sovereigns, mingled more with their subjects, and were by no means difficult of access (2 Sam. xix. 8; 1 Kings xx. 39; Jer. xxxviii. 7;

1 Kings iii. 16; 2 Kings vi. 26; viii. 3). After death the monarchs were interred in the royal cemetery in Jerusalem: 'So David slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David' (1 Kings ii. 10; xi. 43; xiv. 31). But bad kings were excluded 'from the sepulchres of the kings of Israel' (2 Chron. xxviii. 27). In 1 Kings iv. will be found an enumeration of the high officers of state under the reign of Solomon (see also 1 Kings x. 5; xii. 18; xviii. 3; 2 Kings viii. 16; x. 22; xviii. 18; xix. 2; 1 Chron. xxvii. 25; Isa. xxii. 15; Jer. lii. 25). The misdeeds of the Jewish crown, and the boldness with which they were reproved, may be seen exemplified in Jer. xxii.: 'Thus saith the Lord, Execute judgment and righteousness, and do no wrong; do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow; neither shed innocent blood. But if ye will not hear these words, this house shall become a desolation,' &c. Reference on the subject here treated of may be made to Schickard, *Jus Regium Hebræor.* Tübing. 1621; Carpzov, *Appar. Crit.* p. 52; Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, i. 298; Othon. *Lex. Rabbin*, p. 575.—J. R. B.

KINGS, BOOKS OF. The two books of Kings formed anciently but one book in the Jewish Scriptures. The present division, following the Septuagint and Latin versions, has been common in the Hebrew Bibles since the Venetian editions of Bomberg. That the book was originally an unbroken treatise is affirmed by Origen and Jerome, Melito of Sardis, and Josephus, (Origen, apud Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* vi. 25, Βασιλείων τριτη, τεταρτη, εν ἑνι Ουαμμελεχ Δαβιδ; Hieronym. *Prolog. Gal.;* Joseph. *Cont. Apion.* i. 8). Great stress cannot always be laid on the Jewish forms of the sacred books, as they were arranged so as to correspond with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The old Jewish name was borrowed, as usual, from the commencing words of the book, והמלך דוד, Grecized as in the above quotation from Eusebius. The Septuagint and Vulgate now number them as the third and fourth books of Kings, reckoning the two books of Samuel the first and second. Their present title, מלכים, Βασιλείων, *Regum*, in the opinion of Hävernick, has respect more to the formal than essential character of the composition (*Einleitung*, § 168); yet under such forms of government as those of Judah and Israel the royal person and name are intimately associated with all national acts and movements, legal decisions, warlike preparations, domestic legislation, and foreign policy. The reign of an Oriental prince is identified with the history of his nation during the period of his sovereignty. More especially in the theocratic constitution of the Jewish realm the character of the monarch was an important element of national history, and, of necessity, it had considerable influence on the fate and fortunes of the people.

The books of Kings contain the brief annals of a long period, from the accession of Solomon till the dissolution of the commonwealth. The first chapters describe the reign of Solomon over the united kingdom, and the revolt under Rehoboam. The history of the rival states is next narrated in parallel sections till the period of Israel's downfall on the invasion of Shalmanezer. Then the remaining years of the principality of Judah are recorded till the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar and the commencement of the Babylonish captivity. In the article Israel, the period comprised has been exhibited under the name and reign of the kings who are mentioned in these books, and there also, and in the article Judah, the chronology of the books has been sufficiently considered.

There are some peculiarities in this succinct history worthy of attention. It is very brief, but very suggestive. It is not a biography of the sovereigns, nor a mere record of political occurrences, nor yet an ecclesiastical register. King, church, and state are all comprised in their sacred relations. It is a theocratic history, a retrospective survey of the kingdoms as existing under a theocratic government. The character of the sovereign is tested by his fidelity to the religious obligations of his office, and this decision in reference to his conduct is generally added to the notice of his accession. The new king's religious character is generally portrayed by its similarity or opposition to the way of David, of his father, or of Jeroboam, son of Nebat, 'who made Israel to sin.' Ecclesiastical affairs are noticed with a similar purpose, and in contrast with past or prevalent apostacy, especially as manifested in the popular superstitions, whose shrines were on the 'high places.' Political or national incidents are introduced in general for the sake of illustrating the influence of religion on civic prosperity; of showing how the theocracy maintained a vigilant and vengeful guardianship over its rights and privileges—adherence to its principles securing peace and plenty, disobedience to them bringing along with it sudden and severe retribution. The books of Kings are a verification of the Mosaic warnings, and the author of them has kept this steadily in view. He has given a brief history of his people, arranged under the various political chiefs in such a manner as to show that the government was essentially theocratic, that its spirit, as developed in the Mosaic writings, was never extinct, however modified or inactive it might sometimes appear.

Thus the books of Kings appear in a religious costume, quite different from the form they would have assumed either as a political or ecclesiastical narrative. In the one case legislative enactments, royal edicts, popular movements, would have occupied a prominent place; in the other, sacerdotal arrangements, Levitical service, music and pageantry, would have filled the leading sections of the treatise. In either view the points adduced would have had a restricted reference to the palace or the temple, the sovereign or the pontiff, the court or the priesthood, the throne or the altar, the tribute or tithes, the nation on its farms, or the tribes in the courts of the sacred edifice. But the theocracy conjoined both the political and religious elements, and the inspired annalist unites them as essential to his design. The agency of divinity is constantly recognised, the hand of Jehovah is continually acknowledged. The chief organ of theocratic influence enjoys peculiar prominence. We refer to the incessant agency of the prophets, their great power and peculiar modes of action as detailed by the composer of the books of Kings. They interfered with the succession, and their instrumentality was apparent in the schism. They roused the

people, and they braved the sovereign. The balance of power was in their hands; the regal dignity seemed to be sometimes at their disposal. In times of emergency they dispensed with usual modes of procedure, and assumed an authority with which no subject in an ordinary state can safely be intrusted, executing the law with a summary promptness which rendered opposition impossible, or at least unavailing. They felt their divine commission, and that they were the custodiers of the rights of Jehovah. At the same time they protected the interests of the nation, and, could we divest the term of its association with unprincipled turbulence and sedition, we would, like Winer, style them the demagogues of Israel (Winer, *Realwört.* art. *Prophet*). The divine prerogative was to them a vested right, guarded with a sacred jealousy from royal usurpation or popular invasion; and the interests of the people were as religiously protected against encroachments, too easily made under a form of government which had not the safeguard of popular representation or aristocratic privilege. The priesthood was in many instances, though there are some illustrious exceptions, merely the creature of the crown, and therefore it became the *prophetenthum* to assert its dignity and stand forth in the majestic insignia of an embassy from heaven.

The truth of these sentiments, as to the method, design, and composition of the books of Kings, is confirmed by ample evidence.

1. Large space is occupied with the building of the temple—the palace of the Divine Protector—his throne in it being above the mercy-seat and between the cherubim (ch. v.-viii.). Care is taken to record the miraculous phenomenon of the descent of the Schekinah (ch. viii. 10). The prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the house is full of theocratic views and aspirations.

2. Reference is often made to the Mosaic Law with its provisions; and allusions to the earlier history of the people frequently occur (1 Kings ii. 3; iii. 14; vi. 11, 12; viii. 58, &c.; 2 Kings x. 31; xiv. 6; xvii. 13, 15, 37; xviii. 4-6; xxi. 1-8). Allusions to the Mosaic code are found more frequently toward the end of the second book, when the kingdom was drawing near its termination, as if to account for its decay and approaching fate.

3. Phrases expressive of Divine interference are frequently introduced (1 Kings xi. 31; xii. 15; xiii. 1, 2, 9; and xx. 13, &c.).

4. Prophetic interposition is a very prominent theme of record. It fills the vivid foreground of the historical picture. Nathan was occupied in the succession of Solomon (1 Kings i. 45); Ahijah was concerned in the revolt (xi. 29-40). Shemaiah disbanded the troops which Rehoboam had mustered (xii. 21). Ahijah predicted the ruin of Jeroboam, whose elevation he had promoted (xiv. 7). Jehu, the prophet, doomed the house of Baasha (xvi. 1). The reign of Ahab and Ahaziah is marked by the bold, rapid, mysterious movements of Elijah. Under Ahab occurs the prediction of Micaiah (xxii. 8). The actions and oracles of Elisha form the marvellous topics of narration under several reigns. The agency of Isaiah is also recognised (2 Kings xix. 20; xx. 16). Besides 1 Kings xiii. presents another instance of prophetic operation; and in xx. 35, the oracle of an unknown prophet is also rehearsed. Huldah, the prophetess, was an important personage under the government of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 14). Care is also taken to report the fulfilment of striking prophecies, in the usual phrase, 'according to the word of the Lord' (1 Kings xii. 15; xv. 29; xvi. 12; 2 Kings xxiii. 15-18; ix. 36; xxiv. 2). So, too, the Old Syriac version prefixes, 'Here follows the book of the kings who flourished among the ancient people; and in this is also exhibited the history of the prophets who flourished during their times.'

5. Theocratic influence is recognised both in the deposition and succession of kings (1 Kings xiii. 33; xv. 4, 5, 29, 30; 2 Kings xi. 17, &c.). Compare on the whole of this view Hävernick, *Einleit.* § 168; Jahn, *Introduct.* § 46; Gesenius, *Ueber Jes.* vol. i. p. 934. It is thus apparent that the object of the author of the Books of Kings was, to describe the history of the kingdoms, especially in connection with the theocratic element. This design accounts for what De Wette (*Einleit.* § 185) characteristically terms *der steife prophetische pragmatismus*, and for the frequent myths which this writer finds in these books.

The authorship and age of this historical treatise may admit of several suppositions. Whatever were the original sources, the books are evidently the composition of one writer. The style is generally uniform throughout. The same forms of expression are used to denote the same thing, *e. g.* the male sex (1 Kings xiv. 10, &c.); the death of a king (1 Kings xi. 43, &c.); modes of allusion to the law (1 Kings xi. 13); fidelity to Jehovah (1 Kings viii. 63, &c.; De Wette, *Einleit.* § 184, *a*; Hävernick, *Einleit.* § 171). Similar idioms are ever recurring, so as to produce a uniformity of style (*Monotonie der Darstellung*, Hävernick, *l. c.*). The sources whence this historic information has been derived have been variously named. That annals contemporary with the events which they describe were written in the early period of the Jewish state, may be at once admitted. Eichhorn supposes that the sources of 'Kings' were private historical works (*Einleit.* § 482). De Wette, from the legends related in them, cannot believe them to be official documents. Bertholdt, Hävernick, and Movers hold that the books are extracts from the public annals (comp. Hävernick, § 169). The inspired historiographer refers his readers to these sources of evidence in such frequent phrases as יתר דברי 'the *rest* of the acts.' Such a reference is made especially to the sources, when other royal acts than those narrated in the books of Kings are glanced at. These sources are styled the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah, or Israel. Similar phraseology is used in Esther x. 2; vi. 1, to denote the official annals of the Persian empire. Public documents are spoken of in the same way (Neh. xii. 23). There is little reason to suppose that the book referred to in this last passage is that styled Chronicles in our copy of the Scriptures (Movers, *Chronik*, § 234). So we infer that the 'Book of the Chronicles of the Kings,' so often alluded to, was an authentic document, public and official. Once indeed mention is made of a work entitled 'The Book of the Acts of Solomon.'

That the prophets themselves were employed in recording contemporaneous events, is evident

from 2 Chron. xx. 34; 1 Chron. xxix. 29. In the course of the narrative we meet with many instances of description, having the freshness and form of nature, and which are apparently direct quotations from some journal, written by one who testified what he had seen (1 Kings xx. 10; 2 Kings xii. 15; xiv. 8). Thus the credibility of the history contained in these books rests upon a sure foundation. What neologists style their mythical character or colouring furnishes to every believer in the reality of the theocratic government established by Moses, continued evidence that the Jews were God's peculiar people—that Jehovah was their sovereign (Hävernick, § 170; Hengstenberg, *Beitr.* ii. 169).

As to what has been termed the anti-Israelitish spirit of the work (Bertholdt, *Einleit.* p. 949), we do not perceive it. Truth required that the kingdom of Israel should be described in its real character. Idol-worship was connected with its foundation; moscholatry was a state provision; fidelity obliged the annalist to state that all its kings patronized the institutions of Bethel and Dan, while eight, at least, of the Jewish sovereigns adhered to the true religion, and that the majority of its kings perished in insurrection, while those of Judah, in general, were exempted from seditious tumults and assassination.

Now, the compiler from these old documents —he who shaped them into the form they have in our present books of Kings—must have lived in a late age. The Second Book of Kings concludes with an account of the liberation of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, from prison in Babylon—an event which, according to Jahn, happened in the twenty-sixth, or according to Prideaux, in the twenty-eighth year after the destruction of Jerusalem. Jahn and Hävernick place the composition of 'Kings' in the reign of Evil-merodach; and De Wette, towards the end of the Captivity. Instances of later phraseology occurring in the books of Kings are given by De Wette (§ 115. 6). Jewish tradition makes Jeremiah the author (*Baba-bathra*, fol. 15. 1). Calmet ascribes the authorship to Ezra. The former opinion, adopted by Grotius, and lately revindicated by Hävernick, certainly appears the more probable. There is considerable linguistic affinity between the books of Kings and the prophecy of Jeremiah.

Kings.	Jeremiah.
2 K. xvii. 13 . .	vii. 13.
1 K. x. 8 . . .	xxii. 8.
2 K. xxiv.-xxv. . .	lii.
1 K. xi. 4; viii. 25; ix. 5.	xxxiii. 17; xiii. 13; xvii. 25.
2 K. xxi. 12 . .	xix. 3.

In the absence of certain evidence this opinion may be deemed the most likely, and is a more simple theory than that of Movers, who supposes that Jeremiah compiled a more ancient production —a book of Kings—the source of our present treatise. It explains the close similarity of the books of Kings and Jeremiah in spirit, style, and tendency, more easily and more satisfactorily than the supposition of De Wette, or any other conjecture of like nature. Objections against this opinion, from the hasty way in which Jeremiah has described his own times, admit of an easy solution. Contemporaries were familiar with his life and times, while his own prophecy contains the desired information. Another objection, that Jeremiah could not have lived longer than Evil-merodach, is noticed and refuted by Hävernick (*Ueber Daniel*, p. 14). The age of the Jewish tradition as to the authorship of the books of Kings, may be inferred from the fact that they are placed among the נביאים.

In reference to apparent contradictions or anachronisms, it must be borne in mind that the text of these books is not in a very pure state, and that in nothing do copyists blunder more than in the transcription of numerals. [Chronicles.] As to points of real or alleged contradiction, see Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 516. It has been sometimes thought that the books of Samuel were the production of the same *redactor* who composed the books of Kings. Both compositions form a history almost continuous, though 2 Sam. xvi.-xxiv. is evidently an appendix. That there should be many points of similarity in two works of history on kindred themes, and having a similar purpose in view, surprises no one. The close philological affinity on which Stähelin insists so much (see Tholuck's *Literar. Anzeig*, 1838, p. 526), may thus be easily accounted for; yet there are also points of dissimilarity. The language of 'Samuel' has few marks of later usage; the style has more traces of an early age about it. The books of Samuel have not the compactness and symmetry of the books of Kings. The greater portion of them seems to be an original work, rather than a compilation.

The age of the books of Kings may be intermediate between the early work of Samuel and the later treatise of Chronicles.

The 'Introductions' referred to in the course of this article may be consulted. Modern commentators upon 'Kings' are scarce, and there are not many old ones: Seb. Leonhardi Ὑπομνήματα, *in Libb. Reg.* Erf. 1606, Lips. 1610-14; Seb. Schmidii *Annot. in Libb. Reg.* Strasb. 1687; and the various authors in the *Critici Sacri*.—J. E.

KINNAMON (קִנָּמוֹן), translated 'cinnamon,' occurs in three places of Scripture; first, about 1600 years before the Christian era, in Exod. xxx. 23, where it is enumerated as one of the ingredients employed in the preparation of the holy anointing oil: 'Take thou also unto thee powerful spices, myrrh, and of sweet cinnamon (*kinnamon besem*) half as much (*i. e.* 250 shekels), together with sweet calamus and cassia.' It is next mentioned in Prov. vii. 17, 'I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes (*ahalim*), and *cinnamon*.' And again in Cant. iv. 14, 'Spikenard and saffron; calamus and *cinnamon*, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes (*ahalim*), with all the chief spices. While in Rev. xxiii. 13, among the merchandise of Babylon, we have 'cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense.'

In the earliest notice, it is called *kinnamon besem*, or 'sweet cinnamon.' Dr. Vincent is inclined to consider *khennah besem* and *khinnamon besem* as derived from the same root.

Many writers have doubted whether the *kinnamon* of the Hebrews is the same article that we now call cinnamon. Celsius quotes R. Ben Melech (*ad Cant.* iii. 14) and Saadias (Exod.

xxx.) as considering it to be the *Lign Aloe*, or *Agallochum*. Others have doubted whether our cinnamon was at all known to the ancients. But the same thing has been said of almost every other drug which is noticed by them. If we were to put faith in all these doubts, we should be left without any substances possessed of sufficiently remarkable properties to have been articles of ancient commerce. The word *κίνναμωμον* occurs in many of the Greek authors, as Herodotus, Hippocrates, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Galen, &c. The first of these, writing 400 years before the Christian era, describes Arabia as the last inhabited country towards the south, and as the only region of the earth which produces frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, and ledanum. Of cinnamon he says, 'which we, as instructed by the Phœnicians, call *κιννάμωμον*.' He states, moreover, that the Arabians were unacquainted with the particular spot in which it was produced, but that some asserted it grew in the region where Bacchus was educated. From all this we can only infer that it was the production of a distant country, probably India, and that it was obtained by the route of the Red Sea. Theophrastus (ix. 5) gives a fuller but still fabulous account of its production, and it is not until the time of Dioscorides, Galen, and the Periplus of the Erythræan sea, that we get more definite information. Galen says that cassia and cinnamon are so much alike that it is not an easy matter to distinguish the one from the other. This is a difficulty that still continues to be experienced. Dioscorides (i. 12) says that cassia grows in Arabia, and that there are several kinds of it; and of cinnamon he states also (i. 13) that there are several species, named from the different places where it is procured. But the best sort is that which is like the cassia of Mosylon, and is itself called Mosyllitic, or as Pliny says, 'Portus Mosyllites quo cinnamomum devehitur' (vi. 29). Mr. Cooley, however, in his edition of Larcher's *Notes to Herodotus*, adduces from Bruce's *Travels* (vol. vii. p. 329), 'the bastard kind of cinnamon, called by the Italians *canella*, which, notwithstanding what Bellonius says, and before him Pliny, grows plentifully among the incense and myrrh at Cape Guardafui, the *Mosylon promontorium* and *promontorium aromaticum*, and here only the distinction obtains of mountain cassia and that which grows on the plain.' Notwithstanding this, it would require the testimony of a careful and well-qualified botanist to prove that the cinnamon plant grows in Africa as well as in Ceylon. Several kinds are described by Dioscorides, and no fewer than ten kinds in the Periplus of Arrian (vid. Vincent, *Periplus*, ii. p. 711), and among these the Σκληροτερά, from the Greek *σκληρός*, 'hard,' which he translates 'xylocassia,' or 'wood cinnamon,' and states to be 'a term which occurs frequently, and perhaps distinguishes the *cassia lignea* (wood cinnamon) from the *cassia fistula* (*cannella*, or pipe cinnamon).' It is curious that the Persians and Arabians denominate cinnamon, for which they give *akimona* as the Greek name, *dar-seeni*, evidently derived from the Hindoo *dar-cheenee*, or Chinese wood, as if it had, like the cinnamon of the Greeks, been originally only the small branches and twigs, and not the separated bark, as in modern cinnamon and cassia. It has been asked 'whether the foreign element (*κιν*) in the Greek name *κιννάμωμον*, does not point to the Chinese origin of the production so named?' But the Cingalese *cacyn-nama* (dulce lignum) and the Malayan *kaimanis* are more probable derivations.

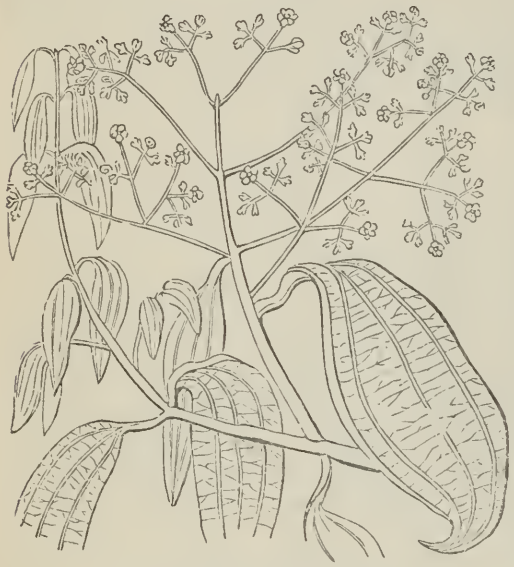
Cinnamon of the best quality is imported in the present day from Ceylon, and also from the Malabar coast, in consequence of the cinnamon plant (*Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*) having been introduced there from Ceylon. An inferior kind is also exported from the peninsula of India, the produce of other species of *cinnamomum*, according to Dr. Wight. From these countries the cinnamon and cassia of the ancients must most likely have been obtained, though both are also produced in the islands of Sumatra and Borneo, in China, and in Cochinchina. Cinnamon is imported in bales and chests—the bundles weighing about 1 lb. each. The pieces consist of compound quills, are about three feet long, slender, and inclose within them several smaller quills. These are thin, smooth, of a brownish colour, of a warm, sweetish, and agreeable taste, and fragrant odour; but several kinds are known in modern markets, as they were in ancient times.



371. [Laurus kinnamomum.]

In Ceylon cinnamon is carefully cultivated, the best cinnamon gardens being on the south-western coast, where the soil is light and sandy, and the atmosphere moist from the prevalent southern winds. The plants begin to yield cinnamon when about six or seven years old, after which the shoots may be cut every three or four years. The best kinds of cinnamon are obtained from twigs and shoots; less than half, or more than two or three inches in diameter, are not peeled. 'The peeling is effected by making two opposite, or when the branch is thick, three or four longitudinal incisions, and then elevating the bark by introducing the peeling knife beneath it. In twenty-four hours the epidermis and greenish pulpy matter are carefully scraped off. In a few hours the smaller quills are introduced into the larger ones, and in this way congeries of quills are formed, often measuring forty inches in length. The bark is then dried in the sun, and afterwards made into bundles, with pieces of split bamboo twigs' (Percival's *Account of Ceylon*). Besides cinnamon, an oil of cinnamon is obtained in Ceylon, by macerating the coarser pieces of the bark, after being reduced to a coarse powder, in sea-water, for two days, when both are submitted to distillation. A fatty substance is also obtained by

bruising and boiling the riper fruit, when an oily body floats on the surface, which on cooling concretes into a dirty whitish, rather hard, fatty matter. Some camphor may be procured from the roots. Respecting the former, it yields a striking confirmation of the minute knowledge which the ancients had of some products of India. Thus, as we have elsewhere mentioned (*Essay on Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*, p. 105), Theophrastus (ix. 7) along with cinnamon and cassia, describes two kinds of *comacum*, one a fruit, and the other employed for mixing with the most precious ointments. Bodæus a Stapel (p. 1009) says, 'Quale fuerit hoc comacum, quod unguentis addebatur, me ignorare fateor.' These seem to me to be substances of which we have only in recent times acquired any correct knowledge, namely, the fruit of the cinnamon plant, and the fatty oil extracted from it, of which there are specimens in the (King's) College Museum of Materia Medica (*Essay*, p. 106).



372. [Kinnamomum cassia.]

Cassia bark, as we have seen, was distinguished with difficulty from cinnamon by the ancients. In the present day it is often sold for cinnamon; indeed, unless a purchaser specify *true* cinnamon, he will probably be supplied with nothing but cassia. It is made up into similar bundles with cinnamon, has the same general appearance, smell, and taste; but its substance is thicker and coarser, its colour darker, its flavour much less sweet and fine than that of Ceylon cinnamon, while it is more pungent, and is followed by a bitter taste; it is also less closely quilled, and breaks shorter than genuine cinnamon. Dr. Pereira, whose description we have adopted, has ascertained that cassia is imported into the London market from Bombay (the produce of the Malabar coast), and also from the Mauritius, Calcutta, Batavia, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Canton. Mr. Reeves (*Trans. Med. Bot. Soc.* 1828, p. 26) says, 'Vast quantities both of cassia seeds (buds) and cassia lignea are annually brought to Canton from the province of Kwangse, whose principal city (*Kweihin*, literally 'cassia forest') derives its name from the forests of cassia around it. The Chinese themselves use a much thicker bark, unfit for the European market.' The Malabar cassia lignea is thicker and coarser that that of China. From the various sources, independently of the different qualities, it is evident, as in the case of cinnamon, that the ancients might have been, as no doubt they were, acquainted with several varieties of cassia. These, we have no doubt, are yielded by more than one species. Mr. Marshall, from information obtained while he was staff-surgeon in Ceylon, maintained that cassia, or at least a part of it, was the coarser bark of the true cinnamon. Dr. Wight has ascertained that more than one species yields the cassia of Malabar, often called cinnamon. The Chinese cassia is supposed to be produced by the *cinnamomum aromaticum* of Nees von Esenbeck, the *cinnamomum cassia* of Blume, which Dr. Christison ascertained is cultivated in our hot-houses, and confounded with the true cinnamon. It was first imported, we believe, by the Messrs. Loddiges from China. Besides cassia bark, there is also a cassia oil, and cassia buds, supposed to be produced by the same tree. There can be no reasonable doubt, as cinnamon and cassia were known to the Greeks, that they must have been known to the Hebrews also, as the commerce with India can be proved to have been much more ancient than is generally supposed [Kiddah].—J. F. R.

KIPPOD (קִפּוֹד). This name occurs but three times in Scripture (Isa. xiv. 23; xxxiv. 11; and Zeph. ii. 14), and has been variously interpreted—owl, osprey, tortoise, porcupine, otter, and in the Arabic, bustard. Bochart, Shaw, Lowth, and other great authorities, have supported the opinion that it refers to the porcupine. The main stress of their argument seems to depend upon the component parts of the original word, of which the first syllable is said to be derived from קָנָה *kana*, 'spine;' in confirmation of which Bochart, with his wonted learning, cites the Chaldee, Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopian names of the porcupine and hedgehog, which apparently confirm his opinion; but although derivations, when they are supported by apparent identity of meaning in other kindred languages, may satisfy the judgment of mere philologists, something more will be demanded by naturalists, who, looking for more positive indications than apparent synonyma and inferential derivation, have recourse mainly to the context for the real conditions, which must determine the meaning of disputed terms. Now, in Isa. xiv. 23, 'I will make it a possession for the kippod (bittern), and pools of water,' &c., the words are plain and natural. Marshes and pools are not the habitation of hedgehogs, for they shun water. In Isa. xxxiv. 11, it is said, 'The cormorant (*Sterna caspia*) and the kippod (bittern) shall possess it, the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it,' &c.; that is, in the ruins of Idumæa. Here, again, the version is plain, and a hedgehog most surely would be out of place. Zeph. ii. 14, 'Both the cormorant (*Sterna caspia*) and the kippod (bittern) shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; and their voice shall sing in the windows,' &c. Surely here kippod cannot mean the hedgehog, a nocturnal, grovelling, worm-eating animal, entirely or nearly mute, and incapable of climbing up walls; one that does not haunt ruins, but earthy banks in wooded regions, and that is absolutely solitary in its habits. We thus see that the arguments respecting kippod, supplied by kephud, or kephod—for we find these various readings—are all mere specu-

lations, producing at best only negative results. Those drawn from indications of manners, such as the several texts contain, are, on the contrary, positive, and leave no doubt that the animal meant is not a hedgehog, nor even a mammal, but a bird. Hence, though we admit the assumed root of the denomination, still it must bear an interpretation which is applicable to one of the feathered tribes, probably to certain wading species, which have, chiefly on the neck, long pointed feathers, more or less speckled. The Arabian bustard, *Otis houbara*, might be selected, if it were not that bustards keep always in dry deserts and uplands, and that they never roost, their feet not admitting of perching, but rest on the ground. We think the term most applicable to the heron tribes, whose beaks are formidable spikes that often kill hawks; a fact well known to Eastern hunters. Of these, *Nycticorax Europæus*, or common night heron, with its pencil of white feathers in the crest, is a species, not uncommon in the marshes of Western Asia; and of several species of bittern, *Ardea (botaurus) stellaris* has pointed long feathers on the neck and breast, freckled with black, and a strong pointed bill. After the breeding-season it migrates and passes the winter in the south, frequenting the marshes and rivers of Asia and Europe, where it then roosts high above ground, uttering a curious note before and after its evening flight, very distinct from the booming sound produced by it in the breeding-season, and while it remains in the marshes. Though not building, like the stork, on the tops of houses, it resorts, like the heron, to ruined structures, and we have been informed that it has been seen on the summit of Tauk Kesra at Ctesiphon.—C. H. S.

KIR (קִיר; Sept. Κύριος), a people and country subject to the Assyrian empire, to which the conquered Damascenes were transplanted (2 Kings xvi. 9; Isa. xxii. 6; Amos i. 5), and whither also the Aramæans in the east of Syria once wandered (Amos ix. 7). This is supposed by Major Rennel to be the same country which still bears the name of *Kur*distan or *Kour*distan (*Geog. of Herodot.* 391). There are, however, objections to this view, which do not apply so strongly to the notion of Rosenmüller and others, that it was a tract on the river Cyrus, or rather Kuros (Κῦρος and Κύρρος), in Zend Koro, which rises in the mountains between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and runs into the latter after being joined by the Araxes. *Gur*jistan, or Grusia (Grusiana), commonly called Georgia, seems also to have derived its name from this river Kur, which flows through it.

KIR-HARESH; KIR-HARESETH; KIR-HERES. [KIR-MOAB.]

KIRJATH. This word means *town* or *city*, and is much used in the formation of names of places, like our own *town*. The following are the principal places distinguished by this term:—

1. KIRJATHAIM (קִרְיָתַיִם, *double town*; Sept. Καριαθαίμ), one of the most ancient towns in the country east of the Jordan, as it was possessed by the gigantic Emim (Gen. xiv. 5), who were expelled by the Moabites (Deut. ii. 9, 10), who in their turn were dispossessed by the Amorites, from whom it was taken by the Israelites. Kirjathaim was then assigned to Reuben (Num. xxxii. 37; Josh. xiii. 19). But during the Assyrian exile, the Moabites again took possession of this and other towns (Jer. xlviii. 1-23; Ezek. xxv. 9). Eusebius places it about half an hour west of the ruins of Medeba. Burckhardt found other ruins, called *El Teym*, which he conjectures to have been Kiria*thaim*, the last syllable of the name being retained. This is somewhat doubtful, as the Καριάδα (Καριάθα) of Eusebius is placed ten miles west of Medeba, whereas El Teym is but two miles. There was another place of this name in the tribe of Naphtali (1 Chron. vi. 76).

2. KIRJATH-ARBA, the ancient name of Hebron, but still in use in the time of Nehemiah (vi. 26) [HEBRON].

3. KIRJATH-BAAL (*city of Baal*). This city is more usually called KIRJATH-JEARIM.

4. KIRJATH-HUZOTH (*city of streets*), a town in Moab (Num. xxii. 39).

5. KIRJATH-JEARIM (קִרְיַת יְעָרִים, *city of forests*; Sept. Καριαθιαρίμ), one of the towns of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17). It was to this place that the ark was brought from Beth-shemesh, after it had been removed from the land of the Philistines, and where it remained till removed to Jerusalem by David (1 Sam. vii.; 1 Chron. xiii.). This was one of the ancient sites which were again inhabited after the exile (Ezra ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29). Eusebius and Jerome speak of it as being in their day a village nine or ten miles from Diospolis (Lydda), on the road to Jerusalem. Dr. Robinson thinks it possible that the ancient Kirjath-jearim may be recognised in the present Kuryet-el-Enab. The first part of the name (Kirjath, Kuryet, signifying *city*) is the same in both, and is most probably ancient, being found in Arabic proper names only in Syria and Palestine, and not very frequently even there. The only change has been, that the ancient 'city of forests' has, in modern times, become the 'city of grapes.' The site is also about three hours, or nine Roman miles from Lydda, on the road to Jerusalem, and not very remote from Gibeon, from which Kirjath-jearim could not well have been distant. So close a correspondence of name and position seems to warrant the conclusion of Dr. Robinson in favour of Kuryet-el-Enab. This place is that which ecclesiastical tradition has identified with the Anathoth of Jeremiah, which Dr. Robinson refers to Anata [ANATHOTH]. It is now a poor village, its principal buildings being an old convent of the Minorites, and a Latin church. The latter is now deserted, but not in ruins, and is said to be one of the largest and most solidly constructed churches in Palestine (Robinson, ii. 109; 334-337).

6. KIRJATH-SANNAH (*city of palms*; Josh. xv. 49), otherwise KIRJATH-SEPHER (*city of the book*), a city of the tribe of Judah, called also DEBIR, which see (Josh. xv. 15, 16; Judg. i. 11, 12).

KIR-MOAB (קִיר־מוֹאָב, *the wall, stronghold, or citadel of Moab*; Sept. τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Μωαβιτίδος; Isa. xv. 1); called also KIR-HARESETH and KIR-HERES (קִיר־חֲרֶסֶת and קִיר־חָרֶס, *brick-fortress*, Isa. xvi. 7, 11; Jer. xlviii. 31), a fortified city in the territory of Moab. Joram king of Israel took the city, and destroyed it, except the

walls; but it appears from the passages here cited that it must have been rebuilt before the time of Isaiah. In his prophecy (xv. 1), the Chaldee paraphrast has put כרכא־מואב *kerraka Moab*, 'castle of Moab;' and the former of these words, pronounced in Arabic *karak*, *kerek*, or *krak*, is the name it bears in 2 Macc. xii. 17, Χάρακα: in Steph. Byzant. it is called Χαράκμωβα, in Abulfeda (*Tab. Syr.* p. 89), and in the historians of the Crusades. Abulfeda describes Karak as a small town, with a castle on a high hill, and remarks that it is so strong that one must deny himself even the wish to take it by force. In the time of the Crusades, and when in possession of the Franks, it was invested by Saladin; but after lying before it a month he was compelled to raise the siege (Bohaeddim, *Vita Saladin.* p. 55). The first person who visited the place in modern times was Seetzen, who says, 'Near to Karak the wide plain terminates which extends from Rabbah, and is broken only by low and detached hills, and the country now becomes mountainous. Karak, formerly a city and bishop's see, lies on the top of the hill near the end of a deep valley, and is surrounded on all sides with lofty mountains. The hill is very steep, and in many places the sides are quite perpendicular. The walls round the town are for the most part destroyed, and Karak can at present boast of little more than being a small country town. The castle, which is uninhabited, and in a state of great decay, was formerly one of the strongest in these countries. The inhabitants of the town consist of Mohammedans and Greek Christians. The present bishop of Karak resides at Jerusalem. From this place one enjoys, by looking down the Wady Karak, a fine view of part of the Dead Sea, and even Jerusalem may be distinctly seen in clear weather. The hill on which Karak lies is composed of limestone and brittle marl, with many beds of blue, black, and grey flints. In the neighbouring rocks there are a number of curious grottoes; in those which are under ground wheat is sometimes preserved for a period of ten years' (Zach's *Monatliche Correspond.* xviii. 434). A fuller account of the place is given by Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria*, pp. 379-387), by whom it was next visited; and another description is furnished by Irby and Mangles (*Travels*, pp. 361-370). From their account it would seem that the caverns noticed by Seetzen were probably the sepulchres of the ancient town. We also learn that the Christians of Karak (which they and Burckhardt call Kerek), are nearly as numerous as the Turks, and boast of being stronger and braver. They were, however, on good terms with the Turks, and appeared to enjoy equal freedom with them.

KISH, son of Ner, and father of King Saul (1 Sam. ix. 1).

KISHON (קִישׁוֹן; Sept. Κισῶν), a river which, after traversing the plain of Acre, enters the bay of the same name at its south-east corner. It is celebrated in Scripture for the overthrow of the host of Sisera in its overflowing stream (Judg. iv. 13; v. 21). It has been usual to trace the source of this river to Mount Tabor; but Dr. Shaw affirms that in travelling along the south-eastern brow of Mount Carmel, he had an opportunity of seeing the sources of the river Kishon, three or four of which lie within less than a furlong of each other, and are called Ras el Kishon, or the head of the Kishon. These alone, without the lesser contributions near the sea, discharge water enough to form a river half as large as the Isis. During the rainy season all the waters which fall upon the eastern side of Carmel, or upon the rising grounds to the southward, empty themselves into it in a number of torrents, at which time it overflows its banks, acquires a wonderful rapidity, and carries all before it. It was doubtless in such a season that the host of Sisera was swept away, in attempting to ford it. But such inundations are only occasional, and of short duration, as is indeed implied in the destruction in its waters of the fugitives, who doubtless expected to pass it safely.

The course of the stream, as estimated from the sources thus indicated, is not more than seven miles. It runs very briskly till within half a league of the sea; but when not augmented by rains, it never falls into the sea in a full stream, but insensibly percolates through a bank of sand, which the north winds have thrown up at its mouth. It was in this state that Shaw himself found it in the month of April, 1722, when it was crossed by him.

Notwithstanding Shaw's contradiction, the assertion that the Kishon derives its source from Mount Tabor has been repeated by modern travellers as confidently as by their ancient predecessors. Buckingham's statement, being made with reference to the view from Mount Tabor itself, deserves attention. He says that near the foot of the mountain on the south-west are 'the springs of the Ain-es-Sherrar, which send a perceptible stream through the centre of the plain of Esdraelon, and form the brook Kishon of antiquity.' Further on, the same traveller, on reaching the hills which divide the plain of Esdraelon from that of Acre, saw the pass through which the river makes its way from the one plain to the other (*Travels in Palest.* i. 168, 177). We have had opportunities of seeing much of streams similarly constituted; and it does not seem to us difficult to reconcile the seemingly conflicting statements with reference to the Kishon. On further inquiry, and more extensive comparison of observations made at different times of the year, it will probably be found that the remoter source of the river is really in Mount Tabor; but that the supply from this source is cut off in early summer, when it ceases to be maintained by rains or contributory torrents; whereas the copious supply from the nearer springs at Ras el Kishon, with other springs lower down, keep it up from that point, as a perennial stream, even during the drought of summer. Thus during one part of the year the source of the river may appear to be in Mount Tabor, while during another part the source of the diminished stream is at Ras el Kishon. In this view of the case we should expect that travellers crossing the plain in or shortly after the season of rain, would have encountered the temporary stream from Mount Tabor before the point where it meets the perennial streams from Carmel. The fact is, however, that the route has been little travelled in that season; but the required evidence is by no means wanting. Mariti (ii. 112) mentions the case of the English dragoman who was drowned, and his horse with him, in the attempt to cross such a stream in February, 1761. During the battle of Mount Tabor, between the French and Arabs,

April 16, 1799, many of the latter were drowned in their attempt to cross a stream, coming from Deburieh, which then inundated the plain (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 339). Monro, who crossed the river early in April (in its lower or perennial part), in order to ascend Mount Carmel, describes it as traversing the plain of Esdraelon: which he could not have done if he had not seen a stream flowing in that direction uniting with the river below Mount Carmel. The river, where he crossed it, *in a boat*, was then thirty yards wide. Afterwards, in crossing an arm of it, in the plain from Solam to Nazareth, he incidentally furnishes ground for his former view by stating that he crossed 'a considerable brook, and afterwards some others, which flow into a small lake on the northern side of the plain, and eventually contribute to swell the Kishon' (*Ramble*, i. 55, 281). Dr. Robinson says that this account corresponds with channels that he observed (*Bibl. Researches*, iii. 230). Prokesch also, in April, 1829, when travelling directly from Ramleh to Nazareth, entered the plain of Esdraelon at or near Lejjun, where he came upon the Kishon, flowing in a deep bed through marshy ground; and after wandering about for some time to find his way through the morass, he was at last set right by an Arab, who pointed out the proper ford (*Reise ins H. Land*, p. 129).

The Scriptural account of the overthrow of Sisera's host manifestly shows that the stream crossed the plain, and must have been of considerable size. The above arguments, to show that it did so, and still does so, notwithstanding Dr. Shaw's account, were, in substance, given several years ago in the *Pictorial History of Palestine* (Introd. p. cxci.); and the writer has had the satisfaction of seeing his view since confirmed by Dr. Robinson, who adds that 'not improbably, in ancient times, when the country was perhaps more wooded, there may have been *permanent* streams throughout the whole plain.'

The transaction of the prophet Elijah, who, after his sacrifice on Carmel, commanded the priests of Baal to be slain at the river Kishon (1 Kings xviii. 40), requires no explanation, seeing that it took place at the perennial lower stream. This also explains, what has sometimes been asked, whence, in that time of drought, the water was obtained with which the prophet inundated his altar and sacrifice.

KISHUIM (קִשֻּׁאִים) is translated *cucumbers* in our Auth. Vers., and the correctness of this rendering has been almost universally admitted. It first occurs in Num. xi. 5, in the verse already quoted in ANATTACHIM, where the Israelites, when in the desert, express their longings for the melons and the *kishuim* or cucumbers of Egypt. Reduced from the plural form, the word *kisha* is so similar to the Arabic قِثَّاء *kissa*, that there can be very little doubt of their both meaning the same thing. Celsius gives *keta*, *kati*, and *kusaia*, as different pronunciations of the same word in different Oriental languages. It does not follow that these names always indicate exactly the same species; since in the different countries they would probably be applied to the kinds of cucumber most common, or perhaps to those which were most esteemed in particular localities. Thus in Egypt the name *kati* appears to be applied to the species which is called *Cucumis chate* by botanists, and 'queen of cucumbers' by Hasselquist, who describes it as the most highly esteemed of all those cultivated in Egypt [ABATTACHIM]. In India the name *kisa*



373. [Cucumis sativus.]

is applied by the Mohammedans to the *Cucumis utilissimus*, or the common *kakree* of the natives; while in Persia and Syria the same name would probably be applied only to the common cucumber, or *Cucumis sativus*, as the two preceding species are not likely to be much known in either country. All travellers in the East notice the extensive cultivation and consumption of cucumbers and other herbs of the same tribe, especially where there is any moisture of soil, or the possibility of irrigation. Thus even in the driest parts, the neighbourhood of a well is often occupied by a field of cucurbitaceous plants, generally with a man or boy set to guard it from plunder, perched up on a temporary scaffolding, with a slight protection from the sun, where he may himself be safe from the attacks of the more powerful wild animals. That such plants appear to have been similarly cultivated among the Hebrews is evident from Isa. i. 8, 'The daughter of Zion is left like a cottage in a vineyard, like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers;' as well as from Baruch vi. 70, 'As a scarecrow in a garden of cucumbers keepeth nothing, so are their gods of wood' [ANATTACHIM].—J. F. R.

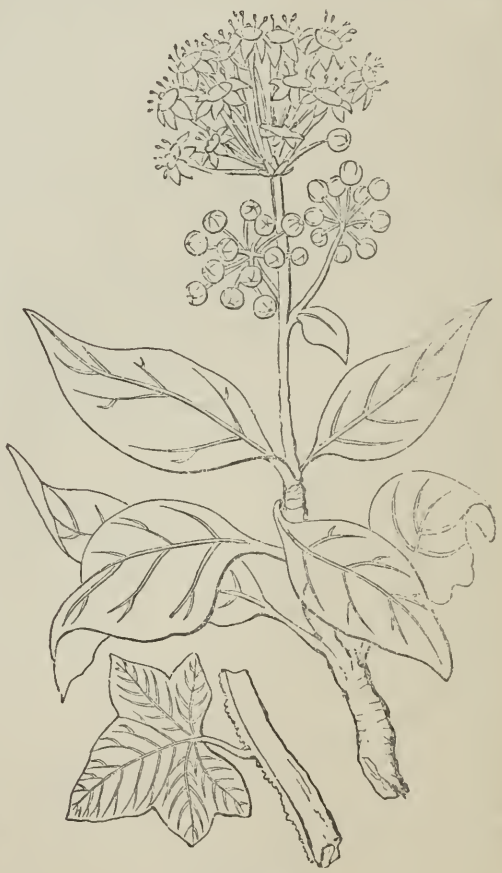
KISS. Originally the act of kissing had a symbolical character, and, though this import may now be lost sight of, yet it must be recognised the moment we attempt to understand or explain its signification. Acts speak no less, sometimes far more forcibly, than words. In the early period

of society, when the foundation was laid of most even of our Western customs, action constituted a large portion of what we may term human language, or the means of intercommunication between man and man; because then words were less numerous, books unknown, the entire machinery of speaking, being in its rudimental and elementary state, less developed and called into play; to say nothing of that peculiarity of the Oriental character (if, indeed, it be not a characteristic of all nations in primitive ages) which inclined men to general taciturnity, with occasional outbreaks of fervid, abrupt, or copious eloquence. In this language of action, a kiss, inasmuch as it was a bringing into contact of parts of the body of two persons, was naturally the expression and the symbol of affection, regard, respect, and reverence; and if any deeper source of its origin were sought for, it would, doubtless, be found in the fondling and caresses with which the mother expresses her tenderness for her babe. That the custom is of very early date appears from Gen. xxix. 13, where we read—'When Laban heard the tidings of Jacob, his sister's son, he ran to meet him, and embraced him and kissed him, and brought him to his house:' the practice was even then established and recognised as a matter of course. In Gen. xxvii. 26, 27, a kiss is a sign of affection between a parent and child. It was also, as with some modern nations, a token of friendship and regard bestowed when friends or relations met or separated (Tobit vii. 6; x. 12; Luke vii. 45; xv. 20; Acts xx. 37; Matt. xxvi. 48; 2 Sam. xx. 9). The church of Ephesus wept sore at Paul's departure, and fell on his neck and kissed him. When Orpah quitted Naomi and Ruth (Ruth i. 14), after the three had lifted up their voice and wept, she 'kissed her mother-in-law, but Ruth clave unto her.' It was usual to kiss the mouth (Gen. xxxiii. 4; Exod. iv. 27; xviii. 7; 1 Sam. xx. 41; Prov. xxiv. 26) or the beard, which was then taken hold of by the hand (2 Sam. xx. 9). Kissing of the feet was an expression of lowly and tender regard (Luke vii. 38). Kissing of the hand of another appears to be a modern practice: the passage of Job xxxi. 27, 'Or my mouth hath kissed my hand,' is not in point, and refers to idolatrous usages, namely, the adoration of the heavenly bodies. It was the custom to throw kisses towards the images of the gods, and towards the sun and moon (1 Kings xix. 18; Hosea xiii. 2; Minuc. Felix, ii. 5; Tac. *Hist.* iii. 24. 3; Lucian, *De Salt.* c. 17; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. 5). The kissing of princes was a token of homage (Ps. ii. 12; 1 Sam. x. 1; Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vii. 5. 32). Xenophon says (*Agesil.* v. 4) that it was a national custom with the Persians to kiss whomsoever they honoured; and a curious passage to this effect may be found in the *Cyropædia* (i. 4. 27). Kissing the feet of princes was a token of subjection and obedience; which was sometimes carried so far that the print of the foot received the kiss, so as to give the impression that the very dust had become sacred by the royal tread, or that the subject was not worthy to salute even the prince's foot, but was content to kiss the earth itself near or on which he trod (Isa. xlix. 23; Micah vii. 17; Ps. lxxii. 9; Dion Cass. lix. 27; Seneca, *De Benef.* ii. 12). The Rabbins, in the meddlesome, scrupulous, and falsely delicate spirit which animated much of what they wrote, did not permit more than three kinds of kisses, the kiss of reverence, of reception, and of dismissal (Breschith Rabba *on Gen.* xxix. 11).

The peculiar tendency of the Christian religion to encourage honour towards all men, as men, to foster and develop the softer affections, and, in the trying condition of the early church, to make its members intimately known one to another, and unite them in the closest bonds, led to the observance of kissing as an accompaniment of that social worship which took its origin in the very cradle of our religion. Hence the exhortation—'Salute each other with a holy kiss' (Rom. xvi. 16; see also 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26; in 1 Pet. v. 14, it is termed 'a kiss of charity'). The observance was continued in later days, and has not yet wholly disappeared, though the peculiar circumstances have vanished which gave propriety and emphasis to such an expression of brotherly love and Christian friendship.

On the subject of this article consult Pfanner, *De Osculis Christianor. Veter.*; M. Kempius, *De Osculis*, Francof. 1680; Jac. Herrenschmidius, *Osculogia*, Viteb. 1630; P. Muller, *De Osculo Sancto*, 1674; Boberg, *De Osculis Hebr.*—J. R. B.

KISSOS (Gr. κισσός), 'ivy,' is mentioned only once, and that in the Apocrypha (2 Macc. vi. 7), where the Temple is described as being desecrated by the Gentiles, and the Jews forced to depart from the laws of their fathers: 'And when the feast of Bacchus was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying



374. [Hedera helix.]

ivy.' The term κισσός or κιττός seems to have been applied by the Greeks in a general sense, and to have included many plants, and among them, some climbers, as the *convolvulus*, besides the

common ivy, which was especially dedicated to Bacchus, and which was distinguished by the name of 'Hedera poetica, Dionysia aut Bacchica, quod ex ea poëtarum coronæ consuerentur.' It is well known that in the Dionysia, or festivals in honour of Dionysus, and in the processions called *θίασοι*, with which they were celebrated, women also took part, in the disguise of Bacchæ, Naiades, Nymphæ, &c., adorned with garlands of ivy, &c.: thus Ovid (*Fasti*, iii. 766):—

Cum hedera cincta est? hedera est gratissima Baccho.

Bacchus is generally thought to have been educated in India, and the Indian Bâghês has been supposed to be the original of the name. The fact of Bâghês being a compound of two words signifying tiger and master or lord, would appear to confirm the identity, since Bacchus is usually represented as drawn in his chariot by a tiger and a lion, and tigers, &c., are described as following him in his Indian journey. As the ivy, however, is not a plant of India, it might be objected to its being characteristic of an Indian god. But in the mountains which bound India to the north, both the ivy and the vine may be found, and the Greeks were acquainted with the fact that Mount Mero is the only part of India where ivy was produced. Indeed, Alexander and his companions are said to have crowned themselves with ivy in honour of Bacchus. The ivy, *Hedera Helix*, being a native of most parts of Europe, is too well known to require special notice.—J. F. R.

KITE. [Glede.]

KNEADING-TROUGHS. [Bread.]

KOHATH (קְהָת, *assembly*; Sept. Καάθ), son of Levi, and father of Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel (Gen. xlvi. 11). The descendants of Kohath formed one of the three great divisions of the Levitical tribe. This division contained the priestly family which was descended from Aaron, the son of Amram. In the service of the tabernacle, as settled in the wilderness, the Kohathites had the distinguished charge of bearing the ark and the sacred vessels (Exod. vi. 16; Num. iv. 4-6).

KOPHER, or Copher (כֹּפֶר), occurs twice in the Song of Solomon, and is in both places translated *camphire* in the Authorized Version. Thus (i. 14), 'My beloved is unto me as a cluster of *camphire (kopher)* in the vineyards of En-gedi;' and in iv. 13, 'Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits, *camphire (kopher)*, with spikenard.' It has been supposed to indicate a bunch of grapes (*Botrus kopher*), also *camphor*. The word *camphire* is the old mode of spelling *camphor*, but this substance does not appear to have been known to ancient commerce; at least we cannot adduce any proof that it was so. The word *Kopher* is certainly very like *Kafoor*, the Eastern name for *camphor*, but it also closely resembles the Greek *κύπρος*, or *Kupros*, usually written *Cypros*. Indeed, as has been observed, it is the same word, with the Greek pronunciation and termination. The *κύπρος* of the Greeks is, no doubt, the *Lawsonia inermis* of botanists, and is described by Dioscorides (i. 125) and by Pliny (xii. 24):—'Cypros in Ægypto est arbor ziziphi (*oleæ*, Dioscor.) foliis, semine coriandri, flore candido, odorato. Coquitur hoc in oleo, premiturque postea, quod cyprinum (*κύπρινον*, Dioscor. i. 65) vocatur. Optimum habetur e Canope, in ripis Nili natum: secundum Ascalone Judææ: tertium Cypro insula, odoris suavitate præcipuum.' Sir T. Browne and others have inferred that the *κύπρος* of the Greeks was the *kopher* of the Hebrews. Mariti remarks, that 'the shrub known in the Hebrew language by the name of kopher is common in the island of Cyprus, and thence had its Latin name:' also, that 'the *Botrus Cypri* has been supposed to be a kind of rare and exquisite grapes, transplanted from Cyprus to Engaddi; but the *Botrus* is known to the natives of Cyprus as an odoriferous shrub called *henna*, or *alkanna*.' So R. Ben Melek (*ad Cant.* i. 14), as quoted and translated by Celsius (i. 223):—'*Botrus Copher id ipsum est, quod Arabes vocant Al-Hinna.*' Upon this Celsius remarks:—'Hæc in Talmude sæpius memoratur, quod in Judæa cresceret, et Judæorum legibus subjecta esset.' If we refer to the works of the Arabs, we find both in Serapion and Avicenna, reference from their *Hinna* to the description by Dioscorides and Galen, of *Kupros* or *Cypros*. This identity is now universally acknowledged: the *Kupros*, therefore, must have been *Lawsonia inermis*, as the *Hinna* of the Arabs is well known to be. If we examine the works of Oriental travellers and naturalists, we shall find that this plant is universally esteemed in Eastern countries, and appears to have been so from the earliest times, both on account of the fragrance of its flowers, and the colouring properties of its leaves.



375. [Lawsonia inermis.]

Thus Rauwolff, when at Tripoli (*Travels*, iv.), 'found there another tree, not unlike unto our privet, by the Arabians called *Alsana*, or *Henna*, and by the Grecians, in their vulgar tongue, *Schauna*, which they have from Egypt, where, but above all in Cayre, they grow in abundance. The Turks and Moors nurse these up with great care and diligence, because of their sweet-smelling flowers. They also, as I am in-

formed, keep their leaves all winter, which leaves they powder and mix with the juice of citrons, and stain therewith against great holidays the hair and nails of their children of a red colour, which colour may perhaps be seen with us on the manes and tails of Turkish horses.' So Belon (ii. 74), when leaving Cairo for Jerusalem, says :—' Nous trouvasmes un petit arbrisseau nommé Henne ou Alcanna, qu'ils taillent et cultivent diligemment, et font d'iceluy des beaux petits bois taillis. Il est de grand revenu en Egypte, car ils deseichent ses feuilles pour mettre en poudre, à faire de la teinture pour teindre en jaune ; les femmes de tous les pays de Turquie ont coustume de teindre les mains, les pieds, et partie des cheveux en couleur jaune ou rouge ; et les hommes se teignent les ongles en rouge avec la susdicte poudre' (*Observ.* p. 301). This custom of dyeing the nails and the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, of an iron-rust colour, with *henna*, exists throughout the East, from the Mediterranean to the Ganges, as well as in Northern Africa. In some parts the practice is not confined to women and children, but is also followed by men, especially in Persia. In dyeing the beard, the hair is turned to red by this application, which is then changed to black by a preparation of indigo. In dyeing the hair of children, and the tails and manes of horses and asses, the process is allowed to stop at the red colour which the *henna* produces. In reference to this universal practice of the East, Dr. Harris observes that ' the expression in Deut. xxi. 12, "pare her nails," may perhaps rather mean "adorn her nails," and imply the antiquity of this practice. This is a universal custom in Egypt, and not to conform to it would be considered indecent. It seems to have been practised by the ancient Egyptians, for the nails of the mummies are most commonly of a reddish hue.' Seeing, then, that the *henna* is so universally admired in the East, both on account of the fragrance of its flowers and the dye yielded by its leaves, and as there is no doubt that it is the *κύπρος* of the Greeks, and as this word is so similar to the *kopher* of the Hebrews, there is every probability of this last being the *henna* of the Arabs, *Lawsonia alba* of botanists.—J. F. R.

KORAH (קֹרַח, *ice ;* Sept. Κορέ), a Levite, son of Izhar, the brother of Amram, the father of Moses and Aaron, who were therefore cousins to Korah (Exod. vi. 21). From this near relationship we may, with tolerable certainty, conjecture, that the source of the discontent which led to the steps afterwards taken by this unhappy man, lay in his jealousy that the high honours and privileges of the priesthood, to which he, who remained a simple Levite, might, apart from the divine appointment, seem to have had as good a claim, should have been exclusively appropriated to the family of Aaron. When to this was added the civil authority of Moses, the whole power over the nation would seem to him to have been engrossed by his cousins, the sons of Amram. Under the influence of these feelings he organized a conspiracy, for the purpose of redressing what appeared to him the evil and injustice of this arrangement. Dathan, Abiram, and On, the chief persons who joined him, were of the tribe of Reuben; but he was also supported by many more from other tribes, making up the number of 250, men of name, rank, and influence, all who may be regarded as representing the families of which they were the heads. The private object of Korah was apparently his own aggrandizement, but his ostensible object was the general good of the people; and it is perhaps from want of attention to this distinction that the transaction has not been well understood. The design seems to have been made acceptable to a large body of the nation, on the ground that the first-born of Israel had been deprived of their sacerdotal birthright in favour of the Levites, while the Levites themselves announced that the priesthood had been conferred by Moses (as they considered) on his own brother's family, in preference to those who had equal claims ; and it is easy to conceive that the Reubenites may have considered the opportunity a favourable one for the recovery of their birthright—the double portion and civil pre-eminence—which had been forfeited by them and given to Joseph. These are the explanations of Aben-Ezra, and seem as reasonable as any which have been offered.

The leading conspirators having organized their plans, repaired in a body to Moses and Aaron, boldly charged them with their usurpations, and required them to lay down their ill-gotten power. Moses no sooner heard this than he fell on his face, confounded at the enormity of so outrageous a revolt against a system framed so carefully for the benefit of the nation. He left the matter in the Lord's hands, and desired them to come on the morrow, provided with censers for incense, that the Lord himself, by some manifest token, might make known his will in this great matter. As this order was particularly addressed to the rebellious Levites, the Reubenites left the place, and when afterwards called back by Moses, returned a very insolent refusal, charging him with having brought them out of the land of Egypt under false pretences, ' to kill them in the wilderness.'

The next day Korah and his company appeared before the tabernacle, attended by a multitude of people out of the general body of the tribes. Then the Shekinah, or symbol of the divine presence, which abode between the cherubim, advanced to the entrance of the sacred fabric, and a voice therefrom commanded Moses and Aaron to stand apart, lest they should share in the destruction which awaited the whole congregation. On hearing these awful words the brothers fell on their faces, and, by strong intercession, moved the Lord to confine his wrath to the leaders in the rebellion, and spare their unhappy dupes. The latter were then ordered to separate themselves from their leaders and from the tents in which they dwelt. The terrible menace involved in this direction had its weight, and the command was obeyed ; and after Moses had appealed to what was to happen as a proof of the authority by which he acted, the earth opened, and received and closed over the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The Reubenite conspirators were in their tents, and perished in them ; and at the same instant Korah and his 250, who were offering incense at the door of the tabernacle, were destroyed by a fire which ' came out from the Lord ;' that is, most probably, in this case, from out of the cloud in which his presence dwelt. The censers which they had used

were afterwards made into plates, to form an outer covering to the altar, and thus became a standing monument of this awful transaction (Num. xvi.). On, although named in the first instance along with Dathan and Abiram, does not further appear either in the rebellion or its punishment. It is hence supposed that he repented in time: and Abendana and other Rabbinical writers allege that his wife prevailed upon him to abandon the cause.

It might be supposed from the Scripture narrative that the entire families of the conspirators perished in the destruction of their tents. Doubtless all who were in the tents perished; but as the descendants of Korah afterwards became eminent in the Levitical service, it is clear that his sons were spared. They were probably living in separate tents, or were among those who sundered themselves from the conspirators at the command of Moses. There is no reason to suppose that the sons of Korah were children when their father perished. The Korahites were appointed by David to the office of guarding the doors of the temple, and of singing praises. They, in fact, occupied a distinguished place in the choral service of the temple, and several of the Psalms (xlii. xliv.-xlix. lxxxiv. lxxxv. lxxxvii. lxxxviii.) are inscribed to them. Heman, the master of song under David, was of this family, and his genealogy is traced through Korah up to Levi (1 Chron. vi. 31-38.)

KOTZ. [Thorn.]

KRINON. [Lily.]

KUSSEMETH (כֻּסֶּמֶת) occurs in three places of Scripture. In the Authorized Version it is translated *rye* in Exod. ix. 32; Isa. xxviii. 25, and *fitches* in Ezek. iv. 9; but its true meaning still remains uncertain. It was one of the cultivated grains both of Egypt and of Syria, and one of those employed as an article of diet. It was also sown along with wheat, or, at least, its crop was in the same state of forwardness; for we learn from Exod. ix. 32, that in the seventh plague the hail-storm smote the barley which was in the ear, and the flax which was bolled; but that the wheat and the *kussemeth* were not smitten, for they were not grown up. Respecting the wheat and the barley, we know that they are often sown and come to maturity in different months. Thus Forskal says, 'Hordeum cum mense Februario maturatur, triticum ad finem Martii persistit' (*Flora Ægypt.*, p. 43). The events above referred to probably took place in February (vid. *Pict. Bible*). That *kussemeth* was cultivated in Palestine we learn from Isa. xxviii. 25, where it is mentioned along with ketzah (nigella) and cummin, wheat and barley; and sown, according to some translators, 'on the extreme border of the fields,' as a kind of fence for other kinds of corn. This is quite an Oriental practice, and may be seen in the case of flax and other grains in India, at the present day. The rye is a grain of cold climates, and is not cultivated even in the south of Europe. Korte declares (*Travels*, p. 168) that no rye grows in Egypt; and Shaw states (p. 351) that rye is little known in Barbary and Egypt (Rosenmüller, p. 76). That the *kussemeth* was employed for making bread by the Hebrews we know from Ezek. iv. 9, where the prophet is directed to 'take wheat, and barley, and beans, and lentiles, and millet, and *kussemeth*, and put them in a vessel, and make bread thereof.'



376. [Triticum spelta.]

Though it is very unlikely that *kussemeth* can mean rye, it is not easy to say what cultivated grain it denotes. The principal kinds of grain, it is to be observed, are mentioned in the same passages with the *kussemeth*. Celsius has, as usual, with great labour and learning, collected together the different translations which have been given of this difficult word. In the Arabic translation of Exod. ix. 32, it is rendered *julban*: 'cicercula, non circula, ut perperam legitur in versione Latina.' By other Arabian writers it is considered to mean peas, and also beans. Many translate it vicia, or vetches, as in the Authorized Version of Exod. ix. 32; for according to Maimonides (*ad Tr. Shabb.* xx. 3), *carschinin* is a kind of legume, which in the Arabic is called *kirsana*, but in the sacred language *kussemeth*. Both *julban* and *kirsana* mean species of pulse, but it is not easy to ascertain the specific kinds. The majority, however, instead of a legume, consider *kussemeth* to indicate one of the cereal grains, as the rye (*secale*), or the oat (*avena*), neither of which is it likely to have been. These have probably been selected because commentators usually adduce such grains as they themselves are acquainted with, or have heard of as commonly cultivated. Celsius, however, informs us that in the Syriac and Chaldee versions *kussemeth* is translated *kunta*; *far* in the Latin Vulgate; *far adoreum*, Guisio, *Tract. Peah*, viii. 5, and *Tract. Chalum*, i. 1; ζειά in the Septuagint, Isa. xxviii. Aquila, Symmachus, and others render it *spelta*. So Ben Melech, on Exod. ix., and Ezekiel iv., says 'kussemeth, vulgo *spelta*,' and the Septuagint has ὄλυρα. Upon which Celsius remarks: 'all these—that is, kunta, far, ador, ζειά, spelta, and ὄλυρα—are one and the same thing.' This he proves satis-

factorily by quotations from the ancient authors (*l. c.* ii. 100). Dr. Harris states that the word *kussemeth* seems to be derived from *casam*, 'to have long hairs;' and that hence a bearded grain must be intended; which confirms the probability of spelt being the true meaning.

Dioscorides has stated (ii. 111), that there are two kinds of Ζειά, one simple, and the other called *dicoccos*. Sprengel concludes that this is, without doubt, the *Triticum Spelta* of botanists; that the *olyra* was a variety which Host has called *Triticum Zea;* and also that the simple kind is the *Triticum monococcon*. That these grains were cultivated in Egypt and Syria, and that they were esteemed as food in those countries, may also be satisfactorily proved. Thus Herodotus states that the Egyptians employ *olyra*, which others call *zea*, as an article of diet. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xviii. 8) mentions it as found both in Egypt and in Syria: 'Ægypto autem ac Syriæ, Ciliciæque et Asiæ, ac Græciæ peculiares, zea, olyra, tiphe.' So in more modern times: 'In Ægypto zeam abunde nasci refert Dapperus descriptione Asiæ p. 130. Et Monachos circa Jordanem, pane ὀλυρίτη vesci, scribit Johannes Phocas de Locis Syr. et Palæstinæ p. 34' (Cels. *l. c.* 100). That it was highly esteemed by the ancients is evident from Dioscorides describing it as more nourishing than barley, and grateful in taste. Pliny also (xviii. 11) says: 'Ex zea pulcrius, quam ex tritico fit granum;' and Salmasio: 'quod lautior panis ex zea quam ex tritico fieret.' The goodness of this grain is also implied from the name of semen having been especially applied to it (C. Bauhin, *Pinox*, p. 22).

Triticum Spelta, or *Spelt*, is in many respects so closely allied to the common wheats as to have been thought by some old authors to have been the original stock of the cultivated kinds; but for this there is no foundation, as the kind cultivated for ages in Europe does not differ from specimens collected in a wild state. These were found by a French botanist, Michaux, in Persia, on a mountain four days' journey to the north of Hamadan. It is cultivated in many parts of Germany, in Switzerland, in the south of France, and in Italy. It is commonly sown in spring, and collected in July and August. Though some circumstances seem to point to this species as the *kussemeth* of Scripture, the subject is still susceptible of further investigation, and can only be finally determined by first ascertaining the modern agriculture of eastern countries, and comparing it with the ancient accounts of the agriculture of Syria and Egypt.—J. F. R.

L.

LAANAH (לַעֲנָה), translated *wormwood*, occurs in several passages of Scripture, in most of which it is employed in a figurative sense. Thus, in Deut. xxix. 18, 'Lest there be among you a root that beareth gall and *wormwood*,' is applied to such Israelites as should worship foreign gods. Prov. v. 4, 'But her end is bitter as wormwood.' Jer. ix. 15, 'Behold I will feed them, even this people, with wormwood, and give them gall to drink.' So in Jer. xxiii. 13, and in Lam. iii. 15 and 19, 'Remember mine affliction and my misery, the wormwood and gall,' where it is applied to public and private calamities; and in Amos v. 7, it is said of unrighteous judges, 'Ye who turn judgment to wormwood:' so in verse 12, but here the word *laanah* is translated *hemlock*. That laanah was a plant of an extreme degree of bitterness, is evident from the various passages in which it occurs; and it has hence, as Celsius observes, been adopted to indicate both the sins and the punishments of men. Some translators, as the Septuagint, substitute the proper terms which they conceive the plant to denote as ἀνάγκη, ὀδύνη, πικρια, and χολή. So the Arab translator uses words signifying *dolores*, *adversa*, *calamitates*, *amaritudo*. The Hebrew word *laanah* is supposed by Lexicographers to have been originally derived from the same root as the Arabic لعن *laan*, 'he was accursed;' from which comes the Arabic لعنة *laana*, signifying 'execration' or 'malediction;' and as the Hebrews accounted bitter plants as pernicious and poisonous, so they typified what was disagreeable or calamitous by a bitter plant. Thus, as Celsius remarks, Talmudical writers, in speaking of the blessings and maledictions of Moses, say, 'Illæ mel, hæ absinthium erant.' The Chaldee, and other Oriental translations, as the Syriac and Arabic, in Prov. v. 4; Lam. iii. 19, with the Rabbins, translate *laanah* by words signifying wormwood. This is adopted in the Vulgate, as well as in the English translation. In Revelations viii. 11, we have the Greek word ἄψινθος employed; 'And the name of the star is called wormwood, and the third part of the waters became wormwood (ἄψινθος), and many men died of the waters, because they were bitter.' Some other plants have been adduced, as the colocynth and the oleander, but without anything to support them; while different kinds of artemisia, and of wormwood, are proverbial for their bitterness, and often used in a figurative sense by ancient authors:—

'Parce, precor, lacerare tuum, nec amara paternis
Admiscere velis, ceu melli absinthia, verbis.'
Paulin. Ep. ad Ausonium.

Celsius has no doubt that a species of artemisia, or wormwood, is intended: 'Hanc plantam amaram in Judæa et Arabia copiose nascentem, et interpretum auctoritate egregie suffultam, ipsam esse Ebræorum לענה, pro indubitato habemus.' That species of artemisia are common in Syria and Palestine is well known, as all travellers mention their abundance in particular situations; but as many of them resemble each other very closely in properties, it is more difficult to determine what particular species is meant. It is probable, indeed, that the name is used in a generic rather than a specific sense. The species found in Syria have already been mentioned under Absinthium. The species most celebrated in Arabian works on Materia Medica is that called شيح *sheeh*, which is conspicuous for its bitterness, and for being fatal to worms; hence it has been commonly employed as an anthelmintic even to our own times. This seems to be the same species which was found by Rauwolff in Palestine, and which he says the Arabs call *scheha*. It is his 'Absinthium Santonicum, *scheha* Arabum, unde semen lumbricorum colligitur;' the *Absinthium*

Santonicum Judaicum of Caspar Bauhin, in his *Pinax*, now *Artemisia Judaica;* though it is probable two or three species yield the *Semoni Santonicum*, or wormwood of commerce, which, instead of seed, consists of the *tops* of the plants, and in which the peduncles, calyx flowers, and young seeds are intermixed. *Artemisia Maritima* and *Judaica* are two of the plants which yield it.—J. F. R.

LABAN, son of Bethuel, and grandson of Nahor, brother of Rebekah, and father of Jacob's two wives, Leah and Rachel.

LABOUR is that steady and constant effort of the bodily frame which man undertakes for his own benefit, and, in particular, in order to procure the means of subsistence. This is the primary import of the term labour, whence are derived its applications to the exertions and productions of the mind, and even to the affections, the passions, and their consequences. In Gen. iii. 19, labour is set forth as a part of the primeval curse, 'In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread;' and doubtless there is a view of labour which exhibits it in reality as a heavy, sometimes a crushing burden. But labour is by no means exclusively an evil, nor is its prosecution a dishonour. These impressions, false though they are, have wrought a vast and complicated amount of harm to man, especially to the industrious classes, causing these classes, that is, the great majority of our fellow-creatures, to be regarded, and consequently to be treated, even in Christian lands, as a pariah caste, as hereditary 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' doomed by Providence, if not primarily by the Creator himself, to a low and degrading yoke, and utterly incapable of entertaining lofty sentiments, or rising to a higher position; to be restrained therefore in every manifestation of impatience, lest they should temporarily gain the upper hand, and lay waste the fair fields of civilization; and to be kept under for the safety of society, if not for their own safety, by social burdens and the depressing influences of disregard and contempt. A better feeling, however, regarding labour and labourers, is beginning to prevail: these notions, which breathe the very spirit of slavery whence they are borrowed, are in word disowned, while they are gradually losing their hold on the heart, and their influence on the life. Individuals rising from time to time from the lowest levels of social life to take, occupy, and adorn its loftiest posts, have irresistibly shown that there is no depression in society which the favours of God may not reach. Especially has a wider and more humane spirit begun to prevail since men have learnt more accurately to know, and more powerfully to feel, the genius and spirit of the Gospel, whose originator was a carpenter's son, and whose heralds were Galilean fishermen. Reason and experience, too, in this as in all cases, have come to confirm divinely revealed truth, tending forcibly to show that labour, if under certain circumstances it has a curse to inflict, has also many priceless blessings to bestow.

The origin of the view of labour which the passage in Genesis (iii. 19) presents, may be found, as has been intimated, in certain unquestionable facts which have not yet passed out of the sphere of reality. That labour involves pain and effort to man appears from an index of his feelings, than which none can be more certain; for labour is often used as synonymous with endurance, trial, and grief (Gen. xxxv. 16); so Virgil (*Æn.* i. 597):—

'O sola infandos Trojæ miserata labores.'

These not unnatural convictions and feelings were in the primitive state of society corroborated by peculiar, and to some extent local, influences. Under an eastern sky hard labour is an almost intolerable as well as crushing burden, to which, when required, hardly any but slaves will submit. And the high-spirited, free, and unrestrained child of the desert, as well as the more tranquil, gentle, but not less free shepherd of the plains, may well, in the primeval ages, have regarded with aversion and stigmatised with opprobrium the hard, and comparatively constant, toils of the tillers of the ground.

However, what is even a penalty in one stage of human development and in one part of the world, may, in the progress of Divine Providence, be converted into a real and lasting blessing—a blessing never to be forfeited unless by folly and sin. Certainly the rewards of labour may accumulate so plenteously around human beings under certain conditions, that they may come to have their minds more frequently struck, and so more deeply impressed, by the advantages than by the evils and inconveniences of labour. Constituted as the frame of man is, labour is beneficial, if not necessary, to the unfolding of his physical powers, and when well apportioned to the variable degrees of growing strength, powerfully conduces, with internal impulses, to carry the body to its state of highest vigour and beauty, imparting meanwhile a sense of deep and pure animal enjoyment, and making food as grateful as it is nutritious, the final immediate result of which is found in sound slumbers and healthful feelings: 'the sleep of a labouring man is sweet' (Eccl. v. 12). A fine passage, which confirms these views, and serves to show that Scripture in process of time regarded labour otherwise than as a curse, may be found in Ps. ciii. 23, 24, sq., in which both labour and its fruits are placed among the proofs of the divine wisdom and bounty.

Labour, however, like every other divine appointment, may be perverted by misuse into an evil. Excessive labour is a curse. Labour apart from certain conditions, whose observance is essential to our physical well-being, entails lasting miseries. Labour which is both severe, long, broken only by brief intervals, whether of riot or of sin, is an infliction as hard as it is unjust—an evil which no man has a right to impose on himself, and which still less can society be justified in compelling or leading any one to endure.

If, however, excessive labour is a crushing load, the absence of labour is a not less intolerable burden. Of all conditions in society, theirs is perhaps the most pitiable who, possessing some degree of mental culture, and being of refined and perhaps morbid sensibilities, suffer under the irremediable calamity of having nothing to do; no regular pursuit, that is, no need of the labour of either head or hands for the sustenance of the body or the upholding of their social state; who rise in the morning not knowing to what to apply their flagging capabilities, and retire to rest at night wearied and jaded, but not solaced by the consciousness of having gained or done some good.

These two extremes—too much labour, and too little or no labour—are among the greatest of the social ills under which English society is at present suffering. They are ills which have grown rapidly, which are growing, and which show no signs of immediate diminution. They are undermining the foundations of religion, which is in self-defence required to raise its mighty voice against them. A successful effort towards the equalization of labour would be a signal blessing not less to the rich than to the poor; and is called for as much by the divine spirit of Christianity as it is by considerations drawn from the interests of individuals and the welfare of society.

If enough had not already been said to establish this position, we could refer to the institution at a very early stage of the world's history of the Sabbath, by which one-seventh of man's brief life was rescued from labour, and appropriated to rest of body and to that improvement of the mind which tends to strengthen, invigorate, and sustain the entire man. To the same effect was the divine appointment of those numerous holidays under the Mosaic dispensation; and we are by no means sure but that the genius of the Gospel was, in this particular at least, better understood and more fully honoured in those days and under those forms of Christian faith which saved for the refreshment and recreation of the labourer many days during the course of the year, than it is now, when we appear to have solved the unhappy problem which asks, What is the extreme of toil that the human frame can bear, without regard to vigorous sensations or length of days?

In regard to the different species of labour in which human beings have been engaged, the Hebrews, like other primitive nations, appear to have been herdsmen before they were agriculturists (Gen. iv. 2, 12, 17, 22); and the practice of keeping flocks and herds continued in high esteem and constant observance as a regular employment and a social condition (Judg. i. 16; iv. 11; Jer. 85; Luke ii. 8). The culture of the soil came in course of time, introducing the discovery and exercise of the practical arts of life, which eventually led to those refinements, both as to processes and to applications, which precede, if they do not create the fine arts (Gen. iv.; xxvi. 12; xxxiii. 19). Agriculture, indeed, became the chief employment of the Hebrew race after their settlement in Canaan, lay at the very basis of the constitution, both civil and religious, which Moses gave them, was held in great honour, and was carried on by the high as as well as the humble in position (Judg. vi. 11; 1 Sam. xi. 5; 1 Kings xix. 19). No small care was bestowed on the culture of the vine, which grew luxuriously on the hills of Palestine (Is. v. 2, 5; Matt. xxi. 33; Num. xiii. 24). The vintage was a season of jubilee (Judg. ix. 27; Jer. xxv. 30; Is. xvi. 10). The hills of Palestine were also adorned with well cultured olive-gardens, which produced fruit useful for food, for anointing, and for medicine (Is. xvii. 6; xxiv. 13; Deut. xxiv. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 17; 1 Kings iv. 25; Hos. xiv. 6, 7). Attention was also given to the culture of the fig-tree (2 Kings xxi. 7; 1 Chron. xxvii. 28), as well as of the date-palm (Lev. xxiii. 40; Judg. i. 16; iv. 5; xx. 33; Deut. xxxiv. 3), and also of balsam (Gen. xliii. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 17; xxxvii. 25; Jer. viii. 22). For the rise and progress of various kinds of hand labour among the people of Israel, see HANDICRAFT.—J. R. B.

LACHISH (לָכִישׁ; Sept. Λάχις), a city in the south of Judah, in the plain between Adoraim and Azekah (Josh. x. 3, 5, 31; xv. 39.) It was rebuilt and fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 9), and seems after that time to have been regarded as one of the strongest fortresses of the kingdom of Judah, having for a time braved the assaults of the Assyrian army under Sennacherib (2 Kings xviii. 17; xix. 8; 2 Chron. xxxii. 9). Eusebius and Jerome place it seven Roman miles from Eleutheropolis towards the south. There has not been any more recent notice of the place, and no modern vestige of the name or site has been discovered.

LAISH. [DAN.]

LAKES. [PALESTINE.]

LAMECH (לֶמֶךְ; Sept. Λάμεχ), son of Methusael, and father of Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-cain, and Naamah (Gen. iv. 18, 24, &c.). He is recorded to have taken two wives, Adah and Zillah; and there appears no reason why the fact should have been mentioned, unless to point him out as the author of the evil practice of polygamy. The manner in which the sons of Lamech distinguished themselves as the inventors of useful arts, is mentioned under their several names. The most remarkable circumstance in connection with Lamech is the poetical address which he is very abruptly introduced as making to his wives. This is not only remarkable in itself, but is the first and most ancient piece of poetry in the Hebrew Scriptures; and, indeed, the only example of Antediluvian poetry extant:—

'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice!
Wives of Lamech, receive my speech!
If I slew a man to my wounding,
And a young man—to my hurt:
If Cain was avenged seven times,
Then Lamech—seventy times seven.'

This exhibits the parallelism and other characteristics of Hebrew poetry, the development of which belongs to another article [POETRY]. It has all the appearance of an extract from an old poem, which we may suppose to have been handed down by tradition to the time of Moses. It is very difficult to discover to what it refers, and the best explanation can be nothing more than a conjecture. The Jewish tradition, or rather fiction, is given by most commentators, and is too absurd to be worth relating. The speech, so far as we can make it out, would seem to be, as Bishop Lowth explains (*Prælect.* iv. 91), an apology for committing homicide, in his own defence, upon some man who had violently assaulted him, and, as it would seem, struck and wounded him: and he opposes a homicide of this nature to the wilful and inexcusable fratricide of Cain. Under this view Lamech would appear to have intended to comfort his wives by the assurance that he was really exposed to no danger from this act, and that any attempt upon his life on the part of the friends of the deceased would not fail to bring down upon them the severest vengeance (comp. Dathe and Rosenmüller, *in loc.*; see also Turner's *Notes on Gencsis*, p. 209). Another view, adopted by Shuckford in his *Connection*, supposes that the descendants of Cain had lived for a long time in

fear of vengeance for the death of Abel from the family of Adam; and that Lamech, in order to persuade his wives of the groundlessness of such fears, used the argument in the text, *i. e.* if any one who might slay Cain, the murderer of his brother, was threatened with sevenfold vengeance, surely they must expect a far sorer punishment who should presume to kill any of us on the same account.' This explanation, however, is less satisfactory than the other; for although both may be equally conjectural, this requires us to assume a greater number of circumstances.

2. LAMECH, son of Methuselah, and father of Noah (Gen. v. 28-31).

LAMENTATIONS. This book is called by the Hebrews אֵיכָה, '*how*,' from the first word of the book; but sometimes they call it קִינוֹת, *tears*, or 'lamentation,' in allusion to the mournful character of the work, of which one would conceive, says Bishop Lowth, 'that every letter was written with a tear, every word the sound of a broken heart.' From this, or rather from the translation of it in the Septuagint (Θρῆνοι), comes our title of LAMENTATIONS.

The ascription of the Lamentations in the title is of no authority in itself, but its correctness has never been doubted. The style and manner of the book are those of Jeremiah, and the circumstances alluded to, those by which he is known to have been surrounded. This reference of the Lamentations to Jeremiah occurs in the introductory verse which is found in the Septuagint:— Καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐρημωθήναι, ἐκάθισεν Ἱερεμίας κλαίων, καὶ ἐθρήνησε τὸν θρῆνον τοῦτον ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ εἶπε. 'And it came to pass, after Israel had been carried away captive, and Jerusalem was become desolate, that Jeremiah sat weeping, and lamented with this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said.' This has been copied into the Arabic and Vulgate versions; but as it does not exist in the Hebrew, Chaldee, or Syriac, it was regarded by Jerome as spurious, and is not admitted into his version.

It is disputed whether or not this verse existed in the Hebrew copies from which the translation of the Seventy was made. We are certainly not bound by its authority if disposed to question the conclusion which it supports. But it at least shows the opinion which prevailed as to the author, and the occasion of the book, at the time the translation was made. That opinion, as regards the author, has been admitted without dispute; but there has been less unanimity respecting the subject-matter of the Lamentations.

Funeral lamentations, composed by Jeremiah upon the death of king Josiah, are mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, and are there said to have been perpetuated by an ordinance in Israel. That the Lamentations thus mentioned are those which we now possess, has been the opinion of many scholars of great eminence. Josephus clearly takes this view (*Antiq.* x. 5. 1), as do Jerome (*Comment. in Zech.* iii. 11), Theodoret, and others of the fathers; and in more modern times, Archbishop Usher (*De LXX. Interpret.*), Michaelis (Note on Lowth's *Sac. Poet. Hebr.* Prælect. xxii.), who afterwards changed his opinion, Dathe (*Proph. Major.* ed. 1), and others. De Wette (*Einleit.* § 273) is clearly of opinion that the passage in 2 Chronicles refers to the existing book of Lamentations, and that the author considered the death of Josiah as its principal subject. This daring writer uses so little ceremony with the author of the book of Chronicles on other occasions, that his own opinion is not to be inferred from this admission; and we are not surprised to find from what follows, that he feels at liberty to take a different view from the one which he believes the writer of Chronicles to have entertained.

The received opinion, namely, that in accordance with the argument prefixed to the book in the Septuagint, is now all but universally acquiesced in. It is adopted by nearly all commentators, who, as they proceed through the book, find that they cannot follow out the details on any other supposition. Indeed, but for the reference suggested by the passage in Chronicles, no one would have been likely to imagine that such expressions as are found in chap. i. 1, 2, 3, 7, could point to any other circumstances than those which attended and followed the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. Besides, the prophet throughout speaks of the city and temple of Jerusalem as ruined, profaned, and desolated: which certainly was not the case in the time of Josiah, or at his death. We may, under this view, regard the two first chapters as occupied chiefly with the circumstances of the siege, and those immediately following that event. In the third the prophet deplores the calamities and persecutions to which he had himself been exposed: the fourth refers to the ruin and desolation of the city, and the unhappy lot of Zedekiah; and the fifth and last seems to be a sort of prayer in the name, or on behalf of, the Jews in their dispersion and captivity. As Jeremiah himself was eventually compelled to withdraw into Egypt much against his will (Jer. xliii. 6), it has been suggested that the last chapter was possibly written there. Pareau refers chap. i. to Jer. xxxvii. 5, sqq.; chap. iii. to Jer. xxxviii. 2, sqq.; chap. iv. to Jer. xxxix. 1, sqq., and 2 Kings xxv. 1, sqq.; chap. ii. to the destruction of the city and temple; chap. v. is admitted to be the latest, and to refer to the time after that event. Ewald says that the situation is the same throughout, and only the time different. In chaps. i. and ii. we find sorrow without consolation; in chap. iii. consolation for the poet himself; in chap. iv. the lamentation is renewed with greater violence; but soon the whole people, as if urged by their own spontaneous impulse, fall to weeping and hoping' (*Die Poetischen Bucher*). De Wette describes the Lamentations somewhat curtly, as 'five songs relating to the destruction of the city of Jerusalem and its temple (chaps. i. ii. iv. v.), and to the unhappy lot of the poet himself (iii.). The historical relation of the whole cannot be doubted; but yet there seems a gradual ascent in describing the condition of the city' (*Einleit.* § 273).

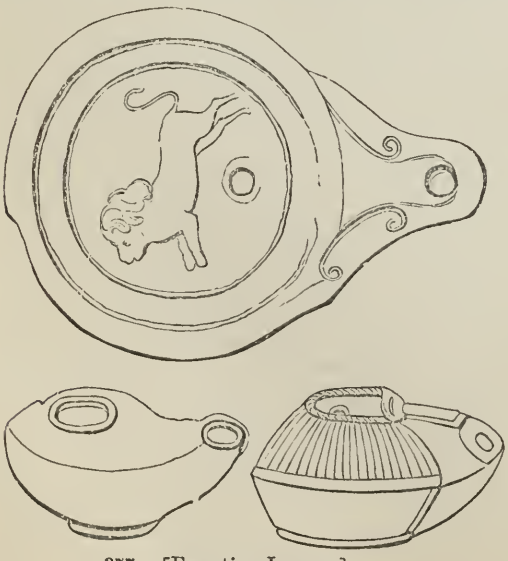
Dr. Blayney, regarding both the date and occasion of the Lamentations as established by the internal evidence, adds, 'Nor can we admire too much the flow of that full and graceful pathetic eloquence, in which the author pours out the effusions of a patriotic heart, and piously weeps over the ruins of his venerable country' (*Jeremiah*, p. 376). 'Never,' says an unques-

tionable judge of these matters, 'was there a more rich and elegant variety of beautiful images and adjuncts, arranged together within so small a compass, nor more happily chosen and applied (Lowth, *De Sacra Poesi Hebr.* Prælect. xxii.).

Jarchi, and some other Jewish commentators, fancy that the book, which, after being publicly read by Baruch, was cut to pieces by king Jehoiachin, and cast into the fire (Jer. xxxvi. 4, 5), was composed of chaps. i. ii. iv. of the Lamentations, to which chap. v. was afterwards added. But this notion does not require confutation, as there is not a shadow of probability in its favour.

In the ancient copies this book is supposed to have occupied the place which is now assigned to it, after Jeremiah. Indeed, from the manner in which Josephus reckons up the books of the Old Testament (*Contra Apion.* i. 8), it has been supposed that Jeremiah and it originally formed but one book (Prideaux, *Connection*, i. 332). In the Bible now used by the Jews, however, the book of Lamentations stands in the Hagiographa, and among the five Megilloth, or books of Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song. They believe that it was not written by the gift of prophecy, but by the spirit of God (between which they make a distinction), and give this as a reason for not placing it among the prophets. It is read in their synagogues on the ninth of the month Ab, which is a fast for the destruction of the holy city.

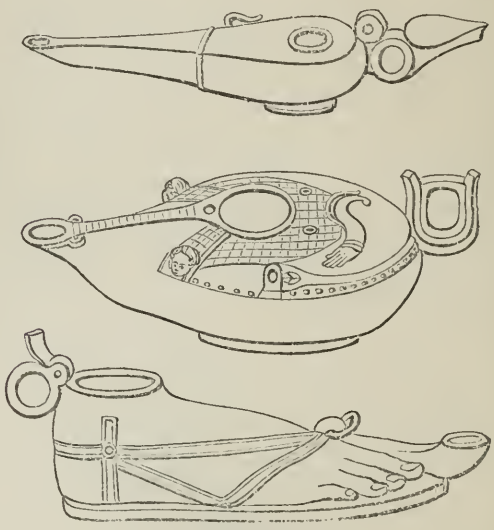
LAMP (לַפִּיד, whence, perhaps, Gr. λαμπάς, the μ being introduced in place of the Hebrew פ, Lat. *lampas*, and our *lamp*). Lamps are very often mentioned in Scripture; but there is nothing to give any notion of their form. Almost the only fact we can gather is, that vegetable oils were burnt in them, and especially, if not exclusively, olive-oil. This, of the finest quality, was the oil used in the seven lamps of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvii. 20). It is somewhat remarkable, that while the golden candlestick, or rather candelabrum, is so minutely described, not a word is said of the shape, or even the material, of the lamps (Exod. xxv. 37). This was, perhaps, because they were to be of the common



377. [Egyptian Lamps.]

forms, already familiarly known to the Hebrews, and the same probably which were used in Egypt, which they had just quitted. They were in this instance doubtless of gold, although metal is scarcely the best substance for a lamp. The golden candlestick may also suggest, that lamps in ordinary use were placed on stands, and where more than one was required, on stands with two or more branches. The modern Orientals, who are satisfied with very little light in their rooms, use stands of brass or wood, on which to raise the lamps to a sufficient height above the floor on which they sit. Such stands are shaped not unlike a tall candlestick, spreading out at the top. Sometimes the lamps are placed on brackets against the wall, made for the purpose, and often upon stools. Doubtless the same contrivances were employed by the Hebrews.

From the fact that lamps were carried in the pitchers of Gideon's soldiers, from which, at the end of the march, they were taken out, and borne in the hand (Judg. vii. 16, 20), we may with certainty infer that they were not, like many of the classical lamps, entirely open at top, but so shaped that the oil could not easily be spilled.



378. [Classical Lamps.]

This was remarkably the case in the Egyptian specimens, and is not rare in the classical. Gideon's lamps must also have had handles; but that the Hebrew lamps were always furnished with handles we are not bound to infer: in Egypt we find lamps both with and without handles.

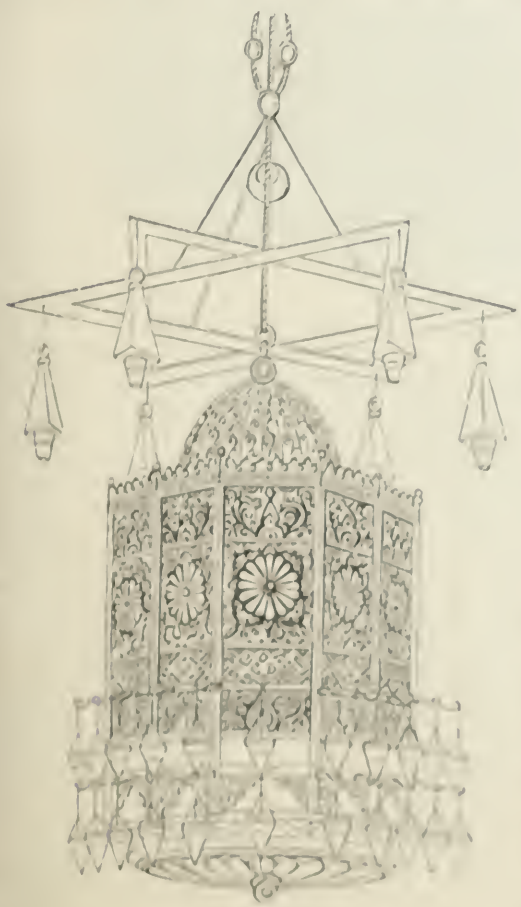
Although the lamp-oils of the Hebrews were exclusively vegetable, it is probable that animal fat was used, as it is at present by the Western Asiatics, by being placed in a kind of lamp, and burnt by means of a wick inserted in it. This we have often witnessed in districts where oil-yielding plants are not common.

Cotton wicks are now used throughout Asia; but the Hebrews, like the Egyptians, probably employed the outer and coarser fibre of flax (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xix. 1); and perhaps linen yarn, if the Rabbins are correct in alleging that the linen dresses of the priests were unravelled when old, to furnish wicks for the sacred lamps [Candlestick].

It seems that the Hebrews, like the modern Orientals, were accustomed to burn lamps overnight in their chambers; and this practice may appear to give point to the expression of '*outer*-darkness,' which repeatedly occurs in the New

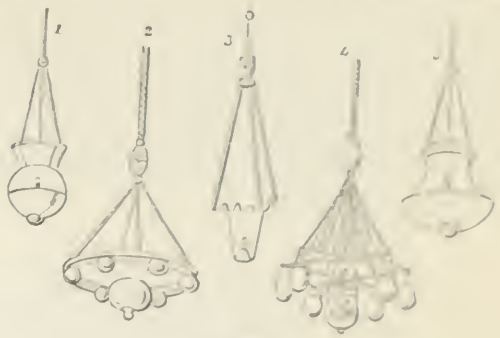
Testament (Matt. viii. 12; xxii. 13): the force is greater, however, when the contrast implied in the term outer is viewed with reference to the effect produced by sudden expulsion into the darkness of night from a chamber highly illuminated for an entertainment. This custom of burning lamps at night, with the effect produced by their going out or being extinguished, supplies various figures to the sacred writers (2 Sam. xxi. 17; Prov. xiii. 9; xx. 20). And, on the other hand, the keeping up of a lamp's light is used as a symbol of enduring and unbroken succession (1 Kings xi. 36; xv. 4; Ps. cxxxii. 17).

It appears from Matt. xxv. 1, that the Jews used lamps and torches in their marriage-ceremonies, or rather when the bridegroom came to conduct home the bride by night. This is still the custom in those parts of the East where, on account of the heat of the day, the bridal procession takes place in the night-time. The connection of lamps and torches with marriage-ceremonies often appears also in the classical poets (Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 492; Eurip. *Phœniss.* 346; *Medea*, 1027; Virg. *Eclog.* viii. 29); and indeed Hymen, the god of marriage, was figured as bearing a torch. The same connection, it may be observed, is still preserved in Western Asia, even where it is no longer usual to bring home the bride by night. During two, or three, or more nights preceding the wedding, the street or quarter in which the bridegroom lives is illuminated with chandeliers and lanterns, or with lanterns and small lamps suspended from cords drawn across from the bridegroom's and several other



379.

houses on each side to the houses opposite; and several small silk flags, each of two colours, generally red and green, are attached to other cords (Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 201). A modern lantern much used on these occasions, with lamps hung about it and suspended from it, is represented in the preceding cut (No. 379). The lamps used separately on such occasions are represented in the following cut (No. 380). Figs. 1, 3, and 5, show very distinctly the



380.

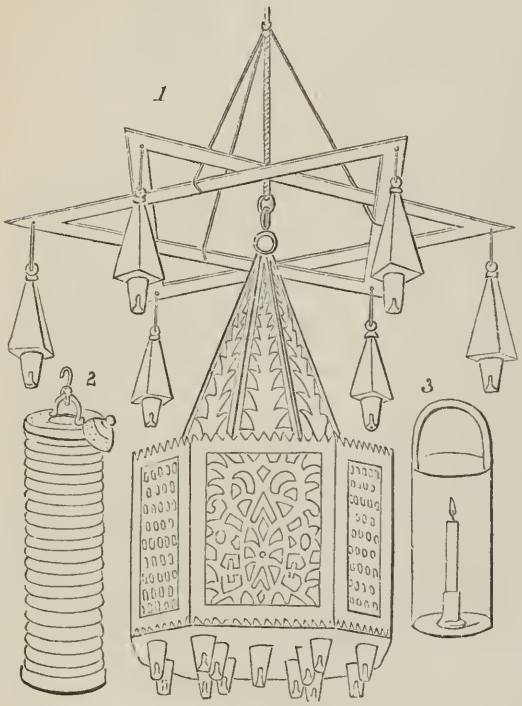
shape of these lamps, with the conical receptacle of wood which serves to protect the flame from the wind. Lamps of this kind are sometimes hung over doors. The shape in fig. 3 is also that of a much-used in-door lamp. It is a small vessel of glass, having a small tube at the bottom, in which is stuck a wick formed of cotton twisted round a piece of straw: some water is poured in first, and then the oil. Lamps very nearly of this shape appear on the Egyptian monuments, and they seem also to be of glass (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 101; v. 376). If the Egyptians had lamps of glass, there is no reason why the Jews also might not have had them, especially as this material is more proper for lamps intended to be hung up, and therefore to cast their light down from above. The Jews certainly used lamps in other festivals besides those of marriage. The Roman satirist (Persius, *Sat.* v. 179) expressly describes them as making illuminations at their festivals by lamps hung up and arranged in an orderly manner; and the Scriptural intimations, so far as they go, agree with this description. If this custom had not been so general in the ancient and modern East, it might have been supposed that the Jews adopted it from the Egyptians, who, according to Herodotus (ii. 62), had a 'Feast of Lamps,' which was celebrated at Sais, and, indeed, throughout the country at a certain season of the year. The description which the historian gives of the lamps employed on this occasion, strictly applies to those in modern use already described, and the concurrence of both these sources of illustration strengthens the probable analogy of Jewish usage. He speaks of them as 'small vases filled with salt and olive-oil, in which the wick floated, and burnt during the whole night.' It does not indeed appear of what materials these vases were made; but we may reasonably suppose them to have been of glass.

The later Jews had even something like this feast among themselves. A 'Feast of Lamps' was held every year on the twenty-fifth of the month Chisleu. It was founded by Judas Maccabæus in celebration of the restoration of the temple worship (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 7), and has ever since been observed by the lighting up of lamps or candles on that day in all the countries of their dispersion (Maimon. *Modi. Hanuka-*

nah, fol. 8). Other Orientals have at this day a similar feast, of which the 'Feast of Lanterns' among the Chinese is, perhaps, the best known (Davis's *Chinese*, p. 138).

LANGUAGE. [TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.]

LANTERN (*φανός*). This word occurs only in John xviii. 3, where the party of men which went out of Jerusalem to apprehend Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane is described as being provided 'with *lanterns* and torches.' In the article LAMP it has been shown that the Jewish lantern, or, if we may so call it, lamp-frame, was similar to that now in use among the Orientals. Another of the same kind is represented in the annexed engraving (No. 381, fig. 1).



381.

As the streets of Eastern towns are not lighted at night, and never were so, lanterns are used to an extent not known among us. Such, doubtless, was also formerly the case; and it is therefore



382.

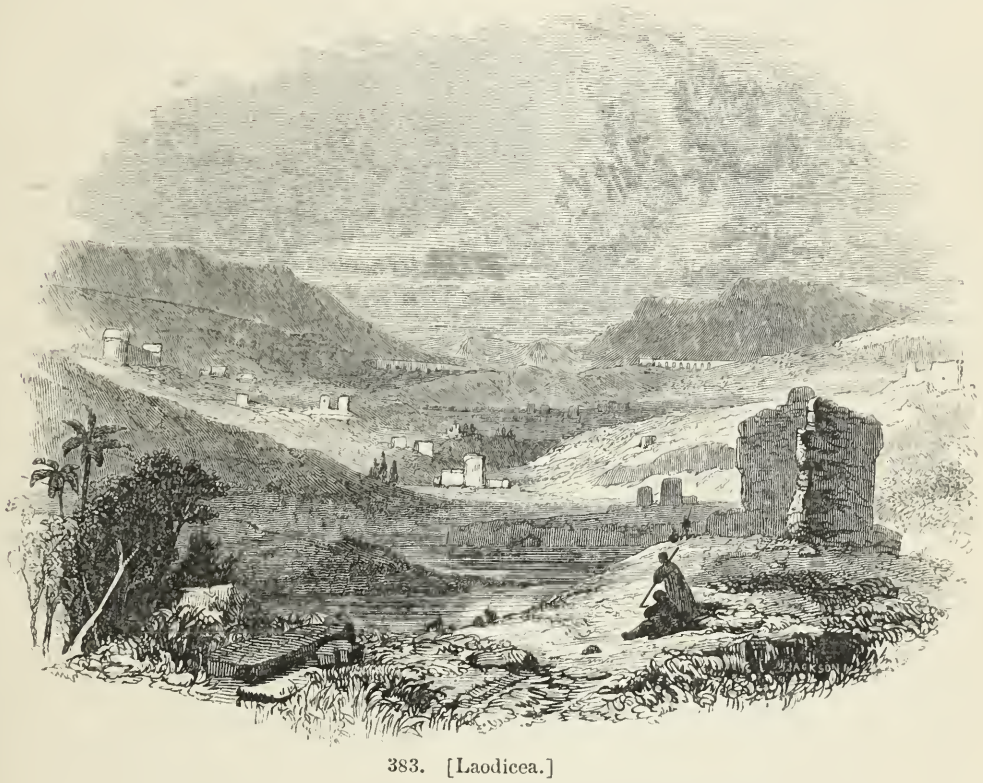
remarkable that the only trace of a lantern which the Egyptian monuments offer, is that contained in the present engraving (No. 382). In this case it seems to be borne by the night-watch, or civic guard, and is shaped like those in common use among ourselves. A similar lantern is at this day used in Persia, and perhaps does not materially differ from those mentioned in Scripture. More common at present in Western Asia is a large folding lantern of waxed cloth strained over rings of wire, with a top and bottom of tinned copper (No. 381, figs. 2, 3). It is usually about two feet long by nine inches in diameter, and is carried by servants before their masters, who often pay visits to their friends at or after supper-time. In many Eastern towns the municipal law forbids any one to be in the streets after nightfall without a lantern.

LAODICEA (*Λαοδίκεια*). There were four places of this name, which it may be well to distinguish, in order to prevent them from being confounded with one another. The first was in the western part of Phrygia, on the borders of Lydia; the second, in the eastern part of the same country, denominated Laodicea Combusta; the third, on the coast of Syria, called Laodicea ad Mare, and serving as the port of Aleppo; and the fourth, in the same country, called Laodicea ad Libanum, from its proximity to that mountain. The third of these, that on the coast of Syria, was destroyed by the great earthquake of Aleppo in August, 1822, and at the time of that event was supposed by many to be the Laodicea of Scripture, although in fact not less than four hundred miles from it. But the first named, lying on the confines of Phrygia and Lydia, about forty miles east of Ephesus, is the only Laodicea mentioned in Scripture, and is that one of the 'seven churches in Asia' to which St. John was commissioned to deliver the awful warning contained in Rev. iii. 14-19. The fulfilment of this warning is to be sought, as we take it, in the history of the Christian church which existed in that city, and not in the stone and mortar of the city itself; for it is not the city, but 'the church of the Laodiceans,' which is denounced. It is true that the city is utterly ruined; but this is the case with innumerable other towns in Asia Minor. It is the precise reference to the seven *churches* as such, without any other reference to the cities than as giving them a name, which imparts a marked distinction to the Apocalyptic prophecies. But this has been little heeded by writers on the subject, who somewhat unaccountably seek, in the actual and material condition of these cities, the accomplishment of spiritual warnings and denunciations. At the present day, would an authorized denunciation of 'the church in London,' as in danger of being cast forth for its lukewarmness, be understood to imply that London itself was destined to become a heap of ruins, with its bridges broken down, and its palaces and temples overthrown?

Laodicea was the capital of Greater Phrygia, and a very considerable city at the time it was named in Scripture (Strabo, p. 578); but the frequency of earthquakes, to which this district has always been liable, demolished, some ages after, great part of the city, destroyed many of the inhabitants, and eventually obliged the remainder to abandon the spot altogether. Smith, in his *Journey to the Seven Churches* (1671), was the first to describe the site of Laodicea. He was followed by Chandler and Pococke; and the locality has, within the present century, been visited by Mr. Hartley, Mr. Arundell, and Col. Leake.

Laodicea is now a deserted place, called by the Turks Eski-hissar (*Old Castle*), a Turkish word equivalent to Paleó-kastro, which the Greeks so frequently apply to ancient sites. From its ruins, Laodicea seems to have been situated upon six or seven hills, taking up a large extent of ground. To the north and north-east runs the river Lycus, about a mile and a half distant; but nearer it is watered by two small streams, the Asopus and Caprus, the one to the west, and the other to the south-east, both passing into the Lycus, which last flows into the Mæander (Smith, p. 85).

Laodicea preserves great remains of its importance as the residence of the Roman governors of Asia under the emperors; namely, a stadium, in uncommon preservation, three theatres, one of which is 450 feet in diameter, and the ruins of several other buildings (*Antiq. of Ionia*, pt. ii. p. 32; Chandler's *Asia Minor*, c. 67). Col. Leake says: 'There are few ancient sites more likely than Laodicea to preserve many curious remains of antiquity beneath the surface of the soil; its opulence, and the earthquakes to which it was subject, rendering it probable that valuable works of art were often there buried beneath the ruins of the public and private edifices (Cicero, *Epist. ad Amic.* ii. 17; iii. 5; v. 20; Tacit. *Annal.* xiv. 27). And a similar remark, though in a lesser degree, perhaps, will apply to the other cities of the vale of the Mæander, as well as to



383. [Laodicea.]

some of those situated to the north of Mount Tmolus; for Strabo (pp. 579, 628, 630) informs us that Philadelphia, Sardis, and Magnesia of Sipylus, were, not less than Laodicea and the cities of the Mæander as far as Apameia at the sources of that river, subject to the same dreadful calamity' (*Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 253).

LAPWING, in our version, is used for דּוּכִיפַת *dukiphath*, a word which, occurring only in Lev. xi. 19, and Deut. xiv. 18, affords no internal or collateral evidence to establish the propriety of the translation. It has been surmised to mean 'double-crest;' which is sufficiently correct when applied to the hoopoe; but less so when applied to the lapwing, or the cock of the woods, *Tetrao Urogallus;* for which bird Bochart produces a more direct etymology; and he might have appealed to the fact, that the Attagan visits Syria in winter, exclusive of at least two species of *Pterocles*, or sand-grouse, which probably remain all the year. But these names were anciently, as well as in modern times, so often confounded, that the Greek writers even used the term Gallinacea to denote the hoopoe; for Hesychius explains ἔποψ in Æschylus by the Greek appellations of 'moor-cock' and 'mountain-cock' (see Bochart, in voce *Dukiphath*); and in modern languages similar mistakes respecting this bird are abundant. The Septuagint and Vulgate agree with the Arabian interpreters in translating the Hebrew דוכיפת by ἔποψ, and *upupa;* and as the Syrian name is *kikuphah*, and the Egyptian *kukuphah*, both apparently of the same origin as *dukiphath*, the propriety of substituting hoopoe for lapwing in our version appears sufficiently established.

The hoopoe is not uncommon in Palestine at this day, and was from remote ages a bird of mystery. The summit of the augural rod is said to have been carved in the form of an hoopoe's head; and one of the kind is still used by Indian gosseins, and even Armenian bishops, attention being no doubt drawn to the bird by its peculiarly arranged black and white bars upon a delicate vinous fawn-colour, and further embellished with a beautiful fan-shaped crest of the same colour, tipped with white and black. Its appellations in all languages appear to be either imitations of the bird's voice, or indications of its filthy

habits; which, however, modern ornithologists deny, or do not notice. In Egypt these birds are



384. [Hoopoe.]

numerous; forming, probably, two species, the one permanently resident about human habitations, the other migratory, and the same that visits Europe. The latter wades in the mud when the Nile has subsided, and seeks for worms and insects; and the former is known to rear its young so much immersed in the shards and fragments of beetles, &c. as to cause a disagreeable smell about its nest, which is always in holes or in hollow trees. Though an unclean bird in the Hebrew law, the common migratory hoopoe is eaten in Egypt, and sometimes also in Italy; but the stationary species is considered inedible. It is unnecessary to give further description of a bird so well known as the hoopoe, which, though not common, is nevertheless an annual visitant of England, arriving soon after the cuckoo.—C. H. S.

LATINISMS. This word, which properly signifies idioms or phraseology peculiar to the Latin tongue, is extended by Biblical critics so as to include also the Latin words occurring in the Greek Testament. It is but reasonable to expect the existence of Latinisms in the language of every country subdued by the Romans. The introduction of their civil and military officers, of settlers, and merchants, would naturally be followed by an infusion of Roman terms, &c., into the language of their new subjects. There would be many new things made known to some of them, for which they could find no corresponding word in their own tongues. The circumstance that the proceedings in courts of law were, in every part of the Roman empire, conducted in the Latin language, would necessarily cause the introduction of many Roman words into the department of law, as might be amply illustrated from the present state of the juridical language in every country once subject to the Romans, and among others, our own. Valerius Maximus (ii. 2. 2), indeed, records the tenacity of the ancient Romans for their language in their intercourse with the Greeks, and their strenuous endeavours to propagate it through all their dominions. The Latinisms in the New Testament are of three kinds, consisting (1) of Latin words in Greek letters; (2) of Latin senses of Greek words; and (3) of those forms of speech which are more properly called Latinisms. The following may suffice as examples of each of these: First, Latin words in Greek characters: ἀσσάριον, 'farthing,' from the Latin *assarius* (Matt. x. 29). This word is used likewise by Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Athenæus, as may be seen in Wetstein, *in loc.* Κῆνσος, *census* (Matt. xvii. 25): κεντυρίων, *centurio* (Mark xv. 39), &c.: λεγεών, *legio*, 'legion' (Matt. xxvi. 53). Polybius (B.C. 150) has also adopted the Roman military terms (vi. 17) 1616. Σπεκουλάτωρ, *speculator*, 'a spy,' from *speculor*, 'to look about;' or, as Wahl and Schleusner think, from *spiculum*, the weapon carried by the speculator. The word describes the emperor's lifeguards, who, among other duties, punished the condemned; hence 'an executioner' (Mark vi. 27), margin, 'one of his guard;' (comp. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 25; Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 7; Seneca, *De Irâ*, i. 16). Μάκελλον, from *macellum*, 'a market-place for flesh' (1 Cor. x. 25). As Corinth was now a Roman colony, it is only consistent to find that the inhabitants had adopted this name for their public market, and that Paul, writing to them, should employ it. Μίλιον (Matt. v. 41). This word is also used by Polybius (xxxiv. 11. 8) and Strabo (v. p. 332). Secondly, Latin senses of Greek words: as καρπός (Rom. xv. 28), 'fruit,' where it seems to be used in the sense of *emolumentum*, 'gain upon money lent,' &c.: ἔπαινος, 'praise,' in the juridical sense of *elogium*, a testimonial either of honour or reproach (1 Cor. iv. 5). Thirdly, those forms of speech which are properly called Latinisms: as βουλόμενος τῷ ὄχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι, 'willing to content the people' (Mark xv. 15), which corresponds to the phrase *satisfacere alicui*: λαβεῖν τὸ ἱκανὸν παρά, 'to take security of,' *satis accipere ab* (Acts xvii. 9): δὸς ἐργασίαν, 'give diligence,' *da operam* (Luke xii. 58); the phrase *remittere ad alium judicem* is retained in Luke xxiii. 15: σὺ ὄψει, 'see thou to that,' *tu videris* (Matt. xxvii. 4) (Aricler, *Hermeneut. Biblica*, Viennæ, 1813, p. 99; Michaelis' *Introduction to the New Testament*, by Marsh, Cambridge, 1793, vol. i. part i. p. 163, sqq.). The importance of the Latinisms in the Greek Testament consists in this, that, as we have partly shown (and the proof might be much extended), they are to be found in the best Greek writers of the *same era*. Their occurrence, therefore, in the New Testament adds one thread more to that complication of probabilities with which the Christian history is attended. Had the Greek Testament been free from them, the objection, though recondite, would have been strong. At the same time the subject is intricate, and admits of much discussion. Dr. Marsh disputes some of the instances adduced by Michaelis (*ut supra*, p. 431, sqq.). Dresigius even contends that there are no Latinisms in the New Testament (*De Latinismis*, Leipsig, 1726; and see his *Vindiciæ Dissertationis de Latinismis*). Even Aricler allows that some instances adduced by him may have a purely Greek origin. Truth, as usual, lies in the middle, and there are, no doubt, many irrefragable instances of Latinisms, which will amply repay the attention of the student (see Georgii *Hierocrit. de Latinismis Novi Test.* Witteberg, 1733; Kypke, *Observ. Sacr.* ii. 219, Wratis. 1755; Pritii *Introductio in Lect. Nov. Test.*, p. 207. sqq. Leips. 1722. Winer refers also to Wernsdorf, *De Christo Latine loquente*, p. 19; Jahn's *Archiv.* ii. iv.; Olearius, *De Stylo Nov. Test.* p. 368, sqq.; Jnchofer, *Sacræ Latinitatis Historia*, Prag. 1742; see *Bibl. Real-Wörterbuch*, art. *Römer, Römisches*, &c.).—J. F. D.

LAVER (כִּיּוֹר and כִּיר; Sept. λουτρόν), a basin to contain the water used by the priests in their ablutions during their sacred ministrations. There was one of brass (fabricated out of the metal mirrors which the women brought from Egypt, Exod. xxxviii. 8). It had a 'foot' or base, which, from the manner in which 'the laver *and* its foot' are mentioned, must have been a conspicuous feature, and was perhaps separable from the basin itself for the purpose of removal. We are not informed of the size or shape of this laver; but it appears to have been large. It stood between the altar of burnt-offerings and the door of the tabernacle (Exod. xxx. 18-21; xl. 30-32). The water of this laver seems to have served the double purpose of washing the parts of the sacrifices, and the hands and feet of the priests. But in the temple of Solomon, when the number of both priests and victims had greatly increased, ten lavers were used for the sacrifices, and the molten sea for the personal ablutions of the priests (2 Chron. iv. 6). These lavers are more minutely described than that of the tabernacle. So far as can be made out from the description, they consisted of a square base or stand mounted upon rollers or wheels, and adorned with figures of palm-trees, cherubim, lions, and oxen. The stand doubtless formed a hollow basin for receiving the water which fell from the laver itself, and which appears to have been drawn from it by means of cocks (1 Kings vii. 27-39). The form of the lavers is not mentioned; but it is stated that each of them contained forty baths, or, according to the usual computation, about 300 English gallons. From the manner in which the bases of the lavers are described, it is evident that they were regarded as admirable works of art; but it is difficult to follow out the details which are given. This is evinced by the great discrepancy in the different figures, drawn from the descriptions which are given by Lamy, Calmet, and Villalpandus.

In the second temple there appears to have been only one laver. Of its size or shape we have no information, but it was probably like those of Solomon's temple.

LAW (תּוֹרָה; Gr. *νόμος*) means a rule of conduct enforced by an authority superior to that of the moral beings to whom it is given. The word law is sometimes also employed in order to express not only the moral connection between free agents of an inferior and others of a superior power, but also in order to express the *nexus causalis*, the connection between cause and effect in inanimate nature. However, the expression *law of nature*, *lex naturæ*, is improper and figurative. The term *law* implies, in its strict sense, *spontaneity*, or the power of deciding between right and wrong, and of choosing between good and evil, as well on the part of the lawgiver, as on the part of those who have to regulate their conduct according to his dictates. It frequently signifies not merely an individual rule of conduct, as תורת העולה, *the law of burnt offering*; תורת היולדת (Lev. xii. 2), the law concerning the conduct of women after childbirth; תורת המצרע, the law concerning the conduct of persons afflicted with leprosy (Lev. xiv. 2); תורת הבית, the description of a building to be erected by an architect:—but it signifies also a whole body of legislation; as תורת משה (1 Kings ii. 3; 2 Kings xxiii. 25; Ezra iii. 2), *the law given by Moses*, which, in reference to its divine origin, is called תורת יהוה, *the law of Jehovah* (Ps. xix. 8; xxxvii. 31; Isa. v. 24; xxx. 9). In the latter sense it is called, by way of eminence, התורה, THE *law* (Deut. i. 5; iv. 8, 44; xvii. 18, 19; xxvii. 3, 8). If not the substance of legislation, but rather the external written code in which it is contained is meant, the following terms are employed: ספר תורת משה (2 Kings xiv. 6; Isa. viii. 31; xxiii. 6); ספר תורת יהוה or ספר תורת אלהים (Josh. xxiv. 26).

In a wider sense the word *νόμος*, 'law,' is employed in order to express any guiding or directing power, originating from the nature of anything existing. The apostolic use of the word has been well expressed by Claudius Guilliaud in his work, *In Omnes Pauli Epistolas Collatio*, p. 21. Law is a certain power restraining from some, and impelling to other things or actions. Whatever has such a power, and exercises any sway over man, may be called law, in a metaphorical sense. Thus the Apostle (Rom. vii. 23) calls the right impulses and the sanctified will of the mind, *νόμος τοῦ νοός*, *the law of the mind*; and the perverse desire to sin which is inherent in our members, *νόμος ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι*, *the law in the members*. In the same manner he calls that power of faith which certainly governs the whole man, since the actions of every man are swayed by his convictions, *νόμος πίστεως*, *the law of faith*. So, the power and value ascribed to ceremonies, or rather to all outward acts, he designates *νόμος τῶν ἐντολῶν*, *the law of precepts*.

Similar expressions are, *νόμος τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, *the law of sin* (Rom. vii. 23); *νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος*, *the law of the Spirit* (viii. 2); *νόμος δικαιοσύνης*, *the law of righteousness* (ix. 31); *νόμος τοῦ ἄνδρος*, the authority of the husband over his wife (vii. 2); *νόμος ἐλευθερίας* (James i. 25; ii. 12), the holy impulse created by the sense of spiritual liberty.

If, however, the word *νόμος* alone is used, it is almost invariably equivalent to *ὁ νόμος Μωσέως*: and *οἱ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* are the subjects of the Mosaical theocracy, viz., the Jews, who practise the *ἀνάγνωσις τοῦ νόμου*, *the reading of the law* (Acts xiii. 15), are *Ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου* (xxi. 20), *τηρεῖν* (xv. 5, 24), or *φυλάσσειν*, *ποιεῖν* (Rom. ii. 14), *πράσσειν* (ii. 25), *τὸν νόμον* (Acts xxi. 24), *zealots for the observance and performance of the law*, although they debate often *περὶ ζητημάτων τοῦ νόμου αὐτῶν*, about mere legal quibbles; so that, as mere hearers, they cannot expect the blessings promised to the doers of the law.

עדות מצות חקים ומשפטים, *μαρτύρια*, *δικαιώματα*, *ἐντολαί*, *κρίματα*, *κρίσεις*, *προστάγματα*, are the various precepts contained in the law, תורה, *νόμος*.

The law is especially embodied in the last four books of the Pentateuch. In Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, there is perceptible some arrangement of the various precepts, although they are not brought into a system. In Deuteronomy the law or legislation contained in the three preceding books is repeated with slight modifications. The whole legislation has for its

manifest object, to found a theocratical hierarchy. We here use the word HIERARCHY without meaning to express that the Mosaical legislation was like some later hierarchies falsely so-called, in which it was attempted to carry into effect selfish and wicked plans, by passing them off as being of divine appointment. In the Mosaical hierarchy the aim is manifest, viz. to make that which is really holy (τὸ ἱερόν) prevail; while in the false hierarchies of later times the profanest selfishness has been rendered practicable by giving to its manifestations an appearance of holiness calculated to deceive the multitude.

In the Mosaical legislation the priests certainly exercise a considerable authority as external ministers of holiness; but we find nothing to be compared with the sale of indulgences in the Romish church. There occur, certainly, instances of gross misdemeanour on the part of the priests, as, for instance, in the case of the sons of Eli; but proceedings originating in the covetousness of the priests were never authorized or sanctioned by the law. In the Mosaical legislation almost the whole amount of taxation was paid in the form of tithe, which was employed in maintaining the priests and Levites as the hierarchical office-bearers of government, in supporting the poor, and in providing those things which were used in sacrifices and sacrificial feasts.

The taxation by tithe, exclusive of almost all other taxes, is certainly the most lenient and most considerate which has ever anywhere been adopted or proposed. It precludes the possibility of attempting to extort from the people contributions beyond their power, and it renders the taxation of each individual proportionate to his possessions; and even this exceedingly mild taxation was apparently left to the conscience of each person. This we infer from there never occurring in the Bible the slightest vestige either of persons having been sued or goods distrained for tithes, and only an indication of curses resting upon the neglect of paying them. Tithes were the law of the land, and nevertheless they were not recovered by law, during the period of the Tabernacle and of the first Temple. It is only during the period of the second Temple, when a general demoralization had taken place, that tithes were farmed and sold, and levied by violent proceedings, in which refractory persons were slain for resisting the levy. But no recommendation or example of such proceedings occurs in the Bible. This seems to indicate that the propriety of paying these lenient and beneficial taxes was generally felt; so much so, that there were few, or perhaps no defaulters, and that it was considered inexpedient on the part of the recipients to harass the needy.

Besides the tithes there was a small poll-tax, amounting to half a shekel for each adult male. This tax was paid for the maintenance of the sanctuary. In addition to this, the first-fruits and the first-born of men and cattle augmented the revenue. The first-born of men and of unclean beasts were to be redeemed by money. To this may be added some fines paid in the shape of sin-offerings, and also the vows and free-will offerings.

The Mosaical legislation is the further development of the covenant between Jehovah and Abraham. It is a politico-religious institution given to a nation of freeholders. The fundamental laws of this constitution are, I. Jehovah alone is God, and the invisible King of the nation (comp. Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, ii. 16).

II. The nation is the peculiar property of Jehovah, its King; and it is therefore bound to avoid all uncleanness, as well moral as physical defilement, which must result from intermixture with foreign nations who are not subjects of the theocracy. A confederacy with these nations is accordingly forbidden (Exod. xxiii. 32, and xxxiv. 12).

III. The whole territory of the state was to be so distributed that each family should have a freehold, which was intended to remain permanently the inheritance of this family, and which, even if sold, was to return at stated periods to its original owners. Since the whole population consisted of families of freeholders, there were, strictly speaking, neither citizens, nor a profane or lay-nobility, nor lords temporal. We do not overlook the fact that there were persons called heads, elders, princes, dukes, or leaders among the Israelites; that is, persons who by their intelligence, character, wealth, and other circumstances, were leading men among them, and from whom even the seventy judges were chosen, who assisted Moses in administering justice to the nation. But we have no proof that there was a nobility enjoying similar prerogatives like those which are connected with birth in several countries of Europe, sometimes in spite of mental and moral disqualifications. We do not find that, according to the Mosaical constitution, there were hereditary peers temporal. Even the inhabitants of towns were freeholders, and their exercise of trades seems to have been combined with, or subordinate to, agricultural pursuits. The only nobility was that of the tribe of Levi, and all the lords were lords spiritual, the descendants of Aaron. The priests and Levites were ministers of public worship, that is, ministers of Jehovah the King; and as such, ministers of state, by whose instrumentality the legislative as well as the judicial power was exercised. The poor were mercifully considered, but beggars are never mentioned. Hence it appears that as, on the one hand, there was no lay nobility, so, on the other, there was no mendicity.

Such is a rapid sketch of the Mosaical constitution, which, however, was certainly considerably modified after its original perfection had been sacrificed to the popular clamour for a visible king.

Owing to the rebellious spirit of the Israelites, the salutary injunctions of their law were so frequently transgressed, that it could not procure for them that degree of prosperity which it was calculated to produce among a nation of faithful observers; but it is evident that the Mosaical legislation, if truly observed, was more fitted to promote universal happiness and tranquillity than any other constitution, either ancient or modern. It has been deemed a defect that there were no laws against infanticide; but it may well be observed, as a proof of national prosperity, that there are no historical traces of this crime; and it would certainly have been preposterous to give laws against a crime which did not occur, especially as the general law against murder, 'Thou shalt not kill,' was applicable to this species also. The words of Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, ii. 24), Καὶ γυναῖξιν ἀπεῖπεν μήτ' ἀμβλοῦν τὸ σπαρέν, μήτε διαφθείρειν· ἀλλὰ ἦν φανείη, τεκνοτόνος

ἂν εἴη ψυχὴν ἀφανιζουσα καὶ γένος ἐλαττοῦσα, can only mean that the crime was against the spirit of the Mosaical law. An express verbal prohibition of this kind is not extant. There occur also no laws and regulations about wills and testamentary dispositions, although there are sufficient historical facts to prove that the next of kin was considered the lawful heir, that primogeniture was deemed of the highest importance, and that if there were no male descendants, females inherited the freehold property. We learn from the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews (ix. 16, 17), that the Jews disposed of property by wills; but it seems that in the times of Moses, and for some period after him, all Israelites died intestate. However, the word διαθήκη, as used in Matthew, Mark, Acts, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and repeatedly in the Hebrews, implies rather a disposition, arrangement, agreement between parties, than a will in the legal acceptation of the term.

There are no laws concerning guardians, and none against luxurious living. The inefficiency of sumptuary laws is now generally recognised, although renowned legislators in ancient times, and in the middle ages, displayed on this subject their wisdom falsely so called. Neither are there any laws against suicide. Hence we infer that suicide was rare, as we may well suppose in a nation of small freeholders, and that the inefficiency of such laws was understood.

The Mosaical legislation recognises the human dignity of women and of slaves, and particularly enjoins not to slander the deaf nor mislead the blind.

The laws of Moses against crimes are severe, but not cruel. The agony of the death of criminals was never artificially protracted, as in some instances was usual in various countries of Europe, even in the present century; nor was torture employed in order to compel criminals to confess their crimes, as was done in the kingdom of Hanover as late as 1817, under the reign of George III., and where the law of torture is perhaps not yet abolished. Forty was the maximum number of stripes to be inflicted. This maximum was adopted for the reason expressly stated, that the appearance of the person punished should not become horrible, or, as J. D. Michaelis renders it, *burnt*, which expresses the appearance of a person unmercifully beaten; while, in this Christian country, in the present year, a guilty soldier was sentenced to suffer 120 stripes.

Moses expressly enjoined not to reap the corners of fields, in consideration of the poor, of persons of broken fortunes, and even of the beasts of the field.

Punishments were inflicted, in order specially to express the sacred indignation of the Divine Lawgiver against wilful transgression of his commandments, and not for any purposes of human vengeance, or for the sake of frightening other criminals.

In lawsuits very much was left to the discretion of the judges, whose position greatly resembled that of a permament jury, who had not merely to decide whether a person was guilty, but who frequently had also to award the amount of punishment to be inflicted.

In some instances the people at large were appealed to, in order to inflict summary punishment by stoning the criminal to death. This was in fact the most usual mode of execution. Other modes of execution, also, such as burning, were always public, and conducted with the co-operation of the people. Like every human proceeding, this was liable to abuse, but not to so much abuse as our present mode of conducting lawsuits, which, on account of their costliness, often afford but little protection to persons in narrow circumstances.

In the Old Testament we do not hear of a learned profession of the law. Lawyers (*νομικοί*) are mentioned only after the decline of the Mosaical institutions had considerably advanced. As, however, certain laws concerning contagion and purification were administered by the priests, these might be called lawyers. They, however, did not derive their maintenance from the administration of these laws, but were supported by glebe-lands, tithes, and portions of the sacrificial offerings. It is, indeed, very remarkable, that in a nation so entirely governed by law, there were no lawyers forming a distinct profession, and that the *νομικοί* of a later age were not so much remarkable for enforcing the spirit of the law, as rather for ingeniously evading its injunctions, by leading the attention of the people from its spirit to a most minute literal fulfilment of its letter. The Jews divide the whole Mosaical law into 613 precepts, of which 248 are affirmative and 365 negative. The number of the affirmative precepts corresponds to the 248 members of which, according to Rabbinical anatomy, the whole human body consists. The number of the negative precepts corresponds to the 365 days of the solar year; or, according to the Rabbinical work *Brandspiegel* (which has been published in Jewish German at Cracow and in other places), the negative precepts agree in number with the 365 veins which, they say, are found in the human body. Hence their logic concludes that if on each day each member of the human body keeps one affirmative precept and abstains from one thing forbidden, the whole law, and not the decalogue alone, is kept. The whole law is sometimes called by Jewish writers *Theriog*, which word is formed from the Hebrew letters that are employed to express the number 613; viz. 400=ת+200=ר+10=י+3=ג. Hence 613 =תריג *theriog*. Women are subject to the negative precepts or prohibitions only, and not to the affirmative precepts or injunctions. This exception arises partly from their nature, and partly from their being subject to the authority of husbands. According to some Rabbinical statements women are subject to 100 precepts only, of which 64 are negative and 36 affirmative. The number 613 corresponds also to the number of letters in the decalogue. Others are inclined to find that there are 620 precepts according to the numerical value of the word כתר= crown; viz., 400 = ת+200=ר+20=כ; and others, again, observe that the numerical value of the letters תורה, *law*, amounts only to 611. The first in order of these laws is found in Gen. i. 27, פרו ורבו, *be fruitful and multiply*. The transgressor of this law is, according to Rabbi Eliezer, as wicked as a murderer. He who is still unmarried at twenty years of age is a transgressor; and the law is binding upon every man, according to Schamai, until he has two sons; or,

according to Hillel, one son and one daughter (compare *Juris Hebræorum leges*, ductu Rabbi Levi Barzelonitæ, auctore J. Henrico Hottinger).

The Jews assert that, besides the *written law*, תורה שבכתב, *νόμος ἔγγραφος*, which may be translated into other languages, and which is contained in the Pentateuch, there was communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai an *oral law*, תורה שבעל פה, *νόμος ἄγραφος*, which was subsequently written down, together with many Rabbinical observations, and is contained in the twelve folio volumes which now constitute the Talmud, and which the Jews assert cannot be, or at least ought not to be, translated [Talmud].

The present article is, of course, closely interwoven with the contents of a number of others which in this Cyclopædia have preceded, or which follow it in alphabetical order, such as Adultery, Blood-revenge, Decalogue, Deuteronomy, Divorce, Exodus, Gospel, Leviticus, Marriage, Moses, Murder, Pentateuch, Retaliation, Robbery, Sabbath, Slavery, Theft, &c. &c. It is, indeed, both unnecessary and impracticable to exhaust in this place all that might with propriety be brought under the head of Law. We therefore make no such attempt, but refer our readers to the cognate articles for further information. The chief point here to be considered, is the authority ascribed in the Bible itself to law in general, and to Biblical law in particular. The misconceptions on this subject prevalent in the religious world are the more surprising, since many distinguished ecclesiastical teachers of various periods, and among these St. Augustine of the fourth and fifth, and the Reformers of the sixteenth century, have stated the Biblical doctrine respecting the law with particular clearness.

The great importance ascribed by the Reformers to the right understanding of the law is thus tersely expressed by Philip Melancthon: 'Hæc demum Christiana cognitio est, scire quod lex poscat, unde faciendæ legis vim, unde peccati gratiam petas, quomodo labascentem animam adversus dæmonem, carnem, et mundum erigas, quomodo adflictam conscientiam consoleris.' 'This alone is Christian knowledge, to be acquainted with the demands of the law, to know whence to obtain the power requisite for fulfilling the law, and whence to obtain pardon for sins committed; to know how to raise up the drooping soul against the devil, the flesh, and the world, and how to comfort the afflicted conscience.'

Christ and the Apostles express themselves respecting the authority of the law so variously, that in order to reconcile their apparent contradictions, the divines of various Christian denominations have usually felt themselves compelled to distinguish between different portions of the law, some of which, they assert, were abolished by Christ, while they maintain that others were established by him. For instance, when Christ says, in the sermon on the mount, that he was not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them, it has usually been asserted that he meant this merely in reference to the moral law, but that he nevertheless abolished the ceremonial and civil law of the Jews. And again, when he declines to enter into the debate pending between the Samaritans and the Jews, concerning the proper place where God ought to be worshipped; when he states as the reason for not entering into this debate, that God is a Spirit and that his true worshippers must worship him in spirit and in truth; when he promises a Comforter, the Spirit of truth, who would lead his true disciples into all truth; and when he indicates that this would be the period up to which the law would remain in force, namely, until all things are fulfilled—divines usually say that this future cessation of the law under the authority of the Spirit could never apply to the moral, but only to the ceremonial and the civil law. In a similar manner the abolition of the law, most clearly set forth in the epistles of Paul to the Romans and the Galatians, where the apostle teaches that Christians are as free from the authority of the law as the widow is free from the authority of her deceased husband, and as the adult is free from the authority of the schoolmaster who ruled his infancy, is said to apply only to the ceremonial and civil, but not to the moral law; while the latter alone is held to be referred to when the Apostle, in apparent contradiction to the general tenor of his epistles, says that 'we establish the law by faith' (Rom. iii. 31).

Against this convenient mode of overcoming the difficulty the following observations may be adduced: I. Neither Christ nor the Apostles ever distinguish between the moral, the ceremonial, and the civil law, when they speak of its establishment or its abolition.

II. They even clearly indicate that the moral law is by no means excepted when they speak of the abolition of the law in general. Thus, for instance, St. Paul, after having stated that the law is not incumbent upon the righteous, guards us against misunderstanding him, as if this referred to the ceremonial law alone; for he specifies various transgressors to whom the law is given, and who are restrained by the same. The transgressors mentioned by St. Paul are not those of the ceremonial, but of the moral law. 'But we know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully; knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine' (1 Tim. i. 8-10). If it had been the intention of the Apostle to inculcate that the righteous or the Christian believers were exempt from the observance of the ceremonial law, the examples taken from the transgressors of the moral law would not have illustrated, but obscured the subject. Whoever mentions murderers, whoremongers, men-stealers, liars, and perjurers, undoubtedly refers to the moral rather than to the ceremonial law. And whoever says that the law against the crimes alluded to has been abolished, cannot be supposed to speak of the ceremonial law only. And when Christ, in his first public sermon, declares that not a tittle of the law shall perish until all things are fulfilled, he cannot be supposed to mean that two-thirds of the law, viz., the civil and the ceremonial, perished eighteen centuries ago.

The foregoing observations are intended to in-

duce the reader not hastily to reject our position, that the prevalent doctrine concerning the law is not the doctrine of Christ, nor that of St. Paul. Nor is it that of St. Augustine, nor of Luther, Melancthon, and other teachers of the church, who felt no interest in paring truth down to meet the preconceived notions of congregations, but who endeavoured in their respective ages to receive revealed truth faithfully as it was given, and to communicate it in an unadulterated manner, in words as clear as the abstract nature of the subject will allow.

In order to reconcile the apparent contradictions between the various dicta of the New Testament concerning the authority of the law, we must not commence, as is usually done, namely, by distinguishing the MATTER of the law, but the FORM or MANNER in which it is binding or obligatory. He who said that not a jot or a tittle of the law should perish until all things were fulfilled, certainly could not mean that more than two-thirds of the law were abolished, but intended forcibly to express the idea that, in a certain sense, by his instrumentality, the whole law, without any exception, had obtained an increased authority. On the other hand, when the Apostle says, Λογιζόμεθα οὖν πίστει δικαιοῦσθαι ἄνθρωπον, χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου, *Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law* (Rom. iii. 28), he cannot mean anything else but that, in a certain sense, the whole law, without any exception, is not binding upon the faithful. We, therefore, conceive that in order to reconcile the apparent, but merely apparent, contradictions of the New Testament, we must distinguish not so much the various MATERIALS, ritual, civil, and moral, of which the law is composed, as the various MANNERS in which its *modus obligandi* may exist.

The authority which other beings may exercise upon us is two-fold: it is either *nomothetical* or *didactical*. The *nomothetical* authority, which a book, or the living voice of another moral being may exercise upon us, is either such that it precludes the exercise of our own judgment, like that which Pythagoras is said to have exercised upon his disciples, who were in the habit of settling all their disputes, as by a final reason from which there was no appeal, by αὐτὸς ἔφα, *he has said so;* or the authority is such as to excite the faculties of the listener, so that he perceives the necessity of the truth communicated. In this last case the authority exercised is not *nomothetical*, but *didactical*. The college-tutor who meets the question, how minus multiplied by minus can give plus, by 'Upon my honour, gentlemen, it is so,' endeavours to exercise a *nomothetial* authority; while he who endeavours to illustrate the internal necessity of this, to the uninitiated, startling fact, endeavours to exercise a *didactical* authority.

Beginners in any science, either mental or moral, are obliged for some time to submit to *nomothetical* authority. If, as sometimes happens, we meet with adult pupils who, instead of taking for granted our grammatical statements, constantly endeavour to cavil at the wording of those grammatical rules which we give them, before they are enabled to judge for themselves, we invariably find that such pupils do not make the same progress as others who admit without dispute what their teacher and their grammar state, until they have penetrated so far into the genius of the language to be acquired as to investigate for themselves the applicability of the rules communicated. On the other hand, students of a language who never learn to recognise the spirit of that language pervading the works and discourses of eloquent men as an authority above the rules of grammar and of grammarians, remain always inferior to those who have raised themselves to the recognition of that higher authority which may enable them to surpass their instructors who formerly exercised a *nomothetical* authority over them. The same is the case in any other branch of knowledge or science, viz., beginners are necessarily under the law or under the *nomothetical* power of elementary books and teachers until they are emancipated by seizing the spirit of the science or art; after which the external authority of books and teachers can be for them *didactical* only, and subordinate to that spirit the life of which can never be fully embodied in words.

So it was also with the human race at large: it was necessary that the law of Moses should exercise *nomothetical* authority by 'Cursed is he who does not continue in the words of this law.' And so it is now with a great portion of Christian religionists, who still require frightful curses and opposite benedictions somewhat similar to those formerly pronounced on the mountains Ebal and Gerizim, in order to keep them in the right direction. But the assertion of this *nomothetical* authority was not the ultimate aim of Christ. His most intimate disciple, whom he especially loved, states strikingly, Ὅτι ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωσέως ἐδόθη· ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο, *For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.*

In reference to this text, the Reformers declared it to be improper to call Christ a new lawgiver. This was an objection which drew forth against them the anathema pronounced in the sixth session of the Council of Trent: 'Si quis dixerit Christum Jesum a Deo hominibus datum fuisse ut redemtorem, cui fidant; non etiam ut legislatorem cui obediant; anathema sit.' 'If any man should assert, that God granted Christ Jesus to mankind only as a Redeemer in whom they should trust, and not also as a lawgiver whom they should obey, let him be accursed' (Conc. Trid. Sess. iv. Can. 21).

It is, however, a fact, that Christ did not give new laws, but only new motives for keeping the moral precepts more or less clearly known to Jews and Gentiles, by making it a prominent doctrine, that love is due to God and to men in general, even to our enemies, and that intentions are of greater moral importance than outward acts.

The characteristic of the doctrine of Christ does not consist in new laws given, but rather in the forgiveness offered for past transgressions, and in the guidance of the Holy Spirit promised to his true disciples. The authority of this Holy Spirit is described in the Gospel of John, and in the Epistle to the Romans, as superior to the letter of the law. Whosoever is filled with this Spirit is not under the law, although he fulfils the holy aim and intention of the law. The true disciple of Christ, if asked, Why did you not kill such or such a person? cannot answer, Because it is

written, 'Thou shalt do no murder.' Christians feel that they are filled with a spirit which prevents them from desiring the commission of crimes. But if they grieve that Spirit by forsaking his guidance, they sink again under the power of the written law, because they cease to belong to the δίκαιοι οἷς νόμος οὐ κεῖται, whose actions are not extorted by any external authority, but who follow the holy impulses of their sanctified mind as a νόμος ἐλευθερίας, and thus are enabled to act more in harmony with the supreme scope of the law, viz., holiness unto the Lord, than any subjection to external precepts ever could produce. This is beautifully illustrated by St. Augustine: Augustinus, libro de Spiritu et Litera; 'Per legem cognitio peccati, per fidem impetratio gratiæ contra peccatum, per gratiam sanatio animæ a vitio peccati, per animæ sanitatem libertas arbitrii, per liberum arbitrium justitiæ dilectio, per justitiæ dilectionem legis operatio. Ac per hoc sicut lex non evacuatur, sed firmatur per fidem, quia fides impetrat gratiam, qua lex impleatur; ita liberum arbitrium non evacuatur per gratiam, sed statuitur, quia gratia sanat voluntatem quâ justitia libere diligatur. Omnia hæc (quæ veluti catenatim connexui) habent voces suas in Scripturis sanctis. Lex dicit, non concupisces. Fides dicit (Ps. xl.), "Sana animam meam, quia peccavi." Gratia ait (Joannis 5), "Ecce sanus factus es, jam noli peccare, ne tibi deterius contingat." Sanitas dicit (Ps. xxix.), "Domine Deus meus, exclamavi ad te, sanasti me." Liberum arbitrium dicit (Ps. cxviii.), "Narraverunt mihi injusti delectationes suas, sed non ut lex tua Domine." Hæc Augustinus. Non destruit legem Paulus, qui prædicat factum, quod lex promiserat; eumque nunciat in quem ceu scopum, summa legis spectabat. Nam Rom. x. finis est et perfectio legis Christus, ad justitiam omni credenti, et Christus ait, "Non veni solvere legem, sed adimplere." Compare *In omnes Pauli Epistolas Collatio*, per Claudium Guilliaudum. Paris, 1550, p. 20. It is very surprising that the clear perception of the true source of the law, which was fulfilled even by its abrogation, could have been so effectually obscured as is done by the doctrine current in the religious world concerning the abolition of its civil and ceremonial, and the establishment of its moral precepts. The whole aim and scope of the Mosaical legislation have been established as much as the aim of temporary police-regulations, enacted in order to meet the emergencies of a commonwealth during a period of rebellion, is established and fulfilled by him who restores perfect peace and public tranquillity, although the natural consequence of this peace is, that those regulations cease to be in force. On the other hand, although the Christian, who is under the guidance of a spirit leading him into all truth, cannot be led by this spirit to the commission of any crime contrary to the moral precepts of Moses, it cannot be said, that by not committing murder and adultery, he obeys the Mosaical law, any more than that he obeys the injunctions of the *Code Napoleon*, in these particular instances. However, the didactic authority of the whole Mosaical law is for the Christian much greater than that of any other legislation. This didactic or teaching authority is expressed even in the words of the New Testament. The law is not merely called παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν, 'a schoolmaster' (*i. e.* an educational guide) 'to Christ' (Gal. iii. 24), but the whole Old Testament (πᾶσα γραφή) is said to be useful for TEACHING (πρὸς διδασκαλίαν), for convincing, for directing, for EDUCATING (πρὸς παιδείαν) in righteousness, so that the man of God may be fully perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17).

It was the didactic authority of the Mosaical legislation to which Michaelis referred in the dedication of his celebrated *Mosaisches Recht* to Rabenius, who had formerly requested him to instruct him in select points of Mosaic jurisprudence. 'Others will not find my remarks unworthy of their attention: but you, Sir, will regard them with the eye of an actual legislator, on whom his country (Sweden) has devolved the honourable duty of examining the archives of the state and collecting statutes and decisions; in order, thence, and from the laws already known, which had become burdensome by their multitude, to prepare a new digest of national law, not merely for the instruction of students, but for the use of the courts,' &c. Of course neither Michaelis nor Rabenius meant to change the Swedish monarchy into a Mosaical theocracy, by giving to the Pentateuch *nomothetical* force, as the Anabaptists in Germany and other fanatics partly endeavoured to effect.

Luther, who diligently translated and expounded the Pentateuch, and particularly the ten commandments, and who placed the decalogue in his catechisms as one of the five articles chiefly to be inculcated in popular instruction, was undoubtedly convinced of its didactic authority, and he expressed himself against the nomothetical authority of the law in his book *Unterricht wie sich die Christen in Mosen schicken sollen* (*Opera*, ed. Hal. tom. iii.). 'The law belongs to the Jews, and binds us no more. From the text it is clear that the ten commandments also do not belong to us, because he has not led us out of Egypt, but the Jews only. Moses we will take to be our teacher, but not as our lawgiver, unless he agrees with the New Testament and the natural law.' Many even more startling passages of the great Reformer's writings are transcribed in the present writer's work, *De Legis Mosaicæ Abrogatione*, scripsit C. H. F. Bialloblotzky, Göttingæ, 1824. Compare besides Johann David Michaelis, *Mosaisches Recht*, translated by Alexander Smith, under the title, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, by the late John David Michaelis, London, 1814; Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, ii. 16, sq.; *Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio*, referred usually to the fifth century; Jos. Priestley, *Comparison of the Law of Moses with those of the Hindoos*, etc.; Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis;* J. H. Hottinger, *Juris Hebræorum leges* cclxi., *ad Judæorum mentem explicatæ*, Tiguri, 1655; Selden, *De Jure naturali et gentium juxta Hebræorum disciplinam*, libri vii., Argentorati, 1665; John Spencer, *Dissertatio de Theocratia Judaica;* Christoph. Blechschmidii *Dissert. de Theocratia in Populo Sancto instituta;* Salomonis Deylingii *Exercitatio de Israeli Jehovæ Dominio;* Thomas Goodwin, *Dissert. de Theocratia Israelitarum;* Hen. Hulsii *Dissert. de Jehova Deo Rege ac Duce militari in prisco Israele; Dissert. de Schechinah*, &c.; Joh. Conr. Dannhaveri *Politica Biblica;* Hermanni Con-

ringii *Exercit. de Politia sive de Republica Hebræorum;* Christ. Bened. Michaelis, *Dissert. Philol. de Antiquitatibus Œconomiæ Patriarchalis;* Wilhelmi Schickardi *Jus Regium Hebræorum cum animadversionibus et notis* Jo. Bened. Carpzovii; R. Isaaci Abarbanelis *Dissert. de Statu et Jure Regio; Dissert. de Judicum et Regum differentia*, in Blasii Ugolini *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, vol. xxiv.; D. Hunsyli *De principiis Legum Mosaicarum*, Hafniæ, 1792; Ständlini *Commentationes II. de Legum Mosaicarum*, Gottingæ, 1796; Purmann, *De fontibus et œconomia Legum Mosaicarum*, Francofurti, 1789; T. G. Erdmann, *Leges Mosis præstantiores esse legibus Lycurgi et Solonis*, Vitebergæ, 1788; Hartmann, *Verbindung des Alten und Neuen Testamentes;* Heeren, *Ideen*, ii. 430, sq. Beilage iv.; Pastoret, *Histoire de la Législation*, Paris, 1817, vols. iii. et iv.; J. Salvador, *Histoire des Institutions de Moïse et du Peuple Hébreu*, Paris, 1828, 3 vols.; Welker, *Die Letzten Gründe von Recht*, p. 279, sq.; Ständlin, *Geschichte der Sittenlehre Jesu*, i. 111, sq.; Holberg, *Geschichte der Sittenlehre Jesu*, ii. 331, sq.; De Wette, *Sittenlehre*, ii. 21, sq. On the abolition of the law see several dissertations and programmata of the elder Witsch, published in Wittenberg, and *De Legis Mosaicæ Abrogatione*, scripsit C. H. F. Bialloblotzky, Göttingæ, 1821.—C. H. F. B.

LAWYER (*νομικός*). This word, in its general sense, denotes one skilled in the law, as in Tit. iii. 13. When, therefore, one is called a lawyer, this is understood with reference to the laws of the land in which he lived, or to which he belonged. Hence among the Jews a lawyer was one versed in the laws of Moses, which he taught in the schools and synagogues (Matt. xxviii. 35; Luke x. 25). The same person who is called 'a lawyer' in these texts, is in the parallel passage (Mark xii. 28) called a scribe (*γραμματεύς*); whence it has been inferred that the functions of the lawyers and the scribes were identical. The individual may have been *both* a lawyer and a scribe; but it does not thence follow that all lawyers were scribes. Some suppose, however, that the 'scribes' were the public expounders of the law, while the 'lawyers' were the private expounders and teachers of it. But this is a mere conjecture; and nothing more is really known than that the 'lawyers' were expounders of the law, whether publicly or privately, or both.

LAZARUS (Λάζαρος, an abridged form of the Hebrew name Eleazer), an inhabitant of Bethany, brother of Mary and Martha, who was honoured with the friendship of Jesus, by whom he was raised from the dead after he had been four days in the tomb. This great miracle is minutely described in John xi. The credit which Christ obtained among the people by this illustrious act, of which the life and presence of Lazarus afforded a standing evidence, induced the Sanhedrim, in plotting against Jesus, to contemplate the destruction of Lazarus also (John xii. 10). Whether they accomplished this object or not, we are not informed: but the probability seems to be that when they had satiated their malice on Christ, they left Lazarus unmolested.

The raising of Lazarus from the dead was a work of Christ beyond measure great, and of all the miracles he had hitherto wrought undoubtedly the most stupendous. 'If it can be incontrovertibly shown that Christ performed one such miraculous act as this,' says Tholuck (in his *Commentar zum Evang. Johannis*), 'much will thereby be gained to the cause of Christianity. One point so peculiar in its character, if irrefragably established, may serve to develope a belief in the entire evangelical record.' The sceptical Spinoza was fully conscious of this, as is related by Bayle (*Diet.*, art. 'Spinoza'): 'On m'a assuré, qu'il disait à ses amis, que s'il eût pu se persuader la résurrection de Lazare, il auroit brisé en pièces tout son système, il auroit embrassé sans répugnance la foi ordinaire des Chrétiens.'

It is not surprising, therefore, that the enemies of Christianity have used their utmost exertions to destroy the credibility of the narrative. The earlier cavils of Woolston and his followers were, however, satisfactorily answered by Lardner and others; and the more recent efforts of the German neologists have been ably and successfully refuted by Oertelius, Langius, and Reinhard; and by Hübner, in a work entitled *Miraculorum ab Evangelistis narratorum interpretat. grammatico-historica*, Wittenb. 1807; as well as by others of still more recent date, whose answers, with the objections to which they apply, may be seen in Kuinoel. See also Flatt, in *Mag. für Dogm. und Moral.* xiv. 91; Schott, *Opuse.* i. 259; and Ewald's *Lazarus für Gebildete Christusverehrer*, Berl. 1790.

LEAD (עוֹפֶרֶת; Sept. Μόλιβδος), a well-known metal, the first Scriptural notice of which occurs in the triumphal song in which Moses celebrates the overthrow of Pharaoh, whose host is there said to have '*sunk like lead*' in the waters of the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 10).

Before the use of quicksilver was known, lead was used for the purpose of purifying silver, and separating it from other mineral substances (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 31). To this Jeremiah alludes where he figuratively describes the corrupt condition of the people: 'In their fire the lead is consumed (in the crucible); the smelting is in vain, for the evil is not separated' (Jer. vi. 29). Ezekiel (xxii. 18-22) refers to the same fact, and for the same purpose, but amplifies it with greater minuteness of detail. Compare also Mal. iii. 2, 3.

Job (xix. 23, 24) expresses a wish that his words were engraven 'with an iron pen and lead.' These words are commonly supposed to refer to engraving on a leaden tablet; and it is undeniable that such tablets were anciently used as a writing material (Pausan. ix. 31; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 11). But our authorized translators, by rendering 'an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever,' seem to have entertained the same view with Rosenmüller, who supposes that molten lead was to be poured into letters sculptured on stone with an iron chisel, in order to raise the inscription. The translator of Rosenmüller (in *Bib. Cabinet*, xxvii. 64) thinks that the poetical force of the passage has been overlooked by interpreters: 'Job seems not to have drawn his image from any thing he had actually seen executed: he only wishes to express in the strongest possible language the durability due to his words; and accordingly he says, "May the pen be iron, and the ink of lead, with which they are written on an everlasting rock," *i. e.* Let them not be written

with ordinary perishable materials.' This explanation seems to be suggested by that of the Septuagint, which has 'Εν γραφείῳ σιδηρῷ καὶ μολίβδῳ, ἢ ἐν πέτραις ἐγγλυφῆναι, *i. e.* 'that they were sculptured by an iron pen and lead, or hewn into rocks.'

Although the Hebrew weights were usually of stone, and are indeed called 'stones,' a leaden weight denominated אנך *anach*, which is the Arabic word for lead, occurs in Amos vii. 7, 8. In Acts xxvii. 28, a plummet for taking soundings at sea is mentioned, and this was of course of lead.

The ancient uses of lead in the East seem to have been very few, nor are they now numerous. One may travel far in Western Asia without discovering any trace of this metal in any of the numerous useful applications which it is made to serve in European countries.

We are not aware that any trace of lead has been yet found within the limits of Palestine. But ancient lead-mines, in some of which the ore has been exhausted by working, have been discovered by Mr. Burton in the mountains between the Red Sea and the Nile; and lead is also said to exist at a place called Sheff, near Mount Sinai.

LEAH, one of the two daughters of Laban who became the wives of Jacob [Jacob].

LEAVEN AND FERMENT. The organic chemists define the process of fermentation, and the substance which excites it, as follows:—'*Fermentation* is nothing else but the putrefaction of a substance containing no nitrogen. *Ferment*, or yeast, is a substance in a state of putrefaction, the atoms of which are in a continual motion' (Turner's *Chemistry*, by Liebig). This definition is in strict accordance with the views of the ancients, and gives point and force to many passages of Sacred Writ (Ps. lxxix. 21; Matt. xvi. 6, 11, 12; Mark viii. 15; Luke xii. 1; xiii. 21; 1 Cor. v. 5-8; Gal. v. 9). *Leaven*, and fermented or even some readily fermentible substances (as honey), were prohibited in many of the typical institutions both of the Jews and Gentiles. The Latin writers use *corruptus*, as signifying *fermented;* Tacitus applies the word to the fermentation of wine. Plutarch (*Rom. Quæst.* cix. 6) assigns as the reason why the priest of Jupiter was not allowed to touch *leaven*, 'that it comes out of corruption, and corrupts that with which it is mingled.' See also Aul. Gellius, viii. 15. All fermented substances were prohibited in the Paschal Feast of the Jews (Exod. xii. 8, 19, 20); also during the succeeding seven days, usually called 'The Feast of Unleavened *Bread*,' though *bread* is not in the original. God forbade either *ferment* or *honey* to be offered to Him in his temple (*i. e.* in the symbolical rites), while they were permitted in offerings designed to be consumed as food (Num. xv. 20, 21). On Lev. ii. 11, Dr. Andrew Willet observes, 'They have a spiritual signification, because *fermentum corruptionem signat*, as St. Paul applyeth (1 Cor. v. 8). The honey is also forbidden because it had *fermentandi vim*, a leavening force' (Junius, *Hexapla*, 1631). On the same principle of symbolism, God prescribes that *salt* shall always constitute a part of the oblations to Him (Lev. ii. 13). Salt prevents corruption or decay, and preserves flesh. Hence it is used as a symbol of incorruption and perpetuity. Thus St. Paul (comp. Col. iv. 6; Eph. iv. 29) uses 'salt' as preservative from corruption, on the same principle which leads him to employ that which is *unfermented* (ἄζυμος) as an emblem of purity and uncorruptedness.

'The usual *leaven* in the East is dough kept till it becomes sour, and which is kept from one day to another for the purpose of preserving leaven in readiness. Thus, if there should be no leaven in all the country for any length of time, as much as might be required could easily be produced in twenty-four hours. *Sour dough*, however, is not exclusively used for leaven in the East, the *lees of wine* being in some parts employed as yeast' (*Pictorial Bible*, vol. i. p. 161).

In the Hebrew we find two distinct words, both translated *leaven* in the common version of the Bible. This is unfortunate, for there is the same distinction between שְׂאֹר *seor*, and חמין *khametz*, in the Hebrew, as between *leaven* and *ferment* in the English. The Greek ζύμη appears to comprehend both senses, viz. fermentation in general, whether of a mass or a liquid. Chemically speaking, the 'ferment' or 'yeast' is the same substance in both cases; but 'leaven' is more correctly applied to solids, 'ferment' both to liquids and solids.

שְׂאֹר *seor*. This word occurs only five times in the Scriptures, in four of which it is rendered 'leaven,' and in the fifth 'leavened *bread*.' It seems to have denoted originally the *remnant* of dough left on the preceding baking, which had fermented and turned acid. Hence (according to the Lexicon of Dr. Avenarius, 1588) the German *sauer*, English *sour*. Its distinctive meaning therefore is, *fermented* or *leavened mass*. It might, in this way, apply to the murk or lees of wine.

חמין *khametz;* Greek, ζύμη. This word ought not to be rendered 'leaven,' but *ferment*. It is a more general term than the former, and is applied, even in our translation, to both liquids and solids. It would be an obvious impropriety to speak of 'leavened wine;' but חמין, in Num. vi. 3, is applied to wine as an adjective. It should there be translated '*fermented* wine,' not '*vinegar of* wine.' In fact, as '*vin aigre*' signifies '*soured wine*,' the translation is equivalent to saying, 'sour-wine-wine!' Professor Lee defines it, comprehensively, as '*anything fermented*.' Castell, and the best and oldest lexicographers support him, applies it both to fermented mass and fermented wine, '*vinum fermentatum*.'

In this last sense it seems to correspond to the Greek ὄξος, a sort of acid wine in very common use amongst the ancients, called by the Latins *posca*, *vinum culpatum* (Adam's *Rom. Antiq.* p. 393; Jahn, *Bib. Antiq.* § 144). This species of wine (and in hot countries pure wine speedily passes into the acetous state) [Drink, Strong] is spoken of by the Talmudists, who inform us that it was given to persons about to be executed, mingled with drugs, in order to stupify them (Prov. xxxi. 6; *Bab. Tr. Sanhedrin*, fol. 43. 1. c. 6). This serves to explain Matt. xxvii. 34. A sour, fermented drink, used by the Tartars (*Koumiss*), appears to have derived its name from the Hebrew *khametz*. חמין is formed from מצה, to *wring* or *press out*, *suck*, &c.; whence also מצה, *unleavened* (not bread, for in several passages 'bread' and 'cakes' are *also* ex-

pressed). In Exod. xiii. 7, both *seor* and *khamets* occur together, and are evidently distinct:—'*unleavened things* (*matzah*) shall be consumed during the seven days, and there shall not be seen with thee *fermented things*, and there shall not be seen with thee *leavened mass* in all thy borders.'—F. R. L.

LEBANON. [Libanus.]

LEBBÆUS, a surname of the apostle Jude [Jude].

LEECH. [Alukah.]

LEEK. [Chatzir.]

LEES. [Shemarim.]

LEGION (Λεγεών), a division of the Roman army. It always comprised a large body of men;



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but the number varied so much at different times, that there is considerable discrepancy in the statements with reference to it. The legion appears to have originally contained about 3000 men, and to have risen gradually to twice that number, or even more. In and about the time of Christ it seems



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to have consisted of 6000 men; but this was exclusive of horsemen, who usually formed an additional body amounting to one-tenth of the infantry. As all the divisions of the Roman army are noticed in Scripture, we may add that each legion was divided into ten *cohorts* or regiments, each cohort into three *maniples* or bands, and each maniple into three *centuries* or companies of 100 each. This smaller division into centuries or hundreds, from the form in which it is exhibited as a constituent of the larger divisions, clearly shows that 6000 had become at least the formal number of a legion.

The word *legion* came to be used to express a great number or multitude. Thus, the unclean spirit (Mark v. 7), when asked his name, answers, 'My name is Legion, for *we* are many.' Many illustrations of this use of the word might be cited from the Rabbinical writers: who even apply it to inanimate objects, as when they speak of 'a legion of olives,' &c.

LENTIL. [Adashim.]

LEOPARD (נָמֵר *nimr* or *namer*; Cant. iv. 8; Isa. xi. 6; Jer. v. 6; xiii. 23; Hos. xiii. 7; Hab. i. 8; Dan. vii. 6; Rev. xiii. 2; Ecclus. xxviii. 23). Though zoologists differ in opinion respecting the identity of the leopard and the panther, and dispute, supposing them to be distinct, how these names should be respectively applied, and by what marks the animals should be distinguished, nevertheless there can be no doubt that the *nimr* of the Bible is that great spotted feline which anciently infested the Syrian mountains, and even now occurs in the wooded ranges of Libanus; for the Arabs still use نمر



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nimr, the same word slightly modified, to denote that animal. The Abyssinian name differs scarcely from either; and in all these tongues it means spotted. Pigikris, according to Kircher, is the Coptic name; and in English, 'leopard' has been adopted as the most appropriate to represent both the Hebrew word and the Greek πάρδαλις, although the Latin *leopardus* is not found in any author anterior to the fourth century, and is derived from a gross mistake in natural history. The variety of leopard, or rather panther, of Syria, is considerably below the stature of a lioness, but very heavy in proportion to its bulk. Its general form is so well known as to require no description beyond stating, that the spots are rather more irregular, and the colour more mixed with whitish, than in the other panthering felines, excepting the Felis Uncia, or Felis Irbis, of High Asia, which is shaggy and almost white. It is a nocturnal, cat-like animal in habits, dangerous to all domestic cattle, and sometimes even to man. In the Scrip-

tures it is constantly placed in juxtaposition with the lion or the wolf; which last, if the hyæna be intended, forms a natural association. There is in Asia Minor a species or variety of panther, much larger than the Syrian, not unfrequent on the borders of the snowy tracts even of Mount Ida, above ancient Troy; and the group of these spotted animals is spread over the whole of Southern Asia to Africa. From several names of places, it appears that, in the earlier ages of Israelitish dominion, it was sufficiently numerous in Palestine. Leopard skins were worn as a part of ceremonial costume by the superiors of the Egyptian priesthood, and by other personages in Nubia; and the animal itself is represented in the processions of tributary nations.—C. H. S.

LEPROSY. Leprosy, or λέπρα, which is derived from λεπίς, *a scale*, is a name that was given by the Greek physicians to a scaly disease of the skin. During the dark ages it was indiscriminately applied to all chronic diseases of the skin, and more particularly to elephantiasis, to which latter, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance. Hence prevailed the greatest discrepancy and confusion in the descriptions that authors gave of the disease, until Dr. Willan restored to the term *lepra* its original signification. The disease, as it is known at the present day, commences by an eruption of small reddish spots slightly raised above the level of the skin, and grouped in a circle. These spots are soon covered by a very thin, semi-transparent scale or epidermis, of a whitish colour, and very smooth, which in a little time falls off, and leaves the skin beneath red and uneven. As the circles increase in diameter the skin recovers its healthy appearance towards the centre; fresh scales are formed, which are now thicker, and superimposed one above the other, especially at the edges, so that the centre of the scale appears to be depressed. The scales are of a greyish white colour, and have something of a micaceous or pearly lustre. The circles are generally of the size of a shilling or half-crown, but they have been known to attain half a foot in diameter. The disease generally affects the knees and elbows, but sometimes it extends over the whole body; in which case the circles become confluent. It does not at all affect the general health, and the only inconvenience it causes the patient is a slight itching when the skin is heated; or, in inveterate cases, when the skin about the joints is much thickened, it may in some degree impede the free motion of the limbs. It is common to both sexes, to almost all ages, and all ranks of society. It is not in the least infectious, but it is always difficult to be cured, and in old persons, when it is of long standing, may be pronounced incurable. It is commonly met with in this country and in all parts of Europe. Its systematic name is *Lepra vulgaris*. Dr. Willan has described another species, which he observed in this country, under the specific name of *nigricans;* but there is still some doubt as to its existence, and at any rate it must be of very rare occurrence. The Greeks distinguished three species of Lepra, the specific names of which were ἀλφός, λευκή, and μέλας. Now, on turning to the Mosaic account, we also find three species mentioned, which were all included under the generic term of בהרת *Bahéret*, or 'bright spot.' The first is called בהק *Bóhaq*, which signifies 'brightness,' but in a subordinate degree. This species did not render a person unclean. The second was called בהרת לבנה, *Bahéret lebanáh*, or a bright white *Bahéret*. The third was בהרת כהה, *Bahéret kêhâh*, or dusky *Bahéret*, spreading in the skin. These two last were also called צרעת *Tsoráat* (i. e. properly, 'a stroke,' as if a chastisement), and rendered a person unclean. The characteristic marks of the *Bahéret lebanáh* mentioned by Moses, are a glossy white and spreading scale upon an elevated base, the elevation depressed in the middle, the hair on the patches participating in the whiteness, and the patches themselves perpetually increasing. Dr. Good considers the *Bóhaq* and the ἀλφός of the Greeks to be identical with the *Lepra vulgaris*, the *Bahéret lebanáh* with the λευκή, and the *kêhâh* and μέλας with the *nigricans* of Dr. Willan (Good's *Study of Med.*, v. 590). It is very probable that the first two are the same, and it is also probable that he is correct with regard to the second two; for Celsus mentions that the λευκή was the most severe of the three, that the patches were whiter than in ἀλφός, and that the hairs on the patches become white—*in eaque albi pili sunt et lanugini similes;* but he certainly excludes all idea of contagion when he says of Vitiligo, which is the generic name under which he describes the three Greek species, *quamvis per se nullum periculum affert, tamen est fœda et ex malo corporis habitu fit* (*De Re Medica*, v. 28). It must, however, be borne in mind, that it is extremely difficult to determine, even in our day, whether an endemic or epidemic disease be really contagious; and on that account it is safer to suppose that a nation has deceived itself in believing a disease to be contagious, than to assume without further grounds that the disease has changed its character. Less can be said respecting the identity of the *Bahéret kêhâh* of Moses and the μέλας of the Greeks. It may, however, be remarked, that not only do their names correspond, but each is classed with other species which respectively resemble each other. There are some other slight affections mentioned by name in Leviticus, which the priest was required to distinguish from leprosy, such as שאת *Seêt*, שפל *Shaphâl*, נתק *Néteq*, שחין *Shechin*, i. e. 'elevation,' 'depressed,' &c.; and to each of these Dr. Good (*l. c.*) has assigned a modern systematic name. But, as it is useless to attempt to recognize a disease otherwise than by a description of its symptoms, we can have no object in discussing his interpretation of these terms. If a person had any of the above diseases he was brought before the priest to be examined. If the priest found the distinctive signs of a *Tsoráat*, or contagious leprosy, the person was immediately declared unclean. If the priest had any doubt on the subject, the person was put under confinement for seven days, when he was examined a second time. If in the course of the preceding week the eruption had made no advance, he was shut up for another seven days; and if then the disease was still stationary, and had none of the distinctive signs above noticed, he was declared clean (Lev. xiii.).

It may be useful here to subjoin a description of elephantiasis, or the leprosy of the middle ages, as this is the disease from which most of the

prevalent notions concerning leprosy have been derived, and to which the notices of lepers contained in modern books of travels exclusively refer.

Elephantiasis first of all makes its appearance by spots of a reddish, yellowish, or livid hue, irregularly disseminated over the skin and slightly raised above its surface. These spots are glossy, and appear oily, or as if they were covered with varnish. After they have remained in this way for a longer or shorter time, they are succeeded by an eruption of tubercles. These are soft, roundish tumours, varying in size from that of a pea to that of an olive, and are of a reddish or livid colour. They are principally developed on the face and ears, but in the course of years extend over the whole body. The face becomes frightfully deformed; the forehead is traversed by deep lines and covered with numerous tubercles; the eyebrows become bald, swelled, furrowed by oblique lines, and covered with nipple-like elevations; the eyelashes fall out, and the eyes assume a fixed and staring look; the lips are enormously thickened and shining; the beard falls out; the chin and ears are enlarged and beset with tubercles; the lobe and alæ of the nose are frightfully enlarged and deformed; the nostrils irregularly dilated, internally constricted, and excoriated; the voice is hoarse and nasal, and the breath intolerably fetid. After some time, generally after some years, many of the tubercles ulcerate, and the matter which exudes from them dries to crusts of a brownish or blackish colour; but this process seldom terminates in cicatrization. The extremities are affected in the same way as the face. The hollow of the foot is swelled out, so that the sole becomes flat; the sensibility of the skin is greatly impaired, and, in the hands and feet, often entirely lost; the joints of the toes ulcerate and fall off one after the other; insupportable fœtor exhales from the whole body. The patient's general health is not affected for a considerable time, and his sufferings are not always of the same intensity as his external deformity. Often, however, his nights are sleepless or disturbed by frightful dreams; he becomes morose and melancholy; he shuns the sight of the healthy, because he feels what an object of disgust he is to them, and life becomes a loathsome burden to him; or he falls into a state of apathy, and after many years of such an existence he sinks either from exhaustion, or from the supervention of internal disease. The Greeks gave the name of elephantiasis to this disease, because the skin of the person affected with it was thought to resemble that of an elephant, in dark colour, ruggedness, and insensibility, or, as some have thought, because the foot, after the loss of the toes, when the hollow of the sole is filled up and the ankle enlarged, resembles the foot of an elephant. The Arabs called it جذام *G'udhâm*, which means 'mutilation,' 'amputation,' in reference to the loss of the smaller members. They have, however, also described another disease, and a very different one from elephantiasis, to which they gave the name of داء الفيل *Da'l fil*, which means literally *morbus elephas*. The disease to which they applied this name is called by modern writers the *tumid Barbadoes leg*, and consists in a thickening of the skin and subcutaneous tissues of the leg, but presents nothing resembling the tubercles of elephantiasis. Now the Latin translators from the Arabic, finding that the same name existed both in the Greek and Arabic, translated *Da'l fil* by elephantiasis, and thus confounded the Barbadoes leg with the Arabic *G'udhâm*, while this latter, which was in reality elephantiasis, they rendered by the Greek term *lepra*. About the period of the Crusades elephantiasis spread itself like an epidemic over all Europe, even as far north as the Faroe Islands; and henceforth, owing to the above-named mistakes, every one became familiar with leprosy under the form of the terrible disease that has just been described. Leper or lazar-houses abounded everywhere: as many as 2000 are said to have existed in France alone. The disease was considered to be contagious possibly only on account of the belief that was entertained respecting its identity with Jewish leprosy, and the strictest regulations were enacted for secluding the diseased from society. Towards the commencement of the seventeenth century the disease gradually disappeared from Europe, and is now confined to intertropical countries. It existed in Faroe as late as 1676, and in the Shetland Islands in 1736, long after it had ceased in the southern parts of Great Britain. The best authors of the present day who have had an opportunity of observing the disease do not consider it to be contagious. There seems, however, to be little doubt as to its being hereditary (Good's *Study of Med.*, iii. 421; Rayer, *Mal. de la Peau*, ii. 296; Simpson *On the Lepers and Leper Houses of Scotland and England*, in *Edin. Med. and Surg. Journ.*, Jan. 1, 1842).—W. A. N.

LEVI (לֵוִי, *a joining;* Sept. Λευεί), the third son of Jacob and Leah, born in Mesopotamia B.C. 1750 (Gen. xxix. 34). No circumstance is recorded of him save the part which he and his full brother Simeon took in the massacre of the Shechemites, to avenge the wrong done to their sister Dinah (Gen. xxxiv. 25, 26). This transaction was to his last hour regarded by Jacob with abhorrence, and he failed not to allude to it in his dying declaration. As Simeon and Levi were united in that act, so the patriarch couples them in his prophecy: 'Accursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel! I will divide them in Jacob, and disperse them in Israel.' And, accordingly, their descendants were afterwards, in different ways, dispersed among the other tribes; although, in the case of Levi, this curse was eventually turned into a benefit and blessing.

LEVIATHAN (לִוְיָתָן, Job iii. 8; xli. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 14; civ. 26; Isa. xxvii. 1) [Behemoth, Crocodile, Dragon]. Gesenius very justly remarks that this word, which denotes any twisted animal, is especially applicable to every great tenant of the waters, such as the great marine serpents and crocodiles, and, it may be added, the colossal serpents and great monitors of the desert. In general it points to the crocodile, and Job xli. is unequivocally descriptive of that Saurian. Probably the Egyptian crocodile is therein depicted in all its magnitude, ferocity, and indolence, such as it was in early days, when as yet unconscious of the power of man, and only individually tamed for the purposes of an imposture, which had

sufficient authority to intimidate the public and protect the species, under the sanctified pretext that it was a type of pure water, and an emblem of the importance of irrigation; though the people in general seem ever to have been disposed to consider it a personification of the destructive principle. At a later period the Egyptians, probably of such places as Tentyris, where crocodiles were not held in veneration, not only hunted and slew them, but it appears from a statue that a sort of Bestiarii could tame them sufficiently to perform certain exhibitions mounted on their backs. The intense musky odour of its flesh must have rendered the crocodile, at all times, very unpalatable food, but breast-armour was made of the horny and ridged parts of its back. We have ourselves witnessed a periodical abstinence in the great Saurians, and have known negro women, while bathing, play with young alligators; which, they asserted, they could do without danger, unless they hurt them and thereby attracted the vengeance of the mother; but the impunity most likely resulted from the period of inactivity coinciding with the then state of the young animals, or from the negro women being many in the water at the same time. The occurrence took place at Old Harbour, Jamaica.

Some misstatements and much irrelevant learning have been bestowed upon the Leviathan. Viewed as the crocodile of the Thebaid, it is not clear that it symbolised the Pharaoh, or was a type of Egypt, any more than of several Roman colonies (even where it was not indigenous, as at Nismes in Gaul, on the ancient coins of which the figure of one chained occurs), and of cities in Phœnicia, Egypt, and other parts of the coast of Africa. But in the Prophets and Psalms there are passages where Pharaoh is evidently apostrophized under the name of Leviathan, though other texts more naturally apply to the whale, notwithstanding the objections that have been made to that interpretation of the term [Whale].—C. H. S.

LEVITES (לְוִיִּם; Sept. Λευῖται), the descendants of Levi, through his sons Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, whose descendants formed so many sub-tribes or great families of the general body. In a narrower sense the term Levites designates the great body of the tribe employed in the subordinate offices of the hierarchy, to distinguish them from that one family of their body—the family of Aaron—in which the priestly functions were vested.

While the Israelites were encamped before Mount Sinai, the tribe of Levi, to which Moses and Aaron belonged, was, by special ordinance from the Lord, set specially apart for sacerdotal services, in the place of the first-born of the different tribes and families to whom such functions, according to ancient usage, belonged; and which indeed had already been set apart as holy, in commemoration of the first-born of the Israelites having being spared when the first-born of the Egyptians were destroyed (Num. iii. 12,13, 40-51; Exod. xiii.). When it was determined to set apart a single tribe of Levi for this service, the numbers of the first-born in Israel and of the tribe selected were respectively taken, when it was found that the former amounted to 22,273, and the latter to 22,000. Those of the first-born beyond the number of the Levites were then redeemed at the rate of five shekels, or 12*s.* 6*d.*, each, and the money assigned to the priests. At the same time the cattle which the Levites then happened to possess were considered as equivalent to all the firstlings of the cattle which the Israelites had; and, accordingly, the firstlings were not required to be brought, as in subsequent years, to the altar and to the priesthood (Num. iii. 41-51).

In the wilderness the office of the Levites was to carry the Tabernacle and its utensils and furniture from place to place, after they had been packed up by the priests (Num. iv. 4-15). In this service each of the three Levitical families had its separate department; the Gershonites carried the hangings and cords of the Tabernacle, for which they were allowed two wains, each drawn by four oxen (Num. iii. 25, 26; iv. 24-28; vii. 7). The Kohathites carried the ark, the table of shew-bread, the candlestick, the two altars, and such of the hangings as belonged to the sanctuary; for this they had no wains or oxen, the whole being carried upon their shoulders (Num. iii. 31; iv. 4-15; vii. 9); the Merarites had charge of the substantial parts of the Tabernacle—the boards, pillars, bars, bases, &c., and also all the ordinary vessels of service, for which they were allowed four wains and eight oxen (Num. iii. 36, 37; iv. 31, 32; vii. 8). In this manner they proceeded in all their journeys; and when they settled in a place, and had erected the Tabernacle, the different families pitched their tents around it in the following manner: the Gershonites behind it on the west (Num. iii. 23), the Kohathites on the south (iii. 29), the Merarites on the north (iii. 35), and the priests on the east (iii. 38). They all assisted Aaron and his sons in taking care of, and attending on, the Tabernacle, when it was pitched; but they were allowed to take no part in the services of the altar (xviii. 2-7).

This was the nature of their service in the desert: but when they entered the land of Canaan, and the tabernacle ceased to be migratory, the range of their service was considerably altered. While part attended at the tabernacle, the rest were distributed through the country in the several cities which were allotted to them. These cities are commonly reckoned forty-eight; but thirteen of them were reserved for the priests, so that only thirty-five belonged to the Levites. The names of these cities, and the tribes in which they were situated, are given in Josh. xxi. 20-42; 1 Chron. vi. 64-81. Of the forty-eight cities six were cities of refuge for the unintentional homicide, of which one, Hebron, was a priestly city (Deut. iv. 41-43; Josh. xx. 2-9).

In the time of David, when the number of the priests and Levites had much increased, a third and very important alteration was effected, as much, or more, with reference to the Temple, for which he made every possible preparation, as for the existing service at the Tabernacle. While the priests were divided into twenty-four courses, that they might attend the Temple in rotation weekly, and only officiate about two weeks in the year, the Levites were also divided into twenty-four courses. In the book of Chronicles we have four times twenty-four courses of Levites mentioned, but all their employments are not distinctly stated (1 Chron. xxiii. 7-23; xxiv. 20-31; xxv. 1-31; xxvi. 1-12). The most conspicuous clas-

sification is that of twenty-four courses of porters and servitors, and twenty-four of musicians.

The courses of the porters and servitors are mentioned in 1 Chron. xxvi. 1-12; their different posts are stated in verses 13-16; and it would appear from 1 Chron. xxvi. 17-19, that the guard of Levites for each day was twenty-four. In 1 Chron. ix. 20-34 there are some further particulars of the articles they had in charge. It is clear from all this that the porters were quite distinct from the singers.

The office of the porters was to open and shut the doors and gates of the Temple-courts, at which they also attended throughout the day to prevent the entrance of any harmful or unclean person or thing (1 Chron. xxvi. 17, 18). They had also the charge of the treasure-chambers in their respective wards; for we find four of the chief porters holding this trust in 1 Chron. ix. 26, and their names and the articles in their charge are given in 1 Chron. xxvi. 20-29; 2 Chron. xxxi. 12-14.

Besides acting as porters and servants during the day, we learn that they were also the guards of the Temple. Minute particulars with reference to the second Temple are given by the Rabbinical and other authors, and so far as they are correct, which they seem to be in substance, they may be supposed to apply equally well to the first Temple, from which they must have been in the main transmitted. Without entering into specific details, it may be remarked that the whole number of guards to the Temple, at night, is stated to have been twenty-four, of whom three were priests. These are described as having been under an overseer, called 'the man of the mountain of the house.' He went his rounds to see that the guards were at their posts: if he found any one seated who should have been standing, he said 'Peace be unto thee;' but if he found any one asleep, he struck him, and sometimes set fire to his clothes (Maimon. *Beth Habech.* ch. viii.). This has been thought to throw light upon Rev. xvi. 15, 'Behold I come as a thief; blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame.'

Bishop Lowth (on Isa. lxii. 6) supposes that Ps. cxxxiv. furnishes an example of the manner in which the watchmen of the Temple acted during the night, and that the whole Psalm is nothing more than the alternate cry of the two different divisions, the first addressing the second, reminding them of their duty, and the second answering by a solemn blessing.

First chorus.—Come on, now, bless ye Jehovah,
all ye servants of Jehovah; ye who stand in
the house of Jehovah in the night;
Lift up your hands towards the holy place, and
bless ye Jehovah.
Second chorus.—Jehovah bless thee out of Zion,
He that made heaven and earth.'

The bishop further supposes that the address and answer constituted a set form which each division proclaimed at stated intervals to notify the time of the night; and he illustrates this view by reference to Isa. lxii. 6—

'Upon thy walls, O Jerusalem! have I appointed
watchmen,
That shall never be silent the whole day nor the
whole night.'

Here, however, the allusion is obviously to the guard of the city, not of the Temple; although the existence of the practice in the city may supply an argument for its existence in the Temple.

We have thus seen that one division of the Levites was employed as porters during the day, and another as guards during the night: a third division served as musicians. A catalogue of these is given in 1 Chron. xxi. 1-9, according to their employments; and another, according to their courses, in 1 Chron. xxi. 9-31. We shall have to speak of MUSIC under that head, and need only here state that on grand occasions, when a full band was formed, the family of Heman sung in the middle (1 Chron. vi. 33-38), the family of Asaph on the right hand (vi. 39-43), and the family of Ethan on the left. The ordinary place for the musicians, vocal and instrumental, was at the east end of the court of the priests, between the court of Israel and the altar. We are told, however, that although the Levites were the regular ministers of sacred song, other men of skill and note, of the commonalty, especially such as were connected by marriage with the priesthood, were occasionally allowed to assist in the instrumental department, with the instruments on which they excelled; but that even these might not, on any account, join in the vocal department, which was considered the most solemn (*T. Bab.* tit. *Erachin*, fol. 11; Maimon. *Keb Mikdash*, ch. iii.). This may help to explain or illustrate 2 Sam. vi. 5.

It seems that the singers could never be under twelve, because that number was particularly mentioned at their first appointment (1 Chron. xxv. 9); but there was no objection to any larger number (*Erachin*, ut supra). The young sons of the Levites were, on such occasions only, allowed to enter the court of the priests with their fathers, that their small voices might relieve the deep bass of the men (*Gemar.* tit. *Succah*, ch. v.); and for this authority was supposed to be found in Ezra iii. 9.

The Levites were not at liberty to exercise any properly sacerdotal functions; but on extraordinary occasions they were permitted to assist in preparing the sacrifices, without, however, in any way concerning themselves with the blood (2 Chron. xxix. 34; xxx. 16, 17; xxxv. 1).

In Num. iv. 3 the Levites are described as commencing their actual service at thirty years of age; but in Num. viii. 24, 25, twenty-five is the age mentioned; and in 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 25, and Ezra iii. 8, twenty. The reason of these apparent discrepancies is, that from twenty-five to thirty they were in the state of probationers, doing some things, but excluded from others (Aben Ezra, on Num. viii.). At thirty they became qualified for every part of the Levitical service. This was under the Tabernacle; but when the Temple was built, and bodily strength was less required, the age was reduced to twenty. After fifty they were no longer called upon to serve as a matter of obligation; but they might attend if they thought proper, and perform any usual service which was not considered burdensome. Thus, in the wilderness, they ceased at that age to carry any part of the burdens when the ark and Tabernacle were removed (Num. viii. 25, 26).

When the Levitical body was first set apart for its sacred duties, the existing members were consecrated in the manner particularly described in Num. viii. 6, 22. They, and in them their descendants, were thus inducted into their particular office; and, in later times, when any one

became of age, it was sufficient for his admission to prove that he belonged to a Levitical family, and, probably, to offer some trifling sacrifice. It does not appear that the Levites, when at home, had any particular dress to distinguish them from their countrymen; nor is there any positive evidence that they had any distinctive garb, even when on actual service at the tabernacle or temple. Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 9) relates, that only six years before the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, the Levites were allowed by Agrippa to wear a linen tunic, like the priests—an innovation with which the latter were highly displeased. This shows that the dress of the Levites, even when on duty, had not previously been in any respect similar to that of the priests.

The subsistence of the Levites was provided for in a peculiar manner. It consisted, first, of a compensation for the abandonment of their right to one-twelfth of the land of Canaan; and, secondly, of a remuneration for their services in their official capacity as devoted to the services of the sanctuary. The territorial compensation lay in the 48 cities which were granted to the whole tribe, including the priests. These cities were scattered among the different tribes, as centres of instruction, and had 1000 square cubits, equal to above 305 English acres, attached to each of them, to serve for gardens, vineyards, and pasturage. It is obvious, however, that this alone could not have been an adequate compensation for the loss of one-twelfth of the soil, seeing that the produce of 305 acres could not in any case have sufficed for the wants of the inhabitants of these cities. The further provision, therefore, which was made for them must be regarded as partly in compensation for their sacrifice of territory, although we are disposed to look upon it as primarily intended as a remuneration for the dedication of their services to the public. This provision consisted of the tithe, or tenth of the produce of the grounds allotted to the other tribes. The simplest view of this payment is to regard it, first, as the produce of about as much land as the Levites would have been entitled to if placed on the same footing with regard to territory as the other tribes; and also as the produce of so much more land, which the other tribes enjoyed in consequence of its not having been assigned to the tribe of Levi. In giving the produce of this land to the Levites the Israelites were therefore to be regarded as simply releasing them from the cares of agriculture, to enable them to devote themselves to the service of the sanctuary. The land which produced the tithe was just so much land held by the other tribes in their behalf; and the labour of cultivating this land was the salary paid to the Levites for their official services. The tenth was paid to the whole tribe of Levi; but as the Levites had to give out of this one-tenth to the priests, their own allowance was only nine-tenths of the tenth. A more particular account of tithes belongs to another head [Tithes]. The Levites had also a certain interest in the 'second tithe,' being the portion which, after the first tithe had been paid, the cultivator set apart for hospitable feasts, which were held at the place of the sanctuary in two out of three years, but in the third year at home. This interest, however, extended no further than that the offerer was particularly enjoined to invite the priests and Levites to such feasts.

The earliest notice we have of the numbers of the Levites occurs at their first separation in the desert, when there were 22,300, of a month old and upwards; of whom 8580 were fit for service, or between the ages of 30 and 50 (Num. iii. 22, 28, 34; iv. 2, 34-49). Thirty-eight years after, just before the Israelites entered Canaan, they had increased to 23,000, not one of whom had been born at the time of the former enumeration (Num. xxvi. 57, 62-65). About 460 years after the entry into Canaan (B.C. 1015) they were again numbered by David, a little before his death, and were found to have increased to 38,000 men fit for Levitical service—of whom 24,000 were 'set over the work of the Lord,' 6000 were officers and judges, 4000 were porters, and 4000 were musicians (1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 4, 5). If the same proportion then existed between those come of age and those a month old which existed when the tribe quitted Egypt, the entire number of the Levitical body, in the time of David, must have been 96,433.

After the revolt of the ten tribes, those of the Levites who resided in the territories of those tribes, having resisted the request of Jeroboam to transfer their services to his idolatrous establishments at Dan and Bethel, were obliged to abandon their possessions and join their brethren in Judah and Benjamin (2 Chron. xi. 12, 13, 14; xiii. 9); and this concentration of the Levitical body in the kingdom of Judah must have had an important influence upon its condition and history. That kingdom thus actually consisted of three tribes—Judah, Benjamin, and Levi,—of which one was devoted to sacerdotal uses. This altered position of the Levites—after they had been deprived of most of their cities, and the tithes from ten of the tribes were cut off—presents a subject for much interesting investigation, into which we cannot enter. Their means must have been much reduced; for it cannot be supposed that Judah and Benjamin alone were able, even if willing, to undertake the support of the whole Levitical body on the same scale as when the dues of all Israel flowed into its treasuries. In the subsequent history of Judah the Levites appear less frequently than might have been expected. The chief public measure in which they were engaged was the restoration of the house of David in the person of young Joash (2 Chron. xxiii. 1-11); which may be regarded as mainly the work of the Levitical body, including the priests.

Under the edict of Cyrus, only 341 Levites, according to Ezra (ii. 40-42), or 350, according to Nehemiah (vii. 43-45), returned with Zerubbabel to Jerusalem. This is less surprising than might at first sight appear; for if, before the captivity, the great body of them had been in straitened circumstances and without fixed possessions in Judah, it was only consistent with human prudence that those who had, in all probability, comfortably settled themselves in Babylon, should not be anxious to return in such numbers to Palestine as were likely to produce similar effects. A few more are mentioned in Neh. xii. 24-26. Those who did return seem to have had no very correct notion of their obligations and duties; for there were many who formed matrimonial alliances with the idolaters of the land, and thereby corrupted both their morals and genealogies. But they were prevailed upon to reform this abuse;

and, as a token of obedience, signed the national covenant with Nehemiah, and abode at Jerusalem to influence others by their authority and example (Neh. x. 9-13; xi. 15-19).

The Levites are not mentioned in the Apocryphal books, and very slightly in the New Testament (Luke x. 32; John i. 19; Acts iv. 36); but the 'scribes' and the 'lawyers,' so often named in the Gospels, are usually supposed to have belonged to them.

It would be taking a very narrow view of the duties of the Levitical body if we regarded them as limited to their services at the sanctuary. On the contrary, we see in their establishment a provision for the religious and moral instruction of the great body of the people, which no ancient lawgiver except Moses ever thought of attending to. But that this was one principal object for which a twelfth of the population—the tribe of Levi—was set apart, is clearly intimated in Deut. xxxii. 9, 10: 'They shall teach Jacob thy judgments and Israel thy law; they shall put incense before thee, and whole burnt sacrifice upon thine altar.' They were to read the volume of the law publicly every seventh year at the Feast of Tabernacles (Deut. xxxi. 10-13). 'This public and solemn periodical instruction,' observes Dean Graves (*Lectures*, p. 170), 'though eminently useful, was certainly not the entire of their duty; they were bound from the spirit of this ordinance to take care that at all times the aged should be improved and the children instructed in the knowledge and fear of God, the adoration of his majesty, and the observance of his law; and for this purpose the peculiar situation and privileges of the tribe of Levi, as regulated by the divine appointment, admirably fitted them. Possessed of no landed property, and supported by the tithes and offerings which they received in kind, they were little occupied with labour or secular care; deriving their maintenance from a source which would necessarily fail if the worship of God were neglected, they were deeply interested in their support. Their cities being dispersed through all the tribes, and their families permitted to intermarry with all, they were everywhere at hand to admonish and instruct; exclusively possessed of the high-priesthood, as well as of all other religions offices, and associated with the high-priest and judge in the supreme court of judicature, and with the elders of every city in the inferior tribunals, and guardians of the cities of refuge, where those who were guilty of homicide fled for an asylum, they must have acquired such influence and reverence among the people as were necessary to secure attention to their instructions; and they were led to study the rules of moral conduct, the principles of equity, and, above all, the Mosaic code, with unceasing attention; but they were not laid under any vows of celibacy, or monastic austerity and retirement, and thus abstracted from the intercourse and feelings of social life. Thus circumstanced, they were assuredly well calculated to answer the purpose of their institution, to preserve and consolidate the union of all the other tribes, and to instruct and forward the poor in knowledge, virtue, and piety' (*Lectures*, pp. 169-171; Brown's *Antiquities*, i. 301-347; Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*, i. 5; Witsius, *Dissert. II. de Theocrat. Israelitar.* add. Goodwin *Moses et Aaron*; Jennings, *Antiquities*, pp. 184-206; Carpzov, *Apparat. Crit.* see Index; Saubert, *Comm. de Sacerdot. et Sacris Hæbr. personis*, Opp. p. 283, sqq.; Gramberg, *Krit. Gesch. der Religionsideen des Alten Test.* vol. i. c. 3).

LEVITICUS, in the Hebrew canon, is called וַיִּקְרָא, and is the third book of Moses.

CONTENTS. — Leviticus contains the further statement and development of the Sinaitic legislation, the beginnings of which are described in Exodus. It exhibits the HISTORICAL progress of this legislation; consequently we must not expect to find the laws detailed in it in a systematic form. There is, nevertheless, a certain order observed, which arose from the nature of the subject, and of which the plan may easily be perceived. The whole is intimately connected with the contents of Exodus, at the conclusion of which book that sanctuary is described with which all external worship was connected (Exod. XXXV.-xl.). Leviticus begins by describing the worship itself. First are stated the laws concerning sacrifices (ch. i.-vii.). In this section is *first* described the general QUALITY of the sacrifices, which are divided into BLOODY and UNBLOODY; *secondly*, their AIM and OBJECT, according to which they are either THANK-OFFERINGS or SIN-OFFERINGS; and *lastly*, the TIME, PLACE, and MANNER in which they should be made.

Then follows a description of the manner in which Aaron and his sons were consecrated as priests, and how, by the manifestation of the divine glory, they were ordained to be mediators between God and his people (ch. viii.-ix.). As formerly the ingratitude of the people had been severely punished (Exod. XXXII. sq.), so now the disobedience of the priests was visited with signal marks of the divine displeasure (Lev. x.). On this occasion were given several laws concerning the requisites of the sacerdotal office.

The theocratical sanctity of the nation was intimately connected with the existence of the sanctuary. Every subject, indeed, connected with the sanctuary was intended to uphold a strict separation between HOLY and UNHOLY things. The whole theocratical life was based on a strict separation of things UNCLEAN from things CLEAN, which alone were offered to God and might approach the sanctuary. The whole creation, and especially all animal life, should, like man himself, bear testimony to the defilement resulting from sin, and to its opposite, viz. the holiness of the Lord (ch. xi.-xv.).

The great feast of atonement formed, as it were, the central point of the national sanctity, this feast being appointed to reconcile the whole people to God, and to purify the sanctuary itself. All preceding institutions, all sacrifices and purifications, receive their completion in the great feast of Israel's atonement (ch. xvi.).

Thus we have seen that the sanctuary was made the POSITIVE central point of the whole nation, or of national holiness; but it was to be inculcated NEGATIVELY also, that all worship should be connected with the sanctuary, and that no sacrifices should be offered elsewhere, lest any pagan abuses should thereby strike root again (ch. xvii.).

The danger of deserting Jehovah and his worship would be increased after the conquest of

Canaan, when the Israelites should inhabit a country surrounded by pagans. The following chapters (xviii.-xx.) refer to the very important relation in which Israel stood to the surrounding tribes, and the positive motive for separating them from all other nations; to the necessity of extirpating the Canaanites; and to the whole position which the people of the Lord should occupy with reference to paganism. Chapter xviii. begins with the description of those crimes into which the people might easily be misled by the influence of their pagan neighbours, viz. fornication, contempt of parents, idolatry, &c.

The priests were specially appointed to lead the nation by their good example scrupulously to avoid every thing pagan and unclean, and thus to testify their faithful allegiance to Jehovah (ch. xxi.-xxii. 16). It is particularly inculcated that the sacrifices should be without blemish; and this is made a means of separating the Israelites from all pagan associations and customs (ch. xxii. 17-33). But the strongest bulwark erected against pagan encroachments was the appointment of solemn religious meetings, in which the attention of the people was directed to the central point of national religion, and which theocratically consecrated their whole proceedings to the worship of God. This was the object of the laws relating to fasts (ch. xxiii.). These laws divided the year into sacred sections, and gave to agricultural life its bearing upon the history of the works of God, and its peculiarly theocratic character, in contradistinction to all pagan worship, which is merely bent upon the symbolisation of the vital powers of nature.

In ch. xxiv. 1-9 follows the law concerning the preparation of the sacred oil, and the due setting forth of the shew-bread. Although this is in connection with ch. xxii. 17, sq., it is nevertheless judiciously placed after ch. xxiii., because it refers to the agricultural relation of the Israelites to Jehovah stated in that chapter. The Mosaical legislation is throughout illustrated by facts, and its power and significance are exhibited in the manner in which it subdues all subjective arbitrary opposition. So the opposition of the law to paganism, and the evil consequences of every approach to pagans, are illustrated by the history of a man who sprang from a mixed marriage, who cursed Jehovah, and was stoned as Jehovah directed (ch. xxiv. 10-24).

The insertion of this fact in its chronological place slightly interrupts the order of the legal definitions. The law concerning the Sabbath and the year of Jubilee, which follow it, are intimately connected with the laws which precede. For the Sabbatical law completes the declaration that Jehovah is the real proprietor and landlord of Canaan, to whom belong both the territory and its inhabitants; and whose right is opposed to all occupation of the country by heathens (ch. xxv.).

This section is concluded with the fundamental position of the law, viz. that Jehovah, the only true and living God, will bless his faithful people who heartily keep his law; and will curse all who despise him and transgress his law (ch. xxvi.).

After it has thus been explained how the people might be considered to be the owners of the country, there appropriately follows the law concerning several possessions which were more exclusively consecrated to Jehovah, or which, like the first-born, belonged to him without being specially offered. The whole concludes with an appendix embracing the law concerning vows and tithes, with a manifest reference to the preceding parts of the legislation (ch. xxvii. 17-24).

Authenticity.—The arguments by which the unity of Leviticus has been attacked are very feeble. Some critics, however, such as De Wette, Gramberg, Vatke, and others, have strenuously endeavoured to prove that the laws contained in Leviticus originated in a period much later than is usually supposed. But the following observations sufficiently support their Mosaical origin, and show that the whole of Leviticus is historically genuine. The laws in ch. i.-vii. contain manifest vestiges of the Mosaical period. Here, as well as in Exodus, when the priests are mentioned, Aaron and his sons are named; as, for instance, in ch. i. 4, 7, 8, 11, &c. The tabernacle is the sanctuary, and no other place of worship is mentioned anywhere. Expressions like the following constantly occur, לפני אהל מועד, *before the tabernacle of the congregation*, or פתח אהל מועד, *the door of the tabernacle of the congregation* (ch. i. 3; iii. 8, 13, &c.). The Israelites are always described as a congregation (ch. iv. 13, sq.), under the command of the זקני העדה, *elders of the congregation* (ch. iv. 15), or of a נשיא, *ruler* (ch. iv. 22). Every thing has a reference to life in a camp, and that camp commanded by Moses (ch. iv. 12, 21; vi. 11; xiv. 8; xvi. 26, 28). A later writer could scarcely have placed himself so entirely in the times, and so completely adopted the modes of thinking of the age, of Moses: especially if, as has been asserted, these laws gradually sprung from the usages of the people, and were written down at a later period with the object of sanctioning them by the authority of Moses. They so entirely befit the Mosaical age, that, in order to adapt them to the requirements of any later period, they must have undergone some modification, accommodation, and a peculiar mode of interpretation. This inconvenience would have been avoided by a person who intended to forge laws in favour of the later modes of Levitical worship. A forger would have endeavoured to identify the past as much as possible with the present.

The section in ch. viii.-x. is said to have a mythical colouring. This assertion is grounded on the miracle narrated in ch. ix. 24. But what could have been the inducement to forge this section? It is said that the priests invented it in order to support the authority of the sacerdotal caste by the solemn ceremony of Aaron's consecration. But to such an intention the narration of the crime committed by Nadab and Abihu is strikingly opposed. Even Aaron himself here appears to be rather remiss in the observance of the law (comp. x. 16, sq., with iv. 22, sq.). Hence it would seem that the forgery arose from an opposite or anti-hierarchical tendency. The fiction would thus appear to have been contrived without any motive which could account for its origin.

In ch. xvii. occurs the law which forbids the slaughter of any beast except at the sanctuary. This law could not be strictly kept in Palestine, and had therefore to undergo some modification (Deut. xii.). Our opponents cannot show any

rational inducement for contriving such a fiction. The law (ch. xvii. 6, 7) is adapted to the nation only while emigrating from Egypt. It was the object of this law to guard the Israelites from falling into the temptation to imitate the Egyptian rites and sacrifices offered to he-goats, שְׂעִירִים; which word signifies also demons represented under the form of he-goats, and which were supposed to inhabit the desert (comp. Jablonsky, *Pantheon Ægyptiacum*, i. 272, sq.).

The laws concerning food and purifications appear especially important if we remember that the people emigrated from Egypt. The fundamental principle of these laws is undoubtedly Mosaical, but in the individual application of them there is much which strongly reminds us of Egypt. This is also the case in Lev. xviii. sq., where the lawgiver has manifestly in view the two opposites, Canaan and Egypt. That the lawgiver was intimately acquainted with Egypt, is proved by such remarks as those about the Egyptian marriages with sisters (ch. xviii. 3); a custom which stands as an exception among the prevailing habits of antiquity (Diodorus Siculus, i. 27; Pausanias, *Attica*, i. 7).

The book of Leviticus has a prophetical character. The lawgiver represents to himself the future history of his people. This prophetical character is especially manifest in chs. xxv., xxvi., where the law appears in a truly sublime and divine attitude, and when its predictions refer to the whole futurity of the nation. It is impossible to say that these were *vaticinia ex eventu*, unless we would assert that this book was written at the close of Israelitish history. We must rather grant that passages like this are the real basis on which the authority of later prophets is chiefly built. Such passages prove also, in a striking manner, that the lawgiver had not merely an external aim, but that his law had a deeper purpose, which was clearly understood by Moses himself. That purpose was to regulate the national life in all its bearings, and to consecrate the whole nation to God. See especially ch. xxv. 18, sq.

But this ideal tendency of the law does not preclude its applicability to matters of fact. The law had not merely an *ideal*, but also a *real* character, evidenced by its relation to the faithlessness and disobedience of the nation. The whole future history of the covenant people was regulated by the law, which has manifested its eternal power and truth in the history of the people of Israel. Although this section has a general bearing, it is nevertheless manifest that it originated in the times of Moses. At a later period, for instance, it would have been impracticable to promulgate the law concerning the Sabbath and the year of Jubilee: for it was soon sufficiently proved how far the nation in reality remained behind the ideal Israel of the law. The sabbatical law bears the impress of a time when the whole legislation, in its fulness and glory, was directly communicated to the people, in such a manner as to attract, penetrate, and command.

The principal works to be consulted with reference to Leviticus will be found under the article PENTATEUCH.—H. A. C. H.

LIBANUS, or LEBANON (לְבָנוֹן; Sept. Λίβανος), the Latin, or rather the Greek name of a long chain of mountains on the northern border of Palestine. The term Libanus is more convenient in use than the Hebrew form Lebanon, as enabling us to distinguish the parallel ranges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, which have no such distinctive names in connection with the Hebrew designation. Lebanon seems to be applied in Scripture to either or both of these ranges; and we shall also use it in this general sense: but Libanus means distinctively the westernmost of those ranges, which faces the Mediterranean, and Anti-Libanus the eastern, facing the plain of Damascus; in which sense these names will be used in this article. The present inhabitants of the country have found the convenience of distinguishing these parallel ranges; and give to Libanus the name of 'Western Mountain' (Jebel esh-Sharki), and to Anti-Libanus that of 'Eastern Mountain' (Jebel el-Gharbi); although Jebel Libnân (the same name in fact as Lebanon) occurs among the Arabs with special reference to the eastern range.

These two great ranges, which together form the Lebanon of Scripture, commence about the parallel of Tripoli (lat. 34° 28′), run in a general direction from N.E. to S.W., through about one degree of latitude, and form, at their southern termination, the natural frontier of Palestine. These parallel ranges enclose between them a fertile and well-watered valley, averaging about fifteen miles in width, which is the Cœle-Syria (Hollow Syria) of the ancients, but is called by the present inhabitants, by way of pre-eminence, El-Bekaa, or 'the Valley,' which is watered through the greater portion of its length by the river Litany, the ancient Leontes.

Nearly opposite Damascus the Anti-Libanus separates into two ridges, which diverge somewhat, and enclose the fertile Wady et-Teim. The easternmost of these two ridges, which has already been pointed out as the Hermon of Scripture [HERMON], Jebel esh-Sheikh, continues its S.W. course, and is the proper prolongation of Anti-Libanus. From the base of the higher part of this ridge, a low broad spur or mountainous tract runs off towards the south, forming the high land which shuts in the basin and Lake of el-Huleh on the east. This tract is called Jebel Heish, the higher portion of which terminates at Tel el-Faras, nearly three hours north of Fiek. The other ridge of Anti-Libanus takes a more westerly direction. It is long, low, and level; and continues to border the lower part of the great valley of Bekaa, until it seems to unite with the higher bluffs and spurs of Lebanon, and thus entirely to close that valley. In fact, only a narrow gorge is here left between precipices, in some places of great height, through which the Litany finds its way down to the sea, north of Tyre. The chain of Lebanon, or at least its higher ridges, may be said to terminate at the point where it is thus broken through by the Litany. But a broad and lower mountainous tract continues towards the south, bordering the basin of the Huleh on the west. It rises to its greatest elevation about Safed (Jebel Safed); and at length ends abruptly in the mountains of Nazareth, as the northern wall of the plain of Esdraelon. This high tract may very properly be regarded as a prolongation of Lebanon.

The mountains of Lebanon are of limestone rock, which is indeed the general constituent of

the mountains of Syria. In Lebanon it has generally a whitish hue, and from the aspect which the range thus bears in the distance, in its cliffs and naked parts, the name of Lebanon (which signifies 'white') has been supposed to be derived; but others seek its origin in the snows which rest long upon its summits, and perpetually upon the highest of them.

Of the two ranges, that of Libanus is by far the highest. Its uppermost ridge is marked by a line, drawn at the distance of about two hours' journey from the summit, above which all is barren (Burckhardt, p. 4): but the slopes and valleys below this line afford pasturage, and are capable of cultivation, by reason of the numerous springs which are met with in all directions. Cultivation is, however, chiefly found on the seaward slopes, where numerous villages flourish, and every inch of ground is turned to account by the industrious natives, who, in the absence of natural levels, construct artificial terraces in order to prevent the earth from being swept away by the winter rains, and at the same time to retain the water requisite for the irrigation of the crops (Burckhardt, pp. 19, 20, 23). When one looks upward from below, the vegetation on these terraces is not visible; so that the whole mountain appears as if composed only of immense rugged masses of naked whitish rock, traversed by deep wild ravines, running down precipitously to the plain. No one would suspect among these rocks the existence of a vast multitude of thrifty villages, and a numerous population of mountaineers, hardy, industrious, and brave (Robinson, iii. 440). Here, amidst the crags of the rocks, are to be seen the remains of the renowned cedars; but a much larger proportion of firs, oaks, brambles, mulberry-trees, fig-trees, and vines (Volney, i. 272).

Although the general elevation of Anti-Libanus is inferior to that of Libanus, the easternmost of the branches into which it divides towards its termination (Jebel esh-Sheikh) rises loftily, and overtops all the other summits of Lebanon. Our information respecting Anti-Libanus is less distinct than that concerning the opposite range. It appears, however, that it has fewer inhabitants, and is scarcely in any part cultivated. It is, indeed, not equally cultivable: for it would appear from a comparison of the dispersed notices in Burckhardt, that its western declivities, towards the great enclosed valley, are completely barren, without trees or pasture; but on the summits of the eastern side, fronting the plain of Damascus, there seem to be parts, at least, affording good pasturage, and abounding also in stunted oak trees, of which few are higher than 12 or 15 feet. The common route across these mountains, from Baalbec to Damascus, at one time ascends into the region of snow (in the month of March); at another follows the direction of the mountain torrents, between parallel lines of hills, by the side of aspens, oaks, and numerous willows which grow along the water-courses (Burckhardt, pp. 4, 15; Elliot, ii. 276).

None of the summits of Libanus or Anti-Libanus have been measured. The author of the *Pictorial History of Palestine* (Introduct. p. lv.), by comparing the accounts of different travellers as to the continuance of snow upon the higher summits, and adjusting them with reference to the point of perpetual congelation in that latitude, forms a rough estimate, which, though higher than some estimates more loosely constructed, and lower than others, is probably not far from the truth. According to this, the average height of the Libanus mountains, from the top of which the snow entirely disappears in summer, must be considerably below 11,000 feet, probably about 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. But the higher points, particularly the Sannin, which is the highest of all, must be above that limit, as the snow rests on them all the year. By the same rule the average height of the Anti-Libanus range is reckoned as not exceeding 9000 feet: but its highest point, in the Jebel es-Sheik, or Mount Hermon, is considered to be somewhat more lofty than the Sannin, the highest point in Libanus.

In Scripture Lebanon is very generally mentioned in connection with the cedar trees in which it abounded [Eres]; but its wines are also noticed (Hosea xiv. 8); and in Cant. iv. 11; Hos. xiv. 7, it is celebrated for various kinds of fragrant plants (Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii. 344, 345, 439; Kitto, *Pictorial History of Palestine*, Introd. pp. xxxii.-xxxv., lv.; Reland, *Palæstina*, i. 311; Rosenmüller, *Biblisch. Alterthum*, ii. 236; Raumer, *Palästina*, pp. 29-35; D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii. 250; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, i. 243; Seetzen, in Zach's *Monatl. Corresp.*, June, 1806; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 1, sq.; Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 102, &c.; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, pp. 206-220; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 468, sq.; Fisk, in *Missionary Herald*, 1824; Elliot, *Travels*, ii. 276; Hogg, *Visit to Alexandria, Jerusalem*, &c., i. 219, sq.; ii. 81, sq.; Addison, *Palmyra and Damascus*, ii. 43-82).

LIBERTINES (Λιβερτῖνοι). 'Certain of the synagogue, which is called (the synagogue) of the *Libertines*, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians,' &c., are mentioned in Acts vi. 9. There has been much diversity in the interpretation of this word. It obviously denotes state or condition, not nature (*i. e.* country); and since Libertini here occurs among the names of nations, and Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 1, and *Cont. Apion.* ii. 4) has told us that many Jews were removed by Ptolemy, and placed in the cities of Libya, Beza, Le Clerc, and others conclude that the word must have been Λιβυστίων, *i. e.* 'sprung from Libya.' But there is no authority of MSS. or versions for this reading. Others, on the same premises, conceive that the word Libertini denotes the inhabitants of some town called Libertus in Africa Proper, or Carthage; but they fail to show that any town of this name existed in that quarter. The most probable opinion, and that which is now generally entertained, is, that the Libertini were Jews, whom the Romans had taken in war and conveyed to Rome, but afterwards freed; and that this synagogue had been built at their expense. Libertini is, therefore, to be regarded as a word of Roman origin, and to be explained with reference to Roman customs. This view is further confirmed by the fact that the word συναγωγῆς does not occur in the middle of the national names, but stands first, and is followed by τῆς λεγομένης: whence it clearly appears that Λιβερτῖνοι is at least not the name of a country or region. Further, we know that there were in the time of Tiberius many

libertini, or 'freed-men,' of the Jewish religion at Rome (Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 85; comp. Suet. *Tib.* 36; and Philo, p. 1014; see Bloomfield, Knimoel, Wetstein, &c. on Acts vi. 9; and comp. Gerdes, *De Synag. Libertinorum*, Gron. 1736; Scherer, *De Synag. Libertin.* Argent. 1754).

LIBNAH (לִבְנָה; Sept. Λεβνά), one of the royal cities of the Canaanites, taken by Joshua immediately after Makkedah (Josh. x. 20, 30). It lay within the territory assigned to Judah (Josh. xv. 42), and became one of the Levitical towns in that tribe (Josh. xxi. 13; 1 Chron. vi. 57). It was a strongly fortified place. The Assyrian king Sennacherib was detained some time before it when he invaded Judæa in the time of Hezekiah; and it was before it that he sustained that dreadful stroke which constrained him to withdraw to his own country (2 Kings xix. 8; Isa. xxxvii. 8). In the reign of King Jehoram, Libnah is said to have revolted from him (2 Kings viii. 22; 2 Chron. xxi. 10). From the circumstance of this revolt having happened at the same time with that of the Edomites, it has been supposed by some to have reference to another town of the same name situated in that country. But such a conjecture is unnecessary and improbable. Libnah of Judah rebelled, because it refused to admit the idolatries of Jehoram; and it is not said in either of the passages in which this act is recorded, as of Edom, that it continued in revolt 'unto this day.' It may be inferred either that it was speedily reduced to obedience, or that, on the re-establishment of the true worship, it spontaneously returned to its allegiance. Libnah existed as a village in the time of Eusebius and Jerome, and is placed by them in the district of Eleutheropolis.

LIBNATH, or, more fully, Shihor-Libnath (שִׁיחֹר לִבְנָת; Sept. Λαβανάθ), a stream near Carmel, on the borders of Asher (Josh. xix. 26). Michaelis conceives this to be the 'glass-river' (לבנה), *i. e.* the Belus, from whose sands the first glass was made by the Phœnicians.

LIBNEH (לִבְנֶה) occurs in two places of Scripture, viz. Gen. xxx. 37; Hos. iv. 13, and is supposed to indicate either the *white poplar* or the *storax tree*. The arguments in support of the respective claims of these are nearly equally balanced, although those in favour of the storax appear to us to preponderate. The *libneh* is first mentioned in Gen. xxx. 37, as one of the rods which Jacob placed in the watering troughs of the sheep; the *lutz* (the almond) and *armon* (the oriental plane) being the two others: he 'pilled white strakes in them, and made the white appear which was in the rods.' In Hos. iv. 13 reference is made to the shade of trees and the burning of incense:—'They sacrifice upon the top of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks (*allon*, 'terebinth tree') and poplars (*libneh*), because the shadow of them is good.'

Libneh, in the passage of Hosea, is translated Λεύκη, 'white poplar,' in the Septuagint, and this translation is adopted by the majority of interpreters. The Hebrew name *libneh*, being supposed to be derived from לבן (*album esse*), has been considered identical with the Greek λεύκη, which both signifies 'white,' and also the 'white poplar,' *Populus alba*. This poplar is said to be called *white*, not on account of the whiteness of its bark, but of that of the under surface of its leaves. It may perhaps be so designated from the whiteness of its hairy seeds, which have a remarkable appearance when the seed covering first bursts. The poplar is certainly common in the countries where the scenes are laid of the transactions related in the above passages of Scripture. Belon (*Obs.* ii. 106) says, 'Les peupliers blancs et noirs, et arbres fruictiers font que la plaine de Damas resemble une forest.' Rauwolf also mentions the white poplar as abundant about Aleppo and Tripoli, and still called by the ancient Arabic name *haur* or *hor* (حور), which is the word used in the Arabic translation of Hosea. That poplars are common in Syria has already been mentioned under the head of Baca.



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Others, however, have been of opinion that *libneh* denotes the storax tree rather than the white poplar. Thus, in Gen. xxx. 37, the Septuagint has ῥαβδον στυρακίνην, 'a rod of styrax;' and the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, according to Rosenmüller, is more ancient and of far greater authority than that of Hosea. So R. Jonah, as translated by Celsius, says of *libneh*, *Dicitur lingua Arabum Lubna;* and in the Arabic translation of Genesis (لبني) *lubne* is employed as the representative of the Hebrew *libneh*. *Lubne*, both in Arabic and in Persian, is the name of a tree, and of the fragrant resin employed for fumigating, which exudes from it, and which is commonly known by the name of Storax. This resin was well known to the ancients, and is mentioned by Hippocrates and Theophrastus. Dioscorides describes several kinds, all of which were obtained from Asia Minor; and all that is now imported is believed to be the produce of that country. But the tree is cultivated in the south of Europe, though it does not there yield any storax. It is found in Greece, and is supposed to be a native of Asia Minor, whence it extends into Syria, and probably farther south. It is therefore a native of the country which was the scene of the transaction related in the above passage of Genesis.

From the description of Dioscorides, and his

comparing the leaves of the styrax to those of the quince, there is no doubt of the same tree being intended: especially as in early times, as at the present day, it yielded a highly fragrant balsamic substance which was esteemed as a medicine, and employed in fumigation. From the similarity of the Hebrew name *libneh* to the Arabic *lubne*, and from the Septuagint having in Genesis translated the former by *styrax*, it seems most probable that this was the tree intended. It is capable of yielding white wands as well as the poplar; and it is also well qualified to afford complete shade under its ample foliage, as in the passage of Hos. iv. 13. We may also suppose it to have been more particularly alluded to, from its being a tree yielding incense. 'They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under the terebinth and the storax trees, because the shadow thereof is good.'—J. F. R.

LIBYA (Λιβύα, Λιβύη). This name, in its largest acceptation, was used by the Greeks to denote the whole of Africa. But Libya Proper, which is the Libya of the New Testament and the country of the Lubim in the Old, was a large tract, lying along the Mediterranean, to the west of Egypt. It is called Pentapolitana Regio by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 5), from its five cities, Berenice, Arsinoë, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Cyrene; and Libya Cyrenaica by Ptolemy (*Geog.* iv. 5), from Cyrene, its capital.

Libya is supposed to have been first peopled by, and to have derived its name from, the Lehabim or Lubim [Nations, Dispersion of]. These, its earliest inhabitants, appear, in the time of the Old Testament, to have consisted of wandering tribes, who were sometimes in alliance with Egypt, and at others with the Ethiopians, as they are said to have assisted both Shishak, king of Egypt, and Zerah the Ethiopian in their expeditions against Judæa (2 Chron. xii. 4; xiv. 8; xvi. 9). They were eventually subdued by the Carthaginians; and it was the policy of that people to bring the nomade tribes of Northern Africa which they mastered into the condition of cultivators, that by the produce of their industry they might be able to raise and maintain the numerous armies with which they made their foreign conquests. But Herodotus assures us that none of the Libyans beyond the Carthaginian territory were tillers of the ground (Herod. iv. 186, 187; comp. Polybius, i. 161, 167, 168, 177, ed. Schweighæuser). Since the time of the Carthaginian supremacy the country, with the rest of the East, has successively passed into the hands of the Greeks, Romans, Saracens, and Turks. The name of Libya occurs in Acts ii. 10, where 'the dwellers in the parts of Libya about Cyrene' are mentioned among the stranger Jews who came up to Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost.

LICE (כִּנִּם and כִּנִּים) occurs in Exod. viii. 16, 17, 18 (Heb. 12, 13, 14); Ps. cv. 31; Sept. σκνίφες or σκνίπες; Vulg. *cyniphes* and *scyniphes*; Wisd. xix. 10; Sept. σκνίπα (Alex. Ald. σκνίφας); Vulg. *muscas*. The name of the creature employed in the third plague upon Egypt, miraculously produced from the dust of the land. Its exact nature has been much disputed. Those who reason from the root of the word in the Hebrew text, and assume it to be derived from כּוּן, *to fix, settle*, or *establish*, infer lice to be meant, from their fixing themselves on mankind, animals, &c. The meaning of the root is, however, too general to afford by itself any assistance in ascertaining the particular species intended. Dr. A. Clarke has further inferred from the words '*in* man and *in* beast,' that it was the *acarus sanguisugus*, or 'tick' (*Comment. on Exod.* viii. 16). But since it is spoken of as an Egyptian insect, the name for it may be purely Egyptian, and may have no connection with any Hebrew root (Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lex.* n. 1174). However this may be, the preposition from which Dr. Clarke argues is too various in meaning to assist his hypothesis. Nor is it certain whether the word is singular or plural. The variation, both in letters and points, seems to betoken uncertainty somewhere, though Gesenius takes כִּנִּם in the collective sense. Michaelis also remarks that if it be a Hebrew word for *lice*, it is strange that it should have disappeared from the cognate tongues, the Aramaic, Samaritan, and Ethiopic. The rendering of the Septuagint seems highly valuable when it is considered that it was given by learned Jews resident in Egypt, that it occurs in the most ancient and best executed portion of that version, and that it can be elucidated by the writings of ancient Greek naturalists, &c. Thus Aristotle, who was nearly contemporary with the Septuagint translators of Exodus, mentions the κνίπες (the σκνίφες of the Septuagint) among insects able to distinguish the smell of honey (*Hist. Animal.* iv. 8), and refers to species of birds which he calls σκνιποφάγα, that live by hunting σκνίπες (viii. 6). His pupil Theophrastus says:—ἐγγίνονται δὲ καὶ κνίπες ἐν τισὶ τῶν δένδρων, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ δρυὶ καὶ τῇ συκῇ. καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑγρότητος συνίστασθαι τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν φλοιὸν συνισταμένης. αὕτη δὲ ἐστι γλυκεῖα γενομένοις. γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐν λαχάνοις τίσιν. 'The κνίπες are born in certain trees, as the oak, the fig-tree, and they seem to subsist upon the sweet moisture which is collected under the bark. They are also produced on some vegetables' (*Hist. Plant.* iv. 17, and ii. *ult.*). This description applies to *aphides*, or rather to the various species of 'gall flies' (*Cynips*, Linn.). Hesychius, in the beginning of the third century, explains σκνίψ, ζῶον χλωρόν τὲ τετράπτερον, 'a green four-winged creature,' and quotes Phrynichus as applying the name to a sordid wretch, and adds, ἀπὸ τοῦ θηριδίου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις, τοῦ κατὰ βραχὺ αὐτὰ κατεσθίοντος, 'from the little creature among trees, which speedily devours them.' Philo (A.D. 40) and Origen in the second century, who both lived in Egypt, describe it in terms suitable to the gnat or mosquito (Philo, *Vita Mosis*, i. 97. 2, ed. Mangey; Origen, *Homilia tertia in Exod.*); as does also Augustine in the third or fourth century (*De Convenientia*, &c.). But Theodoret, in the same age, distinguishes between σκνίπες and κώνωπες (*Vita Jacobi*). Suidas (A.D. 1100) says, σκνίψ, ζῶον κωνωπῶδες, 'resembling gnats,' and adds, ἔστι γὰρ ὁ σκνὶψ ζῶον μικρὸν ξυλοφάγον, 'a little creature that eats wood.' These Christian fathers, however, give no authority for their explanations; and Bochart remarks that they seem to be speaking of gnats under the name σκνίπες, which word, he conjectures, biassed them from its resemblance to the Hebrew. Schleusner adds (*Glossema in*

Octateuch. σκνίφες, ζῶα μικρὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς κώνωπας, 'less than gnats,' and (*Lex. Cyrilli*, MS. Brem.) σκνίφες ζωΰφιά ἐστιν ἐοικότα κώνωψιν, 'very small creatures like gnats.' From this concurrence of testimony it would appear that, not lice, but some species of gnats is the proper rendering, though the ancients, no doubt, included other species of insects under the name. Mr. Bryant, however, gives a curious turn to the evidence derived from ancient naturalists. He quotes Theophrastus, and admits that a Greek must be the best judge of the meaning of the Greek word but urges that the Septuagint translators concealed the meaning of the Hebrew word, which he labours to prove is *lice*, under the word they have adopted, for fear of offending the Ptolemies, under whose inspection they translated, and the Egyptians in general, whose detestation of lice was as ancient as the time of Herodotus (ii. 37), (but who includes τὶ ἄλλο μυσαρόν, 'any *other* foul creature'), and whose disgust, he thinks, would have been too much excited by reading that their nation once swarmed with those creatures through the instrumentality of the servants of the God of the Jews (*Plagues of Egypt*, Lond. 1794, p. 56, &c.). This suspicion, if admitted, upsets all the previous reasoning. It is also inconsistent with Bryant's favourite hypothesis, that the plagues of Egypt were so adapted as to afford a practical mortification of the prejudices of the Egyptians. Nor could a plague of lice, upon his own principles, have been more offensive to them than the plague on the river Nile, and the frogs, &c., which he endeavours to show were most signally opposed to their religious notions. Might it not be suggested with equal probability that the Jews in later ages had been led to interpret the word lice as being peculiarly humiliating to the Egyptians? (see Joseph. ii. 14. 3, who, however, makes the Egyptians afflicted with *phthiriasis*.) The rendering of the Vulgate affords us no assistance, being evidently formed from that of the Septuagint, and not being illustrated by any Roman naturalist, but found only in Christian Latin writers (see Facciolati, *in voc.*). The other ancient versions, &c., are of no value in this inquiry. They adopt the popular notion of the times, and Bochart's reasonings upon them involve, as Rosenmüller (apud Bochart) justly complains, many unsafe permutations of letters. If, then, the Septuagint be discarded, we are deprived of the highest source of information. Bochart also reasons upon the similarity of the word כנים to κόνιδες, the word in Aristotle for the eggs of fleas, lice, bugs, &c., whether infesting mankind or beasts (vi. 26), but which is not more like it than κώνωπες; and an enthusiast in etymology might remark that κόνιδες means both 'dust' and 'lice,' which Scaliger explains *lendes*, 'nits,' *ab exiguitate similes pulveri*, 'from their minuteness, like dust' (p. 518). It is strange that it did not occur to Bochart that if the plague had been lice, it would have been easily imitated by the magicians, which was attempted by them, but in vain (Exod. viii. 18). Nor is the objection valid, that if this plague were gnats, &c., the plague of flies would be anticipated, since the latter most likely consisted of one particular species having a different destination [Fly]; whereas this may have consisted of not only mosquitoes or gnats, but of some other species which also attack domestic cattle, as the *œstrus*, or *tabanus*, or *zimb* (Bruce's *Travels*, ii. 315, 8vo.); on which supposition these two plagues would be sufficiently distinct.

But since mosquitoes, gnats, &c., have ever been one of the evils of Egypt, there must have been some peculiarity attending them on this occasion, which proved the plague to be 'the finger of God.' From the next chapter, verse 31, it appears that the flax and the barley were smitten by the hail; that the former was beginning to grow, and that the latter was in the ear—which, according to Shaw, takes place in Egypt in March. Hence the כנים would be sent about February, *i. e.* before the increase of the Nile, which takes place at the end of May, or beginning of June. Since, then, the innumerable swarms of mosquitoes, gnats, &c., which every year affect the Egyptians come, according to Hasselquist, at the increase of the Nile, the appearance of them in February would be as much a variation of the course of nature as the appearance of the *œstrus* in January would be in England. They were also probably numerous and fierce beyond example on this occasion; and as the Egyptians would be utterly unprepared for them (for it seems that this plague was not announced), the effects would be signally distressing. Bochart adduces instances in which both mankind and cattle, and even wild beasts, have been driven by gnats from their localities. It may be added that the proper Greek name for the gnat is ἐμπίς, and that probably the word κώνωψ, which much resembles κνίψ, is appropriate to the mosquito. Hardouin observes that the οἱ κνίπες of Aristotle are not the ἐμπίδες, which latter is by Pliny always rendered *euliees*, but which word he employs with great latitude [Gnat]. For a description of the evils inflicted by these insects upon man, see Kirby and Spence, *Introduction to Entomology*, Lond. 1828, i. 115, &c.; and for the annoyance they cause in Egypt, Maillet, *Description de l'Egypte* par l'Abbé Mascrier, Paris, 1755, xc. 37; Forskal, *Descript. Animal.* p. 85. Michaelis proposed an inquiry into the meaning of the word σκνίφες to the Société des Savants, with a full description of the qualities ascribed to them by Philo, Origen, and Augustine (*Recueil*, &c. Amst., 1744). Niebuhr inquired after it of the Greek patriarch, and also of the metropolitan at Cairo, who thought it to be a species of gnat found in great quantities in the gardens there, and whose bite was extremely painful. A merchant who was present at the inquiry called it *dubâb-el-keb*, or the *dog-fly* (*Description de l'Arabie*, Pref. pp. 39, 40). Besides the references already made, see Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Exod.*; Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lex. Hebraic.*, p. 1203, sq.; Oedmann, *Verm. Samml. aus der Naturkunde*, i. 6. 71-91; Bakerus, *Annotat. in Et. M.* ii. 1090; Harenberg, *Observ. Crit. de Insectis Ægyptum infestantibus*, in *Miscell. Lips. Nov.*, ii. 4. 617-20; Winer, *Biblisches Real-wörterbuch*, art. 'Mücken.'—J. F. D.

LIGHT is represented in the Scriptures as the immediate result and offspring of a divine command (Gen. i. 3). The earth was void and dark, when God said, 'Let light be, and light was.' This is represented as having preceded the placing of 'lights in the firmament of heaven, the greater

light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also' (Gen. i. 14, sq.). Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the facility with which these two separate acts may be reconciled, it cannot be questioned that the origin of light, as of every other part of the universe, is thus referred to the exertion of the divine will: as little can it be denied that the narrative in the original is so simple, yet at the same time so majestic and impressive, both in thought and diction, as to fill the heart with a lofty and pleasurable sentiment of awe and wonder.

The divine origin of light made the subject one of special interest to the Biblical nations—the rather because light in the East has a clearness, a brilliancy, is accompanied by an intensity of heat, and is followed in its influence by a largeness of good, of which the inhabitants of less genial climes can have no conception. Light easily and naturally became, in consequence, with Orientals, a representative of the highest human good. All the more joyous emotions of the mind, all the pleasing sensations of the frame, all the happy hours of domestic intercourse, were described under imagery derived from light (1 Kings xi. 36; Isa. lviii. 8; Esther viii. 16; Ps. xcvii. 11). The transition was natural from earthly to heavenly, from corporeal to spiritual things; and so light came to typify true religion and the felicity which it imparts. But as light not only came from God, but also makes man's way clear before him, so it was employed to signify moral truth, and pre-eminently that divine system of truth which is set forth in the Bible, from its earliest gleamings onward to the perfect day of the Great Sun of Righteousness. The application of the term to religious topics had the greater propriety because the light in the world, being accompanied by heat, purifies, quickens, enriches; which efforts it is the peculiar province of true religion to produce in the human soul (Isa. viii. 20; Matt. iv. 16; Ps. cxix. 105; 2 Pet. i. 19; Eph. v. 8; 2 Tim. i. 10; 1 Pet. ii. 9).

It is doubtless owing to the special providence under which the divine lessons of the Bible were delivered, that the views which the Hebrews took on this subject, while they were high and worthy, did not pass into superstition, and so cease to be truly religious. Other Eastern nations beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and their hearts were secretly enticed, and their mouth kissed their hand in token of adoration (Job xxxi. 26, 27). This 'iniquity' the Hebrews not only avoided, but when they considered the heavens they recognised the work of God's fingers, and learnt a lesson of humility as well as of reverence (Ps. viii. 3, sq.). On the contrary, the entire residue of the East, with scarcely any exception, worshipped the sun and the light, primarily perhaps as symbols of divine power and goodness, but, in a more degenerate state, as themselves divine; whence, in conjunction with darkness, the negation of light, arose the doctrine of dualism, two principles, the one of light, the good power, the other of darkness, the evil power; a corruption which rose and spread the more easily because the whole of human life, being a chequered scene, seems divided as between two conflicting agencies, the bright and the dark, the joyous and the sorrowful, what is called prosperous and what is called adverse.

When the tendency to corruption to which we have just alluded is taken into account, we cannot but feel both gratified and surprised that, while the Hebrew people employed the boldest personifications when speaking of light, they in no case, nor in any degree, fell into the almost universal idolatry. That individuals among them, and even large portions of the nation, did from time to time down to the Babylonish captivity forget and desert the living God, is very certain; but then the nation, as such, was not misled and corrupted; witnesses to the truth never failed; recovery was never impossible; nay, was more than once effected, till at last affliction and suffering brought a changed heart, which never again swerved from the way of truth.

Among the personifications on this point which Scripture presents we may specify, 1. God. The Apostle James (i. 17) declares that 'every good and perfect gift cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning;' obviously referring to the faithfulness of God and the constancy of his goodness, which shine on undimmed and unshadowed. So Paul (1 Tim. vi. 16): 'God who dwelleth in the light which no man can approach unto.' Here the idea intended by the imagery is the incomprehensibleness of the self-existent and eternal God.

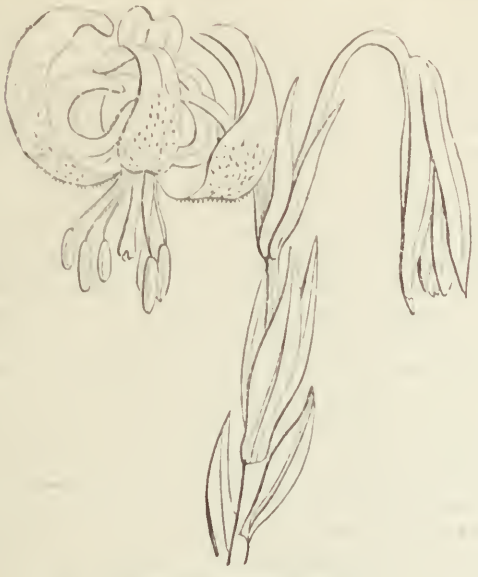
2. Light is also applied to Christ: 'The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light' (Matt. iv. 16; Luke ii. 32; John i. 4, sq.). 'He was the true light;' 'I am the light of the world' (John viii. 12; xii. 35, 36).

3. It is further used of angels, as in 2 Cor. xi. 14: 'Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light.' 4. Light is moreover employed of men: John the Baptist 'was a burning and a shining light' (John v. 35); 'Ye are the light of the world' (Matt. v. 14; see also Acts xiii. 47; Eph. v. 8).—J. R. B.

LIGN ALOES. [Ahalim.]

LILY (*κρίνον*). The lily is frequently mentioned in the Authorized Version of the Old Testament as the translation of *shoshun*. We shall reserve for that head the several points of consideration which are connected with it, and confine our attention at present to the *krinon*, or lily, of the New Testament. This plant is mentioned in the well-known and beautiful passage (Matt. vi. 26): 'Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin, and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these;' so also in Luke xii. 27. Here it is evident that the plant alluded to must have been indigenous or grown wild, in the vicinity of the sea of Galilee, must have been of an ornamental character, and, from the Greek term *κρίνον* being applied to it, of a liliaceous nature. The name *κρίνον* occurs in all the old Greek writers. Theophrastus first uses it, and is supposed by Sprengel to apply it to species of *Narcissus* and to *Lilium candidum*. Dioscorides indicates two species, but very imperfectly: one of them is supposed to be the *Lilium candidum*, and the other, with a reddish flower, may be *L. martagon*, or *L. chalcedonicum*. He alludes more particularly to the lilies of Syria and of Pamphylia being well suited for making the

ointment of lily. Pliny enumerates three kinds, a white, a red, and a purple-coloured lily. Travellers in Palestine mention that in the month of January the fields and groves everywhere abound with various species of lily, tulip, and narcissus.



389. [Lilium chalcedonicum.]

Benard noticed, near Acre, on Jan. 18th, and about Jaffa, on the 23rd, tulips, white, red, blue, &c. Gumpenberg saw the meadows of Galilee covered with the same flowers on the 31st. Tulips figure conspicuously among the flowers of Palestine, varieties probably of *Tulipa gesneriana* (Kitto's *Palestine*, p. ccxv.). So Pococke says, 'I saw many tulips growing wild in the fields (in March), and any one who considers how beautiful those flowers are to the eye, would be apt to conjecture that these are the lilies to which Solomon in all his glory was not to be compared.' This is much more likely to be the plant intended than some others which have been adduced, as, for instance, the scarlet *amaryllis*, having white flowers with bright purple streaks, found by Salt at Adowa. Others have preferred the *Crown imperial*, which is a native of Persia and Cashmere. Most authors have united in considering the white lily, *Lilium candidum*, to be the plant to which our Saviour referred; but it is doubtful whether it has ever been found in a wild state in Palestine. Some, indeed, have thought it to be a native of the new world. Dr. Lindley, however, in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* (ii. 744), says, 'This notion cannot be sustained, because the white lily occurs in an engraving of the Annunciation, executed somewhere about 1480 by Martin Schongauer; and the first voyage of Columbus did not take place till 1492. In this very rare print the lily is represented as growing in an ornamental vase, as if it were cultivated as a curious object.' This opinion is confirmed by a correspondent at Aleppo (*Gardeners' Chronicle*, iii. 429), who has resided long in Syria, but is acquainted only with the botany of Aleppo and Antioch: 'I never saw the white lily in a wild state, nor have I heard of its being so in Syria. It is cultivated here on the roofs of the houses in pots as an exotic bulb, like the daffodil.' In consequence of this difficulty the late Sir J. E. Smith was of opinion that the plant alluded to under the name of lily was the *Amaryllis lutea* (now *Oporanthus luteus*), 'whose golden liliaceous flowers in autumn afford one of the most brilliant and gorgeous objects in nature, as the fields of the Levant are overrun with them; to them the expression of Solomon, in all his glory, not being arrayed like one of them, is peculiarly appropriate.' Dr. Lindley conceives 'it to be much more probable that the plant intended by our Saviour was the *Ixiolirion montanum*, a plant allied to the *amaryllis*, of very great beauty, with a slender stem, and clusters of the most delicate violet flowers, abounding in Palestine, where Col. Chesney found it in the most brilliant profusion' (*l. c.* p. 744). In reply to this a correspondent furnishes an extract of a letter from Dr. Bowring, which throws a new light upon the subject: 'I cannot describe to you with botanical accuracy the lily of Palestine. I heard it called by the title of *Lilia syriaca*, and I imagine under this title its botanical characteristics may be hunted out. Its colour is a brilliant red; its size about half that of the common tiger lily. The white lily I do not remember to have seen in any part of Syria. It was in April and May that I observed my flower, and it was most abundant in the district of Galilee, where it and the *Rhododendron* (which grew in rich abundance round the paths) most strongly excited my attention.' On this Dr. Lindley observes, 'It is clear that neither the white lily, nor the *Oporanthus luteus*, nor *Ixiolirion*, will answer to Dr. Bowring's description, which seems to point to the Chalcedonian or scarlet *martagon* lily, formerly called the lily of Byzantium, found from the Adriatic to the Levant, and which, with its scarlet turban-like flowers, is indeed a most stately and striking object' (*Gardeners' Chronicle*, ii. 854). As this lily (the *Lilium chalcedonicum* of botanists) is in flower at the season of the year when the sermon on the Mount is supposed to have been spoken, is indigenous in the very locality, and is conspicuous, even in the garden, for its remarkable showy flowers, there can now be little doubt that it is the plant alluded to by our Saviour.—J. F. R.

LINEN. [Bad.]

LINUS (Λίνος), one of the Christians at Rome whose salutations Paul sent to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 21). He is said to have been the first bishop of Rome after the martyrdom of Peter and Paul (Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 2, 4; v. 6).

LION (אַרְיֵה *ari;* אַרְיֵה *arjeh;* Sept. λέων), the most powerful, daring, and impressive of all carnivorous animals, the most magnificent in aspect and awful in voice. Being very common in Syria in early times, the lion naturally supplied many forcible images to the poetical language of Scripture, and not a few historical incidents in its narratives. This is shown by the great number of passages where this animal, in all the stages of existence—as the whelp, the young adult, the fully mature, the lioness—occurs under different names, exhibiting that multiplicity of denominations which always results when some great image is constantly present to the popular mind. Thus we have, 1. גּוֹר *gor*, a lion's whelp, a very young lion (Gen. xlix. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 20; Jer. li. 38; Ezek. xix. 2; Nahum ii. 11, 12, &c.).

2. כפיר *chephir*, a young lion, when first leaving the protection of the old pair to hunt independently (Ezek. xix. 2, 3; Ps. xci. 13; Prov. xix. 12, &c.). 3. ארי *ari*, an adult and vigorous lion, a lion having paired, vigilant and enterprising in search of prey (Nahum ii. 12; 2 Sam. xvii. 10; Num. xxiii. 24). This is the common name of the animal. 4. שחל *sachal*, a mature lion in full strength; a black lion? (Job iv. 10; x. 16; Ps. xci. 13; Prov. xxvi. 13; Hosea v. 14; xiii. 7). This denomination may very possibly refer to a distinct variety of lion, and not to a black species or race, because neither black nor white lions are recorded, excepting in Oppian (*De Venat.* iii. 43);



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but the term may be safely referred to the colour of the skin, not of the fur; for some lions have the former fair, and even rosy, while in other races it is perfectly black. An Asiatic lioness, formerly at Exeter Change, had the naked part of the nose, the roof of the mouth, and the bare soles of all the feet pure black, though the fur itself was very pale buff. Yet albinism and melanism are not uncommon in the felinæ; the former occurs in tigers, and the latter is frequent in leopards, panthers, and jaguars. 5. ליש *laish*, a fierce lion, one in a state of fury (Job iv. 11; Prov. xxx. 30; Isa. xxx. 6). 6. לביא *labia*, a lioness (Job iv. 11, where the lion's whelps are denominated 'the sons of Labiah,' or of the lioness).

The lion is the largest and most formidably armed of all carnassier animals, the Indian tiger alone claiming to be his equal. One full grown, of Asiatic race, weighs above 450 pounds, and those of Africa often above 500 pounds. The fall of a fore paw in striking has been estimated to be equal to twenty-five pounds' weight, and the grasp of the claws, cutting four inches in depth, is sufficiently powerful to break the vertebræ of an ox. The huge laniary teeth and jagged molars worked by powerful jaws, and the tongue entirely covered with horny papillæ, hard as a rasp, are all subservient to an immensely strong, muscular structure, capable of prodigious exertion, and minister to the self-confidence which these means of attack inspire. In Asia the lion rarely measures more than nine feet and a half from the nose to the end of the tail, though a tiger-skin of which we took the dimensions was but a trifle less than 13 feet. In Africa they are considerably larger, and supplied with a much greater quantity of mane. Both tiger and lion are furnished with a small horny apex to the tail—a fact noticed by the ancients, but only verified of late years, because this object lies concealed in the hair of the tip and is very liable to drop off. All the varieties of the lion are spotted when whelps; but they become gradually buff or pale. One African variety, very large in size, perhaps a distinct species, has a peculiar and most ferocious physiognomy, a dense black mane extending half way down the back, and a black fringe along the abdomen and tip of the tail; while those of southern Persia and the Dekkan are nearly destitute of that defensive ornament. The roaring voice of the species is notorious to a proverb, but the warning cry of attack is short, snappish, and sharp.

If lions in primitive times were as numerous in Western Asia and Africa as tigers still are in some parts of India, they must have been a serious impediment to the extension of the human race; for Colonel Sykes relates that in less than five years, in the Dekkan alone, during his residence there, above 1000 of the latter were shot. But the counterbalancing distribution of endowments somewhat modifies the dangerous vicinity of these animals: like all the felinæ, they are more or less nocturnal, and seldom go abroad to pursue their prey till after sunset. When not pressed by hunger, they are naturally indolent, and, from their habits of uncontrolled superiority, perhaps capricious, but often less sanguinary and vindictive than is expected.

Lions are monogamous, the male living constantly with the lioness, both hunting together, or for each other when there is a litter of whelps; and the mutual affection and care for their offspring which they display are remarkable in animals by nature doomed to live by blood and slaughter. It is while seeking prey for their young that they are most dangerous; at other times they bear abstinence, and when pressed by hunger will sometimes feed on carcasses found dead. They live to more than fifty years; consequently, having annual litters of from three to five cubs, they multiply rapidly when not seriously opposed. After the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs the lion soon spread again into Lower Egypt; and Fidelio, a European traveller, in the beginning of the eighth century, saw one slain at the foot of the pyramids, after killing eight of his assailants. Lately they have increased again on the Upper Nile; and in ancient times, when the devastations of Egyptian, Persian, Greek, and Roman armies passed over Palestine, there can be little doubt that these destroyers made their appearance in great numbers. The fact, indeed, is attested by the impression which their increase made upon the mixed heathen population of Samaria, when Israel was carried away into captivity (2 Kings xvii. 25, 26).

The Scriptures present many striking pictures of lions, touched with wonderful force and fidelity: even where the animal is a direct instrument of the Almighty, while true to his mission, he still remains so to his nature. Thus nothing can be more graphic than the record of the man of God (1 Kings xiii. 28), disobedient to his charge, struck down from his ass, and lying dead, while the lion stands by him, without touching the lifeless body, or attacking the living animal, usually a favourite prey. See also Gen. xlix. 9; Job iv. 10, 11; Nahum ii. 11, 12. Samson's adventure also with the young lion (Judg. xiv. 5, 6),

and the picture of the young lion coming up from the underwood cover on the banks of the Jordan—all attest a perfect knowledge of the animal and its habits. Finally, the lions in the den with Daniel, miraculously leaving him unmolested, still retain, in all other respects, the real characteristics of their nature.

The lion, as an emblem of power, was symbolical of the tribe of Judah (Gen. xlix. 9). The type recurs in the prophetical visions, and the figure of this animal was among the few which the Hebrews admitted in sculpture, or in cast metal, as exemplified in the throne of Solomon. The heathen assumed the lion as an emblem of the sun, of the god of war, of Ares, Ariel, Arioth, Re, the Indian Seeva, of dominion in general, of valour, &c., and it occurs in the names and standards of many nations. Lions, in remote antiquity, appear to have been trained for the chace, and are, even now, occasionally domesticated with safety. Placability and attachment are displayed by them even to the degree of active defence of their friends, as was exemplified at Birr, in Ireland in 1839, when 'a keeper of wild beasts, being within the den, had fallen accidentally upon a tiger, who immediately caught the man by the thigh, in the presence of numerous spectators; but a lion, being in the same compartment, rose up, and seizing the tiger by the neck, compelled it to let go, and the man was saved.' Numerous anecdotes of a similar character are recorded both by ancient and modern writers.

Zoologists consider Africa the primitive abode of lions, their progress towards the north and west having at one time extended to the forests of Macedonia and Greece; but in Asia, never to the south of the Nerbudda, nor east of the lower Ganges. Since the invention of gunpowder, and even since the havoc which the ostentatious barbarism of Roman grandees made among them, they have diminished in number exceedingly, although at the present day individuals are not unfrequently seen in Barbary, within a short distance of Centa.—C. H. S.

LITTER. The word translated litter, in Isa. lxvi. 20, is צב *tzab;* and is the same which, in Numn. vii. 3, denotes the wains or carts *drawn* by oxen, in which the materials of the tabernacle were removed from place to place. The *tzab* was not, therefore, a litter, which is not drawn, but carried. This is the only place in which the word occurs in the Authorized translation. We are not, however, to infer from this that the Hebrews had no vehicles of the kind. Litters, or palanquins, were, as we know, in use among the ancient Egyptians. They were borne upon the shoulders of men (No. 391), and appear to have been used for carrying persons of consideration short distances on visits, like the sedan chairs of a former day in England. We doubt if the Hebrews had this kind of litter, as it scarcely agrees with their simple, unluxurious habits; but that they had litters borne by beasts, such as are still common in Western Asia, seems in the highest degree probable.

In Cant. iii. 9, we find the word אפרין *aphiryon*, Sept. φορεῖον, Vulg. *ferculum*, which occurs nowhere else in Scripture, and is applied to a vehicle used by king Solomon. This word is rendered 'chariot' in our Authorized version, although unlike any other word so rendered in that version. It literally means a *moving couch*, and is usually conceived to denote a kind of



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sedan, litter, or rather palanquin, in which great personages and women were borne from place to place. The name, as well as the object, immediately suggests that it may have been nearly the same thing as the تخت روان *takht-ravan*, the *moving throne*, or *seat*, of the Persians.

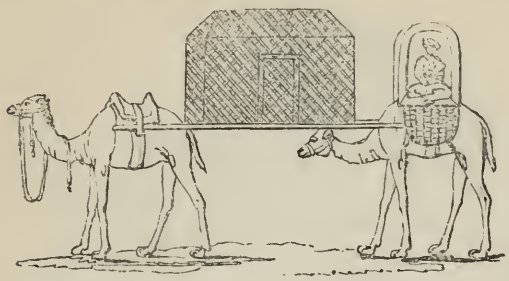


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It consists of a light frame fixed on two strong poles, like those of our sedan-chair. The frame is generally covered with cloth, and has a door, sometimes of lattice work, at each side. It is carried by two mules, one between the poles before, the other behind. These conveyances are used by great persons, when disposed for retirement or ease during a journey, or when sick or feeble from age. But they are chiefly used by ladies of consideration in their journeys (No. 392).

The popular illustrators of Scripture do not appear to have been acquainted with this and the other litters of Western Asia; and have, therefore, resorted to India, and drawn their illustrations from the palanquins borne by men, and from the *howdahs* of elephants. This is unnecessary, as Western Asia still supplies conveyances of this description, more suitable and more likely to have been anciently in use, than any which the further east can produce. If the one already described should seem too humble, there are other takht-ravans of more imposing appearance. Some readers may remember the 'litter of red cloth, adorned with pearls and jewels, together with ten mules (to bear it by turns), which king Zahr-Shah prepared for the journey of his daughter (Lane's *Arab. Nights*, i. 528). This was, doubtless, of the kind which is borne by four mules, two behind and two before. In Arabia, or in the countries where Arabian usages prevail, two camels are usually employed to bear the takht-ravan, and sometimes two horses. When borne by camels, the head of the hindmost of the animals is bent painfully down under the

vehicle. This is the most comfortable kind of litter, and two light persons may travel in it.



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The *shibreeyeh* is another kind of camel-litter, resembling the Indian *howdah*, by which name (or rather *hódaj*) it is sometimes called. It is composed of a small square platform with a canopy or arched covering. It accommodates



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but one person, and is placed upon the back of a camel, and rests upon two square camel-chests, one on each side of the animal. It is very evident, not only from the text in view, but from others, that the Hebrews had litters; and there is little reason to doubt that they were the same as those now employed in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, where there are still the same circumstances of climate, the same domestic animals, and essentially the same habits of life, as in the Biblical period.

LIVER (כָּבֵד) occurs in Exod. xxix. 13, 22; Lev. iii. 4, 10, 15; iv. 9; vii. 4; viii. 16, 25; ix. 10, 19; Prov. vii. 23; Lam. ii. 11; Ezek. xxi. 21. The Hebrew word is generally derived from כבד, *to be heavy*, in reference to the weight of the liver as the heaviest of all the viscera, just as in English the lungs are called 'the lights,' from their comparative lightness. Gesenius, however, adduces the Arabic كبد, meaning, probably, 'the most precious,' which, indeed, suits the notions of the ancient Orientals, who esteemed the liver to be the most valuable of all the viscera, because they thought it most concerned in the formation of the blood, and held that 'in the blood is the life.' In all the instances where the word occurs in the Pentateuch, it forms part of the phrase יתרת על הכבד, or יתרת הכבד, or מן־הכבד, translated in the Authorized Version, 'the caul that is above the liver,' but which Gesenius, reasoning from the root, understands to be the great lobe of the liver itself, rather than the caul over it; which latter he terms *omentum minus hepaticogastricum*, and which, he observes, is inconsiderable in size, and has but little fat. Jahn thinks the smaller lobe to be meant. The phrase is also rendered in the Sept. τὸν λοβὸν τοῦ ἥπατος, or τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ, &c., 'the lobe or lower pendent of the liver,' the chief object of attention in the art of hepatoscopy, or divination by the liver among the ancients. (Jerome gives *reticulum jecoris*, 'the net of the liver,' and *arvina*, 'the suet,' and *adeps*, 'the fat;' see Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 498.) It appears from the same passages that it was burnt upon the altar, and not eaten as sacrificial food (Jahn, *Biblisches Archäol.* § 378, n. 7). The liver was supposed by the ancient Jews, Greeks, and Romans to be the seat of the passions, pride, love, &c. Thus, Gen. xlix. 6, 'with their assembly let not כבדי (literally, 'my liver') be united;' Sept. τὰ ἡπατά; see also Heb. of Ps. xvi. 9; lvii. 9; cviii. 2; and Anacreon, *Ode* iii. fin.; Theocritus, *Idyll.* xi. 16; Horace, *Carm.* i. 13. 4; 25. 15; iv. 1. 12; and the Notes of the Delphin edition; comp. also Persius, *Sat.* v. 129; Juvenal, *Sat.* v. 647. Wounds in the liver were supposed to be mortal; thus the expressions in Prov. vii. 23, 'a dart through his liver,' and Lam. ii. 11, 'my liver is poured out upon the earth,' are each of them a periphrasis for death itself. So also Æschylus uses the words θιγγάνει πρὸς ἧπαρ to describe a mortal wound (*Agamemnon*, l. 442). The passage in Ezekiel contains an interesting reference to the most ancient of all modes of divination, by the inspection of the viscera of animals and even of mankind sacrificially slaughtered for the purpose. It is there said that the king of Babylon, among other modes of divination referred to in the same verse, 'looked upon the liver.' The Cambridge manuscript of the Sept. gives ἥπατι σκοπήσασθαι; other copies use the precise technical term ἡπατοσκοπήσασθαι. The liver was always considered the most important organ in the ancient art of *Extispicium*, or divination by the entrails. Philostratus felicitously describes it as 'the prophesying tripod of all divination' (*Life of Apollonius*, viii. 7. 5). The rules by which the Greeks and Romans judged of it are amply detailed in Adams's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 261, &c., Lond. 1834; and in Potter's *Archæologia Græca*, i. 316, Lond. 1775. It is an interesting inquiry how this regard to it originated. Vitruvius suggests a plausible theory of the first rise of *hepatoscopy*. He says the ancients inspected the livers of those animals which frequented the places where they wished to settle; and if they found the liver, to which they chiefly ascribed the process of sanguification, was injured, they concluded that the water and nourishment collected in such localities were unwholesome (i. 4). But divination is coeval and co-extensive with a belief in the divinity. We accept the argument of the Stoics, '*sunt Dî: ergo est Divinatio.*' We know that as early as the days of Cain and Abel there were certain means of communication between God and man, and that those means were connected with the sacrifice of animals; and we prefer to consider those means as the source of divination in later ages, conceiving that when the real tokens of the divine interest with which the primitive families of man were favoured ceased, in consequence of the multiplying of human transgressions, their descendants endeavoured to obtain counsel and

information by the same external observances. We believe that thus only will the minute resemblances be accounted for, which we discover between the different methods of divination, utterly untraceable to reason, but which have prevailed from unknown antiquity among the most distant regions. Cicero ascribes divination by this and other means to what he calls 'the heroic ages,' by which term we know he means a period antecedent to all historical documents (*De Divinatione*). Prometheus, in the play of that title (l. 474, &c.), lays claim to having taught mankind the different kinds of divination, and that of *extispicy* among the rest; and Prometheus, according to Servius (*ad Virg. Ecl.* vi. 42), instructed the Assyrians; and we know from sacred record that Assyria was one of the countries first peopled. It is further important to remark that the first recorded instance of divination is that of the teraphim of Laban, a native of Padan-aram, a district bordering on that country (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16), but by which teraphim both the Sept. and Josephus understood ἦπαρ τῶν αἰγῶν 'the *liver* of goats' (*Antiq.* vi. 11. 4); nor does Whiston, perhaps, in his note on that passage, unreasonably complain that, 'since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the word כביר, and since this rendering of the Sept., as well as the opinion of Josephus, are here so much more clear and probable, it is unaccountable that our commentators should so much hesitate as to its true interpretation' (Whiston's *Josephus*, p. 169, note, Edinb. 1828; Bochart, i. 41, *De Caprarum Nominibus; Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, art. 'Divination;' Rosenmüller's *Scholia* on the several passages referred to; Perizonius, *ad Ælian.* ii. 31; Pencer, *De Præcipuis Divinationum Generibus*, &c., Witteberg, 1560).—J. F. D.

LIZARD (צָב *tzab*, כַּח *coach*, לְטָאָה *letaah*, אַנָקָה *anakah*, תִּנְשֶׁמֶת *thinsemeth*, חוֹמֶט *chomet*, שְׂמָמִית *semmamith*). Under this denomination the modern zoologist places all the cold-blooded animals that have the conformation of serpents with the addition of four feet. Thus viewed, as one great family, they constitute the Saurians, Lacertinæ, and Lacertidæ of authors; embracing numerous generical divisions, which commence with the largest, that is, the crocodile group, and pass through sundry others, a variety of species, formidable, disgusting, or pleasing in appearance—some equally frequenting the land and water, others absolutely confined to the earth and to the most arid deserts; and though in general harmless, there are a few with disputed properties, some being held to poison or corrode by means of the exudation of an ichor, and others extolled as Aphrodisiacs, or of medical use in pharmacy; but these properties in most, if not in all, are undetermined or illusory. Of some genera, such as the crocodile and chameleon, we have already made mention [Chameleon; Crocodile; Dragon; Leviathan], and therefore we shall confine our present remarks to the lizards that are inhabitants of Western Asia and Egypt, and to those more particularly noticed in the Bible. Of these commentators indicate six or seven species, whereof some indeed may be misapprehended; but when it is considered that the regions of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt are overrun with animals of this family, there is every reason to expect allusion to more than one genus in the Scriptures, where so many observations and similes are derived from the natural objects which were familiar to the various writers. Among the names enumerated above, Bochart refers צב *tzab* (Lev. xi. 29) to one of the group of Monitors or Varanus, the Nilotic lizard. *Lacerta Nilotica*, *Varanus Niloticus*, or *Waran* of the Arabs. Like the other of this form, it is possessed of a tail double the length of the body, but is not so well known in Palestine, where there is only one real river (Jordan), which is not tenanted by this species. We have already shown that the true crocodile frequented the shores and marshes of the coast down to a comparatively late period; and therefore it may well have had a more specific name than Leviathan—a word apparently best suited to the dignified and lofty diction of the prophets, and clearly of more general signification than the more colloquial designation. Jerome was of this opinion; and it is thus likely that *tzab* was applied to both, as *waran* is now considered only a variety of, or a young, crocodile. There is a second of the same group, *Lacerta Scincus* of Merrem (*Varanus Arenarius*), Waran-el-hard, also reaching to six feet in length; and a third, not as yet clearly described, which appears to be larger than either, growing to nine feet, and covered with bright cupreous scales. This last prefers rocky and stony situations. It is in this section of the Saurians that most of the gigantic fossil species, the real בְּנֵי־נְפִילִים *ben-nephilim*, 'children of the giants,' are found to be located; and of the existing species some are reported to possess great strength. One of the last-mentioned pursues its prey on land with a rapid bounding action, feeds on the larger insects, and is said to attack game in a body, sometimes destroying even sheep. The Arabs, in agreement with the ancients, assert that this species will do fierce and victorious battle with serpents.

Considerations like these induce us to assign the Hebrew name כח *coach* (a designation of strength) to the species of the desert; and if the Nilotic *waran* be the *tzab*, then the Arabian *dhab*, as Bruce asserts, will be *Varanus Arenarius*, or Waran-el-hard of the present familiar language, and حردون *chardaun*, the larger copper-coloured species above noticed. But it is evident from the Arabic authorities quoted by Bochart, and from his own conclusions, that there is not only confusion among the species of lizard, but that the ichneumon of Egypt (*Herpestes Pharaonis*) is mixed up with the history of these Saurians.



235. (Lacerta Stellio.)

We come next to the group of lizards most properly so called, which Hebrew commentators

take to be the לטאה *letaah*, a name having some allusion to poison and adhesiveness. The word occurs only once (Lev. xi. 30), where Saurians alone appear to be indicated. If the Hebrew root were to guide the decision, *letaah* would be another name for the *gecko* or *anaka*, for there is but one species which can be deemed venomous; and with regard to the quality of adhesiveness, though the *geckos* possess it most, numerous common lizards run up and down perpendicular walls with great facility. We, therefore, take חומט *chomct*, or the sand lizard of Bochart, to be the true lizard, several (probably many) species existing in myriads on the rocks in sandy places, and in ruins in every part of Palestine and the adjacent countries. There is one species particularly abundant and small, well known in Arabia by the name of Sarabandi. We now come to the *Stelliones*, which have been confounded with the noxious *geckos* and others from the time of Aldrovandus, and thence have been a source of inextricable trouble to commentators. They are best known by the bundles of starlike spines on the body. Among these *Lacerta Stellio*, *Stellio Orientalis*, the κροκόδειλος of the Greeks, and *hardun* of the Arabs, is abundant in the east, and a great frequenter of ruinous walls. The genus *Uromastix* offers *Stellio Spinipes* of Daud. or *Ur-Spinipes*, two or three feet long, of a fine green, and is the species which is believed to strike with the tail; hence formerly denominated *Caudi Verbera*. It is frequent in the deserts around Egypt, and is probably the Guaril of the Arabs. Another subgenus, named *Trapelus* by Cuvier, is exemplified in the *Tr. Ægypticus* of Geoff., with a spinous swelled body, but remarkable for the faculty of changing colour more rapidly than the chameleon.

Next we place the *Geckotians*, among which comes אנקה *anakah*, in our versions denominated *ferret*, but which is with more propriety transferred to the noisy and venomous *abu-burs* of the Arabs. There is no reason for admitting the verb אנק *anak*, *to groan*, *to cry out*, as radical for the name of the ferret, an animal totally unconnected with the preceding and succeeding species in Lev. xi. 29, 30, and originally found, so far as we know, only in Western Africa, and thence conveyed to Spain, prowling noiselessly, and beaten to death without a groan, though capable of a feeble, short scream when at play, or when suddenly wounded. Taking the interpretation 'to cry out,' so little applicable to ferrets, in conjunction with the whole verse, we find the *gecko*, like all the species of this group of lizards, remarkable for the loud grating noise which it is apt to utter in the roofs and walls of houses all the night through: one, indeed, is sufficient to dispel the sleep of a whole family. The particular species most probably meant is the *lacerta gecko* of Hasselquist, the *gecko lobatus* of Geoffroy, distinguished by having the soles of the feet dilated and striated like open fans, from whence a poisonous ichor is said to exude, inflaming the human skin, and infecting food that may have been trod upon by the animal. Hence the Arabic name of *abu-burs*, or 'father-leprosy,' at Cairo. The species extends northwards in Syria; but it may be doubted whether the *gecko fascicularis*, or *tarentola*, of South-Eastern Europe be not also an inhabitant of Palestine; and in that case the שממית *scmmamith* of Bochart would find an appropriate location.

To these we add the *Chamæleons*, already described [Chameleon]; and then follows the *Scincus* (in antiquity the name of *varanus arenarius*), among which *lacerta scincus*, Linn., or *scincus officinalis*, is the *el-adda* of the Arabs, figured by Bruce, and well known in the old pharmacy of Europe. *S. cyprius*, or *lacerta cyprius scincoides*, a large greenish species, marked with a pale line on each flank, occurs also; and a third, *scincus variegatus* or *ocillatus*, often noticed on account of its round black spots, each marked with a pale streak, and commonly having likewise a stripe on each flank, of a pale colour.

Of the species of *Seps*, that is, viviparous serpent-lizards, having the body of snakes, with four weak limbs, a species with only three toes on each foot, the *lacerta chalcides* of Linn., appears to extend to Syria.—C. H. S.

LOAN. The Mosaic laws which relate to the subject of borrowing, lending, and repaying, are in substance as follows:—If an Israelite became poor, what he desired to borrow was to be freely lent to him, and no interest, either of money or produce, could be exacted from him; interest might be taken of a foreigner, but not of an Israelite by another Israelite (Exod. xxii. 25; Deut. xxiii. 19, 20; Lev. xxv. 35-38). At the end of every seven years a remission of debts was ordained; every creditor was to remit what he had lent: of a foreigner the loan might be exacted, but not of a brother. If an Israelite wished to borrow, he was not to be refused because the year of remission was at hand (Deut. xv. 1-11). Pledges might be taken, but not as such the mill or the upper millstone, for that would be to take a man's life in pledge. If the pledge was raiment, it was to be given back before sunset, as being needful for a covering at night. The widow's garment could not be taken in pledge (Exod. xxii. 26, 27; Deut. xxiv. 6, 17). A part of the last passage we must cite entire, as showing a most amiable and considerate spirit on the part of Moses towards the poor: 'When thou dost lend thy brother anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge; thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee; and if the man be poor thou shalt not sleep with his pledge: in any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment, and bless thee; and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God.' The strong and impressive manner in which the duty of lending is enjoined, is worthy of being exhibited in the words of Scripture: 'If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren, thou shalt not harden thy heart nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother, but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need. Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, the year of release is at hand, and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought, and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee: thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him; because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works and in all that thou puttest thy hand unto.'

These laws relating to loans may wear a strange

and somewhat repulsive aspect to the mere modern reader, and cannot be understood, either in their bearing or their sanctions, unless considered from the Biblical point of view. The land of Canaan (as the entire world) belonged to its Creator, but was given of God to the descendants of Abraham under certain conditions, of which this liberality to the needy was one. The power of getting loans therefore was a part of the poor man's inheritance. It was a lien on the land (the source of all property with agricultural people), which was as valid as the tenure of any given portion by the tribe or family to whose lot it had fallen. This is the light in which the Mosaic polity represents the matter, and in this light, so long as that polity retained its force, would it, as a matter of course, be regarded by the owners of property. Thus the execution of this particular law was secured by the entire force with which the constitution itself was recommended and sustained. But as human selfishness might in time endanger this particular set of laws, so Moses applied special support to the possibly weak part. Hence the emphasis with which he enjoins the duty of lending to the needy. Of this emphasis the very essence is the sanction supplied by that special providence which lay at the very basis of the Mosaic commonwealth; so that lending to the destitute came to be enforced with all the power derivable from the express will of God, of the Almighty Creator, of the Redeemer of Israel, of Him whose favour was life and whose frown was dismay and ruin.

It is impossible not to admire the benevolence which runs through the entire of this piece of legislation; and when the age to which its origin is referred, and the peculiar circumstances under which it was produced, are considered, our admiration rises to a very high pitch, and we feel that it is most insufficient praise to say that nothing so benign in spirit had been previously conceived: nothing more beneficent and humane has been carried into effect, even since Jesus came to seek and to save the lost. The conduct which the Romans observed towards the debtor affords a striking contrast to what is thus required by Moses. Insolvent debtors might be compelled to serve their creditors, and often had to endure treatment as bad as that of slaves (Liv. ii. 23; A. Gell. xx. 1, 19; Appian, *Ital.* p. 40). In Athens also the creditor had a claim to the person of the debtor (Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 15). Moses himself seems to have admitted some restrictions to his benevolent laws; for from Lev. xxv. 39, sq., it appears that a poor Israelite might be sold to one possessed of substance: he was, however, to serve, not as a bond, but as a hired servant, who at the jubilee was restored with his children to entire liberty, so that he might return unto the possession of his fathers.

That the system of law regarding loans was carried into effect there is no reason to doubt. It formed an essential part of the general constitution, and therefore came recommended with the entire sanction which that system had on its own behalf; nor were there any predominant antagonist principles at work which would prevent this from proceeding step by step, in its proper place and time, with the residue of the Mosaic legislation. Nor do the passages of Scripture (Job xxii. 6; xxiv. 3; Matt. xviii. 28; Prov. xxviii. 8; Ezek. xviii. 8; Ps. xv. 5; cix. 11) which give us reason to think that usury was practised and the poor debtor oppressed, show anything but those breaches to which laws are always liable, especially in a period when morals grow corrupt and institutions in consequence decline; on the contrary, the stern reproofs which such violations called forth forcibly demonstrate that the legislation in question had taken effect, and had also exerted a powerful influence on the national character, and on the spirit with which the misdeeds of rich oppressors and the injuries of the needy were regarded.

While, however, the benign tendency of the laws in question is admitted, may it not be questioned whether they were strictly just? Such a doubt could arise only in a mind which viewed the subject from the position of our actual society. A modern might plead that he had a right to do what he pleased with his own; that his property of every kind—land, food, money—was his own; and that he was justified to turn all and each part to account for his own benefit. Apart from religious considerations this position is impregnable. But such a view of property finds no support in the Mosaic institutions. In them property has a divine origin, and its use is intrusted to man on certain conditions, which conditions are as valid as is the tenure of property itself. In one sense, indeed, the entire land—all property—was a great loan, a loan lent of God to the people of Israel, who might well therefore acquiesce in any arrangement which required a portion—a small portion—of this loan to be under certain circumstances accessible to the destitute. This view receives confirmation from the fact that interest might be taken of persons who were not Hebrews, and therefore lay beyond the sphere embraced by this special arrangement. It would open too wide a field did we proceed to consider how far the Mosaic system might be applicable in the world at large; but this is very clear to our mind, that the theory of property on which it rests—that is, making property to be divine in its origin, and therefore tenable only on the fulfilment of such conditions as the great laws of religion and morality enforce—is more true and more philosophical (except in a college of atheists) than the narrow and baneful ideas which ordinarily prevail.

Had the Hebrews enjoyed a free intercourse with other nations, the permission to take usury of foreigners might have had the effect of impoverishing Palestine by affording a strong inducement for employing capital abroad; but, under the actual restrictions of the Mosaic law, this evil was impossible. Some not inconsiderable advantages must have ensued from the observance of these laws. The entire alienation and loss of the lent property were prevented by that peculiar institution which restored to every man his property at the great year of release. In the interval between the jubilees the system under consideration would tend to prevent those inequalities of social condition which always arise rapidly, and which have not seldom brought disaster and ruin on states. The affluent were required to part with a portion of their affluence to supply the wants of the needy, without exacting that recompense which would only make the rich richer and the poor more needy; thus superinducing a state of things scarcely more injurious to the one than to

the other of these two parties. There was also in this system a strongly conservative influence. Agriculture was the foundation of the constitution. Had money-lending been a trade, money-making would also have been eagerly pursued. Capital would be withdrawn from the land; the agriculturist would pass into the usurer; huge inequalities would arise; commerce would assume predominance, and the entire commonwealth be overturned—changes and evils which were prevented, or, if not so, certainly retarded and abated, by the code of laws regarding loans. As it was, the gradually increasing wealth of the country was in the main laid out on the soil, so as to augment its productiveness and distribute its bounties.

These views may prepare the reader for considering the doctrine of 'the Great Teacher' on the subject of loans. It is found forcibly expressed in Luke's Gospel (vi. 34, 35): 'If ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again: but love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest; for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil.' The meaning of the passage is distinct and full, unmistakeable, and not to be evaded. He commands men to lend, not as Jews to Jews, but even to enemies, without asking or receiving any return, after the manner of the Great Benefactor of the Universe, who sends down his rains and bids his sun to shine on the fields of the unjust as well as of the just. To attempt to view this command in the light of reason and experience would require space which cannot here be given; but we must add, that any attempt to explain the injunction away is most unworthy on the part of professed disciples of Christ; and that, not impossibly at least, fidelity to the behests of Him whom we call Lord and Master would of itself answer all doubts and remove all misgivings, by practically showing that this, as every other doctrine that fell from His lips, is indeed of God (John vii. 17).—J. R. B.

LOAVES. [Bread.]

LOCUST (order, *Hemiptera;* species, *Gryllus*, Linn.). There are ten Hebrew words which appear to signify 'locust' in the Old Testament: 1. אַרְבֶּה *arbeh;* 2. גֹּוב *gob;* 3. גָּזָם *gazam;* 4. חָגָב *chagab;* 5. חַנָּמָל *chanamal;* 6. חָסִיל *chasil;* 7. חַרְגֹּל *chargol;* 8. יֶלֶק *yelek;* 9. סָלְעָם *salam;* 10. צְלָצַל *tzelatzal.* It has been supposed, however, that some of these words denote merely the different states through which the locust passes after leaving the egg, viz. the larva, the pupa, and the perfect insect—all which much resemble each other, except that the larva has no wings, and that the pupa possesses only the rudiments of those members, which are fully developed only in the adult locust (Michaelis, *Supplem. ad Lex. Hebr.* ii. 667, 1080). But this supposition is manifestly wrong with regard to the first, fourth, seventh, and eighth, because, in Lev. xi. 22, the word למינו, 'after his kind,' or species, is added after each of them (comp. ver. 14, 15, 16). It is most probable, therefore, that all the rest are also the names of species. But the problem is to ascertain the particular species intended by them respectively. Many writers have endeavoured to solve it. They have first examined the roots of these names, which are nearly all the resources afforded by the Hebrew, since there is only one instance in which any descriptive epithet is applied to the name of a locust which might assist in identifying the species (Jer. li. 27), 'the rough caterpillar.' Bochart thus states the principle of this method of investigation:—'Res latet in verbis, et ex nominibus multa eruuntur quæ ad horum animalium naturam pertinent.'—'The thing signified is couched in the words, and out of the names many things are deduced which relate to the nature of these creatures' (*Hierozoicon*, à Rosenmüller, 1796, vol. iii. p. 251, lib. iv. p. ii. c. 1). But as Hebrew roots afford only abstract ideas, these writers next endeavour to ascertain the particular species intended, by considering to what species of locust the general characteristic especially applies. This would be a sufficiently arduous task, supposing the true Hebrew roots to be known; whereas it will be seen that several Hebrew roots often compete with equal claims for the place of etymon to the same word. The roots of the cognate dialects, to which these writers resort in the absence of any in Hebrew, which is frequently the case, are chargeable with the same vagueness and incertitude. The next resource would seem to be the ancient versions; but the Septuagint, even in the most ancient and accurate portions of it, seldom gives a definite rendering. The renderings of the Vulgate, though nearly an echo of the Sept., are valuable, as furnishing all the illustration which Jerome could give in the fifth century. Bochart has observed, that all the other ancient versions, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic, as well as the Targums and rabbins, afford us no assistance in this inquiry, because 'vel retinent voces Hebræas, vel aliis utuntur nihilo magis notis'—'they either retain the Hebrew words or use others no better understood.' Our only materials, then, consist of reasonings from the Hebrew roots, the Sept. and Vulg., and of those few places where the definite renderings they give can be illustrated from ancient Greek and Roman naturalists, &c. It will now be attempted to lay before the reader the results of these several sources of investigation.

1. ארבה *arbeh;* occurs in Exod. x. 4, Sept. ἀκρίδα πολλήν ('a vast flight of locusts,' or perhaps indicating that several species were employed), Vulg. *locustam;* and, in ver. 12, 13, 14, 19, ἀκρὶς and *locusta*, Eng. locusts; Lev. xi. 22, βροῦχον, *bruchus*, locust; Deut. xxviii. 38, ἀκρὶς, *locustæ*, locust; Judg. vi. 5; vii. 12, ἀκρὶς, *locustarum*, grasshoppers; 1 Kings viii. 37, βροῦχος, *locusta*, locust; 2 Chron. vi. 28, ἀκρὶς, *locusta*, locusts; Job xxxix. 20, ἀκρίδες, *locustas*, grasshoppers; Ps. lxxviii. 46, ἀκρίδι, Symm. σκώληκι, *locustæ*, locust; Ps. cv. 34, ἀκρὶς, *locusta*, locust; Ps. cix. 23, ἀκρίδες, *locustæ*, locust; Prov. xxx. 27, ἀκρὶς, *locusta*, locust; Jer. xlvi. 23, ἀκρίδα, *locusta*, grasshoppers; Joel i. 4; ii. 25, ἀκρὶς, *locusta*, locust; Nahum iii. 15, βροῦχος, *bruchus*, locusts, ver. 17, ἀττέλαβος, *locustæ*, locusts. In the foregoing conspectus the word ארבה, in Exod. x., as indeed everywhere else, occurs in the singular number only, though it is there associated with verbs both in the singular and plural (ver. 5, 6), as are the corresponding words in Sept. and

Vulg. This it might be, as a noun of multitude; but it will be rendered probable that four species were employed in the plague on Egypt, ארבה, חסיל, ילק and חנמל (Ps. lxxviii. 46, 47; cv. 34). These may all have been brought into Egypt from Ethiopia (which has ever been the cradle of all kinds of locusts), by what is called in Exodus, 'the east wind,' since Bochart proves that the word which properly signifies 'east' often means 'south' also. The word ארבה may be used in Lev. xi. 22, as the collective name for the locust, and be put first there as denoting also the most numerous species; but in Joel i. 4, and Ps. lxxviii. 46, it is distinguished from the other names of locusts, and is mentioned second, as if of a different species; just, perhaps, as we use the word *fly*, sometimes as a collective name, and at others for a particular species of insect, as when speaking of the hop, turnip, meat fly, &c. When the Hebrew word is used in reference to a particular species, it has been supposed, for reasons which will be given, to denote the *gryllus gregarius* or *migratorius*. Moses, therefore, in Exodus, refers Pharaoh to the visitation of the locusts, as well known in Egypt; but the plague would seem to have consisted in bringing them into that country in unexampled numbers, consisting of various species never previously seen there (comp. Exod. x. 5, 6, 15). The Sept. word *βροῦχος* (Lev. xi. 22) clearly shows that the translator uses it for a winged species of locust, contrary to the Latin fathers (as Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, &c.), who all define the *bruchus* to be the unfledged young or larva of the locust, and who call it *attelabus* when its wings are partially developed, and *locusta* when able to fly; although both Sept. and Vulg. ascribe flight to the bruchus here, and in Nah. iii. 17. The Greek fathers, on the other hand, uniformly ascribe to the *βροῦχος* both wings and flight, and therein agree with the descriptions of the ancient Greek naturalists. Thus Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle, who, with his preceptor, was probably contemporaries with the Sept. translators of the Pentateuch, plainly speaks of it as a distinct species, and not a mere state: *χαλεπαὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ ἀκρίδες, χαλεπώτεροι δὲ οἱ ἀττέλαβοι, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα οὓς καλοῦσι βρούκους.*—'The *ἀκρίδες* (the best ascertained general Greek word for the locust) are injurious, the *ἀττέλαβοι* still more so, and those most of all which they call *βροῦκοι*' (*De Anim.*). The Sept. seems to recognise the peculiar destructiveness of the *βροῦχος* in 1 Kings viii. 37 (but has merged it in the parallel passage, 2 Chron.), and in Nah. iii. 15, by adopting it for ארבה. In these passages the Sept. translators may have understood the *G. migratorius* or *gregarius* (Linn.), which is usually considered to be the most destructive species (from *βρώσκω, I devour*). Yet in Joel i. 4; ii. 25, they have applied it to the ילק, which, however, appears there as engaged in the work of destruction. Hesychius, in the third century, explains the *βροῦκος* as *ἀκρίδων εἶδος*, 'a species of locust,' though, he observes, applied in his time by different nations to different species of locusts, and by some to the *ἀττέλαβος*. May not his testimony to this effect illustrate the various uses of the word by the Sept. in the minor prophets? Our translators have wrongly adopted the word 'grasshopper' in Judg. and Jer. xlvi. 23, where 'locusts' would certainly have better illustrated the idea of 'innumerable multitudes:' and here, as elsewhere, have departed from their professed rule, 'not to vary from the sense of that which they had translated before, if the word signified the same in both places' (Translators to the reader, *ad finem*). The Hebrew word in question, is usually derived from רבה, 'to multiply' or 'be numerous,' because the locust is remarkably prolific; which, as a general name, is certainly not inapplicable; and it is thence also inferred, that it denotes the *G. migratorius*, because that species often appears in large numbers. However, the largest flight of locusts upon record, calculated to have extended over 500 miles, and which darkened the air like an eclipse, and was supposed to come from Arabia, did not consist of the *G. migratorius*, but of a red species (Kirby and Spence, *Introd. to Entomology*, i. 210); and, according to Forskal, the species which now chiefly infests Arabia, and which he names *G. gregarius*, is distinct from the *G. migratorius* of Linn. (*Ency. Brit.* art. 'Entomology,' p. 193). Others derive the word from ארב, 'to lie hid,' or 'in ambush,' because the newly hatched locust emerges from the ground, or because the locust besieges vegetables. Rosenmüller justly remarks upon such etymologies, and the inferences made from them, 'Quàm infirmum verò sit hujusmodi e solo nominis etymo petitum argumentum, unusquisque intelliget ipse.' He adds, 'Nec alia est ratio reliquarum specierum' (*Schol. in Joel* i. 4). 'How precarious truly the reasoning is, derived in this manner from the mere etymology of the word, every body may understand for himself. Nor is the principle otherwise in regard to the rest of the species.' He also remarks that the references to the destructiveness of locusts, which are often derived from the roots, simply concur in this, that locusts consume and do mischief. Illustrations of the propriety of his remarks will abound as we proceed. Still it by no means follows from a coincidence of the Hebrew roots, in this or any other meaning, that the *learned* among the ancient Jews did not recognise different species in the different names of locusts. The English word *fly*, from the Saxon *fleon*, the Heb. עוף, and its representative 'fowl' in the Eng. Version (Gen. i. 20, &c.), all express both a general and specific idea. Even a modern entomologist might speak of 'the flies' in a room, while aware that from 50 to 100 different species annually visit our apartments. The scriptures use popular language; hence 'the multitude,' 'the devourer, or 'the darkener,' may have been the familiar appellations for certain species of locusts. The common Greek words for locusts and grasshoppers, &c., are of themselves equally indefinite; yet they also served for the names of species, as *ἀκρίς*, the locust generally, from the tops of vegetables, on which the locust feeds; but it is also used as the proper name of a particular species, as the grasshopper; *τετράπτερυγος*, 'four-winged,' is applied sometimes to the grasshopper; *τριξαλλίς*, from *τρίζω*, 'to chirp,' sometimes to the caterpillar. Yet the Greeks had also distinct names restricted to particular species, as *ὄψις*, *μολοβρίτη*, *κερκώπη*, &c. The Hebrew names may also have served similar purposes.

2. גוב *gob*, Isa. xxxiii. 4; Sept. *ἀκρίδων*; Vulg. is deficient; Eng. locusts; Aquila, *ἀκρίδων ἀκρίδων* (*ἀκρίδων*); Aquila, *βροῦκοι* (*βροῦκοι*);

locustæ, grasshoppers; Nah. iii. 17, ἀττέλεβος, locustæ, grasshoppers. Here the lexicographers, finding no Hebrew root, resort to the Arabic. Bochart derives it from the Arabic* נבא, 'to creep out' (of the ground), as the locusts do in spring. But this applies to the young of all species of locusts, and his quotations from Aristotle and Pliny occur unfortunately in general descriptions of the locust. Castell gives another Arabic root (جب) נאב, *secuit*, 'to cut' or 'tear,' but this is open to a similar objection. Parkhurst proposes גב, anything gibbous, curved, or arched, and gravely adds, 'the locust in the *caterpillar* state, so called from its shape in general, or from its continually *hunching* out its back in moving.' The Sept. word in Nahum, ἀττέλεβος, has already been shown to mean a perfect insect and species. Accordingly, Aristotle speaks of its parturition and eggs (*Hist. Anim.* v. 29; so also Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.*). It seems, however, not unlikely that it means a wingless species of locust, genus Podisma of Latreille. Grasshoppers, which are of this kind, he includes under the genus Tettix. Hesychius defines the ἀττέλεβος as ἀκρὶς μικρά, 'a small locust;' and Pliny mentions it as 'locustarum minimæ, sine pennis, quas attelabos vocant' (*Hist. Nat.* xxix. 5). Accordingly the Sept. ascribes only leaping to it, ἐξήλατο ὡς ἀττέλεβος. In Nahum we have the construction גוב גובי, locusta locustarum, which the lexicons compare with קדש קדשים, and explain as a vast multitude of locusts. Archbishop Newcome suggests that 'the phrase is either a double reading where the scribes had a doubt which was the true reading, or a mistaken repetition not expunged.' He adds, that we may suppose גובי the contracted plural for גובים (*Improved Version of the Minor Prophets*, Pontefr. 1809, p. 188).

* From the affinity of Arabic to Hebrew, it might have been hoped that from inquiries in Arabia some light would have been cast upon the Hebrew names of locusts by the traditional names for them still in use in that region. But the modern Arabic names, which may be seen in Bochart, Tychsen, Forskal, Niebuhr, Shaw, &c., bear no resemblance to the Hebrew. The word ארבה was among the topics of inquiry proposed to Niebuhr by Michaelis in 1774 (*Recueil de Questions proposées, &c. Quest.* xxx.). Niebuhr replied, 'Comme la philologie n'est point mon fort, je dois avertir de nouveau, que je ne saurois décider si l'explication en est toujours juste. Je n'ai fait que l'écrire telle que je l'ai reçue des Juifs, Chrétiens, ou Mahométans orientaux. ארבה sont à Bagdad et à Maskat les sauterelles de passage,' &c. (*Descript. de l'Arabie*, 1774, p. 33). Dr. Harris, however, makes Niebuhr say, 'Arbah is *the name* at Bagdad and Maskat of those locusts,' &c. (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, London, 1825, art. 'Locust'), which is evidently an *over*-translation. Indeed Forskal, who went in the same expedition with Niebuhr, expressly says that the Arabs *every where* call what he names G. gregarius جيراد *Djerâd*, and that the Jews inhabiting Yemen (Arabia Felix) affirmed that it was the ארבה (*Descriptiones Animalium, &c.* p. 81, Hauniæ, 1775, and *Flora Ægypt.*, p. 83).

3. גזם *gazam;* Joel i. 4; ii. 25; Amos iv. 9; in all which the Sept. reads κάμπη, the Vulg. *eruca*, and the English *palmerworm*. Bochart observes that the Jews derive the word from גוז or גזז, 'to shear' or 'clip,' though he prefers גזם, 'to cut;' because, he observes, the locust gnaws the tender branches of trees, as well as the leaves. Gesenius urges that the Chaldaic and Syriac explain it as the young unfledged bruchus, which he considers very suitable to the passage in Joel, where the גזם begins its ravages before the locusts; but Dr. Lee justly remarks that there is no dependence to be placed on this. Gesenius adds that the root גזם in Arabic, and the Talmud, is kindred with כסם, 'to shear'—a derivation which, however, applies to most species of locusts. Michaelis follows the Sept. and Vulgate, where the word in each most probably means the caterpillar, the larvæ of the lepidopterous tribes of insects (*Suppl. ad Lex.*, p. 290, compared with *Recueil de Quest.*, p. 63). We have, indeed, the authority of Columella, that the creatures which the Latins call *erucæ*, are by the Greeks called κάμπαι, or caterpillars:—'Animalia quæ a nobis appellantur erucæ, græcè autem κάμπαι nominantur' (xi. 3); which he also describes as creeping upon vegetables and devouring them. Nevertheless, the depredations ascribed to the גזם in Amos, better agree with the characteristics of the locust, as, according to Bochart, it was understood by the ancient versions. The English word 'palmerworm,' in our old authors, means properly a hairy caterpillar, which wanders like a palmer or pilgrim, and from its being rough, called also 'beareworm' (Mouffet, *Insectorum Theatrum*, p. 186).

4. חגב *chagab;* Lev. xi. 22; Num. xiii. 33; Isa. xl. 22; Eccles. xii. 5; and 2 Chron. vii. 13; in all which the Sept. reads ἀκρὶς, Vulgate *locusta*, and English *grasshopper*, except the last, where the English has *locusts*. The manifest impropriety of translating this word 'grasshoppers' in Lev. xi. 22, according to the English acceptation of the word, has already been shown [Grasshopper]; in all the other instances it most probably denotes a species of locust. Our translators have, indeed, properly rendered it 'locust' in 2 Chron.; but in all the other places 'grasshopper,' probably with a view to heighten the contrast described in those passages, but with no real advantage. Oedman infers, from its being so often used for this purpose, that it denotes the smallest species of locust; but in the passage in Chronicles voracity seems its chief characteristic. An Arabic root, signifying 'to hide,' is usually adduced, because it is said that locusts fly in such crowds as to hide the sun; but others say, from their hiding the ground when they alight. Even Parkhurst demurs, that 'to veil the sun and darken the air is not peculiar to any kind of locust;' and with no better success proposes to understand the cucullated, or hooded, or veiled species of locust. Tychsen suggests the *G. coronatus*.

5. חנמל *chanamal*, Ps. lxxviii. 47; Sept. πάχνη; Aq. ἐν κρύει; Vulg. *in pruina;* Eng. 'frost.' Notwithstanding this concurrence of Sept., Vulg., and Aquila, it is objected that 'frost' is nowhere mentioned as having been employed in the plagues of Egypt, to which the Psalmist evidently alludes; but that, if his

words be compared with Exod. x. 5, 15, it will be seen that the *locusts* succeeded the hail. The Psalmist observes the same order, putting the devourer after the hail (comp. Mal. iii. 11). Hence it is thought to be another term for the locust. If this inference be correct, and assuming that the Psalmist is describing facts, this would make a fourth species of locust employed against Egypt, two of the others, the ארבה and חסיל, being mentioned in the preceding verse. Proposed derivation, הנה, *to settle*, and מל, *to cut off*, because where locusts settle they cut off leaves, &c., or as denoting some non-migrating locust which settles in a locality (see Bochart, *in voc.*).

6. חסיל *chasil;* Sept. *βροῦχος, ἐρύσιβη*; Vulg. *rubigo, bruchus, ærugo* [Chasil].

7. חרגל *chargol;* Lev. xi. 22; *ὀφιομάχης, ophiomachus* [Chargol]. Since that article was written it has been found that Becmann, reasoning from the Sept. and Vulg., arrived at a similar conclusion; viz., that some insect of the sphex or ichneumon kind was meant (apud Bochart, a Rosenmüller, vol. iii. p. 264). The genus of *locusts* called *truxalis* answers the description. It is some excuse for the English rendering 'beetle' in this place, that Pliny classes one species of gryllus, the house-cricket, *G. domesticus*, under the scarabæi (*Hist. Nat.* xi. 8).

8. ילק *yelek;* Ps. cv. 34, *βροῦχος, bruchus*, caterpillar; Jer. li. 14, 27, *ἀκρίς, brucus*, caterpillar; and in the latter passage the Vulg. reads *brucus aculeatus*, and some copies *horripilantes;* Joel i. 4; ii. 25, *βροῦχος, bruchus*, cankerworm; Nah. iii. 15, 16, *ἀκρίς* and *βροῦχος*, cankerworm. Assuming that the Psalmist means to say that the ילק was really another species employed in the plague on Egypt, the English word caterpillar in the common acceptation cannot be correct, for we can hardly imagine that the larvæ of the Papilionidæ tribe of insects could be carried by 'winds.' Cankerworm means *any worm* that preys on fruit. *Βροῦχος* could hardly be understood by the Sept. translators of the minor prophets as an unfledged locust; for in Nah. iii. 16 they give *βροῦχος ἅρπασε καὶ ἐξεπετάσθη, the βροῦχος flies away.* The Arabic ילק, *to be white*, is offered; hence the white locust or the chafer-worm, which is white (Michaelis, *Recueil de Quest.* p. 64; *Sup. ad Lex. Heb.* p. 1080). Others give לקק, *to lick off*, as Gesenius, who refers to Num. xxii. 4, where this root is applied to the *ox* 'licking' up his pasturage, and which, as descriptive of celerity in eating, is supposed to apply to the ילק. Others suggest the Arabic ולק, *to hasten*, alluding to the quick motions of locusts. The passage in Jer. li. 27 is the only instance where an epithet is applied to the locust, and there we find סכיר ילק, 'rough caterpillars.' As a noun the word means 'nails,' 'sharp pointed spikes.' Hence Michaelis refers it to the rough sharp-pointed feet of some species of chafer (*ut supra*). Oedman takes it for the *G. cristatus* of Linn. Tychsen, with more probability, refers it to some rough or bristly species of locust, as the *G. hæmatopus* of Linn., whose thighs are ciliated with hairs. Many gryll are furnished with spines and bristles; the whole species *acheta*, also the *pupa* species of Linn., called by Degeer *locusta pupa spinosa*, which is thus described:—Thorax ciliated with spines, abdomen tuberculous and spinous, posterior thighs armed beneath with four spines or teeth; inhabits Ethiopia. The allusion in Jer. is to the ancient accoutrement of war-horses, bristling with sheaves of arrows.

9. סלעם *salam;* Lev. xi. 22, *ἀττάκη, atthacus*, 'the bald locust.' A Chaldee root is given by Bochart, סלעם, *to devour*. Another has been proposed, סלע, *a rock* or *stone*, and עלה, *to go up*. Hence the locust, which climbs up stones or rocks; but, as Bochart observes, no locust is known answering to this characteristic. Others give סלע, *a stone*, and עמם, *to hide under;* equally futile. Tychsen thinks the *G. Eversor* of Asso is meant.

10. צלצל *tzelatzal;* Deut. xxviii. 42, *ἐρύσιβη, rubigo*, locust. The root commonly assigned is צלל, *to sound;* hence, says Gesenius, a species of locust that makes a shrill noise. Dr. Lee says a *tree-cricket* that does so. Tychsen suggests the *G. stridulus* of Linn. The song of the grillo-talpa is sweet and loud. With *equal* certainty we might give the Chald. צלא, *to pray*, and thence infer the mantis religiosa, or Prier Dieu, so called from its singular attitude, and which is found in Palestine (Kitto's *Physical History*, p. 419). The words in the Sept. and Vulg. properly mean the mildew on corn, &c., and are there applied *metaphorically* to the ravages of locusts. This mildew was anciently believed by the heathens to be a divine chastisement; hence their religious ceremony called Rubigalia (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 29). The general references to locusts in the Scriptures are well collected by Jahn (*Bibl. Archæol.*, § 23). Some popular errors respecting them are, however, diligently retailed by others. It is well known that locusts live in a republic like ants. Mr. Horne says 'like bees and ants.' Agur, the son of Jakeh, correctly says, 'the locusts have no king.' But Mr. Horne gives them one (*Introduction*, &c., 1839, vol. iii. p. 76), and Dr. Harris, 'a leader whose motions they invariably observe' (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, Lond. 1825, art. 'Locust'). See this notion refuted by Kirby and Spence (vol. ii. p. 16), and even by Muffet (*Theat. Insect.* p. 122, Lond. 1634). It is also worthy of remark that no Hebrew root has ever been offered favouring this idea. Our translation (Nah. iii. 17) represents locusts, 'great grasshoppers,' as 'camping in the hedges in the cold day, but when the sun ariseth as fleeing away.' How the locust, גובי, is undoubtedly spoken of as a perfect insect, able to fly, and as it is well known that at *evening* the locusts descend from their flights and form camps for the night, may not the cold day mean the cold portion of the day, i. e. the night, so remarkable for its coldness in the East, the word יום being used here, as it often is, in a comprehensive sense, like the Gr. ἡμέρα and Lat. *dies?* And Gesenius suggests that גדרות, 'hedges,' should here be understood like the Gr. σίμβοι, shrubs, brushwood, &c.

As the result of the whole preceding analysis it would seem that several, if not all, of the Hebrew words denote as many species of locusts; that the roots of these words afford no safe clue to any re-

stance to the particular species intended; that the Sept. and Vulg. afford us assistance only where the definite renderings they give are elucidated by other writers; and that this elucidation goes no further than to render it probable that species and not states of the locust are denoted in such places. Take, for instance, the Sept. word ὀφιομάχης and the corresponding word *ophiomachus* in the Vulg. (Lev. xi. 22), which is one of the few instances of a definite rendering in either, being elucidated by any ancient author, and compare it with the references made by Aristotle (ix. 9) and by Pliny (xi. 29), to locusts fighting with serpents, as the Greek word would indicate, and 'killing them, biting them at the throat;' and even with the testimony of Simon Majolus's gardener (*Colloq.* viii. 123), who told his master that he had seen a locust thus occupied with a serpent; and 'to speak advisedly,' we must confess that in the present state of our knowledge the elucidation is not very clear or satisfactory. There is one instance of agreement between Moses and Aristotle not unworthy of notice. Moses evidently assigns but 'four feet' to locusts (Lev. vi. 22); so does Aristotle in the first instance, but afterwards remarks that they have six, if the parts with which they leap be counted, σὺν τοῖς ἁλτικοῖς μορίοις. Augustine remarks that Moses did not consider these as legs. The true solution appears to us to be, that Moses, and Aristotle also in the first instance, considers the two fore legs as hands and arms, and that Aristotle takes in the parts both *above* and below in the *hind* legs, and with these '*leaping parts*' makes out six (see also Kirby and Spence, vol. i. p. 23). Still it must be confessed with Bochart, that we know not sufficiently how the words *locusta*, *bruchus*, *attacus*, and *ophiomachus* differ from each other, and much less whether these words in Greek and Latin accurately corresponded to the Hebrew. The specific application of the several names was evidently all but lost in the time of the Septuagint translators, since they make no distinctions, and, rather from the want of ability than inclination, we may presume, apply ἀκρίς to four out of the ten names, βροῦχος to three, ἀττέλεβος to two, ἐρύσιβη to two, and all the first three of these Greek words to ארבה. It is doubtful whether they are correct in the only instance in which they observe uniformity of rendering, viz., κάμπη. Even where they have given definite renderings, how know we but that they have done here as Jerome says they have in other places, 'seemed to define this or that, rather because they would say something, than because they were sure of what they said?' (Hieron. *in Ez.* c. iii.) But Jerome has himself followed them in these passages for a similar reason. We must, then, admit, with Rabbi Selomo (apud Bochart), that we know not how to distinguish the several species. Bochart conjectures that till the time of John the Jews were able to do so, otherwise the Baptist, he urges, would not have known which to eat (Matt. iii. 4). But surely the definition alone in Lev. xi. 21 must have been a sufficient guide to him, as it would be now to a Jew. It is a wild speculation of the Jewish doctors, that whenever their nation shall be restored a prophet will be directed to point out by inspiration the creatures distinguished by the different names in their law; it is a speculation, however, originated by the confessed impenetrable obscurity of the general subject. It will be refreshing to the reader to turn from this dry and unsatisfactory, yet useful detail, to some proofs that locusts are not, as they have been commonly represented, wholly an evil; not altogether 'pestis iræ Deorum,' as Pliny calls them (xi. 29). When directed, indeed, by divine agency in enormous numbers and various species, as in the case of Egypt, their depredations might merit Mr. Horne's description as 'one of the most terrible scourges by which mankind can be afflicted' (*Introd.* vol. iii. p. 74, Lond. 1839). With regard to the description in Joel, it is considered by many learned writers as a figurative representation of the ravages of an invading 'army' of *human beings*, as in Rev. ix. 2-12, rather than a literal account, since such a devastation would hardly, they think, have escaped notice in the books of Kings and Chronicles. Accordingly some understand by the four species of locusts there mentioned, Salmaneser, Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, and the Romans. Theodoret explains them as the four Assyrian kings, Tiglathpileser, Salmaneser, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar; and Abarbanel, of the four kingdoms inimical to the Jews, viz. the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans (Pococke's *Works*, vol. i. p. 214, &c., London, 1740; Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Joel*, c. i.). Locusts, like many other of the general provisions of nature, may occasion incidental and partial evil; but upon the whole they are an immense benefit to those portions of the world which they inhabit; and so connected is the chain of being that we may safely believe that the advantage is not confined to those regions. 'They clear the way for the renovation of vegetable productions which are in danger of being destroyed by the exuberance of some particular species, and are thus fulfilling the law of the Creator, that of all which he has made should nothing be lost. A region which has been choked up by shrubs and perennial plants and hard half-withered impalatable grasses, after having been laid bare by these scourges, soon appears in a far more beautiful dress, with new herbs, superb lilies, fresh annual grasses, and young and juicy shrubs of perennial kinds, affording delicious herbage for the wild cattle and game' (Sparman's *Voyage*, vol. i. p. 367). Meanwhile their excessive multiplication is repressed by numerous causes. Contrary to the order of nature with all other insects, the males are far more numerous than the females. It is believed that if they were equal in number they would in ten years annihilate the vegetable system. Besides all the creatures that feed upon them, rains are very destructive to their eggs, to the larvæ, pupæ, and perfect insect. When perfect, they always fly with the winds, and are therefore constantly being carried out to sea, and often ignorantly descend upon it as if upon land. Myriads are thus lost in the ocean every year, and become the food of fishes. On land they afford in all their several states sustenance to countless tribes of birds, beasts, reptiles, &c.; and if their office as the scavengers of nature, commissioned to remove all superfluous productions from the face of the earth, sometimes *incidentally* and as the operation of a general law, interferes with the labours of man, as do storms, tempests, &c., they have, from all antiquity to the present hour, afforded him an excellent supply till the land

acquires the benefit of their visitations, by yielding him in the meantime an agreeable, wholesome, and nutritious aliment. They are eaten as meat, are ground into flour, and made into bread. They are even an extensive article of commerce (Sparman's *Voyage*, vol. i. p. 367, &c.). Diodorus Siculus mentions a people of Ethiopia who were so fond of eating them that they were called Acridophagi, 'eaters of locusts' (xxiv. 3). Whole armies have been relieved by them when in danger of perishing (Porphyrius, *De Abstinentia Carnis*). We learn from Aristophanes and Aristotle that they were eaten by the inhabitants of Greece (Aristoph. *Acharnen.* 1116, 1117, ed. Dind.; Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* v. 30, where he speaks of them as delicacies). Their great flights occur only every fourth or fifth season. Those locusts which come in the first instance only fix on trees, and do not destroy grain: it is the young before they are able to fly which are chiefly injurious to the crops. Nor do all the species feed upon vegetables; one, comprehending many varieties, the truxalis, feeds upon insects. Latreille says the house-cricket will do so. 'Locusts,' remarks a very sensible tourist, 'seem to devour not so much from a ravenous appetite as from a rage for destroying.' Destruction, therefore, and not food, is the chief impulse of their devastations, and in this consists their utility; they are in fact omnivorous. The most poisonous plants are indifferent to them; they will prey even upon the crowfoot, whose causticity burns the very hides of beasts. They simply consume *everything* without predilection, vegetable matter, linen, woollen, silk, leather, &c.; and Pliny does not exaggerate when he says 'fores quoque tectorum,' 'and even the doors of houses' (xi. 29), for they have been known to consume the very varnish of furniture. They reduce everything indiscriminately to shreds, which become manure. It might serve to mitigate popular misapprehensions on the subject to consider what would have been the consequence if locusts had been carnivorous like wasps. All terrestrial beings, in such a case, not excluding man himself, would have become their victims. There are, no doubt, many things respecting them yet unknown to us which would still further justify the belief that this, like 'every' other 'work of God is good'—benevolent upon the whole (see Dillon's *Travels in Spain*, p. 256, &c. 4to. Lond. 1780). The best account of their cookery and domestic uses will be found in Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, p. 420: for the species whose existence in Palestine is *ascertained*, viz., G. domesticus, nasutus, gryllotalpa, migratorius, and falcatus, and for some beautiful and accurate cuts of locusts, see p. 419; and for an account of the locust-bird, Smurmur, which the Turks believe eats a thousand locusts in a day, pp. 410, 411. We subjoin a list of the principal writers on the Biblical locusts, of whom we may say with Bochart, 'Credimus? an qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt!' Franciscus Stancarus, whom Mouffet records to have written on seven of the Biblical locusts; Faber, *De Locustis Biblicis*, 4to. Vitemb. 1710; Don Ignacio de Asso y Del Rio, *Abhandlung von den Heuschreken*, Rostock, 1787-8, to which is added sometimes in the same vol. Tychsen, *Comment. de Locustis*, in which he has collected all the Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic names for locusts, p. 47, &c.; Ludolphus, *Dissert. de Locustis*, Francof. 1694, and Ludol. *Hist. Æthiop.* Frankfort. ad Mænum, 1691; and *ad suam Hist. Æthiop. Comment.* fol. Frank. 1691. He maintains that the *quails* (Num. xi.) were locusts, as do the Jewish Arabs to this day. So does Patrick, in his *Comment. on Numbers*. Oedman, *Vermischte Sammlungen*, fasc. ii. c. vii.; partic. ii. pp. 91, 92. Bochart's *Hieroz.* à Rosenmuller. For general information, Kirby and Spence, *Introduction to Entomology*, vol. i. p. 215, &c., Lond. 1828; and the *Travels* of Russel, Tavernier, Hasselquist, Volney, Burckhardt, Clarke, &c. For the locusts of St. John, see Suicer, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, tom. i. pp. 169, 179; and Gutherr, *De Victu Johannis Baptist. in Desertis*, Franc. 1785. For the symbolical locusts (Rev. ix.), Newton, *On the Propheeies;* and Woodhouse, *On the Apocalypse*. Among the curiosities in this department is Norelii *Sehediasma de Avibus esu licitis, Arbeh, Solam, Chargol, et Chagab* (Lev. xi. 22), Upsal, 1746, in which the author endeavours to show that these words denote birds and not locusts.—J. F. D.

LOD. [Lydda.]

LOG. [Weights and Measures.]

LOGOS. It was in Egypt, that religion and philosophy came once more into the presence of each other after the lapse of so many ages; and whence they were once more to go forth on their divided, yet united, mission to the nations. We speak not of that forced union of doctrines and principles which was attempted in the Gnostic heresy, and which came so utterly to nothing that our knowledge of that heresy and its leaders is derived altogether from the report of its opponents; but of that real and sound accord between religion and philosophy, between the commands of God and the reason of man, which the Christian desires to make more and more manifest, even to the coming of the perfect day. The Gnostic heresy attempted a union between fanatical feeling and ascetic discipline—a union which too often ends in licentiousness, and which never can attain the sound principles and right practices which together constitute man's reasonable service. On the other hand, the opponents of Gnosticism have too often exhibited an unfairness, a rancour, and a calumny, which must have had the worst effects upon themselves, as it has greatly tended to prejudice their cause, and has left us the example of a spirit so unchristian that we regret to see it associated with a purer faith. In spite of such opponents as the Gnostics—advocates of an unsound religion united to an unsound philosophy—and in spite also of supporters who knew not what spirit they were of, Christianity has triumphed so completely over Gnosticism as to leave of that great heresy little more than the name. Yet are the few and scattered memorials of Gnosticism not without instruction, whether we examine them critically in all fairness, for the purpose of separating the good from the evil, or whether we trace them historically to their sources, or onward to their effects.

In our article on Gnosticism, of which this is a sequel, we have given a brief and clear account, in the words of Professor Burton,—first, of the great leading doctrines of all the Gnostic sects; secondly, of the three principal sources from which Gnosticism was derived; and thirdly, of

the effects produced by the Gnostic heresy on the progress of Christianity, during the time which elapsed between the conversion of St. Paul, and his first preaching to the Gentiles. Before we return to the latter subject, which will be found closely connected with Professor Burton's view of the Logos in St. John's Gospel, we propose to examine a little farther into the merits of that philosophy of Plato, which he considers the immediate, if not the original, cause of the Gnostic heresy. The original cause of that heresy, more ancient even than the theosophy of Babylon, must be sought in the mixed good and evil principles of human nature, which have so often led to folly in opinion, as well as to crime in conduct. But the immediate cause of Gnosticism may certainly be traced to types and shadows in the philosophy of Plato; and we consider Professor Burton to have done a valuable service to the cause of religion and philosophy, in directing the attention of the critic, as well as of the historian, to this source of information.

It would appear that some writers have a sort of dread of the philosophy of Plato, and labour rather disingenuously to fix upon all his writings the character of obscurity and mysticism, from which many of them are altogether free. Others, on the contrary, profess great admiration of his sublime doctrines and pure morality, and speak of him as a sort of herald of Christianity; and, strange to say, ground their admiration of him on some of his most questionable works. It is in these works that we trace the immediate causes of the corruption which the Gnostic heresy attempted to introduce into Christianity,—mysticism, asceticism, and licentiousness; from all which, in spite of that attempt, the Christian religion is so eminently free. Plato, as a writer, at least in many of his works, cannot be spoken of too highly; but Plato, as a philosopher, independently of what he reports of the conversation and teaching of Socrates, appears to us to have been estimated far beyond his deserts. The unsoundness of that which may justly be considered the philosophy of Plato, may be tested by the downward course of the philosophical schools and religious sects which proceeded from that philosophy in Alexandria. It is in this sense that the study of Plato's philosophy may be most profitable to the critic and historian, the moralist and divine; and by which the contrast between Gnosticism and Christianity, in principles as well as in effects, may be made most manifest. And in our estimate of Plato, we would judge him by his own words, before we presume to make him answerable for the mischievous consequences into which his disciples followed out his errors. In like manner, we would not judge of Gnosticism by the unjust and rancorous reports of some of its opponents; but by the fairer views of the lives and doctrines of its professors, which have in many cases been established by the keen and searching criticisms of Beausobre. Indeed, it is hardly possible to overrate the advantage of having, in Professor Burton, a fair arbiter between the parties—between the Gnostics and the Fathers on the one hand, and between Plato and the Gnostics on the other hand.

We have not space here for such an examination of the philosophy of Plato as the largeness and complication of the subject demand. This is the less necessary, however, because the English reader will find in Dr. Enfield's abridgment of Brucker's *Hist. of Philosophy*, a very sound, learned, and intelligible view of Plato's opinions, should he wish to know more of them than is contained in Professor Burton's work. But if we were required to bring the inquiry to a clear issue, and in brief space, we should say that in the fifth book of the *Republic* of Plato may be seen that unsound union of religious mysticism with moral licentiousness, closely connected in other parts of his philosophy with opinions tending to asceticism, which the Professor has shown to have been strangely, but by no means unnaturally, united in the theory and practice of many of the Gnostics, and which union is as much opposed to sound philosophy as to sound religion. The divine and moralist must not shrink from testing Plato's philosophy (for these theories are in manifest disagreement with the practical piety and sound morality of Socrates, and unquestionably cannot be referred to him) by the contents of this celebrated book, in which a system of the most unrestrained indulgence of the sensual appetites is set forth as the completion of politics and the perfection of philosophy; and in strange connection with this immoral plan are exhibited pretensions to a divine knowledge of the most mystic character, which, both in this book and in other works of Plato, is set forth as the elevator and purifier of human nature, just as the gnosis of Gnosticism was set forth at a later period. Here and elsewhere Plato speaks of matter as so altogether incapable of good, from its weakness rather than its malignity, as to thwart the benevolent intentions of the Deity to promote human virtue and human happiness; and, on the other hand, he sets forth intellect as only requiring to be separated from matter in order to be perfect; and in close connection with these views of mind and body, he speaks of a mystic knowledge of the divine nature able to purify and elevate the mind by its intense contemplation, and, in the end, to free it from its corporeal prison-house. It is in the first part of the fifth book of the *Republic* that the affections and duties of husband and wife, parent and child, brothers and sisters, are sacrificed to a system of concubinage, as absurd in the arguments by which it is supported as it would be ruinous to domestic happiness and national character in its consequences; and it is at the close of this very book that there is brought forward in the swelling language of mysticism a secret, and sublime, and a scarcely intelligible gnosis, which is to purify and elevate the intellect whilst the body is, as we have seen, placed in a moral and political system of wide and deep sensualism. These are the deliberate opinions of Plato, put forth in one of the latest, most highly finished, and most closely compacted of his works, and again deliberately confirmed in a subsequent work of still higher pretension. Now, it was to Plato, the mystical propounder of a divine gnosis, that the Gnostic sects gave ear; and whilst some devoted themselves to this divine contemplation, even to the maceration and mortification of the body, others were not wanting who thought such ideal and spiritual purity might render the service of the poor and despised body altogether unnecessary. How unlike is all this to the sound principles and strong sense, the rational piety and wholesome self-com-

mand of Christianity! It is the boast of the Christian religion that not its least pure worship is by the domestic hearth, and that marriage is the most honoured of all institutions by its founder, from Cana of Galilee, where the sign of water turned to wine teaches that a healthful purity must be the foundation of domestic happiness, to the mystic union of Christ with his church, applying the nearest and dearest of ties to express the connection between man and his master and teacher and great exemplar. In the Christian commonwealth woman is neither the poor slave of the harem, nor the spoilt child of Feudalism, nor yet the Aspasia of Plato's *Republic*, but the help meet for man, appointed to aid in working out the highest destinies of our race, beginning, not in the gymnasia or syssitia of Plato, but in the home of our affections, where must be born, bred, and educated a race strong in body, firm in mind, and stedfast in principle. It is plain that of these great domestic and national objects the system of Plato would be utterly destructive, tending to concubinage instead of marriage, fanaticism instead of piety, and asceticism instead of self-command. And as the licentiousness of Plato, and of some of his Gnostic followers, is in direct opposition to the precepts and practice of Christ and his disciples, so there is not a word in the New Testament that would warrant divine contemplation being substituted for holiness of life, whether that contemplation consisted in endless genealogies of divine emanations, or in mystic reveries on the divine perfections; even though these were accompanied with a voluntary humility in the worshipping of angels, or in fasting and prayer more rigidly ceremonial than those of the Pharisee. Those who feel themselves in danger of being mastered by some strong passion will do well to call to their aid such means, whether of prayer or fasting, as may enable them to overcome the temptation. But this use of a sound means to a good end, and under extraordinary circumstances, of which the individual can be and ought to be the only judge, is very different from the yoke of an ascetic discipline, whether it be dictated by a fanaticism which aims at something unsuited to our nature, or by that hard task-master, a spiritual tyranny. If the mystical ideas of Plato are fairly compared, on the one hand, with the plain Evidences of the Being, Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as set forth by Socrates in the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, and, on the other hand, with the clear definitions of Species, Genus, Differentia, Property, and Accident, as laid down by Aristotle in his *Works on Logical Analysis*, it will be seen that little was gained to religion or to philosophy by a theory, which certainly diverted men's minds from the right direction into which Socrates had turned them, both in philosophy and religion. Socrates had ascended step by step, by a process of logical reasoning, from matter to spirit, from the world to its Creator; and had arrived by that process at the sound conclusion, that such unity of design demonstrates the oneness of the designer. Plato, on the other hand, descends, as it were, in the theatrical machine of the *Timæus*, from heaven to earth, bringing with him the fruits of his great master's philosophy, under the fanciful disguise of a mythological mysticism. This purely imaginative statement of Plato might be more imposing to some minds, and more adapted to the perverted tastes of some periods, than the sound, rational statements of Socrates; more especially when these dogmas of Plato came to be exhibited at one time as a political remedy in the *Republic*, at another as metaphysical abstraction in the *Parmenides*, now in the mythological form of the *Timæus*, and now as the foundation of asceticism in the *Phædon*. The sound philosophical reasoning of Socrates receives a constantly increasing evidence from every fresh discovery in the physical and moral sciences; whilst the ideal types of Plato are sickly exotics which cannot be revived—personified ideas in religion, and extracted essences in philosophy.

Professor Burton's lectures, to which, as containing his remarks on the *Logos* of St. John's Gospel, and on its connection with Gnosticism, we must now return, will supply many texts from the New Testament clearly directed against the religious and moral errors of the Gnostic sects, and which cannot be rightly understood, unless this is constantly borne in mind. The following passages give a summary of this part of the Professor's work:—

'I pointed out in my first lecture the importance of the fact, that nearly fifteen years elapsed between our Saviour's death and St. Paul's first apostolical journey. During the greater part of this period, Simon Magus and his followers were spreading their doctrines; and I have shown that Christ, as one of the Æons, held a conspicuous place in their theological system. There is reason therefore to suppose that in many countries, before they were visited by an apostle, the name of Christ was introduced in a corruption of the Platonic doctrines.' Applying the same important remark to the later period when St. John's Gospel is supposed to have been written, Professor Burton adds:—'St. John was as far as possible from being the first to apply the term *Logos* to Christ. I suppose him to have found it so universally applied, that he did not attempt to stop the current of popular language, but only kept it to its proper channel, and guarded it from extraneous corruptions.' In these few words we have a brief statement of Professor Burton's theory respecting the *first use* of the term Logos by the Christian converts, and its *subsequent adoption* into the Gospel of St. John. In other parts of Professor Burton's work he shows how often the misuse of the term Logos, amongst other Gnostic errors, is referred to in the Epistles, and how many texts in the New Testament have a primary reference to the Gnostic Heresy. Professor Burton's theory respecting the first use of the term Logos is supported with great learning and moderation, and appears to us to tend equally to truth, faith, and charity. Professor Burton considers the term Logos to have been borrowed by the first Christian converts from the Gnostics, and to have been applied by them to Christ, and that it is one of the peculiar objects of St. John's Gospel to show *in what sense* the term Logos can be applied properly to Christ. As the latter part of the inquiry respects some of the chief ends and objects of Christianity, in so far as Christ is set forth by St. John as the Word of God, it is our intention to return to this part of the subject in an article under that title.

The errors of the Gnostics, intellectual, religious and moral, are rooted in human nature; and to

guard against those corruptions is to guard against the evil tendencies of our own natures. But before we can clearly understand the application of such lessons as are contained in the Scriptures to ourselves, we must understand clearly their more immediate application to the errors against which they were first directed. Doubtless there is an *absolute* meaning in each of the texts quoted by Dr. Burton, which is as true now as it was true then; but in order to get at this absolute meaning, we must attend closely to the *relative* meaning of the text, as it applied to the opinions, practices, and persons against whom it was primarily directed. The truth of this remark, when fairly stated and considered, is equally obvious and important; yet it is too commonly neglected, and hence great mistakes, and, we may add, great dangers have arisen, not only to individual Christians, but to Christian societies, and to Christianity itself. To use the strong language of Scripture, and which is itself an instance of the importance of calling in history to aid the labour of criticism, men wrest texts to their own condemnation, and still more frequently to the condemnation of others, the force of which might be wisely and charitably modified by ascertaining their original relative application. Through the neglect of this many are made enemies, and the love of many waxeth cold. Professor Burton was too stanch a Protestant to be suspected of any leaning towards Rome; but he has had the honest boldness to show that some texts have been applied prophetically to the Romanist, which had a direct historical application to the Gnostic, and could only be applied to the Romanist (and then as a reproof, and not as a prophecy), in so far as the Romanist of that day shared in the errors of the Gnostic at an earlier period. To neglect this plain and obvious caution has a tendency to fasten upon Christianity a narrow, harsh, and sectarian spirit, from which it is, in itself, eminently free; and also tends more than any other thing to obscure that real accord between sound religion and sound philosophy, which, as we have before said, the Christian desires to make more and more manifest, even to the coming of the perfect day.—J. P. P.

LOIS (Λωΐς), the grandmother of Timothy, not by the side of his father, who was a Greek, but by that of his mother. Hence the Syriac has 'thy mother's mother.' She is commended by St. Paul for her faith (2 Tim. i. 5); for although she might not have known that the Christ was come, and that Jesus of Nazareth was he, she yet believed in the Messiah to come, and died in that faith.

LONGEVITY. Longevity is a compound of two Latin words, and signifies *prolongation of life*. The lengthened ages of some of the ante and post-diluvian fathers, as given by Moses in the Hebrew text, are as follows:—

		Years.
Adam	Gen. v. 5	930
Seth	„ 8	912
Enos	„ 11	905
Cainan	„ 14	910
Mahalaleel	„ 17	895
Jared	„ 20	962
Enoch	„ 23	365
Methuselah	„ 27	969
Lamech	„ 31	777
Noah	„ ix. 29	950
Shem	Gen. xi. 10, 11	600
Arphaxad	„ 12, 13	438
Salah	„ 14, 15	433
Eber	„ 16, 17	464
Peleg	„ 18, 19	239
Reu	„ 20, 21	239
Serug	„ 22, 23	230
Nahor	„ 24, 25	148
Terah	„ 32	205
Abraham	„ xxv. 7	175

Infidelity has not failed, in various ages, to attack revelation on the score of the supposed absurdity of assigning to any class of men this lengthened term of existence. In reference to this Josephus (*Antiq.* lib. iii.) remarks:—'Let no one upon comparing the lives of the ancients with our lives, and with the few years which we now live, think that what we say of them is false; or make the shortness of our lives at present an argument that neither did they attain to so long a duration of life.' When we consider the compensating process which is going on, the marvel is that the human frame should not last longer than it does. Some, however, have supposed that the years above named are *lunar*, consisting of about thirty days; but this supposition, with a view to reduce the lives of the antediluvians to our standard, is replete with difficulties. At this rate the whole time, from the creation of man to the Flood, would not be more than about 140 years; and Methuselah himself would not have attained to the age which many even now do, whilst many must have had children when mere infants! Besides, if we compute the age of the post-diluvians by this mode of calculation—and why should we not?—we shall find that Abraham, who is said to have died in *a good old* age (Gen. xxv. 8) could not have been more than *fifteen years* old! Moses must therefore have meant *solar*, not *lunar* years—not, however, exactly so long as ours, for the ancients generally reckoned twelve months, of thirty days each, to the year. 'Nor is there,' observes St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xv. 12), 'any care to be given unto those who think that one of our ordinary years would make *ten* of the years of these times, being so short; and therefore, say they, 900 years of theirs are 90 of ours—their 10 is our 1 and their 100 our 10. Thus think they, that Adam was but 20 years old when he begat Seth, and he but 20½ when he begat Enos, whom the Scriptures call (the Sept. ver.) 205 years. For, as these men hold, the Scripture divided one year into ten parts, calling each part a year; and each part had a six-fold quadrate, because in six days God made the world. Now 6 times 6 is 36, which multiplied by 10 makes 360—*i. e.* twelve lunar months.' Abarbanel, in his *Comment. on Gen.* v., states that some, professing Christianity, had fallen into the same mistake, viz. that Moses meant *lunar*, and not *solar* years. Ecclesiastical history does not inform us of this fact, except it be to it that Lactantius refers (ii. 12) when he speaks of one Varro:—'The life of man, though temporary, was yet extended to 1000 years; of this Varro is so ignorant that, though known to all from the sacred writings, he would argue that the 1000 years of Moses were, according to the Egyptian mode of calculation, only 1000 months!'

That the ancients computed time differently we learn from Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vii.), and also

from Scaliger (*De Emend. Temporum*, i.): still this does not alter the case as above stated (see Heideggerus, *De Anno Patriarcharum*).

But it is asked, if Moses meant solar years, how came it to pass that the patriarchs did not begin to beget children at an earlier period than they are reported to have done? Seth was 105 years old, on the lowest calculation, when he begat Enos; and Methuselah 187 when Lamech was born! St. Augustine (i. 15) explains this difficulty in a two-fold manner, by supposing

1. Either that the age of puberty was later in proportion as the lives of the ante-diluvians were longer than ours; or

2. That Moses does not record the first-born sons, but as the order of the genealogy required, his object being to trace the succession from Adam, through Seth, to Abraham. The learned Heideggerus (*De Ætate Ante-Diluv.*) thus confirms this latter view: 'Consilium fuit Mosi, uti cuilibet confectu proclive est, Noæ et Abrahami genealogiam pertexere, tum quia illi duo inter cæteros fide et pietate eminebant et uterque divinitus insigni donatus est prærogativa.'

Whilst the Jews have never questioned the longevity assigned by Moses to the patriarchs, they have yet disputed, in many instances, as to whether it was common to all men who lived up to the period when human life was contracted. Maimonides (*More Nevochim*, ii. 47) says—

'Longævitatem hanc non fuisse nisi quorundam singularium commemoratorum in lege; reliquos illorum seculorum annos attigisse non plures, quam hodie adhuc communiter fieri solet.'

With this opinion Abarbanel, on Gen. v., agrees; Nachmanides, however, rejects it, and shows that the life of the descendants of Cain must have been quite as long as that of the Sethites, though not noticed by Moses; for only seven individuals of the former filled up the space which intervened between the death of Abel and the Flood, whereas ten of the latter are enumerated. We have reason then to conclude, that longevity was not confined to any peculiar tribe of the ante or post-diluvian fathers, but was vouchsafed, in general, to all. Irenæus (*Adversus Hæret.* v.) informs us that some supposed that the fact of its being recorded that no one of the ante-diluvians named attained the age of 1000 years, was the fulfilment of the declaration (Gen. iii.), 'in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die;' grounding the opinion, or rather conceit, upon Ps. xc. 4, namely, that God's day is 1000 years.

As to the probable reasons why God so prolonged the life of man in the earlier ages of the world, and as to the subordinate means by which this might have been accomplished, Josephus says (*Antiq.* i. 3): 'For those ancients were beloved of God, and lately made by God himself; and because their food was then fitter for the prolongation of life, they might well live so great a number of years: and because God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time for foretelling the periods of the stars unless they had lived 600 years; for the great year is completed in that interval.' To this he adds the testimony of many celebrated profane historians, who affirm that the ancients lived 1000 years.

In the above passage Josephus enumerates *four* causes of the longevity of the earlier patriarchs. As to the first, viz., their being dearer to God than other men, it is plain that it cannot be maintained; for the profligate descendants of Cain were equally long-lived, as mentioned above, with others. Neither can we agree in the second reason he assigns; because we find that Noah and others, though born so long subsequently to the creation of Adam, yet lived to as great an age, some of them to a greater age than he did. If, again, it were right to attribute longevity to the superior quality of the food of the ante-diluvians, then the seasons, on which this depends, must, about Moses's time—for it was *then* that the term of human existence was reduced to its present standard—have assumed a fixed character. But no change at that time took place in the revolution of the heavenly bodies, by which the seasons of heat, cold, &c. are regulated: hence we must not assume that it was the nature of the fruits they ate which caused longevity. How far the ante-diluvians had advanced in scientific research generally, and in astronomical discovery particularly, we are not informed; nor can we place any dependence upon what Josephus says about the two inscribed pillars which remained from the old world (see *Antiq.* i. 2. 9). We are not, therefore, able to determine, with any confidence, that God permitted the earlier generations of man to live so long, in order that they might arrive at a high degree of mental excellence. From the *brief* notices which the Scriptures afford of the character and habits of the ante-diluvians, we should rather infer that they had not advanced very far in discoveries in natural and experimental philosophy (see ANTE-DILUVIANS). We must suppose that they did not reduce their language to alphabetical order; nor was it necessary to do so at a time when human life was so prolonged, that the tradition of the creation passed through only two hands to Noah. It would seem that the book ascribed to Enoch is a work of post-diluvian origin (see Jurieu, *Crit. Hist.*, i. 41). Possibly a want of mental employment, together with the labour they endured ere they were able to extract from the earth the necessaries of life, might have been some of the proximate causes of that degeneracy which led God in judgment to destroy the old world. If the ante-diluvians began to bear children at the age on an average of 100, and if they ceased to do so at 600 years (see Shuckford's *Connect.*, i. 36), the world might then have been far more densely populated than it is now. Supposing, moreover, that the earth was no more productive antecedently than it was subsequently to the flood; and that the ante-diluvian fathers were ignorant of those mechanical arts which so much abridge human labour now, we can easily understand how difficult they must have found it to secure for themselves the common necessaries of life, and this the more so if animal food was not allowed them. The prolonged life, then, of the generations before the flood, would seem to have been rather an *evil* than a blessing, leading as it did to the too rapid peopling of the earth. We can readily conceive how this might conduce to that awful state of things expressed in the words, 'And the whole earth was filled with violence.' In the absence of any well regulated system of government, we can

imagine what evils must have arisen: the unprincipled would oppress the weak, the crafty would outwit the unsuspecting, and, not having the fear of God before their eyes, destruction and misery would be in their ways. Still we must admire the providence of God in the longevity of man immediately after the creation and the flood. After the creation, when the world was to be peopled by one man and one woman, the age of the greatest part of those on record was 900 and upwards. But after the flood, when there were three couples to re-people the earth, none of the patriarchs, except Shem, reached the age of 500; and only the three first of his line, viz., Arphaxad, Selah, and Eber, came near that age, which was in the first century after the Flood. In the second century we do not find that any attained the age of 240; and in the third century (about the latter end of which Abraham was born), none, except Terah, arrived at 200; by which time the world was so well peopled, that they had built cities, and were formed into distinct nations under their respective kings (See Gen. xv.; see also Usher and Petavius on the increase of mankind in the three first centuries after the flood).

That the common age of man has been the same in all times since the world was peopled, is manifest from profane as well as sacred history. Plato lived to the age of 81, and was accounted an old man; and those whom Pliny reckons up (vii. 48) as rare examples of long life, may, for the most part, be equalled in modern times. We cannot, then, but see the hand of God in the proportion that there is between births and deaths; for by this means the population of the world is kept up. If the fixed standard of human life were that of Methuselah's age, or even that of Abraham's, the world would soon be overstocked; or if the age of man were limited to that of divers other animals, to 10, 20, or 30 years only, the decay of mankind would then be too fast. But on the present scale the balance is nearly even, and life and death keep an equal pace! In thus maintaining throughout all ages and places these proportions of mankind, and all other creatures, God declares himself to be indeed the ruler of the world. We may, then, conclude in the language of the Psalmist (Ps. civ. 29, 30), 'Thou hidest thy face, all creatures are troubled; thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created; and thou renewest the face of the earth.'—J. W. D.

LOOKING-GLASSES [Mirrors].

LORD, a Saxon word signifying ruler or governor. In its original form it is *hlaford* (hlaford), which, by dropping the aspiration, became *laford*, and afterwards, by contraction, *lord*. In the authorized translation of the Scriptures it is used without much discrimination for all the names applied to God; which cannot be helped, as our language does not afford the same number of distinguishing titles as the Hebrew. When, however, the word represents the dread name of Jehovah, it is printed in small capitals, Lord, and is by this contrivance made a distinguishing term. Having already explained the different names of God which the term Lord is made to represent, namely, Adonai, Elohim, Jehovah (see also God), no further statement on the subject is here necessary. It also, however, represents the Greek Κύριος, which, indeed, is used in much the same way and in the same sense as *Lord*. It is from κῦρος, authority, and signifies 'master' or 'possessor.' In the Septuagint this, like Lord in our version, is invariably used for 'Jehovah' and 'Adonai;' while Θεός, like God in our translation, is generally reserved to represent the Hebrew 'Elohim.' Κύριος in the original of the Greek Testament, and *Lord* in our version of it, are used much in the same manner as in the Septuagint; and so also is the corresponding title, *Dominus*, in the Latin versions. As the Hebrew name Jehovah is one never used with reference to any but the Almighty, it is to be regretted that the Septuagint, imitated by our own and other versions, has represented it by a word which is *also* used for the Hebrew 'Adonai,' which *is* applied not only to God, but, like our 'Lord,' to creatures also, as to angels (Gen. xix. 2; Dan. x. 16, 17), to men in authority (Gen. xlii. 30, 33), and to proprietors, owners, masters (Gen. xlv. 8). In the New Testament Κύριος, representing 'Adonai,' and both represented by *Lord*, the last, or human application of the term, is frequent. In fact, the leading idea of the Hebrew, the Greek, and the English words, is that of an owner or proprietor, whether God or man; and it occurs in the inferior application with great frequency in the New Testament. This application is either literal or complimentary: *literal*, when the party is really an owner or master, as in Matt. x. 24; xx. 8; xxi. 40; Acts xvi. 16, 19; Gal. iv. 1, &c.; or when he is so as having absolute authority over another (Matt. ix. 38; Luke x. 2), or as being a supreme lord or sovereign (Acts xxv. 26); and *complimentary*, when used as a title of address, especially to superiors, like the English *Master, Sir;* the French *Sieur, Monsieur;* the German *Herr*, &c., as in Matt. xiii. 27; xxi. 20; Mark vii. 8; Luke ix. 54.

It cannot but be deemed desirable that, instead of the extensive use of the word *Lord* which we have described, discriminating terms should be adopted in translations. Apart from the Jewish superstitions which influenced the Seventy in their translation, there can be no good reason why the name Jehovah should not be retained wherever it occurs in the Hebrew. Then Lord might represent *Adonai;* or perhaps Sir, or Master, might be used when that word is applied to creatures; and God would very properly represent *Elohim*.

LORD'S DAY. The expression so rendered in the Authorized English Version (ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ) occurs only once in the New Testament, viz. in Rev. i. 10, and is there unaccompanied by any other words tending to explain its meaning. It is, however, well known that the same phrase was, in after ages of the Christian church, used to signify the first day of the week, on which the resurrection of Christ was commemorated. Hence it has been inferred that the same name was given to that day during the time of the apostles, and was in the present instance used by St. John in this sense, as referring to an institution well known, and therefore requiring no explanation.

Others, however, have held that it means simply 'the day of the Lord,' the substantive being merely exchanged for the adjective, as in 1 Cor. xi. 20, κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, 'the Lord's Supper;'

which would make it merely synonymous with ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου, 'the day of the Lord' (1 Thes. v. 2). Such a use of the adjective became extremely common in the following ages, as we have repeatedly in the fathers the corresponding expressions, Dominicæ crucis, 'the Lord's cross,' Dominicæ nativitatis, 'the Lord's nativity' (Tertullian, *De Idol.* 5); λογίων κυριακῶν (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 9). According to their view the passage would mean, 'In the spirit I was present at the day of the Lord,' the word 'day' being used for any signal manifestation (possibly in allusion to Joel ii. 31), as in John viii. 56, 'Abraham rejoiced to see my day.' And the peculiar use of the word ἡμέρα, as referring to a period of ascendancy, appears remarkably in 1 Cor. iv. 3, where ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας is rendered 'man's judgment.'

But upon the whole, the former interpretation is perhaps the most probable. Without, however, here pursuing further the question of the *name* (to which we shall afterwards recur), let us examine more closely the evidence for the actual *institution*. This, as far as the New Testament records go, is, in fact, very scanty.

We must class with very visionary interpreters those who can see anything really bearing on the question, in the circumstance of our Lord's reappearance on the eighth day after his resurrection (John xx. 26), or in the disciples being then assembled, when we know that they were all along abiding together in concealment for fear of the Jews. Nor, again, will their being in like manner together (Acts ii. 1) on the Feast of Pentecost appear remarkable, on the same grounds, even supposing the computation admitted which makes it fall on a Sunday; which depends on whether the fifty days were reckoned from the Sabbath of the Passover *inclusive* or not, on which difference of opinion has existed. Indeed, on any ground we could hardly look for any settled institution of this kind, till the Christian church had been actually in some degree organized, as it only was after the effusion of the Holy Spirit.

We find that immediately after that great event, the disciples met together *daily* for prayer and communion (Acts ii. 46); and this practice has been supposed by some to be implied, at a later period, in the expressions used in 1 Cor. xi. 21.

But on *one* occasion afterwards, we have it specially recorded, that they 'came together on the first day of the week to break bread' (Acts xx. 7), when 'Paul preached unto them, and continued his speech till midnight.' It has from this last circumstance been inferred by some that the assembly commenced after sunset on the Sabbath, at which hour the first day of the week had commenced, according to the Jewish reckoning (Jahn's *Bibl. Antiq.* § 398), which would hardly agree with the idea of a commemoration of the resurrection.

But further, the words of this passage, Ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, συνηγμένων τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ κλάσαι ἄρτον..... have been by some considered to imply that such a weekly observance was then the *established custom;* yet it is obvious that the mode of expression would be just as applicable if they had been in the practice of assembling *daily*.

The regulation addressed to the church of Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 2) with respect to charitable contributions 'on the first day of the week,' is not connected with any *mention* of public worship or assemblies on that day. Yet this has been inferred: and the regulation has been supposed to have a reference to the tenets of the Jewish converts, who considered it unlawful to touch money on the Sabbath (Vitringa, *De Synagogâ*, translated by Bernard, pp. 75-167). In consideration for them, therefore, the apostle directs the collection to be made on the following day, on which secular business was lawful; or, as Cocceius observes, they regarded the day 'non ut festum, sed ut ἐργάσιμον,' 'not as a feast, but as a working day' (Vitringa, p. 77). Again, the phrase μία τῶν σαββάτων is generally understood to be, according to the Jewish mode of naming the days of the week, the common expression for the first day. Yet it has been differently construed by some, who render it 'upon *one of the days* of the week' (*Tracts for the Times*, ii. 1. 16).

Thus far, then, we cannot say that the evidence for *any particular observance* of this day amounts to much; still less does it appear what *purpose* or object was referred to. We find no *mention* of any *commemoration*, whether of the resurrection or any other event *in the Apostolic records*.

On these points we have no distinct testimony till a later period. The earliest, or apostolic fathers, make no mention whatever of such an institution, unless we except one passage to which we shall presently refer, but which is at most a mere allusion.

The well-known letter of Pliny to Trajan (about A.D. 100) mentions the Christians assembling together for worship on *a stated day:* 'Soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere,'—'They are accustomed to assemble on a stated day before light, and sing a hymn to Christ as a God' (*Epist.* x. 97).

But it is not till the time of Justin Martyr (A.D. 140) that we find a distinct account of the observance. His statement is clear and circumstantial, to the effect that the Christians were in the practice of assembling for public worship on the first day of the week, as being that on which the work of Creation was commenced, and on which Christ rose from the dead:—Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος, καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος Σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη:'—'On Sunday we all assemble in common, since that is the first day, on which God, having changed darkness and chaos, made the world, and on the same day our Saviour Jesus Christ rose from the dead' (Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 67).

In the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, probably a forgery of the second century [BARNABAS], the first day of the week is spoken of as observed with rejoicing in memory of the resurrection:—Ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησους ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν:—'We keep the eighth day with joy, on which also Jesus rose from the dead' (Barnab. *Ep.* i. 15).

The earliest authentic instance in which the name of 'the Lord's day' is applied (after the passage in the Apocalypse), is not till A.D. 200, when Tertullian speaks of it as 'die Dominico resurrexionis' (*De Orat.* § 23); again, 'Domini-

cum diem' (*De Idol.* 14); and Dionysius of Corinth (probably somewhat later), as '*ἡμέραν κυριακήν*' (quoted by Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 23).

Thus far, also, nothing has appeared relative to any observance of the day beyond that of holding assemblies for religious worship, and a festal commemoration of the resurrection and the beginning of the creation.

But in these last cited writers we trace the commencement of a more formal observance. Thus the whole passage in Tertullian is:—'Solo die Dominico resurrexionis non ab isto tantum (genuflexione), sed enim anxietatis habitu et officio cavere debemus, differentes etiam negotio ne quem diabolo locum demus,'—'On the day of the Lord's resurrection alone we ought to abstain not only from kneeling, but from all devotion to care and anxiety, putting off even business, lest we should give place to the devil;' and that of Dionysius, '*Τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν*,'—'We keep the Lord's day holy;' and at dates later than this we find increasing indications of the same spirit, as appears from Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* vii. p. 744), Hilary, Augustine, and other authorities, of which a large number will be found in Bishop Pearson *On the Creed*, and Notes (vol. ii. p. 341, ed. Oxford).

But we must here notice one other passage of earlier date than any of these, which has often been referred to as bearing on the subject of the Lord's day, though it certainly *contains* no mention of it. It occurs in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians (about A.D. 100). The whole passage is confessedly obscure, and the text may be corrupt. It has, however, been understood in a totally different sense, and as referring to a distinct subject; and such we confess appears to us to be the most obvious and natural construction of it.

The passage is as follows:—'*Εἰ οὖν οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες, εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον—μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες—(ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ [ὅν τινες ἀρνοῦνται], δι' οὗ μυστηρίου ἐλάβομεν . . . . &c.), πῶς ἡμεῖς δυνησόμεθα ζῆσαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ; . . . .*,' &c. (Ignatius, *ad Magnesios*, § ix.; Jacobson's *Patres Apost.* ii. 322. Oxford, 1840).

Now many commentators assume (on what ground does not appear), that after *κυριακὴν* the word *ἡμέραν* is to be understood. On this hypothesis they endeavour to make the rest of the sentence accord with a reference to the observance of the Lord's day, by further supposing *ἐν ᾗ* to refer to *ἡμέρα* understood, and the whole to be put in contrast with *σαββατίζοντες* in the former clause. For opinions in support of this view, the reader is referred to the Notes in Jacobson's edition, p. 324.

Dr. Neander, in his *History of Christianity*, translated by Mr. Rose (i. 336), refers to this passage adopting this supposition, on which the translator remarks (in a note) very truly, though somewhat laconically, that he can only find 'something of the kind' in the passage. The meaning of Neander's version is altogether very confused, but seems to represent the Lord's day as a sort of emblem of the new life of a Christian.

Let us now look at the passage simply as it stands. The defect of the sentence is the want of a substantive to which *αὐτοῦ* can refer. This defect, so far from being remedied, is rendered still more glaring by the introduction of *ἡμέρα*. Now if we take *κυριακὴ ζωή* as simply 'the life of the Lord,' having a more personal meaning, it certainly goes nearer to supplying the substantive to *αὐτοῦ*. Again, *ἐν ᾗ* may well refer to *ζωή*, and *κυριακὴ ζωή*, meaning our Lord's *life*, as emphatically including his *resurrection* (as in Rom. v. 10, &c.), presents precisely the same analogy to the spiritual life of the Christian as is conveyed both in Rom. v.; Coloss. iii. 3, 4, and many other passages. Thus upon the whole the meaning might be given thus:—

'If those who lived under the old dispensation have come to the newness of hope, no longer keeping Sabbaths, but living according to our Lord's life (in which, as it were, our life has risen again, through him, and his death [which some deny], through whom we have received the mystery, &c. . . . .), how shall we be able to live without him?' . . . .

In this way (allowing for the involved style of the whole) the meaning seems to us simple, consistent, and grammatical, without any gratuitous introduction of words understood; and this view has been followed by many, though it is a subject on which considerable controversy has existed. On this view the passage does not refer at all to the Lord's day; but even on the opposite supposition it cannot be regarded as affording any positive evidence to the early use of the term 'Lord's day' (for which it is often cited), since the material word *ἡμέρα* is purely conjectural. It however offers an instance of that species of contrast which the early fathers were so fond of drawing between the Christian and Jewish dispensations, and between the new life of the Christian and the ceremonial spirit of the law, to which the Lord's day (if it be imagined to be referred to) is represented as opposed.

To return, however, to the nature of this observance in the Christian church, we will merely remark that though in later times we find considerable reference to a sort of *consecration of the day*, it does not seem at any period of the ancient church to have assumed the form of such an observance as some modern religious communities have contended for. Nor do these writers in any instance pretend to allege *any divine command, or even apostolic practice*, in support of it.

In the laws of Constantine (A.D. 300), cessation from ordinary work on the Lord's day was first enjoined, but with an express exception in favour of the labours of agriculture. (See Jortin's *Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* iii. 236.)

Chrysostom (A.D. 360) concludes one of his Homilies by dismissing his audience to their respective ordinary occupations. The Council of Laodicea (A.D. 364), however, enjoined Christians to rest (*σχολάζειν*) on the Lord's day. To the same effect is an injunction in the forgery called the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 24), and various later enactments from A.D. 600 to A.D. 1100, though by no means extending to the prohibition of all secular business. In fact, in these subsequent ages of the church we find the ceremonial spirit rather displaying itself in the multiplication of religious festivals and solemnities, than in any increasing precision in the observance of the Lord's day. This is exemplified in the practice

of the unreformed church in modern times, and retained by most of the reformed, with the exception of those formed on the puritanical model, who have adopted a peculiar view of the entire institution, to which we shall refer in another place. [SABBATH.] We may add, also, that as in the case of Constantine, so in some modern states, where a church has been established *by law*, the same *policy* has prevailed of passing temporal enactments for the cessation of business, and even public amusements, on the Lord's day, especially in more recent times.

But to pursue such topics would be beyond our purpose. Upon the whole we would observe, that on questions of this nature it is peculiarly important to bear in mind the propriety of not advancing to gratuitous inferences beyond what the evidence warrants. We can have no proof of the existence of tenets or practices in the first ages beyond the testimony of the writers of those ages; and there was always in operation a powerful tendency to an increasing formality in external observances, which were in all cases introduced gradually from small beginnings.

To those Christians who look to the *written word* as the sole authority for anything claiming apostolic or divine sanction, it becomes peculiarly important to observe, that the New Testament evidence of the observance of the Lord's day amounts merely to the recorded fact that the disciples did assemble on the first day of the week, and the *probable* application of the designation 'the Lord's day' to that day.—B. P.

LOT (לוֹט, *a covering;* Sept. Λώτ), son of Haran and nephew of Abraham, who by the early death of his father had already come into possession of his property when Abraham went into the land of Canaan (Gen. xi. 31). Their united substance, consisting chiefly in cattle, was not then too large to prevent them from living together in one encampment. Eventually, however, their possessions were so greatly increased, that they were obliged to separate; and Abraham with rare generosity conceded the choice of pasture-grounds to his nephew. Lot availed himself of this liberality of his uncle, as he deemed most for his own advantage, by fixing his abode at Sodom, that his flocks might pasture in and around that fertile and well-watered neighbourhood (Gen. xiii. 5-13). He had soon very great reason to regret this choice; for although his flocks fed well, his soul was starved in that vile place, the inhabitants of which were sinners before the Lord exceedingly. There 'he vexed his righteous soul from day to day with the filthy conversation of the wicked' (2 Pet. ii. 7).

About eight years after his separation from Abraham (B.C. 1913), Lot was carried away prisoner by Chedorlaomer, along with the other inhabitants of Sodom, and was rescued and brought back by Abraham (Gen. xiv.), as related under other heads [ABRAHAM; CHEDORLAOMER]. This exploit procured for Abraham much celebrity in Canaan; and it ought to have procured for Lot respect and gratitude from the people of Sodom, who had been delivered from hard slavery and restored to their homes on his account. But this does not appear to have been the result.

At length the guilt of 'the cities of the plain' brought down the signal judgments of Heaven. The avenging angels, after having been entertained by Abraham, repaired to Sodom, where they were received and entertained by Lot, who was sitting in the gate of the town when they arrived. While they were at supper the house was beset by a number of men, who demanded that the strangers should be given up to them, for the unnatural purposes which have given a name of infamy to Sodom in all generations. Lot resisted this demand, and was loaded with abuse by the vile fellows outside on that account. They had nearly forced the door, when the angels, thus awfully by their own experience convinced of the righteousness of the doom they came to execute, smote them with instant blindness, by which their attempts were rendered abortive, and they were constrained to disperse. Towards morning the angels apprised Lot of the doom which hung over the place, and urged him to hasten thence with his family. He was allowed to extend the benefit of this deliverance to the families of his daughters who had married in Sodom; but the warning was received by those families with incredulity and insult, and he therefore left Sodom accompanied only by his wife and two daughters. As they went, being hastened by the angels, the wife, anxious for those who had been left behind, or reluctant to remove from the place which had long been her home, and where much valuable property was necessarily left behind, lingered behind the rest, and was suddenly involved in the destruction, by which—smothered and stiffened as she stood by saline incrustations—she became 'a pillar of salt.'

Lot and his daughters then hastened on to Zoar, the smallest of the five cities of the plain, which had been spared on purpose to afford him a refuge: but, being fearful, after what had passed, to remain among a people so corrupted, he soon retired to a cavern in the neighbouring mountains, and there abode. After some stay in this place, the daughters of Lot became apprehensive lest the family of their father should be lost for want of descendants, than which no greater calamity was known or apprehended in those times: and in the belief that, after what had passed in Sodom, there was no hope of their obtaining suitable husbands, they, by a contrivance which has in it the taint of Sodom, in which they were brought up, made their father drunk with wine, and in that state seduced him into an act which, as they well knew, would in soberness have been most abhorrent to him. They thus became the mothers, and he the father, of two sons, named Moab and Ammon, from whom sprung the Moabites and Ammonites, so often mentioned in the Hebrew history (Gen. xix.). This circumstance is the last which the Scripture records of the history of Lot; and the time and place of his death are unknown.

The difficulties which the narrative that we have sketched has been supposed to involve may be reduced to two—the death of Lot's wife, and the conduct of his daughters. With respect to the former of these, whatever difficulty has been connected with the subject has arisen from the ridiculous notions which have been connected with it, for which no authority is found in the Scriptural narrative. It has been supposed that the woman was literally turned into a pillar of salt, and that this pillar stood for many ages, if it does not still exist, as a standing monument of the transaction.

Indeed, sundry old travellers have averred that they had seen it; and no doubt they did see something which they supposed to be the pillar into which Lot's wife was turned, or were told to be such. This notion originated with the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, which was regarded by the Roman Catholics as Scriptural authority that might not be disputed. Therefore old pilgrims and travellers sought for this monument; and from their example, more modern travellers have done the same: although, if Protestants, they could attach no particular weight to the authority which alone justified their predecessors in their hopes of finding it. The passage referred to is that in which the author, after alluding to the punishment of Sodom and the deliverance of Lot, adverts to the existing evidence of the former, and then adds, somewhat vaguely, ἀπιστούσης ψυχῆς μνημεῖον ἑστηκυια στήλη ἁλός, 'a standing pillar of salt is a monument of an unbelieving soul.' This was no doubt the authority relied upon: indeed, we find it expressly quoted by some old travellers as the ground of their expectation. But the testimony of Josephus is still more explicit, and with us would be quite as authoritative. He expressly says not only that the monument existed, but that he had seen it (*Antiq.* i. 11. 4). His contemporary, Clement of Rome, makes a similar statement (*Epist.* i. § 11); and so, in the next century, does Irenæus (iv. 51, 64). But their evidence is of little original value on a point like this. Josephus and the author of Wisdom no doubt believed what they stated: and their testimony amounts to this, that in their day an object existed which was said to be the pillar into which Lot's wife was turned, and which they believed to be such. But in the present day, when the sources of historical evidence are more carefully investigated than in former times, we regard these authorities, 2000 years after the event, as having no particular weight, unless so far as they may be supported by anterior probabilities and documents, which in this case do not exist. Further, it is all but impossible that if so strange a monument had existed on the borders of the Dead Sea, it should not have been noticed by the sacred historians, and alluded to by the poets: and we may be almost certain that if it had remained when the book of Genesis was written, the frequent formula, that it was there 'unto this day,' would not have been omitted. Indeed there is every probability that, if such a monument had then existed, the Canaanites would have made it one of their idols. The expression of our Lord, 'Remember Lot's wife' (Luke xvii. 32), appears from the context to be solely intended as an illustration of the danger of going back or delaying in the day of God's judgments. From this text, indeed, it would appear as if Lot's wife had gone back, or had tarried so long behind, in the desire of saving some of their property. Then, as it would seem, she was struck dead, and became a stiffened corpse, fixed for the time to the soil by saline or bituminous incrustations. The particle of similitude must here, as in many other passages of Scripture, be understood—'*like* a pillar of salt.'

With respect to Lot's daughters, Whiston and others are unable to see any wicked intention in them. He admits that the incest was a horrid crime, except under the unavoidable necessity which apparently rendered it the only means of preserving the human race: and this justifying necessity he holds to have existed in their minds, as they appear to have believed that all the inhabitants of the land had been destroyed except their father and themselves. But it is incredible that they could have entertained any such belief. The city of Zoar had been spared, and they had been there. The wine also with which they made their father drunk must have been procured from men, as we cannot suppose they had brought it with them from Sodom. The fact would therefore seem to be that, after the fate of their sisters, who had married men of Sodom and perished with them, they became alive to the danger and impropriety of marrying with the natives of the land, and of the importance of preserving the family connection. The force of this consideration was afterwards seen in Abraham's sending to the seat of his family in Mesopotamia for a wife to Isaac. But Lot's daughters could not go there to seek husbands; and the only branch of their own family within many hundred miles was that of Abraham, whose only son, Ishmael, was then a child. This, therefore, must have appeared to them the only practicable mode in which the house of their father could be preserved. Their making their father drunk, and their solicitous concealment of what they did from him, show that they despaired of persuading him to an act which, under any circumstances, and with every possible extenuation, must have been very distressing to so good a man. That he was a good man is evinced by his deliverance from among the guilty, and is affirmed by St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 7); his preservation is alluded to by our Saviour (Luke xvii. 18, &c.); and in Deut. ii. 9, 19, and Ps. lxxxiii. 9, his name is used to designate the Moabites and Ammonites, his descendants.

LOT (לֹט, sometimes written לוֹט) is mentioned in two passages of Scripture, in both of which it is erroneously translated *myrrh* in the Authorized Version. In Gen. xxxvii. 25, 'Behold, a company of Ishmeelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery (*necoth*), and balm (*tzeri*), and *myrrh* (*lot*), going to carry it down to Egypt.' Again, in ch. xliii. 11, Jacob directs his sons to take into Egypt 'of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm (*tzeri*), and a little honey, spices (*necoth*), and *myrrh* (*lot*), nuts (*botnim*), and almonds (*shakadim*). In this enumeration, in one case, of merchandise, and in the other, of several articles intended for a present, and both destined for Egypt, at that time a highly civilized nation, it is evident that we are to look only for such substances as were likely to be acceptable in that country, and therefore not such as were produced there, or as were more easily procurable from elsewhere than from Syria, as was the case with myrrh, which was never produced in Syria, and could not have been an article of export from thence. This difficulty has been felt by others, and various translations of *lot* have been proposed, as *lotus*, chesnuts, mastiche, stacte, balsam, turpentine, pistachio nuts. Junius and Tremellius render it *ladanum*, which is suitable, and appears to be correct.

Ladanum, or *gum ladanum*, as it is often called, was known to the Greeks as early as the

times of Herodotus and Theophrastus, and bore the names of *ledon* and *ladanon*, which are very closely allied to *ladun*, the Arabic name of the same drug. It has been well observed by



396. [Ladanum Cistus.]

Rosenmüller that the proper root and origin of these names is *led*, but that the Hebrew has the hard consonant *t* instead of the softer *d*, of which letters many permutations are to be found in these, as well as in other languages. A Hebrew author, as quoted by Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. p. 281), says, 'Est aroma, ex succo arboris cujusdam proveniens.' *Ladanum* is described by Herodotus as particularly fragrant, though gathered from the beards of goats, where it is found sticking. This is explained by referring to the description of Dioscorides, from which we learn that goats, after browsing upon the leaves of the *ladanum* plants, necessarily have this viscid substance adhering to their hair and beards, whence it is afterwards scraped off. Tournefort, in modern times, has given a detailed description of the mode of obtaining *ladanum*, and relates that it is now gathered by means of a kind of rake with whip-like thongs, which is passed over the plants. When these thongs are loaded with the odoriferous and sticky resin, they are scraped with a knife, and the substance rolled into a mass, in which state it is called *ladanum* or *labdanum*. It consists of resin and volatile oil, and is highly fragrant, and stimulant as a medicine, but is often adulterated with sand in commerce. The *ladanum* which is used in Europe is collected chiefly in the Greek isles, and also in continental Greece. It is yielded by species of the genus *Cistus* (especially by *C. creticus*), which are known in this country by the name of Rock Rose. They are natives of the south of Europe, the Mediterranean islands, and the north of Africa. Species are also found in Judæa; and *C. creticus* in some parts of Syria. Some authors have been of opinion that one species, the *Cistus roscus*, is more likely than any other to be the Rose of Sharon, as it is very common in that locality, while nothing like a true rose is to be found there. *Ladanum* seems to have been produced in Judæa, according to writers in the Talmud (Cels. *l. c.* p. 286). It is said by Pliny, as long before by Herodotus, to be a produce of Arabia, though this has not been proved to be the case in modern times. Sufficient, however, has been adduced to show that *ladanum* was known to, and esteemed by, the ancients, and as its Greek and Arabic names are similar to the Hebrew, and as it is stated to have been a produce of Syria, it was very likely to have been sent to Egypt both as a present and as merchandise.—J. F. R.

LOTS, FEAST OF. [Purim.]

LOVE may be regarded either as the internal feeling of good will and kindness which one intelligent being bears to another, or the expression of that benevolence in words and acts which gratify and benefit another; but in its full and proper sense, love is the union of these two—of the internal emotion with the outward act: whence it appears that neither doing good nor wishing good to another can in strict propriety be denominated love. The definition also shows that love is restricted to intelligent beings, takes place only between persons, and cannot be predicated of things, being used in a merely derivative and secondary sense whenever we speak of loving aught but rational beings. It also appears that the emotion implies two intelligent existences; indeed, reciprocity seems an almost essential element in the idea of love. Certainly all durable love is mutual; and if love implies two, then, prior to creation, God, however good he might be, could hardly be said to love; so that love is a consequence of creation, a result of the relations in which God was pleased to place himself in regard to man; and since these relations are best declared, if they are not exclusively made known, by the sacred Scriptures, love is a doctrine which takes its source in revelation, where indeed, considered as existing between God and man, it finds at once its highest sanctions and best supports. But if love, as between God and man, has its origin and its sustentation in Scripture, then, without revelation, this love could not exist, though it may be allowed that a certain evanescent fluttering of the heart on the thought of God might be excited by the survey of the majesty of creation and the bounty of the seasons. All pantheistic notions must be hostile to the formation and existence of love in man's breast—all mere recognition of God as the first cause of life; and whatever tends to bring God before the mind in a personal character, especially as the moral governor of the world, must powerfully conduce to make the human heart love its Creator; for in love between human beings it is the personal and moral element which exerts the strongest, the most lasting, and the most worthy influence. Now it is in a personal character, it is as a moral governor, it is as a Judge as well as a Maker, a Guide as well as a Ruler, above all as a Father and a Redeemer, that the Scriptures, from first to last, with some variations indeed, but with a unity of plan, set forth God for our minds to apprehend and our hearts to love; thus performing a most important office in the spiritual education of the human race, and presenting a distinction, as between this view and the view of God taken by schools of philosophy, or the bare decisions of the human intellect, which is as honourable to revelation as it is momentous to man.

From the relation of love, in which God in his word has condescended to place himself in regard to man, flow all human duties, hopes, and expectations, which, if they be logically deduced from the mother idea, must be no less true than Scriptural, because necessary inferences from the fundamental conception of God which revelation presents. Thus, 'we love God because he first loved us;' 'if God hath so loved us, how ought we to love one another;' 'he that loveth is born of God;' 'if a man say that he love God, and hate his brother, the truth is not in him;' 'if we love one another his love is perfected in us;' 'whoso keepeth his word, in him is the love of God perfected: hereby we know that we are in him;' 'behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed on us, that we should be called the sons of God;' 'now are we sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when Christ shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is:'—thus, and in more minute particulars, does the Apostle John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, develope the doctrine according to godliness, from the grand idea of the love of God, which filled his mind and warmed his heart, with a dialectic rigour which is no less remarkable than the gentle and affectionate tone that pervades the whole. How truly and how fully John comprehended the root-idea of the Bible may be seen in his aphorism, 'God is love' (1 John iv. 16): thus making love not an attribute of God, nor a mode of the divine existence, nor a display of his providence to man, but the very essence of his nature—the depth which enfolded all other depths, giving its own warm colouring to each.

The New Testament speaks in its great bearings of the love of God towards Christ and towards man. The Son of God, as the most perfect image of the Heavenly Father, is represented as the special object of the divine love; as a consequence of which affection God communicates to Christ all spiritual gifts needful for the redemption of mankind: 'The Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things whatsoever he doeth' (John v. 20); 'therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life that I might take it again' (John x. 17); 'for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world' (John xvii. 24); 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life' (John iii. 16). And so, 'He that spared not his only Son, but freely gave him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?' (Rom. viii. 32): accordingly 'the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us' (Rom. v. 5; see the following verses). The following passages will aid the reader in pursuing this interesting subject into its Scriptural particulars, which want of space compels us to be content with pointing out;—namely, Rom. viii. 35; 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Eph. ii. 4; 2 Thess. iii. 5; 1 John iv.; 1 Tim. i. 1, 2, 4; Tit. ii. 10; John xiii. 35; comp. xv. 17; Mark xii. 30.

Love to Christ is represented in Scripture as a natural consequence of Christ's love to man, and as a necessary concomitant of the love of God, with which it is kindred in nature, causes, operation, and effects. This holy affection manifests itself not in idle reveries nor warm protestations, but in meek and lowly obedience to Jesus as the mediator between God and man; and has for its highest reward the love which God displays towards all those who honour his son; which love, springing from God, fills and sanctifies the heart of man (John viii. 40; xiv. 15, 21, 23, 28; xvi. 27).

Love to man ensues from the universal love of God, as the one Creator and Father of all men, who, in consequence, stand in the relation of brothers one to another, and are, whatever earthly differences or even antipathies they may allow, still, in the sight of God and of his Son, neighbours; and as brothers and neighbours they have a claim on each other for mutual service—a claim which has its roots and sanctions in religion, or rather in the Gospel, considered as the completion of former dispensations. The measure and test of love to others is the love we each bear to self no less than the higher and perfect model which Jesus has given in his own life and death (Matt. xxii. 39; Mark xii. 31; John xv. 12; comp. xiii. 15; 1 Peter ii. 21; 1 John ii. 6). This general good-will and active beneficence may be enhanced and invigorated by those nearer relations which take place between kindred minds, men of 'like precious faith,' whose hearts and aims are one, and who have alike received the gracious and all-prevailing influences of God's spirit; so that Christianity not only places mankind in immediate connection with God, and thus renders all equal and all worthy of each other's love, but creates a new, peculiar, and very intimate relation, making all true disciples one with each other, and with the great head of the church, and thus one, ultimately, with God (John xiii. 34, 35; xv. 12; Rom. xiii. 8, 10; 1 Cor. xiii.). And it is this specific Christian affection—the love of man as a brother, purified and enlarged by the consciousness of being an object of divine mercy and goodness, so as to become a properly Christian emotion—which is to actuate the disciples of Christ in their benevolent efforts for the good of others, and specially for their rescue from the evil that is in the world that bringeth death (2 Cor. v. 14, 19, 20, 21; Acts xx. 24).

This imperfect and incomplete sketch may serve to show how incomparably superior the view is which the Scriptures give of the relation in which God stands to man and in which men stand to each other, to any view whatever that rests upon a mere earthly foundation; and consequently how much of the highest spiritual good they lose who take as their guide philosophy instead of the Gospel.

Perhaps there are few biblical topics of contemplation more fitted than the one before us to excite in the mind a just and therefore a very high estimate of the value of revealed religion in contrast with the view which the highest of heathen civilization put forth on the point. The reader has seen what in a measure love implies in the Bible. What does the corresponding term designate in Greek and Roman writers? This is not the place to pursue the inquiry; we must content ourselves with having pointed to it; but we may add, as the result of some classical reading, that the view given by classic civilization presents a succession of disparities so decided as

to suffice of itself to satisfy the unprejudiced mind that something more than human was concerned in the promulgation of Judaism and Christianity.—J. R. B.

LOVE-FEASTS. [Agape.]

LUBIM, the Libyans. [Libya.]

LUCIFER (הֵילֵל; Sept. ὁ Ἑωσφόρος), a word that occurs once in the English Version in the lines—

> 'How art thou fallen from heaven,
> *Lucifer, son of the morning!*
> How art thou felled to the ground,
> That didst weaken the nations!'

(Isa. xiv. 12). It is taken from the Vulgate, which understood the Hebrew word הילל *helel* to be the *name* of the morning star, and therefore rendered it by the Latin name of that star, *Lucifer*, i. e. 'light-bringing.' This, the popular sense, is conveyed in the note in Barker's Bible: 'Thou that thoughtest thyselfe most glorious, and as it were placed in the heaven; for the morning starre that goeth before the sunne is called Lucifer, to which Nebuchadnezzar is compared.'

הילל *helel*, the word translated 'Lucifer,' however, occurs also in Ezek. xxi. 12 (Heb. 17), as the imperative of ילל *yalal*, 'to howl,' 'to lament,' and is there rendered 'howl.' Some take it in the same acceptation in the above passage, and would translate, 'Howl, son of the morning!' But to this the structure of the verse is entirely opposed; for the parallelism requires the second line to refer entirely to the condition of the star before it had fallen, as the parallel member, the fourth line, does to the state of the tree before it was cut down. This necessity is apparent even in the English version, where the word 'lament,' in the place which 'Lucifer' occupies, would not agree with the context, nor make good sense, or indeed, any sense. Any imperative interjected would spoil the beauty and impair the force of the language. It is from this consideration that we must concur with those who refer the source of the word not to ילל *yalal*, but to הלל *halal*, 'to shine,' and regard it as a verbal noun designed to be intensive in its signification. Hence it would mean 'brilliant,' 'splendid,' 'illustrious,' or, as in the Septuagint, Vulgate, the Rabbinical commentators, Luther, and others, 'brilliant star;' and if הילל, in this sense, was the proper name among the Hebrews of the morning star, then 'Lucifer' is not only a correct but beautiful interpretation, both as regards the sense and the application. And that it was such is probable from the fact that the proper name of the morning star is formed by a word or words expressive of brilliance, in the Arabic and Syriac, as well as in the Greek and Latin. Tertullian and Gregory the Great understood this passage of Isaiah in reference to the fall of Satan; in consequence of which the name Lucifer has since been applied to Satan; and this is now the usual acceptation of the word. But Dr. Henderson, who in his *Isaiah* renders the line, 'Illustrious son of the morning!' justly remarks in his annotation: 'The application of this passage to Satan, and to the fall of the apostate angels, is one of those gross perversions of Sacred Writ which so extensively obtain, and which are to be traced to a proneness to seek for more in any given passage than it really contains, a disposition to be influenced by sound rather than sense, and an implicit faith in received interpretations. "Quum," says Calvin, "temere arripiuntur Scripturæ loci, nec attenditur contextus, hos errores passim oboriri mirum non est"' (*Comment.* in loc.). The scope and connection show that none but the king of Babylon is meant. In the figurative language of the Hebrews כוכב, *a star*, signifies an illustrious king or prince (Num. xxiv. 17; comp. Rev. ii. 28; xxii. 16). The monarch here referred to having surpassed all other kings in royal splendour, is compared to the harbinger of day, whose brilliancy surpasses that of the surrounding stars. Falling from heaven denotes a sudden political overthrow—a removal from the position of high and conspicuous dignity formerly occupied (comp. Rev. vi. 13; viii. 10).

LUCIUS of Cyrene (Λούκιος ὁ Κυρηναῖος), a person named along with Barnabas, Saul, and others, as 'prophets and teachers' in the church at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1). Lucius was probably one of 'the synagogue of the Cyrenians,' and was without doubt one of the men of Cyrene, who went abroad in consequence of the persecution raised on the death of Stephen (Acts vi. 9; xi. 20). Some suppose that he was one of the seventy disciples; and the tradition is, that he was eventually bishop of Cyrene. This is probably the same Lucius who is mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21 as Paul's kinsman; and he has been supposed by some the same with Luke the Evangelist.

LUD, fourth son of Shem (Gen. x. 22). For his descendants, see Nations, Dispersion of.

LUDIM, the descendants of (Gen. x. 13), concerning whom see Nations, Dispersion of.

LUKE. We divide this article into the three following heads—Name, Person, Writings of Luke.

The name Λουκᾶς is a contraction of Λουκανός, *Lucanus*, and indicates that Luke was descended from heathen ancestors, and that he was either a slave or a freedman, *libertus*. The contraction of the final syllable *ανός* into *ᾶς* occurs repeatedly in names given to slaves (comp. Lobeck, *De Substantivis in ᾶς exeuntibus*, in Wolf's *Analecten*, iii. 49). According to ecclesiastical tradition, the author of the Gospel is the same Luke who is mentioned in Paul's Epistles (Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Coloss. iv. 14), and who is called, in the last-mentioned passage, ὁ ἰατρός, 'the physician.' This tradition is confirmed by the Acts of the Apostles, according to which the author of that work accompanied the Apostle Paul in his journeys (Acts xvi. 10, sq.; xx. 5-13). Luke accompanied Paul also in his last journeys to Jerusalem and Rome (Acts xxi. 1-17; xxvii. 28). In addition to this we may observe that the account of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor. xi. 24, and the quotation in 1 Tim. v. 18, agree more with Luke than with Matt. x. 10, where we find the word *τροφή* instead of *μισθός*. The profession of a physician harmonises also with the condition of a freedman, indicated by the form of the name. The higher ranks of the Romans were disinclined to practise medicine, which they left rather to their freedmen, 'Medicinam factitasse, manumissum' (Quinctil. *Instit.* vii. 2. 27); 'Mitto præterea cum eo ex servis meis medicum, &c.;'

'Besides, I send with him a physician from among my servants' (Suet. *Cal.* 8). It harmonises with this that Paul (Coloss. iv. 14) distinguishes Luke from the Christians of Jewish descent, whom, in verses 11 and 12, he styles ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς, 'being of the Circumcision.' Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 4) states that Antioch in Syria was the native city of Luke. In this city there was at an early period a congregation of Christians converted from heathenism. Since Luke was a physician, we must suppose that he was a man of education. Only such slaves as had some talent were taught the *artes ingenuæ*, 'liberal arts.' The freedman Antonius Musa having worked a cure upon Augustus, was raised to the equestrian order, and a statue was erected in honour of him in the temple of Æsculapius. From the time of Antoninus Pius, and perhaps earlier, there was in every city a *collegium archiatrorum*, 'a college of physicians,' to whom was entrusted the examination of medical men, and who probably required of them some knowledge of the writings of Hippocrates (Galenus, *De Theriac. ad Pisonem*, p. 456; *Digest.* i. tit. 18; *De Offic. Præs.*, vi. 7; *Digest.* l. tit. 4).

To those sceptics who excuse their disbelief of the miracles recorded in the Gospels, by the assertion that their authors were ill-informed Jews, greedy of the marvellous, it must appear of some importance to meet in Luke a well-informed Greek, skilled even in the medical sciences. The higher degree of his education is further proved by the classical style in which the proœmium to his Gospel, and the latter portion of the Acts, are written; and also by the explicit and learned details which he gives in the Acts on various antiquarian, historical, and geographical subjects. The classical, connected, periodic, and sustained style of the introduction to the Gospel of St. Luke differs so strikingly from the Hellenistic Greek of the history itself, that we clearly perceive that he made use of written documents. The same difference exists, although in a less striking degree, between the portions of the Acts relating to transactions of which Luke himself was not an eye-witness, and in which he bore no part, and those where he speaks as a companion of Paul. He did not, however, transcribe verbatim from the documents before him, nor did he merely write down verbal traditions; for we find the same characteristic phraseology which belongs to St. Luke's individual style, both in the Gospel and in the Acts. Compare, for instance, the peculiar use of the words καὶ αὐτός, Luke i. 17, 22; ii. 28, 50; iii. 23; iv. 15, 51; Acts ii. 27; v. 1, 9, 51, &c.—ἱκανός, Luke vii. 12; viii. 27, 32; xx. 9; Acts v. 37; ix. 23, 43; xi. 24, &c.—παῖς θεοῦ, Luke i. 54, 69; Acts iii. 13, 16; iv. 25, 27, 30, &c.

It is important to notice what he himself says, in his introduction, of the relation borne by his writings to those of others. It is evident that even then πολλοί, 'many,' had attempted to compose a history of our Lord from the statements of eye-witnesses and of the first ministers of the word of God. Luke follows the example of these authors, with this difference, that he writes ἄνωθεν and καθεξῆς; that is, starting from earlier facts in the history of the Baptist and of the infancy of our Lord, and continuing the narration in uninterrupted succession. Origen, Credner, and Olshausen suppose that the πολλοί were heretical authors; but this is unlikely, since Luke does not express any blame of them. But it is also unsatisfactory to refer the word πολλοί, 'many,' merely to Matthew and Mark, as Hug and De Wette have done, especially since the πολλοί are distinguished from the eye-witnesses. We must therefore suppose that many Christians wrote brief accounts of the life of Jesus, although they had not been eye-witnesses. It is possible that Luke made use of such writings.

It appears to be doubtful whether Luke had the Gospel of Matthew before his eyes, since, had that been the case, he would probably have been more careful to avoid apparent contradictions, especially in the history of the birth of Jesus, in which he seems to have made use of documents referring to the family of Mary, while the accounts given by Matthew refer more to the family of Joseph. This is also confirmed by the aphoristic mode in which he reports the Sermon on the Mount. We can scarcely imagine that he would have communicated a relation so unusually abrupt, if he had seen the well-arranged and complete statements of Matthew.

The Gospel of St. Luke contains exceedingly valuable accounts, not extant in the books of the other evangelists; for instance, those concerning the childhood of Jesus, the admirable parables in chapters xv. and xvi., the narration respecting the disciples at Emmaus, the section from chap. ix. 51 to xix. 27, which contains particulars mostly wanting in the other evangelists. It has been usual, since the days of Schleiermacher, to consider this portion as the report of a single journey to the feast at Jerusalem; but it is evident that it contains accounts belonging to several journeys, undertaken at different periods.

Some critics of modern times, such as D. Schulz, Schleiermacher, Sieffert, and Schneckenburger, were in the habit of ascribing to the reports of Luke a greater historical accuracy than to those of Matthew; but of late, opinions on this subject have changed, and Strauss, De Wette, and Bruno Bauer find in the reports of St. Matthew more of independent and original information than in those of Luke. There is certainly in the details of the historical account given by St. Luke, more clearness; but many discourses of our Redeemer given by St. Matthew have more of the impress of historical precision, especially the Sermon on the Mount, and the Discourse against the Pharisees in ch. xxiii. and xxiv.; although it seems that Matthew sometimes brings into connection similar discourses, held at various periods, concerning which we find in Luke more accurately stated the particular circumstances under which they were delivered.

The statement of Luke himself, at the beginning of his Gospel, must dispose us favourably with regard to its historical credibility. He states that he had accurately investigated the truth of the accounts communicated, and that, following the example of the πολλοί, he had made use of the statements of eye-witnesses. Luke had frequent opportunity of meeting these eye-witnesses when he travelled with Paul. He himself reports, in Acts xxi. 15, that he met James. He gives also, with greater accuracy than the other evangelists, some chronological notices, such as those at the beginning of chapters

ii. and iii., and in Acts vii. 35, &c. Yet these very dates have been quoted by Strauss and De Wette as being quite incorrect, and as proofs that Luke was destitute of accurate historical information.

This daring assertion has induced some modern apologetical authors to examine the matter more closely, who have triumphantly vindicated the historical character of these statements of Luke. (Compare the work of the learned jurist, Huschke, *Ueber den zur Zeit der Geburt Christi gehaltenen Census*, Breslau, 1840, 'On the Census taken at the Birth of Christ;' see also Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*, Hamburg, 1843; and also Tholuck, *Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte*).

As to the statements of the ancients concerning the date or time when the Gospel of St. Luke was written, we find in Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 1), that Mark and Luke wrote after Matthew. According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 28), Origen stated that Luke wrote after Matthew and Mark; but Clemens Alexandrinus, according to the same writer (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 14), asserted on the authority of the παράδοσις τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων, 'the tradition of the earlier elders,' that the Gospels containing the genealogies were written before the others. According to this view, Mark was written after Luke. It is however likely that this statement arose from a desire to explain why the genealogies were omitted by Mark and John. Eusebius, at least (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 24), in reference to the Gospel of John, says: Εἰκότως δ'οὖν τὴν μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενεαλογίαν, ἅτε Ματθαίῳ καὶ Λουκᾷ προγραφεῖσαν, ἀποσιωπῆσαι τὸν Ἰωάννην.—'John properly passed over in silence the genealogy according to the flesh of our Saviour, which was detailed by Matthew and Luke.'

Since the extreme criticism of Strauss and De Wette has been unable to produce even a plausible argument against the authenticity of the Gospel of Luke, attempts have been made to prove at least the very late date of this Gospel. De Wette (*Introduction to the New Testament*, 4th edition, p. 176) endeavours to infer from the definiteness with which the destruction of Jerusalem is predicted, and from the circumstance that, according to ch. xxi. 25, some time was to intervene between the destruction of Jerusalem and the second advent of Christ, that this Gospel was written some time after the destruction of the city had taken place, and after it had become apparent from facts that the second advent was not to be immediately consequent upon that destruction.

We do not here enter into the question whether, according to St. Matthew xxiv. 29, it was expected that the second advent should directly follow the destruction of Jerusalem; we merely observe that a *petitio principii* runs through the whole train of this argument, since it sets out with assuming the impossibility of detailed predictions.

From the circumstance that the book of Acts leaves St. Paul a captive, without relating the result of his captivity, most critics have, with considerable probability, inferred that Luke accompanied St. Paul to Rome, that he employed his leisure while there in composing the Acts, and that he left off writing before the fate of Paul was decided. Now, since the Gospel of St. Luke was written before the Acts, it seems to follow that it was written a considerable time before the destruction of Jerusalem. De Wette meets this argument merely by his *petitio principii*, that from the detailed nature of the predictions on that head in the Gospel, it would follow that they were written after the events to which they refer, and consequently after the destruction of Jerusalem.

It is likely that Luke, during Paul's captivity at Cæsarea, employed his leisure in collecting the accounts contained in his Gospel in the localities where the events to which they relate happened. The most ancient testimonies in behalf of Luke's Gospel are those of Marcion, at the beginning of the second century, and of Irenæus, in the latter half of that century.

According to Meyer's opinion, Luke terminates the Acts with Paul's captivity, because the later events were well known to Theophilus, to whom the Acts are dedicated. We do not know who this Theophilus was. Hug, however, infers, from the manner in which Luke mentions Italian localities, that they were well known to Theophilus, and that consequently it was likely he resided in Italy.

A good separate commentary on the Gospel of Luke is still a desideratum. Knabenbauer's *Commentarius in Evangelium Lucæ* (4th ed. 1843) is not quite satisfactory; nor Bornemann's *Scholia in Lucam* (1830). It is therefore necessary to have recourse to the best commentaries on the first three Gospels, and on the New Testament in general.

Besides the Gospel which bears his name, Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles. This work contains the history of the foundation of the Christian church in two great sections: the first embracing the spread of Christianity among the Jews, chiefly by the instrumentality of Peter (ch. i.-xii.); and the second, its spread among the heathen, chiefly by the instrumentality of Paul (ch. xiii.-xxviii.).

Schneckenburger has lately endeavoured, in his work *Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte*, 1841, to prove that the Acts had an apologetical tendency, called forth by the particular circumstances of the times. He especially appeals to the manner in which Paul refutes all objections of the Judaizers, who were his enemies.

In those portions of the Acts in which Luke speaks as the companion of Paul, and, consequently, as an eye-witness, his Greek style is more classical than in the rest of the work. This circumstance supports the opinion that Luke followed some written documents in the earlier part of the Acts, as well as in the Gospel. Compare Riehm, *De fontibus Actuum Apostolorum*, Trajecti, 1825; Mayerhoff, *Ueber den Zweck, die Quellen und den Verfasser der Apostelgeschichte* (in his *Einleitung in die petrinischen Schriften*, pp. 1-30); Kling, *Ueber den historischen Character der Apostelgeschichte* (in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1837, Heft 2).

That the accounts of Luke are authentic may be perceived more especially from a close examination of the inserted discourses and letters. The characteristic marks of authenticity in the oration of the Roman lawyer Tertullus, in ch. xxiv., and in the official letters in ch. xxiii. 26, sq.; xv. 23, sq.;

can scarcely be overlooked. The address of Paul to the elders of the Ephesian church is characteristically Pauline, and even so full of definite allusions and of similarity to the Epistle to the Ephesians, that it furnishes a confirmation of the authenticity of that letter, which has lately been questioned. Respecting these allusions, see an essay of Tholuck in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1839, p. 306, sq.

Characteristic also are the discourses of Stephen (ch. vii.), and those of Peter, concerning which compare Seyler's *Abhandlungen über die Reden des Petrus*, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, p. 53, sq. Even De Wette, in his *Introduction*, § 115 a, admits the appropriateness of these discourses.

It is, however, difficult to reconcile some of Luke's statements with the chronological notices in the Epistles of Paul. Very important investigations on this subject are to be found in the work of Angar, *De temporum in Actis Apostolorum ratione*. As for the testimonies in behalf of the authenticity of the Acts, they are the same as for Luke's Gospel. Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, and Tertullian, expressly mention the Acts, and Eusebius reckons them among the Homologoumena. However, the book of Acts was not read and quoted so often in the early church as other parts of Scripture. Chrysostom, in his first homily *In Actus Apostolorum*, says that many Christians in Asia knew neither the book nor its author. The Manichees rejected it for dogmatical reasons (Augustinus, *De utilitate credendi*, ii. 7). So also did the Severiani (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 29). Since the book of Acts was not much read, it is surprising that its text is particularly corrupt. It does not, however, by any means appear that these corruptions arose from intentional alterations made for dogmatical purposes (comp. Eichhorn's *Einleitung ins Neue Testament*, ii. 154).

The most complete commentary on the Acts is that of Kuinoel, 2nd ed., 1827. A student of the Acts ought also to consult the very learned *Dissertationes in Actus Apostolorum*, ab Emanuele Walch, Jenæ, 1756-61, 3 vols. 4to. There are also some valuable manuals, as Meyer's *Commentary*, 1835, and that of De Wette, 2nd ed., 1841.—A. T.

LUNATICS. [Demoniacs.]

LUZ, the ancient name of Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 19) [Bethel]. The spot to which the name of Bethel was given appears, however, to have been at a little distance in the environs of Luz, and they are accordingly distinguished in Josh. xvi. 2, although the name of Bethel was eventually extended to that town. A small place of the same name, founded by an inhabitant of this Luz, is mentioned in Judg. i. 26.

LUZ (לוּז) occurs only once in the Old Testament, namely, in Gen. xxx. 37 (a passage already adduced in the article Libneh), where it indicates one of the kinds of rod from which Jacob peeled the bark and which he placed in the water-troughs of the cattle. *Luz* is translated *hazle* in the Authorized Version, as well as in several others; in some it is rendered by words equivalent to 'walnut,' but 'almond' appears to be its true meaning. For in the Arabic we have لوز *louz*, which is indeed the same word, and which denotes the almond. Thus Abu'l Fadli, as quoted by Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 254), says, '*Louz* est arbor nota, et magna, foliis mollibus. Species duæ, hortensis et silvestris. Hortensis quoque duæ sunt species, dulcis et amara;' where reference is evidently made to the sweet and bitter almond. Other Arab authors also describe the almond under the name of *louz*. But this name was well known to the Hebrews as indicating the almond; for R. Saadias, in Ab. Esra's *Comment.*, as quoted by Celsius (p. 253), remarks: '*Lus* est amygdalus, quia ita eam appellant Arabes; nam hæ duæ linguæ, et Syriaca, ejusdem sunt familiæ.' Almonds have been always produced in Syria and Palestine, and extend from thence into Affghanistan. But as there is another word by which the almond was known to the Hebrews, we shall reserve our further remarks for that head [Shakad].—J. F. R.

LYCAONIA (Λυκαονία), a province of Asia Minor, having Cappadocia on the east, Galatia on the north, Phrygia on the west, and Isauria and Cilicia on the south. It extends in length about twenty geographical miles from east to west, and about thirteen in breadth. It was an undulating plain, involved among mountains, which were noted for the concourse of wild-asses. The soil was so strongly impregnated with salt that few of the brooks supplied drinkable water, so that good water was sold for money. But sheep throve on the pasturage, and were reared with great advantage (Strabo, xii. p. 568; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 69). It was a Roman province when visited by Paul (Acts xiv. 6), and its chief towns were Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, of which the first was the capital. 'The speech of Lycaonia' (Acts xiv. 11) is supposed by some to have been the ancient Assyrian language, also spoken by the Cappadocians (Jablonsky, *Disquis. de Lingua Lycaonica*, Opusc. iii. 3, sqq.); but it is more usually conceived to have been a corrupt Greek, intermingled with many Syriac words (Guhling, *Dissert. de Lingua Lycaon.*).

LYCIA (Λυκία), a province in the south-west of Asia Minor, having Pamphylia on the east, Phrygia on the north, Caria on the west, and the Mediterranean on the south. Great part of the country, however, consists of a peninsula projecting south into the Mediterranean. It is mountainous, and is watered by numerous small rivers which flow from the mountains. Its inhabitants were believed to be descendants of Cretans, who came thither under Sarpedon, brother of Minos. One of their kings was Bellerophon, celebrated in mythology. The Lycians were a warlike people, powerful on the sea, and attached to their independence, which they successfully maintained against Crœsus, king of Lydia, and were afterwards allowed by the Persians to retain their own kings as satraps. Lycia is named in 1 Macc. xv. 23, as one of the countries to which the Roman senate sent its missive in favour of the Jews. The victory of the Romans over Antiochus (B.C. 189) gave Lycia rank as a free state, which it retained till the time of Claudius, when it was made a province of the Roman empire (Suet. *Claud.* 25; *Vespas.* 8). Lycia contained many towns, two of which are mentioned in the New Testament; Patara (Acts xxi. 1, 2); Myra (Acts xxvii. 5); and one, Phaselis, in the Apocrypha (1 Macc. xv. 23).

LYDDA (Λύδδα; Heb. לֹד), a town within the limits of the tribe of Ephraim, nine miles east of Joppa, on the road between that port and Jerusalem. It bore in Hebrew the name of Lod, and appears to have been first built by the Benjamites, although it lay beyond the limits of their territory; and we find it again inhabited by Benjamites after the Exile (1 Chron. viii. 12; Ezra ii. 33; Neh. xi. 35). It is mentioned in the Apocrypha (1 Macc. xi. 34), as having been taken from Samaria and annexed to Judæa by Demetrius Nicator; and at a later date its inhabitants are named among those who were sold into slavery by Cassius, when he inflicted the calamity of his presence upon Palestine after the death of Julius Cæsar (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 11. 2; xii. 6). In the New Testament the place is only noticed, under the name of Lydda, as the scene of Peter's miracle in healing Æneas (Acts ix. 32, 35). Some years later the town was reduced to ashes by Cestius Gallus, in his march against Jerusalem (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 1); but it must soon have revived, for not long after we find it at the head of one of the toparchies of the later Judæa, and as such it surrendered to Vespasian (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, 5; iv. 8). At that time it is described by Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 6. 2) as a village equal to a city; and the Rabbins have much to say of it as a seat of Jewish learning, of which it was the most eminent in Judæa after Jabneh and Bether (Lightfoot, *Parergon*, § 8). In the general change of names which took place under the Roman dominion, Lydda became Diospolis, and under this name it occurs in coins of Severus and Caracalla, and is often mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome. It was early the seat of a bishopric, and at the different councils the bishops are found to have subscribed their names variously, as of Lydda or Diospolis; but in the later ecclesiastical records the name of Lydda predominates. The latest bishop distinctly mentioned is Apollonius, in A.D. 518. Lydda early became connected with the homage paid to the celebrated saint and martyr St. George, who was not less renowned in the east than afterwards in the west. He is said to have been born at Lydda, and to have suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia in the earliest persecution under Diocletian and Maximian, at the end of the third century. His remains were transferred to his native place, and a church erected in honour of him, by the Emperor Justinian. This church, which stood outside the town, had just been levelled to the ground by the Moslems when the Crusaders arrived at Lydda; but it was soon rebuilt by them, and they established a bishopric of Lydda and Ramleh. Great honours were paid by them to St. George, and they invested him with the dignity of their patron: from this time his renown spread more widely throughout Europe, and he became the patron saint of England and of several other states and kingdoms. The church was destroyed by Saladin in 1191; and there is no evidence that it was ever rebuilt, although there was in later centuries an unfounded impression that the church, the ruins of which were then seen, and which still exist, had been built by our king Richard. From that time there has been little notice of Lydda by travellers. It now exists, under its ancient name of Lod, as a considerable village of small houses, with nothing to distinguish it from ordinary Moslem villages, save the ruins of the celebrated church of St. George, which are situated in the eastern part of the town. The building must have been very large. The walls of the eastern end are standing only in the parts near the altar, including the arch over the latter; but the western end remains more perfect, and has been built into a large mosque, the lofty minaret of which forms the landmark of Lud (Raumer's *Palästina*, 208; Robinson's *Bib. Researches*, iii. 55; Sandys, *Travailes;* Cotovicus, *Itiner.* pp. 137, 138; D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii. 28; Pococke, *Description*, ii. 58; Volney, *Voyage*, i. 278).

LYDIA (Λυδία), a province in the west of Asia Minor, supposed to have derived its name from Lud, the fourth son of Shem (Gen. x. 22: see NATIONS, DISPERSION OF). It was bounded on the east by Greater Phrygia, on the north by Æolis or Mysia, on the west by Ionia and the Ægean Sea, and on the south it was separated from Caria by the Mæander. The country is for the most part level. Among the mountains that of Tmolus was celebrated for its saffron and red wine. In the palmy days of Lydia its kings ruled from the shores of the Ægean to the river Halys; and Crœsus, who was its king in the time of Solon and of Cyrus, was reputed the richest monarch in the world. He was able to bring into the field an army of 420,000 foot and 60,000 horse against Cyrus, by whom, however, he was defeated, and his kingdom annexed to the Persian empire (Herod. i. 6). Lydia afterwards formed part of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ; and it is related in 1 Macc. viii. 8, that Antiochus the Great was compelled by the Romans to cede Lydia to king Eumenes. In the time of the travels of the Apostles it was a province of the Roman empire. Its chief towns were Sardis (the capital), Thyatira, and Philadelphia, all of which are mentioned in the New Testament, although the name of the province itself does not occur. The manners of the Lydians were corrupt even to a proverb (Herod. i. 93).

LYDIA, a woman of Thyatira, 'a seller of purple,' who dwelt in the city of Philippi in Macedonia (Acts xvi. 14, 15). The commentators are not agreed whether 'Lydia' should be regarded as an appellative, or a derivative from the country to which the woman belonged, Thyatira, her native place, being in Lydia. There are examples of this latter sense; but the preceding word ὀνόματι seems here to support the former, and the name was a common one. Lydia was not by birth a Jewess, but a proselyte, as the phrase 'who worshipped God' (σεβομένη τὸν Θεόν) imports. She was converted by the preaching of Paul; and after she and her household had been baptised, she pressed the use of her house so earnestly upon him and his associates, that they were constrained to accept the invitation. The Lydians were famous for the art of dyeing purple vests, and Lydia, as 'a seller of purple,' is supposed to have been a dealer in vests so dyed, rather than in the dye itself (see Kuinoel on Acts xvi. 14).

LYSANIAS (Λυσανίας), tetrarch of Abilene, when John commenced his ministry as the harbinger of Christ (Luke iii. 1). He is supposed to have been son or grandson of another Lysanias, known in history, who was put to death by Mark

Antony, and part of his territories given to Cleopatra [ABILENE].

LYSIAS (Λυσίας), or CLAUDIUS LYSIAS, chiliarch and commandant of the Roman troops who kept guard at the temple of Jerusalem, by whom Paul was secured from the fury of the Jews, and sent under guard to the procurator Felix at Cæsarea (Acts xxi. 27; xxiii. 31).

LYSTRA (Λύστρα), a city of Lycaonia in Asia Minor, to which Paul and Barnabas fled from the danger which threatened them at Iconium (Acts xiv. 6). Here, Paul having miraculously cured a cripple, they were both adored as gods; but afterwards, at the instigation of the Jews, Paul was stoned and left for dead (Acts xiv. 8-21). Timothy was a native of Lystra (Acts xvi. 12; 2 Tim. iii. 11). This city was south of Iconium, but its precise site is uncertain, as well as that of Derbe, which is mentioned along with it. Col. Leake remarks that the sacred text appears to place it nearer to Derbe than to Iconium; for St. Paul, on leaving that city, proceeded first to Lystra, and from thence to Derbe; and in like manner returned to Lystra, to Iconium, and to Antioch of Pisidia. And he observes that this seems to agree with the arrangement of Ptolemy, who places Lystra in Isauria, and near Isaura, which seems evidently to have occupied some part of the valley of Sidy Shehr, or Bey Shehr. Under the Greek Empire Homonada, Isaura, and Lystra, as well as Derbe and Laranda, were all included in the consular province of Lycaonia, and were bishoprics of the metropolitan see of Iconium. Considering all the circumstances, Col. Leake inclines to think that the vestiges of Lystra may be sought with the greatest probability of success at or near Wiran Khatoun, or Khatoun Serai, about thirty miles to the south of Iconium. 'Nothing,' says this able geographer, 'can more strongly show the little progress that has hitherto been made in a knowledge of the ancient geography of Asia Minor, than that of the cities which the journey of St. Paul has made so interesting to us, the site of one only (Iconium) is yet certainly known.' Mr. Arundell supposes that, should the ruins of Lystra not be found at the place indicated by Col. Leake, they may possibly be found in the remains at Kara-hissar, near the lake Bey-shehr (Leake, *Tour and Geog. of Asia Minor;* Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*).

M.

MAACAH (מַעֲכָה; Sept. Μααχά), or MAACATH (מַעֲכָת), a city and region at the foot of Mount Hermon, not far from Geshur, a district of Syria (Josh. xiii. 13; 2 Sam. x. 6, 8; 1 Chron. xix. 7). Hence the adjacent portion of Syria is called Aram-Maacah, or Syria of Maachah (1 Chron. xix. 6). The Israelites seem to have considered this territory as included in their grant, but were never able to get possession of it (Josh. xiii. 13). In the time of David the small state had a king of its own, who contributed 1000 men to the grand alliance of the Syrian nations against the Jewish monarch (2 Sam. x. 6, 8). The lot of the half-tribe of Manasseh beyond the Jordan extended to this country, as had previously the dominion of Og, king of Bashan (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5). The Gentile name is מַעֲכָתִי *Maacathite*, which is also put for the people (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5; xiii. 11; 2 Kings xxv. 23). Near, or within the ancient limits of Maacah, was the town called for that reason Abel beth-Maacah [ABEL].

MAACAH, or MAACHAH, is also the name of several persons in the Old Testament, male and female, who may be mentioned to distinguish them from one another, namely—

1. MAACAH, the father of Achish, king of Gath (1 Kings ii. 39).

2. MAACAH, the father of Hanan, one of David's worthies (1 Chron. xi. 43).

3. MAACAH, the father of Shephatiah, the military chief of the Simeonites in the time of David (1 Chron. xxvii. 16).

4. MAACAH, a person whose sex does not appear, one of the offspring of Nahor's concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 24).

5. MAACAH, a concubine of Caleb (1 Chron. ii. 48).

6. MAACAH, grand-daughter of Benjamin, who was married to Machir, son of Manasseh (1 Chron. vii. 16).

7. MAACAH, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, wife of David, and mother of Absalom (2 Sam. iii. 3). In 1 Sam. xxvii. 8 we read of David's invading the land of the Geshurites, and the Jewish commentators allege that he then took the daughter of the king captive, and, in consequence of her great beauty, married her, after she had been made a proselyte according to the law in Deut. xxi. But this is a gross mistake, for the Geshur invaded by David was to the south of Judah, whereas the Geshur over which Talmai ruled was to the north, and was regarded as part of Syria (2 Sam. xv. 8). The fact appears to be that David, having married the daughter of this king, contracted an alliance with him, in order to strengthen his interest against Ishbosheth in those parts.

8. MAACAH, daughter of Abishalom, wife of Rehoboam, and mother of Abijam (1 Kings xv. 1). In verse 10 we read that Asa's 'mother's name was Maacah, the daughter of Abishalom.' It is evident that here 'mother' is used in a loose sense, and means 'grandmother,' which the Maacah named in verse 1 must have been to the Asa of verse 10. It therefore appears to be a great error to make two persons of them, as is done by Calmet and others. The Abishalom who was the father of this Maacah is called Absalom in 2 Chron. xi. 20, 21, and is generally supposed by the Jews to have been Absalom the son of David; which seems not improbable, seeing that Rehoboam's other two wives were of his father's family (2 Chron. xi. 18). But Josephus says that she was the daughter of Tamar, the daughter of Absalom (*Antiq.* viii. 10. 1), and consequently his granddaughter. This seems not unlikely [ABIJAH]. It would appear that Asa's own mother was dead before he began to reign; for Maacah bore the rank and state of queen-mother (resembling that of the Sultaness Valide among the Turks), the powers of which she so much abused to the encouragement of idolatry, that Asa commenced his reforms by 'removing her from being queen, because she had made an idol in a grove' (1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Chron. xv. 16).

MACCABEES. The etymology of this word

is too uncertain to reward the inquiries made respecting it. As a family, the Maccabees commenced their career of patriotic and religious heroism during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, about the year B.C. 167. At this time the aged Mattathias, a descendant of the Asmonæans, and his five sons, inhabited the town of Modin, to which place Antiochus sent certain of his officers with instructions to erect an altar for heathen sacrifices, and to engage the inhabitants in the celebration of the most idolatrous and superstitious rites. The venerable Mattathias openly declared his resolution to oppose the orders of the tyrant, and one of the recreant Jews approaching the altar which had been set up, he rushed upon him, and slew him with his own hand. His part thus boldly taken, he called his sons and his friends around him, and immediately fled to the mountains, inviting all to follow him who had any zeal for God and the law. A small band of resolute and devoted men was thus formed, and the governor of the district saw reason to fear that a general insurrection would be the consequence of their proceeding. By a sudden attack directed against them on the Sabbath, when he knew the strictness of their principles would not allow them to take measures for their defence, he threw them into disorder, and slew about a thousand of their number, consisting of men, women, and children.

Warned by this event, and yielding to the necessity of their present condition, Mattathias and his sons determined that for the future they would defend themselves on the Sabbath in the same manner as on other days. The mountain-hold of the little band was now guarded more cautiously than before. Fresh adherents to the holy cause were continually flocking in; and in a few months the party found itself sufficiently strong to make attacks upon the towns and villages of the neighbourhood, throwing down the heathen altars, and punishing the reprobates who had taken part with the enemies of God.

By the death of Mattathias, the leadership of the party devolved upon his son Judas Maccabæus, whose worth and heroic courage pointed him out as most capable of carrying on the enterprise thus nobly begun. Judas lost no time in attacking the enemy. He made himself master of several towns, which he fortified and garrisoned. Apollonius, general of the army in Samaria, hastened to stop the progress of the insurgents. Judas met him on the way, joined battle with him, slew him, and routed his army. The same success attended him in his encounter with Seron, general of the Syrians; and it now became evident to Antiochus that the Jewish nation would soon be delivered from his yoke, unless he proceeded against them with a more formidable force. While, therefore, he himself went into Persia to recruit his treasures, Lysias, whom he left as regent at home, sent an army into Judæa, composed of forty thousand foot and seven thousand cavalry. This powerful array was further increased by auxiliaries from the provinces, and by bands of Jews, who dreaded nothing more than the triumph of those virtuous men of their own nation, who were struggling to save it from reprobation. So unequal did the forces of Judas appear to an encounter with such an army, that in addressing his followers he urged those among them who had any especial reason to love the present world to retire at once; while to those who remained he pointed out the promises of God as the best support of their courage and fidelity. By a forced march he reached a portion of the enemy encamped at Emmaus, while utterly unprepared for his approach. Complete success attended this bold proceeding. The several parts of the hostile army were successively put to flight, a splendid booty was secured, and Judas gained a position which made even the most powerful of his opponents tremble. Another and more numerous army was sent against him the following year, but with no better success. At the head of ten thousand determined followers, Judas defeated the army of Lysias, consisting of sixty thousand. A way was thereby opened for his progress to Jerusalem, whither he immediately hastened, with the devout purpose of purifying the temple and restoring it to its former glory. The solemn religious rites having been performed which were necessary to the cleansing of the sacred edifice, the Festival of the Purification was instituted, and added to the number of the other national festivals of more ancient date.

Judas had full occupation for his courage and ability in repelling the incursions of those numerous foes who dreaded the restoration of order and religion. But every day added to his successes. Having overthrown the Syrian commanders sent against him, he occupied Samaria, made himself master of the strong city of Hebron, of Azotus, and other important places, taking signal vengeance on the people of Joppa and Jamnia, who had treacherously plotted the destruction of numerous faithful Jews.

Antiochus Epiphanes was succeeded by Antiochus Eupator. At first this prince acted towards the Jews with moderation and tolerance. But he soon afterwards invaded Judæa with a powerful army, and was only induced to make peace with Maccabæus by the fears which he entertained of a rival aspirant to the throne. His caution did not save him. He was put to death by his own uncle, Demetrius, who, obtaining the throne of Syria, made peace with Judas, but took possession of the citadel of Jerusalem, which was occupied by his general, Nicanor, and a body of troops. This state of things was not allowed to last long. Demetrius listened to the reports of Nicanor's enemies, and threatened to deprive him of his command unless he could disprove the accusation that he had entered into a league with Judas, and was betraying the interests of his sovereign. Nicanor immediately took measures to satisfy Demetrius, and Judas saw it necessary to escape from Jerusalem, and put himself in a posture of defence. A battle took place in which he defeated his enemy. Another was soon after fought at Beth-horon, where he was again victorious. Nicanor himself fell in this battle, and his head and right hand were sent among the spoils to Jerusalem. But the forces of Demetrius were still numerous. Judas had retired to Laish with about three thousand followers. He was there attacked by overwhelming numbers. Only eight hundred of his people remained faithful to him on this occasion. Resolved not to flee, he bravely encountered the enemy, and was speedily slain, regarding his life as a fitting sacrifice to the cause in which he was engaged.

Simon and Jonathan, the brothers of Judas, rallied around them the bravest of their companions, and took up a strong position in the neighbourhood of Tekoa. Jonathan proved himself a worthy successor of his heroic brother, and skilfully evaded the first attack of Bacchides, the Syrian general. For two years after this, the brothers were left in tranquillity, and they established themselves in a little fortress called Bethtasi, situated among the rocks near Jericho. The skill and resolution with which they pursued their measures rendered them formidable to the enemy; and the state of affairs in Syria some time after obliged Demetrius to make Jonathan the general of his forces in Judæa, and to invest him with the authority of governor of Jerusalem. To this he was compelled by the rivalry of Alexander Balas; but his policy was too late to secure the attachment of his new ally. Jonathan received offers from Alexander to support his interests among the Jews, and the high-priesthood was the proffered reward. The invitation was accepted; and Jonathan became the first of the Asmonæan line through which the high-priesthood was so long transmitted. Alexander Balas left nothing undone which might tend to secure the fidelity of Jonathan. He gave him a high rank among the princes of his kingdom, and adorned him with a purple robe. Jonathan continued to enjoy his prosperity till the year B.C. 143, when he fell a victim to the treachery of Trypho, who aspired to the Syrian throne. He was succeeded by his brother Simon, who confirmed the Jews in their temporary independence; and in the year B.C. 141 they passed a decree whereby the dignity of the high-priesthood and of prince of the Jews was rendered hereditary in the family of Simon. He fell a victim to the treachery of his son-in-law, Ptolemy, governor of Jericho; but was succeeded by his son, the celebrated John Hyrcanus, who possessed the supreme authority above thirty years, and at his death left it to be enjoyed by his son Aristobulus, who, soon after his accession to power, assumed the title of king. This dignity continued to be enjoyed by descendants of the Asmonean family till the year B.C. 34, when it ceased with the downfall of Antigonus, who, conquered by Herod and the Romans, was put to death by the common executioner.—H. S.

MACCABEES, BOOKS OF [APOCRYPHA] (Gr. Μακκαβαῖοι), a name usually supposed to have been cabbalistically derived from מַכְּבִי (*Makkabi*), the initial letters of מִי כָמֹכָה בָּאֵלִם יְהוָה ('who among the gods is like Jehovah?'), the motto on the Jewish standard in the war with the Syrians. The books of Maccabees are the titles of certain Jewish histories containing principally the details of the heroic exploits referred to in the preceding article. It has been, however, maintained in our more critical age, that according to the etymology here assigned, the name ought to be written Μαχαβαῖοι with a χ. The word is therefore with more probability supposed to be derived from מקבי, 'a hammer' or 'mallet,' a word expressive of the prowess of Judas Maccabæus, or the *hammerer*. For other derivations of this word, and of *Asmonæans*, see Hottinger's *Thesaurus Philologicus*, p. 516.

There were in all four books (to which some add a fifth) known to the ancients, of which three are still read in the eastern, and two in the western church. Of these the *third* is the first in order of time. We shall, however, to avoid confusion, speak of them in the order in which they are commonly enumerated.

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES contains a lucid and authentic history of the undertakings of Antiochus Epiphanes against the Jews, from the year B.C. 175 to the death of Simon Maccabæus, B.C. 135. This history is confessedly of great value. Although its brevity, observes De Wette (see 1 Macc. i. 6; viii. 7; xii), renders it in some instances unsatisfactory, defective, and uncritical, and occasionally extravagant, it is upon the whole entitled to credit, chronologically accurate, and advantageously distinguished above all other historical productions of this period (*Einleitung in die Apokryfe Bucher*, § 299). It is the second book in order of time.

Language of the First Book.—There is little question that this book was written in Hebrew, although the original is now lost. The Greek version abounds in Hebraisms and errors of translation. Origen (*apud Eusebium, Eccl. Hist.* vi. 25) gives it a Hebrew title, Σαρβηθ Σαρβανὲ ἔλ, שרבת שר בני אל, 'the prince of the temple, the prince of the sons of God,' or according to others שרביט סרבני אל 'the scourge of the rebels of God.' Jerome (*Prolog. Galeat.*) says that he had seen the Hebrew original. There is a Chaldee work still extant, published by Bartolocci (i. 383), which Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* 1) maintains to be the work referred to by Origen and Jerome. Kennicott, however (*Diss.* 2), observes that this work differs materially from the present Greek. There is a Hebrew version of the Chaldee extant, which is also published by Bartolocci (*ut supra*), with a Latin translation. This work is said by Wolfius (*Bib. Hist.*) to be still found in the Jewish ritual, and to be read by the Jews at the feast of Dedication. Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc.*) has reprinted Bartolocci's Latin version. Wagenseil discovered a copy in Moravia, and there is a MS. Hebrew roll of the same in the library of St. Sepulchre's in Dublin.

Author and Age.—Of the author nothing is known; but he must have been a Palestinian Jew, who wrote some considerable time after the death of Simon Maccabæus, and even of Hyrcanus, and made use of several written, although chiefly of traditionary, sources of information. At the same time it is not impossible that the author was present at several of the events which he so graphically describes.

Versions.—The Greek text of the Alexandrine version is the original of all the others now extant. This text was that made use of by Josephus. The Latin version of the Vulgate is that in use before the time of Jerome, who did not translate the book. There is also a Syrian version, which has been printed in the Polyglotts.

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES (the third in order of time) is a work of very inferior character to the first. It is an abridgment of a more ancient work, written by a Jew named Jason, who lived at Cyrene in Africa, comprising the principal transactions of the Jews which occurred during the reigns of Seleucus IV., Antiochus Epiphanes, and Antiochus Eupator. It partly goes over the

same ground with the first book, but commences ten or twelve years earlier, and embraces in all a period of fifteen years. It does not appear that the author of either saw the other's work. The second book of Maccabees is divided into two unconnected parts. It commences with a letter from the citizens of Jerusalem and Judæa to the Greek Jews in Egypt, written B.C. 123 (which refers to a former letter written to the same, B.C. 143, acquainting them of their sufferings), and informs them that their worship was now restored, and that they were celebrating the Feast of Dedication. The second part (ii. 18) contains a still more ancient letter, written B.C. 159, to the priest Aristobulus, the tutor of King Ptolemy, recounting, besides some curious matter, the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. The third part contains the preface, in which the author states that he is about to epitomise the five books of Jason. The work commences with the attack of Heliodorus on the temple, and closes with the death of Nicanor, a period of fifteen years. The history supplies some blanks in the first book; but the letters prefixed to it contradict some of the facts recorded in the body of the work, and are consequently supposed to have been added by another hand. Neither are the letters themselves considered genuine, and they were probably written long after the death of Nicanor, and even of John Hyrcanus. This book gives a different account of the place and manner of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes from that contained in the first book.

The narrative, as De Wette observes, abounds in miraculous adventures (iii. 25, sq.; v. 2; xi. 8; xv. 12), historical and chronological errors (x. 3, sq. comp. with 1 Macc. iv. 52, i. 20-29; xi. 1 comp. with 1 Macc. iv. 28, sq.; xiii. 21, sq., comp. with 1 Macc. vi. 31, sq.; iv. 13, comp. with 1 Macc. viii.), extraordinary and arbitrary embellishments (vi. 18, sq.; vii. 27, sq.; ix. 19-27; xi. 16-38), affected descriptions (iii. 14, sq.; v. 11, sq.), and moralising reflections (v. 17, sq.; vi. 12, sq.; ix. 8, sq.). For a solution of the chronological discrepancy between it and the first book (comp. 1 Macc. vi. 20, with 2 Macc. xiii. 1), see *Auctoritas utriusque Lib. Macc.*, p. 129, &c.; Jahn's *Antiq.* ii. 1. 328; Michaelis on 1 Macc. x. 21; and Bertholdt, viii. 1079). The embellishments are those of the epitomiser. The letters in xi. 16, &c., are most probably genuine.

Author and Age.—We are not aware when either Jason himself or his epitomiser lived. S. G. Hasse, who published a German translation of this book, at Jena, in 1786, supposes it to have been written B.C. 150, by the author of the Book of Wisdom. Jahn refers the age of the epitomiser to some time previous to the middle of the last century before the birth of Christ, and De Wette maintains that Jason must have written a considerable time after the year B.C. 161. This book is supposed to be that referred to by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata*) as Μακκαβαϊκων Ἐπιτομή. The mode of computation differs from that in the first book, in which it takes place after the Jewish manner.

Language and Versions.—Jerome (*Prolog. Galeat.*) observes that the phraseology of this book evinces a Greek original. The elegance and purity of the style have misled some persons into the supposition that its author was Josephus. The Latin version (which is ante-Hieronymian) is a free translation from the Greek. The Syriac is also from the Greek, but is not always exact. The Arabic appears to be a compilation from the Greek books of Maccabees, and from the history appended to the works of Josephus. There have been two books of Maccabees found among the Chinese Jews; but whether they are the same with ours is doubtful.

In the celebrated theses of the Jesuit Professors Less and Hamelius, which were condemned by the theological faculties of Louvain and Douai in 1586, and which consisted in denying the necessity of universal verbal inspiration, as well as the immediate inspiration of every truth or sentence contained in Scripture, it is worthy of remark that this book is introduced in illustration of the third thesis, which is as follows:—'Any book, such as the *Second Book of Maccabees*, written by human industry, without the aid of the Holy Spirit, becomes Holy Scripture, if the Holy Spirit afterwards testifies to its containing nothing false.' The truth of these theses, however, was advocated by Cornelius à Lapide, Suarez, Bonfrere, Bellarmine, Huet, Du Pin, Calmet, and Richard Simon (Henderson, *On Inspiration*, lect. i. p. 65).

The Third Book of Maccabees, still read in the Greek church, and contained in the Alexandrian and Vatican MSS. (A. & B.) is, as has been already observed, the first in order of time. It contains an account of the persecution of the Egyptian Jews by Ptolemy Philopater, who is said to have proceeded to Jerusalem after his victory at Raphia over Antiochus the Great, B.C. 217, and after sacrificing in the temple, to have attempted to force his way into the Holy of Holies, when he was prostrated and rendered motionless by an invisible hand. Upon his return to Egypt, he revenged himself by shutting up the Jews in the Hippodrome, and exposing them to be crushed beneath the feet of elephants. This book contains an account of their deliverance by divine interposition. It is anterior in point of date to the Maccabæan period, and has received its designation from a general resemblance to the two first books in the heroic character of the actions which it describes. Calmet (*Commentary*) observes that this book is rejected as apocryphal in the Latin Church; not, however, as not containing a true history, but as not being inspired, as he considers the first two books to be. It is nevertheless regarded by De Wette as a tasteless fable, and notwithstanding the relation which it contains of an annual festival, considered by him as most probably destitute of any historical foundation. Dr. Milman (*Hist. of the Jews*) describes it as a 'romantic story.' There is a similar relation in the Latin version by Rufinus of the Supplement to Josephus, which De Wette considers, although a highly improbable narration, to approach nearer to the truth than the third book of Maccabees. Josephus's narrative is placed fifty years later, not under Ptolemy Philometor, but under Ptolemy Physcon.

Author, Age, and Language.—The author is unknown. Dr. Allix (*Judgment of the Jewish Church*) considers it to have been written A.D. 200, and by the author of Ecclesiasticus. There is a Syriac version in the Polyglotts, but no ancient Latin translation has come down to

us. The work does not appear either in the MSS. or early printed editions of the Vulgate, and is first found in Latin in the edition of Frobenius (1538). There was an English version by Walter Lynne (1550), which was afterwards appended, with some corrections, to Day's folio Bible (1551). It was again translated by Whiston (*Authentic Documents*, 1719 and 1727) and afterwards by Crutwell (*Bible*, 1785), and again by Dr. Cotton (*Five Books of Maccabees*, 1832). There is a French translation by Calmet, appended to his commentary. The version of 3 Maccabees (and of 3 and 4 Esdras), which is found in some German Bibles since Luther's time, was by Daniel Cramer. Luther himself only translated the first two books.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees, which is also found in the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts, is generally supposed to be the same with the *Supremacy of Reason*, attributed to Josephus, with which it for the most part accords. It consists of an inflated amplification of the history of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the seven brothers, whose torments and death, with that of their mother, form the subject of 2 Macc. ch. vi. vii. In some Greek MSS. it is entitled the *Supremacy of Reason*, by Josephus, or the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, in others simply the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*. It is found in the Greek Bibles printed at Basle in 1545, and at Francfort in 1597, where it is entitled *The Book of Josippos* (Josephus) *on the Maccabees*. It bears the same title in several other MSS. Philostratus (*Hist. Eccles.*), Jerome (*De Script. Eccles.* and lib. 2 *cont. Pelag.*), and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 10), ascribe this work to Josephus. Eusebius (*l. c.*) describes it as a 'work of no mean execution, entitled the *Supremacy of Reason*, and by some *Maccabaicum*, because it contains the conflicts of those Jews who contended manfully for the true religion, as is related in the books called Maccabees.' St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. de Maccab.*), St. Ambrose (*De Vita Beatâ*, lib. ii. c. 10, 11, 12), St. Chrysostom (*Homil.* ii. *in Sanct. Maccabæos*), and even St. Jerome (*Epist.* 100), in their eulogies of the consistency of the Maccabæan martyrs, have evidently drawn their descriptions from the *fourth* book. The details given by St. Jerome of their sufferings, such as the breaking of their bodies on the wheel, the history of which, he adds, is read throughout the churches of Christ, are not found in the *second* book.

Calmet (*Preface to the Fourth Book of Maccabees*) has pointed out several contradictions between this and the second book, as well as the books of Moses, together with some opinions derived from the Stoics, such as the equality of crimes; which, he supposes, together with its tedious descriptions, have consigned it to the rank of an Apocryphal book.

The fourth book was printed by Dr. Grabe from the Alexandrian MS. in the British Museum. There is a French translation by Calmet (*Commentary*), and an English one by Dr. Cotton (*Five Books of Maccabees*, 1832).

What has been called the *Fifth book of Maccabees* is now extant only in the Arabic and Syriac languages. It was first published, as the supposed *fourth* book, in the Paris Polyglott, with a Latin version. Before this, Sixtus of Sienna had published an account of a Greek MS. containing the history of the pontificate of John Hyrcanus, which he had seen in the library of Sanctes Pagnini at Lyons, and which he persuaded himself and others to be the long-lost fourth book so often referred to in the ancient church. This unique MS., however, soon after perished in the flames which consumed the library of Pagnini. Josephus remained as the sole authority for the history of these times. The Arabic work, however, above referred to, and which had the appearance of being a version from the Greek, bore such a resemblance to the lost MS. of Pagnini, commencing with the same words, 'After the death of Simon, his son John was made high-priest in his place,' that Le Jay, the editor, had no hesitation in printing it as the *Fourth book of Maccabees*. Calmet, however, has advanced several reasons to show that this was not, in fact, the genuine fourth book. The whole Arabic history was translated into French by Baubrun in his edition of the Bible. Calmet has limited himself to the translation of seven chapters, or that portion which accords with what had been taken by Sixtus of Sienna for the *fourth* book of Maccabees. This is preceded in the Arabic by nineteen, and followed by thirty-two chapters.

It is described in the Paris Polyglott as being derived from a Hebrew original, in which character it also accords with the Greek MS. of Pagnini. From the Paris Polyglott it found its way into the London. Dr. Cotton has given a translation of the Latin version which first appeared in the Paris Polyglott.

Author, Age, and Subject.—It is impossible to ascertain the author, who could scarcely have been Josephus, as he disagrees in many things with that historian (Calmet's *Preface*). Calmet supposes that the original Hebrew may have consisted of ancient annals, but that the Greek or Arabic translator must have lived after the destruction of the temple by the Romans (see 5 Macc. ix.; xxi.). To Samaria he gives its more modern name of Sebaste, and to Sichem that of Neapolis.

The work consists of a history of Jewish affairs, commencing with the attempt on the treasury at Jerusalem by Heliodorus, and ending with the tragic fate of the last of the Asmonæan princes, and with the inhuman execution by Herod of his noble and virtuous wife Mariamne, and of his two sons. This history thus fills up the chasm to the birth of Christ.

Dr. Cotton has pointed out among the 'remarkable peculiarities' found in this book the phrases, 'Peace be unto thee,' and 'God be merciful to them,' showing that the practice of prayer for the dead was at this time prevalent. But the most remarkable passage in reference to this subject is 2 Macc. xii. 40-45, where Judas forwards to Jerusalem 2000, or according to the Syriac 3000, and according to the Vulgate 12,000, drachmas of silver, to make a sin-offering for the Jews slain in action, on whose persons were found things consecrated to idols, which they had sacrilegiously plundered in violation of the law of Moses (Deut. vii. 25, 26). The author of the book remarks that it was a holy and good thought to pray for the dead, which, he observes,

would have been superfluous, had there been no resurrection. Grotius (*in loc.*) supposes that this practice commenced after the exile, when the Jews had learned from the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel a distinct notion of a future state (see Bartolocci's *Biblioth. Rabbin.* ii. 250; Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, iii. 4. 32, &c.). Calmet observes that, according to the notions of the Jews and some of the Christian Fathers, the pains of hell for those who died in mortal sin (as appears to have been the case of these Jews) were alleviated by the prayers and alms of the living (Augustine, *De Fide, Spe, et Charitate*, ch. 110), if not entirely removed; and cites a passage from a very ancient Christian Liturgy to the same effect. This learned commentator supposes that the ancient and Catholic practice of prayer for the dead had its origin in this usage of the Jews, although he admits it to be a distinct thing from the doctrine of purgatory as held in the Roman Church. As, however, it is intimated in ver. 45 that this mercy was reserved for those who died piously, which could not be predicated of persons who had died in mortal sin, he conjectures that Judas might have charitably presumed that they had repented before death, or that there were other extenuating circumstances unknown to us, which attended the character of their offence, and rendered them fit objects for the divine mercy.

Church Authority of Maccabees.—The first two books of Maccabees have been at all times treated with a very high degree of respect in the Christian Church. Origen (*apud Eusebium*), professing to give a catalogue of the twenty-two canonical books, of which, however, he actually enumerates only twenty-one, adds, 'besides, there are the Maccabees.' This has given rise to the notion that he intended to include these books in the canon, while others have observed that he has omitted the minor prophets from his catalogue. In his preface to the Psalms he excludes the two books of Maccabees from the books of Holy Scripture, but in his *Princip.* (ii. 1), and in his *Comment. ad Rom.* ch. v., he speaks of them as inspired, and as of equal authority with the other books. St. Jerome says that the *Church* does not acknowledge them as canonical, although he elsewhere cites them as *Holy Scripture* (*Com. ad Isa.* xxiii.; *ad Eccl.* vii., ix.; *ad Dan.* viii.). Bellarmine (*De Verbo Dei*) acknowledges that these, with the other deutero-canonical books, are *rejected* by Jerome, as they had not been then determined by any general council. Vicenzi, however (*Introd. in Scrip. Deuterocan.*), maintains that Jerome only *hesitates* to receive them (*Sanctus dubitat*). St. Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*) observes that the 'books of Maccabees were not found in the canonical Scriptures, but in those which not the Jews, but the Church, holds for canonical, on account of the passions of certain martyrs.' The first councils which included them in the canonical Scriptures were those of Hippo and Carthage; the first council professing itself to be general, which is said to have adopted them, was that of Ferrara or Florence in the year 1439; but the supposed canon of this council which contains them is by others said to be a forgery (see Rainoldi *Censura Lib. Apoc.*, 1611, and Cosin's *History of the Canon*, ch. xvi). However this may be, we have already seen [DEUTEROCANONICAL] that they were received with the other books by the Council of Trent. Basnage, cited by Lardner (*Credibility*), thinks that the word 'Canonical' may be supposed to be used here [by the councils of Hippo and Carthage] loosely, so as to comprehend not only those books which are admitted as a rule of faith, but those which are esteemed useful, and may be publicly read for the edification of the people, in contradistinction to such books as were entirely rejected. This is also the opinion of the Roman Catholic Professor Jahn (*Introd.* § 29), who expresses himself in nearly the same words. Dr. Lardner conceives that Augustine also, unless he would contradict himself, must be understood to have used the word in the same sense. De Wette (*Einleitung*, § 25) observes that as the Jewish Scriptures could only be read in the Alexandrian version, the early Christian writers frequently cite the apocryphal as if they were canonical writings, to which effect he furnishes many examples; and his translator adds that the most celebrated teachers of the second and third centuries ..... regard them with the same esteem as the canonical writings, of which he observes that the books of Maccabees are among those most often appealed to. De Wette (*l. c.*) supposes that at the end of the fourth century the word 'canon' included the collateral idea of an ecclesiastical decision. It is remarkable that the ancient writers of the Greek church uniformly rejected from the canon all books written in the Greek language, in which they were followed in the west by Hilary and Jerome, while others continued to use all the books contained in the Alexandrian version. Dr. Cotton is astonished that 'a Roman Catholic at least should not have bowed with implicit deference to the recorded judgment of St. Jerome, to whom he owns himself indebted for his Bible;' not recollecting that the authority of St. Augustine was at all times greater in the Western church than that of St. Jerome.

It has been supposed by some that the Egyptian Jews had a peculiar canon distinct from the Hebrew; but the utmost that can be said is, that the latter books were held in higher esteem among the Hellenist than among the Palestinian Jews. Bertholdt thinks that the apocryphal books were treated by the Egyptian Jews rather as an appendix to the canon than as a part of it, and were therefore placed, not *in*, but *beside* the canon; but that the ancient Christians, not being acquainted with Hebrew, considered all the books of the Alexandrian codex as genuine and sacred, and made the same use of the Apocrypha and of the Hebrew canon.

The ancient Greek catalogues sometimes enumerate four, sometimes three, and at other times only two books of Maccabees. There are *three* books of Maccabees cited in the 84th of the apostolic canons. Theodoret (*in Dan.* xi. 7) cites the third book as Holy Scripture. The author of the *Synopsis Scripturæ* enumerates *four* books of Maccabees among the *antilegomena* of the Old Testament. Nicephorus cites three only in the same class. Eusebius (*Chronicon*) merely observes that the third book is placed out of its chronological order. Philostorgius (*Eccles. Hist.*) A.D. 425, highly esteems the first book of Maccabees; the second does not appear to him to have been the work of the same author. The third he calls a 'monstrous production,' having

nothing similar to the first book. There are four books of Maccabees named in ancient catalogues given by Coblerius as among the books not of the *Seventy*. Three books of Maccabees are received with equal authority in the Greek church.

It is remarkable that although the Anglican church has received the canon of St. Jerome (art. vi.), she has prescribed no lessons to be read from either of the books of Maccabees [ESTHER, ESDRAS, DEUTEROCANONICAL] which she has appended to the Old Testament. In John x. 22, there is a marginal reference in the authorized version to 1 Macc. iv. 59, and in Heb. xi. 35, 36, there are references to 2 Macc. vi. 18, 19; to vii. 7, &c., and to vii. 1-7.

In the order of the books in the *Codex Alexandrinus* [DEUTEROCANONICAL], the reader will observe the position which the four books of Maccabees occupy. In the *Vatican Codex* Tobit and Judith are placed between Nehemiah and Esther; Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus follow Canticles; Baruch and Lamentations are placed after Jeremiah, and the four books of Maccabees close the canon.—W. W.

MACEDONIA (Μακεδονία), a country lying to the north of Greece Proper, having on the east Thrace and the Ægæan Sea, on the west the Adriatic and Illyria, on the north Dardania and Mæsia, and on the south Thessaly and Epirus. The country is supposed to have been first peopled by Chittim or Kittim, a son of Javan (Gen. x. 4) [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF]; and in that case it is probable that the Macedonians are sometimes intended when the word Chittim occurs in the Old Testament. Macedonia was the original kingdom of Philip and Alexander, by means of whose victories the name of the Macedonians became celebrated throughout the East, and is often used for the Greeks in Asia generally (Esth. Apoc. xviii. 10, 14; 2 Macc. viii. 20). The rise of the great empire formed by Alexander is described by the prophet Daniel under the emblem of a goat with one horn (Dan. viii. 3-8). As the horn was a general symbol of power, and as the oneness of the horn implies merely the unity of that power, we are not prepared to go the lengths of some over-zealous illustrators of Scripture, who argue that if a one-horned goat were not a recognised symbol of Macedonia we should not be entitled to conclude that Macedonia was intended. We hold that there could be no mistake in the matter, whatever may have been the usual symbol of Macedonia. It is, however, curious and interesting to know that Daniel did describe Macedonia under its usual symbol, as coins still exist in which that country is represented under the figure of a one-horned goat. There has been much discussion on this subject—more curious than valuable—but the kernel of it lies in this fact. The particulars may be seen in Murray's *Truth of Revelation Illustrated*, and in the article *Macedonia*, in Taylor's Calmet.

When subdued by the Romans under Paulus Æmilius (B.C. 168), Macedonia was divided into four provinces; but afterwards (B.C. 142) the whole of Greece was divided into two great provinces, Macedonia and Achaia [GREECE, ACHAIA]. Macedonia therefore constituted a Roman province, governed by a proconsul (*provincia proconsularis*; Tacit. *Annal.* i. 76; Suet. *Claud.* 26), in the time of Christ and his Apostles.

The Apostle Paul being summoned in a vision, while at Troas, to preach the Gospel in Macedonia, proceeded thither, and founded the churches of Thessalonica and Philippi (Acts xvi. 9), A.D. 55. This occasions repeated mention of the name, either alone (Acts xviii. 5; xix. 21; Rom. xv. 26; 2 Cor. i. 16; xi. 9; Phil. iv. 15), or along with Achaia (2 Cor. ix. 2; 1 Thess. i. 8). The principal cities of Macedonia were Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia (Liv. xlv. 29); the towns of the province named in the New Testament, and noticed in the present work, are Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Neapolis, Apollonia, and Berœa.

MACHPELAH (מַחְפֵּלָה, *twofold, double;* Sept. διπλοῦς), the name of the plot of ground containing the cave which Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite for a family sepulchre (Gen. xxiii. 9, 17) [HEBRON].

MADAI (מָדַי; Sept. Μαδοί), third son of Japhet (Gen. x. 2), from whom the Medes, &c., are supposed to have descended [GOG; NATIONS, DISPERSION OF].

MADMANNAH (מַדְמַנָּה; Sept. Μαδμηνά), a city of Simeon (Josh. xv. 31), very far south towards Gaza (1 Chron. ii. 49), which in the first distribution of lands had been assigned to Judah. Eusebius and Jerome identify it with a town of their time, called Menois, near the city of Gaza (*Onomast.* p. 89).

MADMENAH (מַדְמֵנָה; Sept. Μαδεβηνά), a town only named in Isa. x. 31, where it is manifestly placed between Nob and Gibeah. It is generally confounded with the preceding, which is much too far southward to suit the context.

MAGDALA (Μαγδαλά), a town mentioned in Matt. xv. 39, and the probable birthplace of Mary Magdalene, *i. e.* Mary of Magdala. It must have taken its name from *a tower* or *castle*, as the name signifies. It was situated on the lake Gennesareth, but it has usually been placed on the *east* side of the lake, although a careful consideration of the route of Christ before he came to, and after he left, Magdala, would show that it must have been on its *western* shore. This is confirmed by the Jerusalem Talmud (compiled at Tiberias), which several times speaks of Magdala as being adjacent to Tiberias and Hamath, or the hot-springs (Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.* cap. lxxvi.). It was a seat of Jewish learning after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Rabbins of Magdala are often mentioned in the Talmud (Lightfoot, *l. c.*). A small Moslem village, bearing the name of Mejdel, is now found on the shore of the lake about three miles north by west of Tiberias; and although there are no ancient ruins, the name and situation are very strongly in favour of the conclusion that it represents the Magdala of Scripture. This was probably also the Migdal-el, in the tribe of Naphtali, mentioned in Josh. xix. 38 (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 559; Seetzen in *Monat. Corresp.* xviii. 349; Fisk, *Life*, p. 316; Robinson, *Researches*, iii. 279).

MAGI. The Magi were originally one of the six tribes (Herod. i. 101; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 29) into which the nation of the Medes was divided,

who, like the Levites under the Mosaic institutions, were intrusted with the care of religion: an office which was held in the highest honour, gave the greatest influence, and which they probably acquired for themselves only after a long time, as well as many worthy efforts to serve their country, and when they had proved themselves superior to the rest of their brethren. Power originally has always excellence of some kind for its basis; and, since the kind of power exerted by the Magi was the highest on earth, as being concerned with religion, so is it certain that they surpassed their fellow-countrymen in all the finer and loftier points of character. As among other ancient nations, as the Egyptians, and Hebrews, for instance, so among the Medes, the priestly caste had not only religion, but the arts and all the higher culture, in their charge. Their name points immediately to their sacerdotal character (from *Mag* or *Mog*, which in the Pehlvi denotes 'priest'), either because religion was the chief object of their attention, or more probably because, at the first, religion and art were so allied as to be scarcely more than different expressions of the same idea.

Little in detail is known of the Magi during the independent existence of the Median government; they appear in their greatest glory after the Medes were united with the Persians. This doubtless is owing to the general imperfection of the historical materials which relate to the earlier periods. So great, however, was the influence which the Magi attained under the united empire, that the Medes were not ill compensated for their loss of national independence. Under the Medo-Persian sway the Magi formed a sacred caste or college, which was very famous in the ancient world (Xenoph. *Cyrop.* viii. 1. 23; Ammian. Marcell. xxiii. 6; Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 451; Schlosser, *Universal Uebers.* i. 278). Porphyry (*Abst.* iv. 16) says, 'the learned men who are engaged among the Persians in the service of the Deity are called Magi;' and Suidas, 'Among the Persians the lovers of wisdom (*φιλόσοφοι*) and the servants of God are called Magi.' In the earlier periods of the world, science, being built altogether on appearances, comprised and sanctioned error as well as truth; and, when cultivated in close connection with a corrupt form of religion, could hardly fail to produce a plentiful crop of tares: hence divination, astrology, and magic. How completely the last is to be traced ultimately to the East appears from the word itself, derived as it is from Magi. According to Strabo (tom. ii. p. 1084, ed. Falcon.) the Magi practised different sorts of divination—1. by evoking the dead; 2. by cups or dishes (Joseph's divining cup, Gen. xliv. 5); 3. by means of water. By the employment of these means the Magi affected to disclose the future, to influence the present, and to call the past to their aid. Even the visions of the night they were accustomed to interpret, not empirically, but according to such established and systematic rules as a learned priesthood might be expected to employ (Strabo, xvi. p. 762; Cic. *De Divin.* i. 41; Ælian. *V. H.* ii. 17). The success, however, of their efforts over the invisible world, as well as the holy office which they exercised, demanded in themselves peculiar cleanliness of body, a due regard to which and to the general principles of their caste would naturally be followed by professional prosperity, which in its turn conspired with prevailing superstition to give the Magi great social consideration, and make them of high importance before kings and princes (Diog. Laert. ix. 7. 2)—an influence which they appear to have sometimes abused, when, descending from the peculiar duties of their high office, they took part in the strife and competitions of politics, and found themselves sufficiently powerful even to overturn thrones (Herod. iii. 61, sq.).

Abuses bring reform; and the Magian religion, which had lost much of its original character, and been debased by some of the lowest elements of earthly passions, loudly called for a renovation, when Zoroaster appeared to bring about the needful change. As to the time of his appearance, and in general the particulars of his history, differences of opinion prevail, after all the critical labour that has been expended on the subject. Winer (*Real-wört.*) says he lived in the second half of the seventh century before Christ. He was not the founder of a new system, but the renovator of an old and corrupt one, being, as he himself intimates (Zendavesta, i. 43), the restorer of the word which Ormuzd had formerly revealed, but which the influence of Dews had degraded into a false and deceptive magic. To destroy this, and restore the pure law of Ormuzd, was Zoroaster's mission. After much and long-continued opposition on the part of the adherents and defenders of existing corruptions, he succeeded in his virtuous purposes, and caused his system eventually to prevail. The Magi, as a caste, did not escape from his reforming hand. He appears to have remodelled their institute, dividing it into three great classes:—1. Herbeds, or learners; 2. Mobeds, or masters; 3. Destur Mobeds, or perfect scholars (Zendav. ii. 171, 261). The Magi alone he allowed to perform the religious rites; they possessed the forms of prayer and worship; they knew the ceremonies which availed to conciliate Ormuzd, and were obligatory in the public offerings (Herod. i. 132). They accordingly became the sole medium of communication between the Deity and his creatures, and through them alone Ormuzd made his will known; none but them could see into the future, and they disclosed their knowledge to those only who were so fortunate as to conciliate their good will. Hence the power which the Magian priesthood possessed. The general belief in the trustworthiness of their predictions, especially when founded on astrological calculations, the all but universal custom of consulting the will of the divinity before entering on any important undertaking, and the blind faith which was reposed in all that the Magi did, reported, or commanded, combined to create for that sacerdotal caste a power, both in public and in private concerns, which has probably never been exceeded. Indeed the soothsayer was a public officer, a member, if not the president, of the privy council in the Medo-Persian court, demanded alike for show, in order to influence the people, and for use, in order to guide the state. Hence the person of the monarch was surrounded by priests, who, in different ranks, and with different offices, conspired to sustain the throne, uphold the established religion, and conciliate or enforce the obedience of the subject. The fitness of the Magi for, and their usefulness to, an Oriental court were not a little enhanced by

the pomp of their dress, the splendour of their ceremonial, and the number and gradation of the sacred associates. Well may Cyrus, in uniting the Medes to his Persian subjects, have adopted, in all its magnificent details, a priesthood which would go far to transfer to him the affections of his conquered subjects, and promote, more than any other thing, his own aggrandisement and that of his empire. Neither the functions nor the influence of this sacred caste were reserved for peculiar, rare, and extraordinary occasions, but ran through the web of human life. At the break of day they had to chant the divine hymns. This office being performed, then came the daily sacrifice to be offered, not indiscriminately, but to the divinities whose day in each case it was—an office therefore which none but the initiated could fulfil. As an illustration of the high estimation in which the Magi were held, it may be mentioned that it was considered a necessary part of a princely education to have been instructed in the peculiar learning of their sacred order, which was an honour conceded to no other but royal personages, except in very rare and very peculiar instances (Cicero, *De Divin.* i. 23; Plutarch, *Themist.*). This Magian learning embraced everything which regarded the higher culture of the nation, being known in history under the designation of the law of the Medes and Persians. It comprised the knowledge of all the sacred rites, customs, usages, and observances, which related not merely to the worship of the gods, but to the whole private life of every worshipper of Ormuzd —the duties which, as such, he had to observe, and the punishments which followed the neglect of these obligations; whence may be learnt how necessary the act of the priest on all occasions was. Under the veil of religion the priest had bound himself up with the entire of public and domestic life. The judicial office, too, appears to have been, in the time of Cambyses, in the hands of the Magi; for from them was chosen the college or bench of royal judges, which makes its appearance in the history of that monarch (Herod. iv. 31; vii. 194; Esther i. 13). Men who held these offices, possessed this learning, and exerted this influence with the people, may have proved a check to Oriental despotism, no less powerful than constitutional, though they were sometimes unable to guarantee their own lives against the wrath of the monarch (Herod. vii. 194; Dan. ii. 12); and they appear to have been well versed in those courtly arts by which the hand that bears the sword is won to protect instead of destroying. Thus Cambyses, wishing to marry his sister, inquired of the Magi (like our Henry VIII.) if the laws permitted such an union: 'We have,' they adroitly answered, 'no law to that effect; but a law there is which declares that the king of the Persians may do what he pleases' (Heeren, *Ideen*, 1; Hyde, *Rel. Vet. Persarum;* Brisson, *Princip. Pers.*).

If we turn to the books of Scripture we find the import of what has been said confirmed; and hence are justified in holding that the Scriptures have an historical worth which learning may illustrate, but cannot, even when guided by infidelity, invalidate, much less destroy. Let the book of Daniel be studied on this point. There the great influence of the Magi is well illustrated, and it is seen that their functions were not only numerous, but held in the highest regard. In the 1st verse of the 2nd chapter, Nebuchadnezzar, being troubled by a dream, invokes the aid of none other than the magicians, and the astrologers, and the sorcerers, the Chaldæans, and the soothsayers (ver. 27). The precise import of some of these terms it may not be easy to assign; but it is clear that there were various kinds of wise men, and it is probable that the above were classes belonging to one great order, which comprised, under the general name of Magi, all who were engaged in the service of religion; so that we find here an ample priesthood, a sacred college, graduated in rank and honour. Indeed, in Jer. xxxix. 3, we find this order or caste expressly so denominated, רב מג, which, in the English version, is given as a proper name, Rab-mag, which denotes the chief of the Magi, Summus Pontifex, or high priest—an office to which Daniel was elevated in consequence of his skill in interpreting the king's dream after the established authorities had failed (Dan. ii. 48). The acts which accompanied this appointment serve as illustrations of the high reverence in which the Magi were held: 'Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him' (ver. 46; see also ver. 48). From the 49th verse it would seem not unlikely that the administration of justice in the last resort belonged to this priestly order, as we know it did to the hierarchy of northern and more modern courts.

The Magi were not confined to the Medes and Persians. Since they are mentioned by Herodotus as one of the original tribes of the Medes, they may have been primitively a Median priesthood. If so, they extended themselves into other lands. Possibly Magi may have been at first not the name of a particular tribe or priestly caste, but a general designation for priests or learned men; as Pharaoh denoted not an individual, but generally king or ruler. However this may be, the Chaldæans also had an organised order of Magi, a caste of sacerdotal scholars, which bore the name of 'wise men' (Jer. l. 35); 'the wise men of Babylon' (Dan. ii. 12), among whom Daniel is classed (ii. 18, 24). Among the Greeks and Romans they were known under the name of Chaldæans (Strabo, xvi. p. 762; Diog. Laert. *Proœm.* 1), and also of Magi (Diog. Laert. viii. 1. 3). They lived scattered over the land in different places (Dan. ii. 14; Strabo, xvi. p. 739), and had possessions of their own. The temple of Belus was employed by them for astronomical observations; but their astronomy was connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies practised by the Babylonians (Diod. Sic. ii. 31; Ephraem Syr. *Op.* ii. 488; consult Ideler, in the *Transactions of the Berlin Academy for* 1824-5), and was specially directed to vain attempts to foretell the future, predict the fate of individuals or of communities, and sway the present, in alliance with augury, incantation, and magic (A.Gell. iii. 10. 9; xiv. 1; Am. Marcell. xxiii. 6; p. 352, ed. Bipont; Diod. Sic. ii. 29; Isa. xlvii. 9, 13; Dan. ii.).

It is easy to understand how the lofty science (so called) of these Magi—lofty while its scholars surpassed the rest of the world in knowledge, and were the associates, the advisers, the friends, and the monitors of great and flourishing monarchs,

of indeed successively the rulers of the world—might, could indeed hardly fail, as resting on no basis of fact or reality, in process of time, to sink into its own native insignificance, and become either a mere bugbear to frighten the ignorant, or an instrument to aid the fraudulent: thus hastening on to the contempt into which all falsities are sure sooner or later to fall. The decline was indeed gradual; ages passed ere it was completed; but as soon as it ceased to have the support afforded by the mighty and splendid thrones of Asia, it began to lose its authority, which the progress of knowledge and the advent of Christ prevented it from ever regaining. Yet is it impossible to contemplate this, any more than any other powerful system of religious influence, without emotions that are akin to admiration. Even in the latter days of the Roman empire, however, a remnant of the Magian system was found, though in a low and degenerate condition. The civilized world was overrun with magicians, not very much more respectable than our modern conjurors, who managed to delude the ignorant vulgar, and sometimes to 'carry captive' the noble and the rich, or even to sway the councils of princes, by pretending to a knowledge and a power over the occult qualities and the more mighty agencies of earth, heaven, and hell. They could interpret the language of the stars; they could predict the future; they could expound dreams; they could cure otherwise incurable diseases; and the skill which an individual might be so happy as to possess, he, having derived it from some predecessor, who had again had it from another, himself the last in a long line of wise men, could, and for money or other considerations did, impart to others. Egypt and the East generally, Solomon, and Pharaoh were accounted the great fountains whence this much-esteemed knowledge and these dark mysteries were to be drawn (Othon. *Lex. Rabbin.* p. 101; Tacit. *Ann.* ii. 27; xii. 2. 32; vi. 29; Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 7. 3). The case of Simon Magus (Acts viii. 9; see also Acts xiii. 6, sq.) may be taken as a specimen of these wandering impostors; and those who are curious to trace the steps by which the Magi declined and sunk may see the same Simon in conflict with Peter in the *Apostolical Constitutions*. The estimation, however, in which Simon is evidently held, as recorded in the Acts ('some great one,' &c.), gives reason to think that Magianism still retained a large share of its influence at the commencement of our era. It seems, indeed, to have held a sort of middle position, half way between its ancient splendour and its coming degradation: whence we may understand the propriety of the visit paid by the Magi to the new-born King of the Jews (Matt. ii., 'star in the East'). For if the system had been then sunk so low as to correspond in any degree with our conception of these pretended arts, it is difficult to assign, at least to the unbeliever, a sufficient reason why the visit was made, or at any rate why it was recorded; but its credibility is materially furthered if the circumstances of the case are such as to allow us to regard that visit as a homage paid by the representatives of the highest existing influences to the rising star of a new day, in the fuller light of which they were speedily to vanish.—J. R. B.

MAGICIANS. [MAGI.]

MAGOG (מָגוֹג; Sept. Μαγώγ), son of Japhet (Gen. x. 2). In Ezekiel (xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 6) it occurs as the name of a nation, coupled with Gog, and is supposed to represent certain Scythian or Tartar tribes descended from the son of Japhet [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF].

MAHALATH, the title of Psalms liii. and lxxxviii. [PSALMS.]

MAHANAIM (מַחֲנַיִם, *two hosts;* Sept. Μαναΐμ), a place beyond the Jordan, north of the river Jabbok, which derived its name from Jacob's having been there met by the angels on his return from Padan-aram (Gen. xxxii. 2). The name was eventually extended to the town which then existed, or which afterwards arose in the neighbourhood. This town was in the territory of the tribe of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26, 30), and was a city of the Levites (Josh. xxi. 39). It was in this city that Ish-bosheth, the son of Saul, reigned (2 Sam. ii. 8), probably because he found the influence of David's name less strong on the east than on the west of the Jordan. The choice, at least, seems to show that Mahanaim was then an important and strong place. Hence, many years after, David himself repaired to Mahanaim when he sought refuge beyond the Jordan from his son Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 24, 27; 1 Kings ii. 8). We only read of Mahanaim again as the station of one of the twelve officers who had charge, in monthly rotation, of raising the provisions for the royal establishments under Solomon (1 Kings iv. 14). The site has not yet been identified. In Dr. Robinson's Arabic list of names of places in Jebel Ajlun (*Bib. Researches*, vol. iii. Append. xi. p. 166), we find *Mahneh*, and this may possibly prove to be Mahanaim.

MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ (מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בַּז; Sept. Τοῦ ὀξέως προνομὴν ποιῆσαι σκύλων), words prognostic of the sudden attack of the Assyrian army ('he hasteth to the spoil'), which the prophet Isaiah was first commanded to write in large characters upon a tablet, and afterwards to give as a symbolical name to a son that was to be born to him (Isa. viii. 1, 3). It is, as Dr. Henderson remarks, the longest of any of the Scripture names, but has its parallels in this respect in other languages, especially in our own during the time of the Commonwealth.

MAHLON, one of the two sons of Elimelech and Naomi, and first husband of Ruth the Moabitess (Ruth i. 2, sq.). [RUTH.]

MAKKEDAH (מַקֵּדָה; Sept. Μακκηδά), a royal city of the ancient Canaanites (Josh. xii. 16), in the neighbourhood of which was the cave in which the five kings who confederated against Israel took refuge after their defeat (Josh. x. 10-29). It afterwards belonged to Judah (Josh. xv. 41). Makkedah is placed by Eusebius and Jerome 8 Roman miles to the east of Eleutheropolis (*Onomast.* s. v. Maceda).

MALACHI (מַלְאָכִי; Sept. Μαλαχίας; Vulg. *Malachias*), the last of the minor prophets, and consequently the latest writer in the canon of the Old Testament. Ch. iv. 4, 5, 6, might almost suggest that he was the last of the Hebrew prophets till John the Baptist appeared. Nothing is known of his person or history. It appears that he lived after Zechariah, since in his time the second

temple was already built (ch. iii. 10); and it is probable that he was contemporary with Nehemiah (comp. ch. ii. 11, with Neh. xiii. 23-27, and ch. iii. 8, with Neh. xiii. 10). Tradition, as usual, has not failed to supply the lack of authentic information. Malachi is represented to have been of the tribe of Zebulon, and a native of Sapha (Saphir?); to have died young, and to have been buried with his ancestors at Sapha, after having assisted as a member of the great Synagogue, on the re-establishment of order and prosperity in his country (Epiphanius, *De Proph. Vita et Interitu*, cap. xxii.; Isidor. *De Vita et Morte Sanct.* cap. li.).

The name Malachi (מלאכי) means, as some understand it, *my angel;* but it seems more correct to regard it as a contracted form of מלאכיה, *angel of Jehovah.* The traditionists already cited regard it as a proper name, given to the prophet on account of the beauty of his person and his unblemished life. The word translated 'angel,' however, means also a 'messenger,' angels being, in fact, the messengers of God; and as the prophets are often styled angels or messengers of Jehovah, it is supposed that 'Malachi' is merely a general title descriptive of this character, and not a proper name. It has been very generally supposed that it denotes Ezra. The Chaldee paraphrast is of this opinion, as is R. Joshua Ben Korcha and other Jewish writers; but Kimchi resists this, alleging that Ezra is never called a prophet, but a scribe, and Malachi never a scribe, but a prophet. R. Nachman supposes Malachi to have been Mordecai, and that he was so called because he was second to the king; the force of which reason is not very apparent. The current opinion of the Jews is that of the Talmud, in which this question is mooted, and which decides, it seems to us rightly, that this prophet is not the same with Mordecai, or Ezra, or Zerubbabel, or Nehemiah, whose claims had all been advocated by different parties, but a distinct person named Malachi (*T. Bab. Megillah*, fol. xv. 1). Jerome, however, supports the claim of Ezra (*Comment. in Mal.* i. 1), and many modern commentators have yielded to his authority; but the prevailing opinion is in favour of the separate existence of Malachi. Some, however, have been content to leave the authorship unsettled, and to suppose that the title is taken from the promise of an angel or messenger of the Lord, in ch. iii. 1, 'Behold, I send *my messenger*,' &c. where the word (מלאכי *malachi*) is the very same that forms the title of the book. Considering the peculiar importance of this text, which was fulfilled in John the Baptist, the harbinger of the new covenant, it cannot be denied that there is much force in this conjecture, although that for which we have intimated a preference seems to offer still stronger claims in its favour. By some the word *malachi* has been taken very literally to denote an incarnate angel. This was one of the many vagaries of Origen, and it has been adopted by a good number of ancient and modern commentators, the rather, perhaps, as the Septuagint affords it some countenance by translating the first verse, Λῆμμα λόγου κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ—'The burden of the word of the Lord to Israel by the hand of *his angel.*'

Although there has been a faint disposition to regard Zechariah as the last of the prophets (Lactant. *De Vera Sapent.* iv. 5), the received opinion decides for Malachi. Accordingly Aben Ezra calls him סוף הנביאים, 'the end of the prophets;' Kimchi, אחרן שבם, 'the last of them;' and not seldom he is distinguished by the Rabbins as חותם הנביאים, 'the seal of the prophets.' But although it is well agreed that Malachi was the last of the prophets, the date of his prophecy has been variously determined. Usher makes him contemporary with Nehemiah, in B.C. 416; and the general opinion that this prophet was contemporary with, or immediately followed, Nehemiah, makes most of the proposed alternatives range within a few years of that date. He censures the same offences which excited the indignation of Nehemiah, and which that governor had not been able entirely to reform. Speaking of God's greater kindness to the Israelites than to the Edomites, he begins with declaiming against the priests for their profane and mercenary conduct, and against the people for their multiplied divorces and intermarriages with idolatrous nations; he threatens them with punishment and rejection, declaring that God would 'make his name great among the Gentiles' (ch. i. 11), for that he was wearied with the impiety of Israel (ch. i. ii.). From this the prophet takes occasion solemnly to proclaim that the Lord whom they sought should suddenly come to his temple, preceded by that messenger who, like a harbinger, should prepare his way; that the Lord when he should appear would purify the sons of Levi from their unrighteousness, and refine them as metal from the dross (ch. iii. 1-3); that then 'the offering of Judah,' the spiritual sacrifice of the heart, 'should be pleasant to the Lord,' as was that of the patriarchs and their uncorrupted ancestors (ch. iii. 4); and that the Lord would quickly exterminate the corruptions and adulteries which prevailed. The prophet then proceeds with an earnest exhortation to repentance; promising high rewards and remembrance to the righteous in that last day when the Lord shall make up his peculiar treasures, and finally establish a distinction of doom and condition between the righteous and the wicked (ch. iii. 16-18). Malachi then concludes with an impressive assurance of approaching salvation to those who feared God's name from that 'sun of righteousness,' who should arise with healing in his wings, and render them triumphant; enjoining in the solemn close of his exhortation, when uttering as it were the last admonition of the Jewish prophets, an observance of the law of Moses, till the advent of Elijah the prophet (ch. iv. 5, or John the Baptist, who came in the spirit and power of Elias, Mark xi. 12; Luke i. 17), who before the coming of that 'great and dreadful day of the Lord, should turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers' (ch. iv.). Thus Malachi sealed up the volume of prophecy with the description of that personage at whose appearance the evangelists begin their gospel history.

The claim of the book of Malachi to its place in the canon of the Old Testament has never been disputed; and its authority is established by the references to it in the New Testament (Matt. xi. 10; xvii. 12; Mark i. 2; ix. 11, 12; Luke i. 17; Rom. ix. 13).

The manner of Malachi offers few, if any, distinguishing characteristics. The style, rhythm, and imagery of his writings are substantially those of the old prophets, but they possess no remarkable vigour or beauty. This is accounted for by his living during that decline of Hebrew poetry, which we trace more or less in all the sacred writings posterior to the Captivity.

In consequence of the peculiar questions which arise out of this prophecy and its authorship, the literature connected with Malachi is very ample. Copious notices will be found in the Latin, German, and English Introductions to the Old Testament, and in the Prefatory Dissertations of the various commentators. The principal separate works on the subject are:—Chytræus, *Explicat. Malach. Prophet.* Rost. 1568; Grynæus, *Hypomnemata in Malach.* Frcf. 1652; Stock, *Commentary upon the whole Prophesye of Malachy*, Lond. 1641; Schlater, *A Brief and Plain Commentary upon the whole Prophecie of Malachy*, Lond. 1650; Ursinus, *Comment. in Malach.* Frcf. 1652; Sal. van Til, *Malach. illustratus*, Lug. Bat. 1701; Wesselius, *Malachias enucleatus*, Lubeck, 1729; *Malachia Propheta c. Targum Jonathis et Radaki Raschii ac Aben-Esræ Comment. et Interpret.* J. C. Hebenstreit, Lips. 1746; Venema, *Comment. in Malach.* Leovard. 1759; Bahrdt, *Comment. in Malachiam, c. examine verss. vett. et lectt. variant. Houbigantii*, Lips. 1768; J. M. Faber, *Comment. in Malachiam*, Onold. 1779; J. F. Fischer, *Observatt. Crit. in Malachiam*, Lips. 1759; J. M. Faber, *Abweischungen der alten Uebersetzer d. Propheten Malachias*, in Eichhorn's *Repert.* vi. 104-124.

MALCHUS (Μάλχος), the servant of the high-priest Caiaphas, whose right ear was cut off by Peter in the garden of Gethsemane (John xviii. 10). The name of Malchus was not unfrequent among the Greeks (see Wetstein, *in loc.*); but as it was usually applied to persons of Oriental countries, there is reason to suppose it derived from the Hebrew מלך, *melech*, and, if so, it exactly corresponds to our title 'King.' Some, however, compare it with the Hebrew מלוך *mallauch*, 'counsellor.'

MALLUACH (מַלּוּחַ) occurs only once in Scripture, namely, in the passage where Job complains that he is subjected to the contumely of the meanest people, those 'who cut up *mallows* (*malluach*) by the bushes—for their meat' (Job xxx. 4). The proper meaning of the word *malluach* has been a subject of considerable discussion among authors, in consequence, apparently, of its resemblance to the Greek μαλάχη (*malakhe*), signifying 'mallow,' and also to *maluch*, which is said to be the Syriac name of a species of *Orache*, or *Atriplex*. It is difficult, if not impossible, to say which is the more correct interpretation, as both appear to have some foundation in truth, and seem equally adapted to the sense of the above-quoted passage. The *malakhe* of the Greeks is distinguished by Dioscorides into two kinds; of which he states that the cultivated is more fit for food than the wild kind. Arab authors apply the description of Dioscorides to *khoob-bazee*, a name which in India we found applied both to species of *Malva rotundifolia* and of *M. sylvestris*, which extend from Europe to the north of India, and which are still used as food in the latter country, as they formerly were in Europe, and probably in Syria. That some kind of mallow has been so used in Syria we have evidence in the quotation made by Mr. Harmer from Biddulph, who says, 'We saw many poor people collecting *mallows* and three-leaved grass, and asked them what they did with it; and they answered, that it was all their food, and that they boiled it, and did eat it.' Dr. Shaw, in his *Travels*, on the contrary, observes that '*Mellou-kcah*, or *mulookiah*, מלוחיא, as in the Arabic, is the same with the *melochia* or *corchorus*, being a podded species of mallows, whose pods are rough, of a glutinous substance, and used in most of their dishes. *Mellou-keah* appears to be little different in name from מלוח (Job xxx. 4), which we render "mallows;" though some other plant, of a more saltish taste, and less nourishing quality, may be rather intended.' The plant alluded to is *Corchorus olitorius*, which has been adopted and figured in her *Scripture Herbal* by Lady Calcott, who observes that this plant, called Jews' Mallow, appears to be certainly that mentioned by the patriarch. Avicenna calls it *olus Judaicum*; and Rauwolf saw the Jews about Aleppo use the leaves as potherbs; 'and this same mallow continues to be eaten in Egypt and Arabia, as well as Palestine.' But there are so many plants of a mild mucilaginous nature which are used as articles of diet in the East, that it is hardly possible to select one in preference to another, unless we find a similarity in the name. Thus species of *Amaranthus*, of *Chenopodium*, of *Portulacca*, as well as the above *Corchorus*, and the *mallow*, are all used as food, and might be adduced as suitable to the above passages, since most of them are found growing wild in many parts of the countries of the East.

The learned Bochart, however, contends (*Hieroz.* part i. t. iii. c. 16) that the word *malluach* denotes a saltish plant called ἅλιμος by the Greeks, and which with good reason is supposed to be the *Atriplex Halimus* of botanists, or tall shrubby *Orache*. The Septuagint, indeed, first gave ἅλιμα as the interpretation of *malluach*. Celsius adopts it, and many others consider it as the most correct. A good abstract of Bochart's arguments is given by Dr. Harris. In the first place the most ancient Greek translator interprets *malluach* by *halimos*. That the Jews were in the habit of eating a plant called by the former name, is evident from the quotation given by Bochart from the Talmudical Tract *Kidduschin*, (c. iii. 66), where it is said: 'Ivit in urbem Cochalith, quæ est in deserto. Et invitatis omnibus sapientibus Israelis dixit, Patres nostri (præ inopia) *malluchim* comederunt quo tempore laborabant in ædificatione Templi secundi: et nos quoque *malluchim* comedimus in memoriam patrum nostrorum. Et allati sunt *malluchim* super mensas aureas, et comederunt.' By Ibn Buetar, *malookh* is given as the synonyme of *el kutuf al buhuri*, i. e. the sea-side *Kutuf* or *Orache*, which is usually considered to be the *Atriplex marinum*, now *A. Halimus*. Bochart, indeed, remarks: 'Dioscorides libro primo halimum, quod populus Syriæ vocat *maluch*, ait esse arbustum, ex quo fiunt sepes, thymo simile, nisi quod caret spinis, et folio simili oleæ, sed latiori, et crescit

ad litora maris, et circa sepes.' This notice evidently refers to the Ἅλιμος of Dioscorides (Diosc. i. 121), which, as above stated, is supposed to be the *Atriplex Halimus* of botanists, and the *Kutuf buhuree* of the Arabs, while the ἀτράφαξις of the same author (ii. 145) is their *kutuf* and *Atriplex hortensis*, Linn. Bochart quotes Galen as describing the tops of the former as being used for food when young. Dioscorides also says that its leaves are employed for the same purpose. What the Arab writers state as to the tops of the plants being eaten, corresponds to the description of Job, who states that those to whom he refers *cropped upon the shrub*—which by some is supposed to indicate that the *malluach* grew near hedges. These, however, do not exist in the desert. There is no doubt that species of *Orache* were used as articles of diet in ancient times, and, probably, still are so in the countries where they are indigenous; but there are many other plants, similar in nature, that is, soft and succulent, and usually very saline, such as the *Salsolas*, *Salicornias*, &c., which, like the species of *Atriplex*, belong to the same natural family of *Chenopodeæ*, and which from their saline nature have received their respective names. Many of these are well known for yielding soda by incineration. In conformity with this, Mr. Good thinks that 'the real plant is a species of *Salsola*, or "salt-wort;" and that the term ἅλιμα, employed in the Greek versions, gives additional countenance to this conjecture.' Some of these are shrubby, but most of them are herbaceous, and extremely common in all the dry, desert, and saline soils which extend from the south of Europe to the north of India. Most of them are saline and bitter, but some are milder in taste and mucilaginous, and are therefore employed as articles of diet, as spinach is in Europe. *Salsola indica*, for instance, which is common on the coasts of the Peninsula of India, Dr. Roxburgh states, saved the lives of many thousands of the poor natives of India during the famine of 1791-2-3; for while the plant lasted, most of the poorer classes who lived near the sea had little else to eat; and indeed its green leaves ordinarily form an essential article of the food of those natives who inhabit the maritime districts.—J. F. R.

MAMMON (Μαμωνᾶς), a Chaldee word (מָמוֹנָא), signifying 'wealth' or 'riches,' and bearing that sense in Luke xvi. 9, 11; but also used by our Saviour (Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13) as a personification of the god of riches: 'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.' Gill, on Matt. vi. 24, brings a very apt quotation from the Talmud Hieros. (*Yoma*, fol. 38), in confirmation of the character which Christ in these passages gives of the Jews in his day: 'We know that they believed in the law, and took care of the commandments, and of the tithes, and that their whole conversation was good—only that they אוהבין את הממון, *loved the Mammon*, and hated one another without cause.'

MAMRE (מַמְרֵא; Sept. Μαμβρῆ), the name of an Amoritish chief who, with his brothers Aner and Eshcol, was in alliance with Abraham (Gen. xiv. 13, 24). Hence, in the Authorized Version, 'the oaks of Mamre,' 'plain of Mamre' (Gen. xiii. 18; xviii. 1), or simply 'Mamre' (xxiii. 17, 19; xxxv. 27), a grove in the neighbourhood of Hebron.

1. MAN. Four Hebrew words are thus translated in the English Version (אָדָם, אִישׁ, אֱנוֹשׁ, גֶּבֶר). They are used with as much precision as the terms of like import in Greek and Roman writers. Nor is the subject merely critical; it will be found connected with accurate interpretation. (*a.*) אדם is 1. the proper name of the first man, though Gesenius thinks that when so applied it has the force rather of an appellative, and that, accordingly, in a translation, it would be better to render it *the man*. It seems, however, to be used by St. Luke as a proper name in the genealogy (iii. 38); by St. Paul (Rom. v. 14; 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14); and by Jude (14). St. Paul's use of it in 1 Cor. xv. 45 is remarkably clear: *ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος* Ἀδάμ, 'the first man, Adam.' It is so employed throughout the Apocrypha without exception (2 Esdras iii. 5, 10, 21, 26; iv. 30; vi. 54; vii. 11, 46, 48; Tobit viii. 6; Ecclus. xxxiii. 10; xl. 1; xlix. 16); and by Josephus (*ut infra*). Gesenius argues that, as applied to the first man, it has the article almost without exception. It is doubtless often thus used as an appellative, but the exceptions are decisive: Gen. iii. 17, לאדם, 'to Adam he said,' and see Sept., Deut. xxxii. 8, בני אדם, 'the descendants of Adam;' 'if I covered my transgressions as Adam' (Job xxxi. 33); 'and unto Adam he said,' &c. (Job xxviii. 28), which, when examined by the context, seems to refer to a primeval revelation not recorded in Genesis (see also Hos. vi. 7, Heb. or margin). Gesenius further argues that the woman, אשה, has an appropriate name, חוה, but that the man has none. But the name Eve was given to her by Adam, and, as it would seem, under a change of circumstances; and though the *divine* origin of the word Adam, as a proper name of the first man, is not recorded in the history of the creation, as is that of the day, night, heaven, earth, seas, &c. (Gen. i. 5, 8, 10), yet its divine origin as an appellative is recorded (comp. Heb., Gen. i. 26; v. 1); from which state it soon became a proper name, Dr. Lee thinks from its frequent occurrence, but we would suggest, from its peculiar appropriateness to 'the man,' who is the more immediate *image* and glory of God' (1 Cor. xi. 7). Other derivations of the word have been offered, as אדם, 'to be red' or 'red-haired;' and hence some of the Rabbins have inferred that the first man was so. This derivation is as old as Josephus, who says that 'the first man was called (*ἐκλήθη*) Adam, because he was formed *ἀπὸ τῆς πυῤῥας γῆς*, 'from the red earth,' and adds, *τοιαῦτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ παρθένος γῆ καὶ ἀληθινή*, 'for the true virgin earth is of this colour' (*Antiq.* i. 1, § 2). But is this true? and when man is turned again to his earth, is *that* red? The truer origin of the word in Gen. i. 26, v. 1, has already been pointed out, viz. דם, *likeness*, because man was made בדמות, *in the likeness of God*. 2. It is the generic name of the human race as originally created, and afterwards, like the English word man, person, whether man or woman, equivalent to the Latin *homo*, and Gr. *ἄνθρωπος* (Gen. i. 26, 27; v. 2; viii. 21; Deut. viii. 3; Matt. v. 13, 16; 1 Cor. vii. 26), and even without regard to age (John xvi. 21). It is applied to women only, ונפש אדם מן הנשים, 'the *human* persons of women' (Num. xxxi. 35), Sept. *ψυχαὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν*. Thus *ἡ ἄνθρωπος* means a

woman (Herod. i. 60), and especially among the orators (comp. 1 Macc. ii. 38). 3. It denotes man in opposition to woman (Gen. iii. 12; Matt. xix. 10), though, more properly, the husband in opposition to the wife (comp. 1 Cor. vii. 1). 4. It is used, though very rarely, for those who maintain the dignity of human nature, a *man*, as we say, meaning one that deserves the name, like the Latin *vir*, and Greek *ἀνήρ*: 'One man in a thousand have I found, but a woman,' &c. (Eccles. vii. 28). Perhaps the word here glances at the original uprightness of man. 5. It is frequently used to denote the more degenerate and wicked portion of mankind: an instance of which occurs very early, 'The sons, or worshippers, of God married the daughters of men, or the irreligious' (Gen. vi. 2). We request a careful examination of the following passages by their respective contexts, Ps. xi. 4; xii. 1, 2, 8; xiv. 2, &c. The latter passage is often adduced to prove the *total* depravity of the *whole human race*, whereas it applies only to the more abandoned Jews, or possibly to the more wicked Gentile adversaries of Israel. It is a description of 'the fool,' or wicked man (ver. 1), and of persons of the same class (ver. 1, 2), 'the workers of iniquity, who eat up God's people like bread, and called not upon the name of the Lord' (ver. 4). For the true view of St. Paul's quotations from this Psalm (Rom. iii. 10), see M'Knight, *in loc.*: and observe the use of the word 'man' in Luke v. 20; Matt. x. 17. It is applied to the Gentiles (Matt. xxvii. 22; comp. Mark x. 33, and Mark ix. 31; Luke xviii. 32; see Mounteney, *ad Demosth. Phil.* i. 221). 6. The word is used to denote other men, in opposition to those already named, as, 'both upon Israel and other men' (Jer. xxxii. 20), *i. e.* the Egyptians. 'Like other men (Ps. lxxiii. 5), *i. e.* common men, in opposition to better men (Ps. lxxxii. 7); men of inferior rank, as opposed to אִישׁ, men of higher rank (see Heb., Is. ii. 9; v. 15; Ps. xlix. 3; lxii. 10; Prov. viii. 4). The phrase 'son of man,' in the Old Testament, denotes man as frail and unworthy (Num. xxiii. 19; Job. xxv. 6; Ezek. ii. 1, 3); as applied to the prophet, so often, it has the force of 'oh mortal!' (*b.*) אִישׁ is a man in the distinguished sense, like the Latin *vir*, and Greek *ἀνήρ*. It is used in all the several senses of the Latin *vir*, and denotes a man as distinguished from a woman (1 Sam. xvii. 33; Matt. xiv. 21); as a husband (Gen. iii. 16; Hos. ii. 16); and in reference to excellent mental qualities. A beautiful instance of the latter class occurs in Jer. v. 1: 'Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find *a man* [אִישׁ], if there be any that executeth judgment, that seeketh the truth; and I will pardon it.' This reminds the reader of the philosopher who went through the streets of Athens with a lighted lamp in his hand, and being asked what he sought, said, 'I am seeking to find a man' (see Herodot. ii. 120; Hom. *Il.* v. 529). It is also used to designate the superior classes (Prov. viii. 4; Ps. cxli. 4, &c.), a courtier (Jer. xxxviii. 7), the male of animals (Gen. vii. 2). Sometimes it means men in general (Exod. xvi. 29; Mark vi. 44).

(*c.*) אֱנוֹשׁ, mortals, *βροτοί*, as transient, perishable, liable to sickness, &c.: 'Let no man [margin, 'mortal man'] prevail against thee' (2 Chron. xiv. 11). 'Write with the pen of the common man' בחרט אנוש (Isa. viii. 1), *i. e.* in a common, legible character (Job xv. 14; Ps. viii. 5; ix. 19, 20; Isa. li. 7; Ps. ciii. 15). It is applied to women (Josh. viii. 25). (*d.*) גֶּבֶר, *vir*, man, in regard to strength, &c. All etymologists concur in deriving the English word 'man' from the superior powers and faculties with which man is endowed above all earthly creatures; so the Latin *vir*, from *vis, vires;* and such is the idea conveyed by the present Hebrew word. It is applied to man as distinguished from woman: 'A man shall not put on a woman's garment' (Deut. xxii. 5), like *ἄνθρωπος* in Matt. viii. 9; John i. 6; to men as distinguished from children (Exod. xii. 37); to a male child, in opposition to a female (Job iii. 3; Sept. *ἄρσεν*). It is much used in poetry: 'Happy is the man' (Ps. xxxiv. 9; xl. 5; lii. 9; xciv. 12). Sometimes it denotes the species at large (Job iv. 17; xiv. 10, 14). For a complete exemplification of these words, see the lexicons of Gesenius and Schleusner, &c. Some peculiar uses of the word in the New Testament remain to be noticed. 'The Son of Man,' applied to Our Lord only by himself and St. Stephen (Acts vii. 56), is the Messiah in human form. Schleusner thinks that the word in this expression always means woman, and denotes that he was the promised Messiah, born of a virgin, who had taken upon him our nature to fulfil the great decree of God, that mankind should be saved by one in their own form. 'Ο *παλαιός*, 'the old man,' and *ὁ καινός*, 'the new man'—the former denoting unsanctified disposition of heart, the latter the new disposition created and cherished by the gospel; *ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*, 'the inner man;' *ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος*, 'the hidden man of the heart,' as opposed to the *ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος*, 'the external visible man.' 'A man of God,' first applied to Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 1), and always afterwards to a person acting under a divine commission (1 Kings xiii. 1; 1 Tim. vi. 11; *et alibi*). *ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, that impious man, the *ὁ ἄνομος*, 'the lawless one' (2 Thess. ii. 3), Sept. for אִישׁ אוֹן (Isa. lv. 7); angels are styled men (Acts i. 10).—J. F. D.

2. MAN (מָן; Sept. *μαννά*), or MANNA. The name given to the miraculous food upon which the Israelites were fed for forty years, during their wanderings in the desert. The same name has in later ages been applied to some natural productions, chiefly found in warm dry countries, but which have little or no resemblance to the original manna. This is first mentioned in Exod. xvi. It is there described as being first produced after the eighth encampment in the desert of Sin, as white like hoar frost (or of the colour of *bdellium*, Num. xi. 7), round, and of the bigness of coriander seed (*gad*). It fell with the dew every morning, and when the dew was exhaled by the heat of the sun, the manna appeared alone, lying upon the ground or the rocks round the encampment of the Israelites. 'When the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, *What is it?* for they knew not what it was' (Exod. xvi. 15). In the authorized, and some other versions, this passage is inaccurately translated—which indeed is apparent from the two parts of the sentence contradicting each other. In the Septuagint the substance is almost always called *manna* instead of *man*. Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 1. § 10), as quoted by Dr. Harris, says: 'The Hebrews call this food *manna*, for the particle

man in our language is the asking of a question, *What is this?* (*man-hu*). Moses answered this question by telling them, 'This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat.' We are further informed that the manna fell every day, except on the Sabbath. Every sixth day, that is on Friday, there fell a double quantity of it. Every man was directed to gather an omer (about three English quarts) for each member of his family; and the whole seems afterwards to have been measured out at the rate of an omer to each person: 'He who gathered much had nothing over, and he who gathered little had no lack.' That which remained ungathered dissolved in the heat of the sun, and was lost. The quantity collected was intended for the food of the current day only; for if any were kept till next morning, it corrupted and bred worms. Yet it was directed that a double quantity should be gathered on the sixth day for consumption on the Sabbath. And it was found that the manna kept for the Sabbath remained sweet and wholesome, notwithstanding that it corrupted at other times, if kept for more than one day. In the same manner as they would have treated grain, they reduced it to meal, kneaded it into dough, and baked it into cakes, and the taste of it was like that of wafers made with honey, or of fresh oil. In Num. xi. 6-9, where the description of the manna is repeated, an omer of it is directed to be preserved as a memorial to future generations, 'that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness;' and in Joshua v. 12 we learn that after the Israelites had encamped at Gilgal, and 'did eat of the old corn of the land, the manna ceased on the morrow after, neither had the children of Israel manna any more.'



397. [1. Alhagi maurorum. 2. Tamarix gallica.]

This miracle is referred to in Deut. viii. 3; Neh. ix. 20; Ps. lxxviii. 24; John vi. 31, 49, 58; Heb. ix. 4. Though the manna of Scripture was so evidently miraculous, both in the mode and in the quantities in which it was produced, and though its properties were so different from any thing with which we are acquainted, yet, because its taste is in Exodus said to be like that of wafers made with honey, many writers have thought that they recognised the manna of Scripture in a sweetish exudation which is found on several plants in Arabia and Persia. The name *man*, or *manna*, is applied to this substance by the Arab writers, and was probably so applied even before their time. But the term is now almost entirely appropriated to the sweetish exudation of the ashes of Sicily and Italy (*Ornus Europæa* and *Fraxinus rotundifolia*). These, however, have no relation to the supposed manna of Scripture. Of this one kind is known to the Arabs by the name of *guzunjbeen*, being the produce of a plant called *guz*, and which is ascertained to be a species of tamarisk. The same species seems also to be called *toorfa*, and is common along different parts of the coast of Arabia. It is also found in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai. Burckhardt, while in the valley Wady el-Sheik, to the north of Mount Serbal, says: 'In many parts it was thickly overgrown with the tamarisk or *toorfa*; it is the only valley in the Peninsula where this tree grows at present in any quantity, though some small bushes are here and there met with in other parts. It is from the *tarfa* that the manna is obtained; and it is very strange that the fact should have remained unknown in Europe till M. Seetzen mentioned it in a brief notice of his 'Tour to Sinai,' published in the *Mines de l'Orient*. The substance is called by the Arabs *mann*. In the month of June it drops from the thorns of the tamarisk upon the fallen twigs, leaves and thorns, which always cover the ground beneath the tree in the natural state. The Arabs use it as they do honey, to pour over their unleavened bread, or to dip their bread into; its taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and as sweet as honey. If eaten in any quantity it is said to be highly purgative.' He further adds, 'that the tamarisk is one of the most common trees in Nubia and throughout the whole of Arabia; on the Euphrates, on the Astaboras, in all the valleys of the Hedjaz and Bedja it grows in great quantities, yet nowhere but in the region of Mount Sinai did he hear of its producing manna. Ehrenberg has examined and described this species of tamarisk, which he calls *T. mannifera*, but which is considered to be only a variety of *T. gallica*. The manna he considers to be produced by the puncture of an insect which he calls *Coccus manniparus*. Others have been of the same opinion. When Lieut. Wellsted visited this place in the month of September, he found the extremities of the twigs and branches retaining the peculiar sweetness and flavour which characterize the manna. The Bedouins collect it early in the morning, and, after straining it through a cloth, place it either in skins or gourds; a considerable quantity is consumed by themselves; a portion is sent to Cairo; and some is also disposed of to the monks at Mount Sinai. The latter retail it to the Russian pilgrims.' 'The Bedouins assured me that the whole quantity collected throughout the Peninsula, in the most fruitful season, did not exceed 150 wogas (about 700 pounds); and that it was usually disposed of at the rate of 60 dollars the woga' (*Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 511).

Another kind of manna, which has been supposed to be that of Scripture, is yielded by a thorny plant very common from the north of India to Syria, and which, by the Arabs, is called Al-haj; whence botanists have constructed the name Alhagi. The two species have

been called *Alhagi maurorum* and *A. desertorum*. Both species are also, by the Arabs, called *ooshter-khar*, or 'camel's-thorn;' and in Mesopotamia *agool*, according to some authorities, while by others this is thought to be the name of another plant. The *Alhagi maurorum* is remarkable for the exudation of a sweetish juice, which concretes into small granular masses, and which is usually distinguished by the name of Persian manna. The late Professor Don was so confident that this was the same substance as the manna of Scripture, that he proposed calling the plant itself *Manna hebraica*. The climates of Persia and Bokhara seem also well suited to the secretion of this manna, which in the latter country is employed as a substitute for sugar, and is imported into India for medicinal use through Caubul and Khorassan. In Arabian and Persian works on Materia Medica it is called *Turungbeen*. These two, from the localities in which they are produced, have alone been thought to be the manna of Scripture. But, besides these, there are several other kinds of manna. Burckhardt, during his journey through El-Ghor, in the valley of the Jordan, heard of the Beirnk honey. This is described as a substance obtained from the leaves and branches of a tree called *Gharb* or *Garrab*, of the size of an olive-tree, and with leaves like those of the poplar. When fresh this greyish coloured exudation is sweet in taste, but in a few days it becomes sour. The Arabs eat it like honey. One kind, called *Sheer-khisht*, is said to be produced in the country of the Uzbecs. A Caubul merchant informed the author of this article, that it was produced by a tree called *Gundeleh*, which grows in Candahar, and is about twelve feet high, with jointed stems. A fifth kind is produced on *Calotropis procera*, or the plant called *Ashur*. The sweet exudation is by Arab authors ranked with sugars, and called *Shukur-al-ashur*. It is described under this name by Avicenna, and in the Latin translation it is called *Zuccarum-al-husar*. A sixth kind, called *Bed-khisht*, is described in Persian works on Materia Medica, as being produced on a species of willow in Persian Khorassan. Another kind would appear to be produced on a species of oak, for Niebuhr says, 'At Merdin, in Mesopotamia, it appears like a kind of pollen, on the leaves of the tree called *Ballot* and *Afs* (or, according to the Aleppo pronunciation, *As*), which I take to be of the oak family. All are agreed, that between Merdin and Diarbekir manna is obtained, and principally from those trees which yield gall-nuts.' Besides these, there is a sweetish exudation found on the larch, which is called *Manna brigantiaca*, as there is also one kind found on the cedar of Lebanon. Indeed a sweetish secretion is found on the leaves of many other plants, produced sometimes by the plant itself, at others by the punctures of insects. It has been supposed, also, that these sweetish exudations being evaporated during the heat of the day in still weather, may afterwards become deposited, with the dew, on the ground, and on the leaves of plants; and thus explain some of the phenomena which have been observed by travellers and others. But none of these mannas explain, nor can it be expected that they should explain, the miracle of Scripture, by which abundance is stated to have been produced for millions, where hundreds cannot now be subsisted.—J. F. R.

MAN OF SIN. [Antichrist.]

MANAEN (Μαναήν), a Christian teacher at Antioch, who had been foster-brother of Herod Antipas (Acts xiii. 1). He is supposed to have been one of the seventy disciples, but this is uncertain, as no particulars of his life are known.

MANASSEH, TRIBE OF. When the tribe of Manasseh quitted Egypt, it numbered 32,200 adult males (Num. i. 34, 35), being 8300 less than the tribe of Ephraim, the younger son of Joseph. This was the lowest number of adult males in any tribe at that period; but if we add the two together, the tribe of Joseph, composed of these two tribes, reached to 72,700, which was more than any other tribe contained, except Judah. During the sojourn in the wilderness, the tribe of Manasseh rose to 52,700 (Num. xxvi. 34), being an increase of 20,500. This gave it rank in point of population as the sixth of the tribes, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, Dan, and Asher only being more numerous. In the same period Ephraim had declined to nearly the same position which Manasseh had previously occupied, its numbers being reduced to 32,500. Yet the prophecy of Jacob was fulfilled, and, when settled in Canaan, Ephraim became superior in wealth, power and population, not only to Manasseh, but to all the tribes except Judah. One circumstance tending to weaken Manasseh may have been the division which took place in it on entering Palestine. The pastoral half of the tribe was allowed to establish itself with Reuben and Gad, on the east of the Jordan, where it occupied the northernmost portion, consisting of Argob and Bashan, from the Jabbok to Mount Hermon (Num. xxxii. 39; xxxiv. 14; Deut. iii. 3; Josh. xii. 6; xiii. 7; 1 Chron. vi. 23), while the other half was provided for with the rest of the tribes in Canaan proper, west of the Jordan, where it had a fine tract of country extending from that river to the Mediterranean, with the kindred tribe of Ephraim on the south, and Issachar on the north (Josh. xvi. 9; xvii. 7-11). The half-tribe west of the river was not, however, for some time able to expel the former inhabitants of the territory, so as to obtain the exclusive possession of it (Josh. xvii. 12; Judg. i. 27). The tribe of Manasseh makes no figure in the history of the Hebrews.

1. MANASSEH (מְנַשֶּׁה, *who makes forget*, see Gen. xli. 51; Sept. Μανασσῆς), the elder of the two sons of Joseph, born in Egypt (Gen. xli. 51; xlvi. 20), whom Jacob adopted as his own (xlviii. 1)—by which act each became the head of a tribe in Israel. The act of adoption was however accompanied by a clear intimation from Jacob, that the descendants of Manasseh, although the elder, would be far less numerous and powerful than those of the younger Ephraim. The result corresponded remarkably with this intimation. [Ephraim.]

2. MANASSEH, fourteenth king of Judah, son and successor of Hezekiah, who began to reign in B.C. 699, at the early age of twelve years, and reigned fifty-five years. It appears that the secret enemies of the vigorous reforms of Hezekiah re-appeared, and managed to gain much influence at court during the youth of Manasseh; and he was prevailed upon to re-establish all the idolatries and abominations which it had taken his excellent father so much pains to subvert. This

bent having been unhappily given to the mind of one old enough to listen to evil counsels, but too young to see their danger, the king followed it with all the reckless ardour of youth, and without any of the prudent reservations which older sovereigns, more discreet in evincing the same inclinations, had maintained. Idolatry in its worst forms, and all the abominations connected with its observances, were practised without stint and without shame, not only in the face of the temple, but in its very courts, where altars to the heavenly bodies were set up, and rites of idolatrous worship performed. Under this altered state of things, the Judahites, with the sanction of the king's example, rushed into all the more odious observances of Syrian idolatry, with all the ardour which usually attends the outbreak of a restrained propensity, till they became far 'worse than the heathen, whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel.' In vain did the prophets raise their voice against these iniquities, and threaten Manasseh and his kingdom with awful tokens of Divine indignation. Instead of profiting by these warnings, the king vented his rage against those by whom they were uttered, and in this, and other ways, filled Jerusalem with innocent blood beyond any king who reigned before him (1 Kings xxi. 1-16; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1-10).

At length the wrath of God burst over the guilty king and nation. At this time there was constant war between Assyria and Egypt, and it would seem that Manasseh adhered to the policy of his father in making common cause with the latter power. This, or some other cause not stated by the sacred historian, brought into Judæa an Assyrian army, under the generals of Esar-haddon, which carried all before it. The miserable king attempted flight, but was discovered in a thorn-brake in which he had hidden himself, was laden with chains, and sent away as a captive to Babylon, which was then subject to the Assyrians, where he was cast into prison (B.C. 677). Here, at last, Manasseh had ample opportunity and leisure for cool reflection; and the hard lessons of adversity were not lost upon him. He saw and deplored the evils of his reign, he became as a new man, he humbly besought pardon from God, and implored that he might be enabled to evince the sincerity of his contrition, by being restored to a position for undoing all that it had been the business of his life to effect. His prayer was heard. His captivity is supposed to have lasted a year, and he was then restored to his kingdom under certain obligations of tribute and allegiance to the king of Assyria, which, although not expressed in the account of this transaction, are alluded to in the history of his successors (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-13).

On his return to Jerusalem, Manasseh exerted himself to the utmost in correcting the errors of his early reign, and in establishing the worship of Jehovah in its former purity and splendour. The good conduct of his latter reign was rewarded with such prosperity as enabled him to do much for the improvement and strengthening of his capital and kingdom. He thoroughly repaired the old walls of Jerusalem, and added a new wall on the side towards Gihon; he surrounded and fortified by a separate wall the hill or ridge, on the east of Zion, which bore the name of עֹפֶל, Ophel, and he strengthened, garrisoned, and provisioned 'the fenced cities of Judah' (2 Chron. xxxiii. 13-17). He died in peace (B.C. 664), at the age of sixty-eight, after having reigned longer than any other king of Judah, and was buried in a sepulchre which he had prepared for himself in his own garden (xxxiii. 20).

MANASSES, PRAYER OF [Apocrypha]. This pseudepigraphal work has come down to us in the MSS. of the Latin Vulgate, and is found in the early printed editions of that version. It is erroneously stated in the preface to the Antwerp edition, that this prayer is found only in the Latin language, and that it does not exist either in the Greek or Hebrew; and the same is repeated by Du Pin (*Prolegomena;* and *Canon of Scripture*, i. 1). It had, however, already appeared in Greek and Latin in Robert Stephen's folio edition of the Latin Vulgate, Paris, 1540, immediately after the second book of Chronicles (p. 159), and in the edition of the same printed in 1546, while in his quarto edition of 1545 and those which followed, it appears in Latin only. Robert Stephen prefaces the first Greek impression of this prayer by observing: 'Græcam hanc Manassæ regis Juda orationem, *nunquam antehac excusam*, peperit tibi, candide lector, bibliotheca Victoriana, quæ quam dives sit veterum exemplarium omnis generis, nemo non novit. Quid multa? Secundat Deus res eorum, qui omnibus literarum meliorum studiosis talem bibliothecam quotidie curant et instruunt magis ac magis.' It was next published by Dauderstadt in 1628, and was afterwards found in the *Codex Alexandrinus*, among the hymns which follow the book of Psalms, and was inserted by Walton in his *Polyglott*, with the various readings of this MS. It also appears among the hymns in the Ethiopic Psalter, as published by Ludolf in 1701. When the Apocryphal writings were separated from the other books at the Reformation, the Prayer of Manasses was placed between Bel and the Dragon and Maccabees.

Du Pin (*l. c.*) asserts that the Latin fathers have often cited this prayer; but the earliest reference to it which we know of is in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (§ 12), attributed to Clemens Romanus, but which are generally believed to be a work of the fourth century. In this work (ii. 22) the prayer is cited as if it were an integral portion of the book of Chronicles, together with some tradionary accounts of the nature of his imprisonment in shackles of iron, and of his miraculous release: which are also alluded to in the Targum on Chronicles. It was held to be genuine by the author of the *Sermon on the Pharisee and Publican*, in the works of Chrysostom (i. 6); by Anthony the Monk (ii. 94); Theodore Studita (*Serm. Catechet.* 93); Theophanes Ceramæus (*Homil.* ii. and lvi.); Freculfus, and George Syncellus, and George the Sinner, in their *Chronicles;* also by Suidas (*Lexicon*, *s. v.* Μανασσῆς), who cites the commencement, Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, κ. τ. λ., and by Anastasius Sinaita (*in Psalm.* vi.). By several of these writers it is called *a hymn*, or *hymn of prayer* (προσευχὴν τῆς ᾠδῆς), which was sung in the churches—a statement corroborated by its position in the *Codex Alexandrinus*. The modern Greeks still place it in their Psalter along with the other hymns (Leo Allatius, *De lib. Ecclesiast. Græcorum*, p. 62). It was printed in Greek in the *Apostolical Constitutions*

in 1563, and in the *Apostolical Fathers* of Cotelerius in 1672. The learned Fabricius reprinted it at Leipsic in 1691, together with the books of Wisdom, Sirach, Judith, and Tobit. He also published metrical versions of it in Greek and Latin, one of which had previously appeared in 1598; and there had been a Latin metrical version published by Claudius Espencæus at Paris, in 1566. It appeared in the Greek *Apocrypha*, Frankfort, 1694, and homiletic expositions of it were given to the public by John Forster, George Albert, and others. (See Fabricii *Biblioth. Græc.* lib. iii. cap. 29, p. 740, or Harles's edit. cap. xiv. vol. 3, p. 732).

It is entitled 'The Prayer of Manasses, king of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon,' and had doubtless its origin from 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12, 13: 'And when he was in Babylon in affliction, he besought the Lord his God . . . and prayed unto him;' and verse 18, 'Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto God . . . behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel;' and verse 19, 'His prayer also, and how God was entreated of him . . . . . behold, they are written among the sayings of the seers.'

This prayer, however, not being found in the Hebrew, and not being cited by the more eminent fathers, nor contained in any of the catalogues of ancient councils, has not been received in the church as genuine or canonical. It is classed in the Sixth Article of the Church of England, among the 'other books read by the church for example of life and instruction of manners;' but the church of Rome classes it with 3rd and 4th Esdras [Esdras], removing it to the end of the Bible, and rejecting it from the deutero-canonical, as well as from the proto-canonical books. Dens (*Theologia*, vol. ii. p. 94, Quæst. vi., N. 61) states that the church places these books, together with 3rd and 4th Maccabees, among the Apocrypha, as she did not find a sufficiently certain tradition respecting them. He classifies the Apocrypha as consisting of books *positively Apocryphal*, or condemned, and *negatively Apocryphal*, that is, neither approved nor rejected. 'The latter may become canonical when the church's doubts are removed, as was the case of the deutero-canonical books' [Deutero-canonical]. 'A *positively* Apocryphal book can never become canonical, although a canonical book may become apocryphal.'

The prayer of Manasses abounds in pious sentiments. Mr. Horne (*Introd.* vol. ii.) describes it as not unworthy of the occasion on which it is pretended to have been composed. Du Pin (*ut supra*) observes that though not very eloquent, it is full of good thoughts. Bishop Cosin (*Scholastic Hist. of the Canon*) cites a passage from it, 'Repentance is not for the just, but for sinners,' as bearing a resemblance to Matt. ix. 13.

MANDRAKE. [Dudaim.]

MANEH. [Weights & Measures.]

MANNA. [Man, 2.]

MANOAH, father of Samson [Samson].

MANSLAYER. [Blood-Revenge.]

MANUSCRIPTS, BIBLICAL. These are either Hebrew or Greek: we shall treat of them separately. 1. Jewish MSS. are divided into (*a.*) *Synagogue rolls* or *sacred copies*; and (*b.*) *Private* or *common copies*.

(*a.*) The synagogue rolls contain the Pentateuch, the appointed sections of the prophets, or the book of Esther, which last is used only at the Feast of Purim. The three are never put together; but are written on separate rolls. They are in the Chaldee or square Hebrew character, without vowels and accents, accompanied with the *puncta extraordinaria*, and having the unusual forms of certain consonants. The parchment is prepared in a particular manner by the hands of Jews only, and made from the hides of *clean* animals, which, when duly wrought, are joined together by thongs made out of the same material. They are then divided into columns, the breadth of which must not exceed half their length. These columns, whose number is prescribed, must be of equal length and breadth among themselves, and contain a certain number of lines, each line having no more than three words. The Talmud contains strict rules concerning the material, the colour, the ink, letters, divisions, writing-instrument, &c., which are closely followed, especially in the Pentateuch. These rules are extracted from the Talmud, and translated in Adler's *Judæorum Codicis Sacri rite scribendi leges ad recte æstimandos Codices Manuscriptos antiquos perveteres. Ex libello Talmudico in Latinum conversas et adnotationibus necessariis explicatas, eruditis examinandas tradit*, &c., Hamburgh, 1779, 8vo. The minuteness of such regulations renders it a most irksome task for the *sopher* or scribe to write out a synagogue roll. The revision of the *Torah*, as the synagogue roll is often called, must be undertaken within thirty days after its transcription, else it is unfit for use. *Three* mistakes on one side or skin are allowable; but should there be *four*, or should there happen to be an error in the *open* and *close* sections of the law; in the position of the songs in Exodus ch. v., and Deuteronomy ch. xxxii., which are the only portions of the Pentateuch written in poetical lines, then the whole copy is worthless. The great beauty of penmanship exhibited in these synagogue copies has been always admired. They are taken from authentic exemplars, without the slightest deviation or correction. They seldom fall into the hands of Christians, since, as soon as they cease to be employed in the synagogue, they are either buried or carefully laid aside, lest they should be profaned by coming into the possession of Gentiles.

(*b.*) Private MSS. are written partly in the *square* or *Chaldee* character, partly in the *Rabbinical*. They are held in far less esteem than the synagogue rolls, and are wont to be denominated *profane* (*pesulim*). Their form is entirely arbitrary. They are in folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo. Of those written in the *square character*, the greater number are on parchment, some on paper. The ink of the letters is always black, but the vowel points are usually written with ink of a different colour from that of the consonants. Initial words and letters are frequently decorated with gold and silver colours. The prose parts are arranged in columns, the *poetic* in parallel members. Some copies are without columns. The columns are not always occupied with the Hebrew text alone; for a version is frequently added, which is either written in the text after the manner of verses, or in a column by itself, or in the margin in a smaller character. The number of lines is

not prescribed by the Talmud. The upper and lower margin are filled with the Great Masora, and sometimes with a Rabbinical commentary; as also with prayers, psalms, and the like. The external margin is for corrections, scholia, variations, notices of the *haphtaroth* (sections from the prophets), *parashoth* (sections from the law), the commentaries of the Rabbins, &c. &c. The inner margin, or that between the columns, is occupied with the little Masora. The single books of the Old Testament are separated from one another by spaces, except the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which are written continuously. The sections of the law and prophets are generally marked. In the MSS. of different countries the books are differently arranged. These copies generally pass through various hands before they are finished. The consonants proceed from the *sopher* or scribe. When the same person writes both consonants and vowels, as is frequently the case, he never makes them at the same time; the former are finished before he begins to append the latter. The *K'ris* in the margin uniformly proceed from the vowel-writer. It is probable that these copies were in no instance made by Christians.

Although the square character be employed in all the MSS. of which we have spoken, yet it has varieties. The Jews themselves distinguish in the synagogue rolls, 1. the *Tam* letter, with sharp corners and perpendicular coronulæ, used among the German and Polish Jews; 2. the *Velshe* letter, more modern than the *Tam*, and rounder, with coronulæ, particularly found in the sacred copies of the Spanish and Oriental Jews.

The age of Hebrew MSS. is not easily determined. It is true that they often contain subscriptions giving an account of the time when they were written, and the name of the scribe, or also of the possessor. But these accounts are often ambiguous, and occasionally incorrect. Where they are altogether wanting, it is still more difficult to discover the age. In the latter case, the character of the writing, the colour of the ink, the quality and yellowness of the parchment, the absence of the Masora, of the vowel-points, of the unusual letters, &c. have been chiefly rested upon. Still, however, such particulars are uncertain marks of age.

The oldest Hebrew MS. at present known belongs to A.D. 1106 (No. 154 of Kennicott). It is true that some others are *supposed* to be older, but simply by conjecture. As far as certainty is concerned, this is certainly the oldest. Loehnis (*Grundzüge der Biblischen Hermeneutik und Kritik*, Giessen, 1839) affirms that some reach as far back as the eighth century, an assertion grounded merely on the conjecture of De Rossi and Kennicott. So much uncertainty attaches to the internal marks adopted by these two Hebraists, that the ages to which they assign several Hebrew MSS. are quite gratuitous. No Hebrew MS. *possessing an indubitably accurate* register of its antiquity, goes farther back than the twelfth century (see the *third* section of Tychsen's *Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. generibus, &c.*, Rostock, 1772, 8vo., in which the learned writer examines the marks of antiquity assumed by Simon, Jablonski, Wolf, Houbigant, Kennicott, and Lilienthal, and shows that the *Masora alone* is a certain index for determining the age and goodness of Hebrew MSS.; the same writer's *Beurtheilung der Jahrzahlen in den Hebræisch-Biblischen Handschriften*, Rostock, 1786, 8vo., in which the mode of determining the age of MSS. adopted by Kennicott, Bruns, and De Rossi, is rejected; and Schnurrer's *Dissertatio Inauguralis de Codicum Hebræorum Vet. Test. ætate difficulter determinandâ*, Tübingen, 1772, 4to., and reprinted in his *Dissertationes Philologico-Criticæ*, Gotha and Amsterdam, 1790, 8vo).

Private MSS. written in the *Rabbinical character* are much more recent than the preceding; none of them being older than 500 years. They are on cotton or linen paper, in a *cursive* character, without vowel-points or the Masora, and with many abbreviations.

The MSS. found among the Chinese Jews are partly synagogue rolls, partly private copies, whose text does not differ from the Masoretic. The Pentateuch of the Malabar Jews brought from India to England by the late Dr. Buchanan, and described by Mr. Yeates, resembles on the whole the usual synagogue rolls of the Jews, except that it is written on red skins. Its text is the Masoretic, with a few unimportant deviations.

Eight exemplars are celebrated among the Jews for their correctness and value. They are now lost, but extracts from them are still preserved. From Jewish writings, and from the margin of some MSS., where a reference is made to them, we learn that they were highly prized for their singular accuracy. They formed the basis of subsequent copies. They are—1. The codex of Hillel; 2. The Babylonian codex; 3. The codex of Israel; 4. An Egyptian codex; 5. Codex Sinai; 6. The Pentateuch of Jericho; 7. Codex Sanbuki; 8. The book Taggin. For a more copious account of Hebrew MSS. we refer to Eichhorn's *Einleitung* (Introduction), vol. ii.; Kennicott's *Dissertatio generalis;* Walton's *Prolegomena to the Polyglott*, which have been separately edited by Dathe and Wrangham; Tychsen's *Tentamen;* De Rossi's *Variæ Lectiones Vet. Test.* &c.; and his *Scholia critica in V. T. libros*, &c.; De Wette, *Lehrbuch der Historisch-Kritischen Einleitung;* and Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*, in which last the best books are pointed out.

II. We have now to refer to the MSS. of the Greek Testament. Those that have descended to our time are either on vellum or paper. The oldest material was the Egyptian papyrus; but even so early as the fourth century, the New Testament was written on the skins of animals. This writing material continued in use till the eleventh century, when paper began to be employed. Till the tenth century, MSS. were usually written in *capital* or *uncial* letters; then the cursive character came into use. The most ancient copies have no divisions of words, being written in a continued series of lines. Accents, spirits, and iota subscript, are also wanting.

The whole New Testament is contained in very few MSS. Transcribers generally divided it into three parts; the first containing the four Gospels; the second, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles; the third, the Apocalypse of St. John. The greatest number of MSS. are those which have the four Gospels, because they were

most frequently read in the churches. Those containing the Acts and epistles are also numerous. Such as have the book of Revelation alone are extremely few, because it was seldom read in public.

Greek codices are not often complete in all their parts. They have many chasms. Again, some contain merely detached portions of the New Testament, or sections appointed to be read on certain days in the churches. Hence such codices are called *ἀναγνώσεις* or *ἀναγνώσματα* in Greek; and in Latin *lectionaria*. Those containing lessons from the *Gospels* are called *evangelistaria;* while such as were taken from the *Acts and epistles* were denominated *πραξαπόστολοι*.

Several MSS. are accompanied with a Latin translation *interlined*, or in a *parallel column*. Such have been called *bilingues*, or *Græco-Latini*.

We shall now advert to the uncial MSS. of the Greek Testament, and to those usually quoted in the examination of the controverted passage 1 John v. 7. The former are marked with the letters of the alphabet A, B, C, &c.

A. *Codex Alexandrinus*, presented by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Alexandria, and afterwards of Constantinople, to Charles I., now in the British Museum. It contains the whole Bible, the Septuagint version of the Old Testament in three folios, and the New Testament in one. It has various chasms. A fac-simile of the New Testament portion was published by Dr. Woide, in a folio volume, London, 1786. Mr. Baber of the British Museum executed the Old Testament in the same manner, in four folio volumes, London, 1819. This MS. was probably written at Alexandria, and belongs to the fifth century.

B. *Codex Vaticanus*, 1209, in the Vatican Library at Rome, containing the Old and New Testaments. It is defective in several places; and portions have been supplied by a modern hand. Hug has proved that it belongs to the middle of the fourth century. In regard to the internal value of its readings, it is probably superior to the Codex Alexandrinus.

C. *Codex regius*, or *Ephraemi*. This is a *rescript* or *palimpsest* MS., *i. e.* the ancient writing has been erased to make room for some other. The works of Ephrem the Syrian were over the original. In endeavouring to ascertain the character of what was first written on the parchment, and washing off the latter letters, it was found that the MS. contained originally the Old and New Testaments in Greek. In many places it is so faded as to be illegible. There are numerous chasms in it. Several forms of words seem to indicate that it was written in Egypt: it probably belongs to the sixth century, and is now in the Royal Library at Paris, where it is marked 9.

D. *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, or *Bezæ*.—This MS. was presented, in 1581, to the University of Cambridge, by Theodore Beza. It is a Greek-Latin MS. of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, with a single fragment of the Catholic epistles. Its age is probably the *seventh* century, though many have assigned it to the fifth. Kipling, Hug, and Scholz think that it was written in Egypt; but Scholz has given some reasons for assigning it to the south of France, which are not without weight. Credner assents to the latter opinion, as far as the MS. is concerned; while he thinks that the text is of Jewish-Christian origin, and attributes it to Palestine. Great diversity of opinion has prevailed respecting the quality of its readings. Bishop Middleton, at the end of his work on the Greek article, depreciated it. Matthæi had done so before. Both have unduly lessened its value. Dr. Kipling published a fac-simile of it at Cambridge, 1793, 2 vols. folio.

D. *Claromontanus*, or *Regius*, 107, a Greek-Latin copy of Paul's epistles, marked with the same letter of the alphabet as the preceding, but containing a different part of the New Testament. It is at present in the Royal Library at Paris: it probably belongs to the eighth century.

E. *Codex Basileensis*.—This MS. has many chasms, and several parts of it have been written by a more recent hand than the rest. It contains the Gospels, and belongs to the ninth century.

E. *Laudianus*, having once belonged to Archbishop Laud, and now in the Bodleian Library. It contains the Acts of the Apostles, with a Latin version, and wants from xxvi. 29 to xxviii. 26. This MS. belongs to the *seventh* or *eighth* century, and was published by *Thomas Hearne* at Oxford in 1715, octavo.

E. *Sangermanensis*.—This is a Greek-Latin MS. of Paul's epistles, but a copy of the *Claromontanus*, with various corrections. It belongs to the eleventh century.

F. *Codex Borecli*, containing the four Gospels. It has been collated no farther than Luke x.

F. *Coislinianus*, a MS. containing part of the Old Testament and Acts ix. 24, 25. It belongs to the seventh century.

F. *Augiensis*.—This is a Greek-Latin MS. of Paul's epistles, now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It belongs to the tenth century.

G. *Harleianus*, in the British Museum. This is a MS. of the four Gospels, but with many chasms. It belongs to the eleventh century.

G. *Angelicus*.—A MS. containing the Acts of the Apostles, with the Pauline and Catholic epistles, belonging to the Angelican Library at Rome. It is as old as the ninth century. In the Pauline epistles it is marked I.

G. *Boernerianus*, a Greek MS. of Paul's Epistles, with an interlinear Latin version, now in the Electoral Library at Dresden. It wants the Epistle to the Hebrews, and probably belongs to the ninth century. The characters show an approach to the *cursive*.

H. *Wolfii* B, a MS. of the four Gospels, with many chasms. It belongs to the eleventh century.

H. *Mutinensis*.—This MS. contains the Acts of the Apostles written in the *ninth* century; but chapters i. 1—v. 28, were added in the fifteenth century, and xxvii. 1 to the end, in the eleventh century. With the Catholic epistles, it contains the Pauline, written in cursive letters (179), and belongs to the twelfth century.

H. *Coislinianus*.—This MS. contains fragments of the Pauline epistles, which have been printed by Montfaucon in the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*. According to Hug it belongs to the sixth century.

J. *Cottonianus*.—This codex contains fragments of Matthew and John's Gospels. It belongs to the seventh or eighth century.

K. *Codex Cyprius*, formerly *Colbertinus*, 5149,

now *Regius*, 63, a MS. containing the Gospels. It belongs to the eighth or ninth century, probably the latter, and has been fully collated and described by Scholz at the end of his *Curæ Criticæ*, 4to., Heidelberg, 1820. See, however, Schulz in the prolegomena to Griesbach, vol. i.

L. *Regius*, 62.—This MS. contains the four Gospels, with several mutilations. It is of Egyptian origin, as Griesbach has proved; and belongs to the ninth century.

M. *Regius*, 48, containing the Gospels, and belonging to the tenth century.

N. *Vindobonensis Cæsareus*.—This fragmentary MS. contains only Luke xxiv. 13-21 and 39-49. It belongs to the seventh century.

O. *Montefalconii*, a MS. containing Luke xviii.

P. *Guelpherbytanus*, a codex *rescriptus*, containing fragments of the four Gospels, and belonging to the sixth century.

Q. *Guelpherbytanus*, also a rescript MS., containing fragments of the Gospels of Luke and John, and belonging to the sixth century. These two MSS. were published and described by Knittel in 1763.

R. *Tubingensis*.—This fragment, containing John i. 38-50, has been published by Reuss. It belongs to the seventh century.

S. *Vaticanus*, 354.—This MS. contains the Gospels, and belongs to the tenth century.

T. The *Borgian* fragment, part of a Coptic-Greek MS. brought from Egypt. It contains John vi. 28-67; vii. 6—viii. 31. It was printed by George in 1789, and belongs to the fourth or more probably the fifth century.

U. A MS. of the Gospels in St. Mark's Library, Venice. It belongs to the tenth century.

V. *Mosquensis*, a MS. of the four Gospels, belonging to the library of the Holy Synod at Moscow. It wants some parts of Matthew, and from John vii. 39 is written in cursive characters of the thirteenth century; the first part belongs to the ninth century.

W. *Regius*, a fragment containing Luke ix. 36-47; x. 12-22; and belonging to the eighth century.

X. *Landshutensis*.—This MS. contains the four Gospels, but with numerous chasms and some supplements. It belongs most probably to the tenth century.

Y. *Barberinus*, a fragment in the library of Cardinal Barberini at Rome, containing John xvi. 4—xix. 28. It belongs to the *ninth* century.

Z. *Dublinensis*, a rescript, exhibiting the Gospel of Matthew, but in a very imperfect state. It was published in fac-simile by Dr. Barrett (Dublin, 1801, 4to.), and belongs to the sixth century.

Γ. *Vaticanus*.—This fragment contains Matthew xix. 6-13; xx. 6-22; xx. 29—xxi. 19. It belongs to the seventh century.

Δ. *Sangallensis*.—This is a Greek-Latin MS. of the Gospels, made by the monks in the monastery of St. Gallen. It was published by Rettigius at Turin, in 1836, and belongs to the ninth century.

Such are the *uncial* MSS. hitherto collated. Those written in the *cursive* character are described in the large critical editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz; and in the *Introduction* of Michaelis, up to the period when it was published. The other Introductions contain descriptions of several, but not all the MSS.

Three cursive MSS. deserve mention, from their connection with the much-disputed passage, 1 John v. 7, which they are usually quoted as containing. As they are written in *cursive* letters, they are not older than the tenth century.

1. *The Codex Montfortianus*, or *Dublinensis*, belonging to the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It was quoted by Erasmus, under the title of *Codex Britannicus*. It is written on paper in 12mo. size, and could not have been made earlier than the fifteenth century. It follows the *Vulgate* very closely, not only in the insertion of the much-disputed verse, but in other passages of a remarkable character.

2. *The Codex Ravianus*, or *Berolinensis*.—This MS. is generally supposed to be a forgery, copied in the greater part of it from the Greek text of the *Complutensian Polyglott*, and the third edition of Stephens. It has even their *typographical* errors. It was written in the sixteenth century, and has no *critical value* (see Pappelbaum's *Untersuchung der Ravischen Griechischen Handschrift des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin, 1785, 8vo.; and his subsequent treatise, entitled, *Codicis Manuscripti N. T. Græci Raviani in Biblioth. Reg. Berol. publica asservati examen, quo ostenditur, alteram ejus partem majorem ex editione Complutensi, alteram minorem ex editione Rob. Stephani tertia esse descriptam*, Berlin, 1796, 8vo).

3. *Codex Ottobonianus* (298), preserved in the Vatican. This MS. contains the Acts and epistles, with a Latin version. Scholz ascribes it to the fifteenth century. It has no critical value, because it has been altered in many cases to correspond with the *Vulgate*. In it the disputed text is found in a different form from the common reading. Instead of *in heaven*, it has *from heaven;* and instead of *on earth*, it has *from the earth*.

MSS. are generally divided by the modern critics of Germany into—1. Such as were written before the practice of *stichometry*, a mode of dividing the text which shall be explained afterwards. 2. The *stichometrical*. 3. Those written after *stichometry* had ceased. So Hug and De Wette in their Introductions to the New Testament. According to this classification A, B, and C belong to the first class; D, D, &c., to the second; and by far the greatest number to the third. We have alluded to them under the two great heads of *uncial* and *cursive*.

In examining MSS. and comparing their characteristic readings, it is not easy in every instance to arrive at the true original form of a passage. Many circumstances are to be taken into account—many cautions must be observed. They are more useful in detecting interpolated passages than in restoring the correct reading.

The reading of an older MS. is preferable *ceteris paribus*.

In determining the age of a MS. internal marks have been chiefly followed, such as the form of the letters, the divisions, abbreviations, the nature of the lines, the presence or absence of the accents, &c. These particulars, however, are not safe criteria.

Age alone is not sufficient to ensure the value of the text of a MS. The copyist may have been

guilty of negligence or inattention. In proportion to his accuracy or carelessness will the authority of the codex be greater or less.

Again, a document certainly copied from one which is very ancient, will have greater authority than an earlier taken from another of no great antiquity. Thus a MS. of the *eighth* century may have been directly copied from one of the *fifth*, and consequently the former will be entitled to greater estimation than one belonging to the seventh century transcribed from one of the sixth.

In determining the value of a codex, it is usual to refer to the country where it was written. Griesbach and others prefer the *African;* Scholz, the *Constantinopolitan*. With respect to Hebrew MSS., it is admitted by all that the Spanish are the best. The Italian, again, are superior to the German. The reading contained in the greater number of MSS. is preferable to that of a less number. *Mere majority*, however, is not a safe criterion. A majority arising from *independent sources*, or, in other words, of those belonging to *different recensions*, can alone be relied on as decisive. But here critics are not agreed as to the number of *recensions* belonging to Greek MSS. Some have proposed four, some three, others two. Besides, the same MS. may belong to a different recension in different parts of itself. In others, the characteristic readings of two or three recensions are mingled together, rendering it difficult to determine which recension or family preponderates.

Hebrew MSS. belong to one and the same recension. It is true that some have distinguished them into *Masoretic* and *Ante-masoretic;* but the existence of the latter is a mere fiction. One great family alone, viz. the *Masoretic*, can be distinctly traced.—S. D.

MAON (מָעוֹן; Sept. Μαών), a town in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 55), which gave name to a wilderness where David hid himself from Saul, and around which the churlish Nabal had great possessions (1 Sam. xxiii. 24, 25; xxv. 2). Jerome places it to the east of Daroma (*Onomast.* s. v. Maon). The name does not occur in modern times, and Dr. Robinson regards it as one of the sites first identified by himself. Irby and Mangles were in the neighbourhood in 1818, but did not detect this and other ancient names. Robinson finds it in the present Maîn, which is about seven miles south by east from Hebron. Here there is a conical hill about 200 feet high, on the top of which are some ruins of no great extent, consisting of foundations of hewn stone, a square enclosure, the remains probably of a tower or castle, and several cisterns. The view from the summit is extensive. This is Maîn. The traveller found here a band of peasants keeping their flocks, and dwelling in caves amid the ruins (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 190-196).

MARAH (מָרָה, *bitterness;* Sept. Μαρά). The Israelites, in departing from Egypt, made some stay on the shores of the Red Sea, at the place where it had been crossed by them. From this spot they proceeded southward for three days without finding any water, and then came to a well, the waters of which were so bitter, that, thirsty as they were, they could not drink them. The well was called *Marah* from the quality of its waters. This name, in the form of Amarah, is now borne by the barren bed of a winter torrent, a little beyond which is still found a well called Howara, the bitter waters of which answer to this description. Camels will drink it; but the thirsty Arabs never partake of it themselves; and it is said to be the only water on the shore of the Red Sea which they cannot drink. The water of this well, when first taken into the mouth, seems insipid rather than bitter, but when held in the mouth a few seconds it becomes exceedingly nauseous. The well rises within an elevated mound surrounded by sand-hills, and two small date-trees grow near it.

The Hebrews, unaccustomed as yet to the hardships of the desert, and having been in the habit of drinking their full of the best water in the world, were much distressed by its scarcity in the region wherein they now wandered; and in their disappointment of the relief expected from this well, they murmured greatly against Moses for having brought them into such a dry wilderness, and asked him, 'What shall we drink?' On this Moses cried to Jehovah, who indicated to him 'a certain tree,' on throwing the branches of which into the well, its waters became sweet and fit for use. The view which has been taken of this transaction by the present writer in another work (*Pictorial Hist. of Palestine*, pp. 209, 210), is here introduced, as it has been judged satisfactory, and as no new information on the subject has since been obtained.

'The question connected with this operation is—whether the effect proceeded from the inherent virtue of the tree in sweetening bad water; or that it had no such virtue, and that the effect was purely miraculous. In support of the former alternative, it may be asked why the tree should have been pointed out and used at all, unless it had a curative virtue? And to this the answer may be found in the numerous instances in which God manifests a purpose of working even his miracles in accordance with the general laws by which he governs the world, and for that purpose disguising the naked exhibition of supernatural power, by the interposition of an *apparent* cause; while yet the true character of the event is left indisputable, by the utter inadequacy of the apparent cause to produce, by itself, the resulting effect. This tends to show that the tree, or portion of it, need not be supposed, from the mere fact of its being employed, to have had an inherent curative virtue. It had not necessarily any such virtue; and that it positively had not such virtue seems to follow, or, at least, to be rendered more than probable by the consideration —that, in the scanty and little diversified vegetation of this district, any such very desirable virtues in a tree, or part of a tree, could scarcely have been undiscovered before the time of the history, and if they had been discovered, could not but have been known to Moses; and the divine indication of the tree would not have been needful. And, again, if the corrective qualities were inherent, but were at this time first made known, it is incredible that so valuable a discovery would ever have been forgotten; and yet it is manifest that in after-times the Hebrews had not the knowledge of any tree which could render bad water drinkable; and the inhabitants of the desert have not only not preserved the

knowledge of a fact which would have been so important to them, but have not discovered it in the thirty-five centuries which have since passed. This is shown by the inquiries of travellers, some of whom were actuated by the wish of finding a plant which might supersede the miracle. Burckhardt confesses that, after numerous inquiries, he could never learn that the Arabs were acquainted with any plant or tree possessing such qualities; but he regrets that he omitted to make this inquiry at Marah in particular. Lord Lindsay, remembering this regret, did make particular inquiries at that place. "I asked whether they had any means of sweetening bad water, and he mentioned the *mann*, a gum that exudes from the tamarisk-tree, and the juice of the *homr* berry. The *homr* plant, and *tarfah*, or tamarisk-tree, grow in great abundance in Wady Gharandel. The former bears small, red, juicy berries, which they squeeze into water: the *mann* has a strong aromatic taste, like turpentine. One of our guides had a piece of it, which I tasted; they keep it in casks, melt it when required, and spread it on their bread like honey. Some have taken it for the miraculous *manna*—too absurd an opinion to be confuted. Are we to understand that the effect produced on the bitter waters of Marah, by casting in the tree, shown to Moses by the Almighty (or 'something of a tree,' as the Arabic version runs), was also miraculous? If not, it has been suggested that the *mann* or the *homr* juice may have been the specific employed. The *homr* is, however, a mere shrub, and had the whole valley for miles round been full of *tarfah* trees, or *homr* bushes, there would scarcely have been enough to sweeten water sufficient for such a host as that of Israel. Moreover, the Israelites were here within a month after the institution of the Passover, at the vernal equinox, whereas the *mann* harvest does not take place till June. This alone, I think, must decide the question in favour of the miracle." This traveller goes on to tell us that the Hebrew name of the tree in question was *alvah*, whence he is led to conclude, from the analogy of the names, that it might be identified with the species of acacia to which the Arabians give the name of *elluf*. But all that is said on this point goes for nothing, as it happens that the tree is *not* called in Hebrew *alvah*, nor is any name given to it, but is indicated simply as עֵץ *etz*, a tree. His concluding observation is more correct: "Whatever the tree was, it can have had no more inherent virtue in sweetening the bitter well of Marah, than the salt had, which produced the same effect, when thrown by Elisha into the well of Jericho" (Lindsay, i. 263-5).

'This leaves little to be said. As Lord Lindsay proposed his question to an Arab, who could not apprehend his precise object, through an interpreter, who probably apprehended it as little, there can be no doubt that the answer applies to the supposition that he wanted to know how a cup of bad water might have its unpalateableness disguised, so as to be made drinkable; and it is much the same, *in effect*, as might be given in this country to a similar question, "Put a little sugar, or a little lemon-juice into it." Probably the Bedouins use *both* of the articles mentioned—being a sweet and an acid—in making a kind of sherbet. It will not do to think of the Hebrew as squeezing the juice of little red berries, or as mixing up a vegetable gum in the well of Marah, *even if* a sufficient quantity of either could have been procured to sweeten water enough for the thousands of Israel. This, therefore, being the only case in which the Arabs of Sinai have been brought to mention the only articles known to them as used for the indicated purpose, does the more abundantly prove that they know no tree answering to the description which, without the miracle, it would be necessary to require. In this, as in many other dealings with the Scripture miracles, it is easier to understand and believe the miracle itself than the best explanations which have been given.

'The Jewish writers, generally, are so far from looking for any inherent virtues in the "tree," that they, contrariwise, affirm that its natural quality was rather to make that bitter which was sweet, than to sweeten that which was bitter. The Targums call it the bitter tree *Ardiphne*, which most of the Hebrew interpreters take to signify the same to which botanists give the name of *Rhodo-daphne*, the rose-laurel.'

MARANATHA. [Anathema.]

MARCHESHVAN (מַרְחֶשְׁוָן; Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 3. 3, Μαρσουάνης; the Macedonian Δῖος) is the name of that month which was the eighth of the sacred, and the second of the civil, year of the Jews; which began with the new moon of our November. There was a fast on the 6th, in memory of Zedekiah's being blinded, after he had witnessed the slaughter of his sons (2 Kings xxv. 7).

This month is always spoken of in the Old Testament by its numerical designation; except once, when it is called Bul (בּוּל, 1 Kings vi. 38; Sept. Βαάλ). According to Kimchi, Bul is a shortened form of the Hebrew יְבוּל, 'rain,' from יָבַל. The signification of *rain-month* is exactly suitable to November in the climate of Palestine. Others derive it from בָּלַל. Benfey, availing himself of the fact that the Palmyrene inscriptions express the name of the god Baal, according to their dialect, by בול (as עגלבול, Ἀγλιβόλος), has ventured to suggest that, as the months are often called after the deities, Bul may have received its name from that form of Baal (*Monatsnamen*, p. 182). The rendering of the Sept. might have been appealed to as some sanction of this view. He supposes that Marcheshvân is a compound name, of which the syllable *mar* is taken from the Zend *Ameretât*, or its later Persian form *Mordâd;* and that *cheshvân* is the Persian *chezân*, 'autumn:' both of which are names belonging to the same month (*l. c.* p. 136. sq.).—J. N.

MARESHAH (מָרֵשָׁה; Sept. Μαρισά), a town in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 14), re-built and fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 8). The Ethiopians under Zerah were defeated by Asa in the valley near Mareshah (2 Chron. xiv. 9-13). It was laid desolate by Judas Maccabæus, on his march from Hebron to Ashdod (1 Macc. v. 65-68; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. 6). Josephus mentions it among the towns possessed by Alexander Jannæus, which had been in the hands of the Syrians (*Antiq.* xiii. 15. 4); but by Pompey it was restored to the former inhabitants, and attached to the province of Syria (*Ib.* xiv. 4. 4).

Maresa was among the towns rebuilt by Gabinius (*Ib.* xiv. 5. 3), but was again destroyed by the Parthians in their irruption against Herod (*Ib.* xiv. 5. 3). A place so often mentioned in history must have been of considerable importance; but it does not appear that it was ever again rebuilt. The site, however, is set down by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v. Morasthi), as within two miles of Eleutheropolis, but the direction is not stated. Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 422) found, at a mile and a half *south* of the site of Eleutheropolis, a remarkable *tel*, or artificial hill, with foundations of some buildings. As there are no other ruins in the vicinity, and as the site is admirably suited for a fortress, this, he supposes, may have been Mareshah.

MARK. PERSON OF MARK.—According to ecclesiastical testimonies the evangelist Mark is the same person who in the Acts is called by the Jewish name John, whose Roman surname was Marcus (Acts xii. 12, 25). This person is sometimes called simply John (Acts xiii. 5, 13); and sometimes Mark (Acts xv. 39).

Mary, Mark's mother, had a house at Jerusalem, in which the Apostles were wont to assemble (Acts xii. 12). In the Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 10, 11) Mark is mentioned among the assistants of Paul, and as being one of the converts from Judaism. From this passage we learn also that Mark was a cousin of Barnabas, which circumstance confirms the opinion that he was of Jewish descent. It was probably Barnabas who first introduced him to Paul. He accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their travels as an assistant (Acts xii. 25; xiii. 5). When they had arrived in Pamphylia, Mark left them and returned to Jerusalem, from which city they had set out (Acts xiii. 13). On this account Paul refused to take Mark with him on his second apostolical journey, 'and so Barnabas took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus' (Acts xv. 37-39). It seems, however, that Mark, at a later period, became reconciled to Paul, since, according to Coloss. iv. 10, and Philem. 24, he was with the apostle during his first captivity at Rome; and according to 2 Tim. iv. 11, he was also with him during his second captivity. The passage in Colossians proves also that he was about to undertake for Paul a journey to Colosse.

There is a unanimous ecclesiastical tradition that Mark was the companion and ἑρμηνευτής of Peter. This tradition is the more credible, as the New Testament does not contain any passage that could have led to its invention. Since, according to Acts xii. 12, Peter was in the habit of visiting as a friend at the house of Mark's mother, he may perhaps be considered as the spiritual father of Mark. From the works of Papias (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39) it appears that Mark could not have been a direct disciple of Christ. Hence it seems to follow that the statement of Origen, that Mark was one of the seventy disciples of Christ, is incorrect (see Originis *Opera*, edit. De la Rue, tom. i. p. 807). If the expression in 1 Pet. v. 13, ἡ συνεκλεκτή, means the congregation of Peter, the word υἱός would signify a spiritual son, in which case we could refer this term only to the evangelist Mark mentioned in the Acts. This, however, is doubtful, because we should in that case rather expect the word τέκνον. We learn from Luke iv. 38, and 1 Cor. ix. 15, that Peter was married, and from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 30), that he had children. Hence we may well refer the word συνεκλεκτή to the wife of the Apostle, and understand υἱός to mean his real son. It is by no means unlikely that after Paul had quitted the scene, Mark should have united himself to Peter, with whom he had been on friendly terms at an early period of his life. In case that Paul is not considered the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we may say that Timothy also attached himself to another teacher after the death of that apostle (see the *Commentaries* on Heb. xiii. 23). The testimony in favour of the connection between Mark and Peter is so old and respectable, that it cannot be called in question. It first occurs at the commencement of the second century, and proceeds from the presbyter John (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39); it afterwards appears in Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 1. 1, and x. 6); in Tertullian (*Contra Mart.* iv. 5); in Clemens Alexandrinus, Jerome, and others. The question arises, what is the true meaning of the expression ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, which is employed even by the presbyter John. It was formerly supposed that Mark was thereby described as being the interpreter of Peter, who was said to be unacquainted with Greek. This opinion was entertained by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and Kuinoel. But Fritsche, in his *Commentarius in Marcum xxvi.*, has appealed to the testimonies of ancient writers in order to prove that Mark was called ἑρμηνευτής, because he wrote down what Peter taught by word of mouth. According to our opinion, Mark was called ἑρμηνευτής because he was the assistant of Peter, and either orally or in writing communicated and developed what Peter taught. The sense in which the ancients employed the word *interpres* may be clearly understood from the passage in Jerome (*Epistola cxx. ad Hedibiam*, cap. xi.). It is there stated that although Paul had the gift of various languages, as may be seen from 1 Cor. xiv. 18, he was still not able 'divinorum sensuum majestatem digno Græci eloquii explicare sermone;' that is, 'to express the majesty of divine truth in a sufficiently oratorical Greek style' (comp. *Epistola ad Alyasiam*, quæst. x.). Jerome adds, 'Habebat ergo Titum interpretem; sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum, cujus Evangelium Petro narrante, et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duæ epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri, stilo inter se et charactere discrepant, structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum, diversis eum usum interpretibus.'—'Therefore he had Titus for a secretary, as the blessed Peter had Mark, whose Gospel was composed by him after the dictation of Peter. The two Epistles of Peter which are in circulation differ from each other in character and style. Hence we perceive that he was compelled by circumstances to employ different secretaries.'

It is quite evident that in this passage *interpres* cannot mean an 'interpreter' or 'translator,' but rather the person who develops and puts into style the discourses of another. From the following passage we learn that this does not merely refer to written composition:—μετὰ τὴν τούτων (Peter and Paul) ἔξοδον Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κεκηρυγμένα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* v. 8).—'After the departure of Peter and

Paul, Mark, the disciple and secretary (*interpres*) of Peter, transmitted to us in writing what Peter had preached.' It is evident that Mark is here called ἑρμηνευτής without reference to his authorship.

Eusebius represents (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 15) from the later life of Mark, that he was with Peter at Rome. Epiphanius and others inform us that he introduced the Gospel into Egypt, founded the church at Alexandria, and that he died in the eighth year of Nero's reign.

The Gospel of Mark.—The same ancient authors who call Mark a μαθητής (disciple) and ἑρμηνευτής (secretary) of Peter, state also that he wrote his Gospel according to the discourses of that Apostle. The most ancient statement of this fact is that of the presbyter John and of Papias, which we quote verbatim from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39) as follows: Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέν τοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων. Ὥστε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μάρκος οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημονεύσεν. Ἑνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.—' Mark having become secretary to Peter, whatever he put into style he wrote with accuracy, but did not observe the chronological order of the discourses and actions of Christ, because he was neither a hearer nor a follower of the Lord; but at a later period, as I have said, wrote for Peter to meet the requisites of instruction, but by no means with the view to furnish a connected digest of the discourses of our Lord. Consequently Mark was not in fault when he wrote down circumstances as he recollected them; for he had only the intention to omit nothing of what he had heard, and not to misrepresent anything.' Critics usually ascribe all these words to the presbyter. Schmidt especially observes, in his *Einleitung ins Neue Testament Nachträge* (p. 270), that he himself had erroneously quoted this testimony as the words of Papias; but it seems to us that the words ὡς ἔφην do not allow us to consider all this passage as belonging to the presbyter. Papias had not before his eyes a book of the presbyter, and he seems to have alluded to that passage of his own work to which Eusebius refers in his second book (ch. xv.), in which work Papias had given some account respecting the life of this evangelist. According to this view it seems that, with the words οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε, there begins an explanation of the words of the presbyter.

It has been observed in the article Gospel that this passage has been made use of in order to disprove the existence of an orally fixed evangelium-tradition, since it is here stated that Peter preached as circumstances required. To this we replied that Papias considers the Gospel of Mark to be the reflex of the discourses of Peter, in which character they are described by the presbyter; and since the Gospel of Mark really contains a sketch of the life of Jesus, the account of the presbyter does not imply that the discourses of Peter could not likewise have contained a sketch of his life. The presbyter only says that Peter did not furnish a complete life of Jesus, embracing a history of his infancy, youth, &c.; and that, therefore, the account of Peter was in some respects incomplete, since he, as Papias states, omitted various circumstances. Schleiermacher, and after him Strauss, have turned this into an argument against the Gospel of Mark. They assert that this Gospel is a συντάξις, which, if not chronological, is at least a concatenation according to the subjects. Now the presbyter states that Mark wrote οὐ τάξει, *without order*. By this expression they consider all such arrangement excluded; consequently they infer that the presbyter John, the old disciple of the Lord, spoke of another Mark. We learn, however, from what Papias adds, how Papias himself understood the words of the presbyter; and we perceive that he explains οὐ τάξει by ἔνια γραψας, *writing isolated facts*. Hence it appears that the words οὐ τάξει signify only incompleteness, but do not preclude all and every sort of arrangement.

It would be arbitrary, indeed, to suppose that another Mark had an existence in the earliest times of Christianity, without having any historical testimony for such a supposition. There is no indication that there was any other Mark in the early times of Christianity besides the Mark mentioned in the Acts, who is also reported to have been the author of that Gospel which bears his name.

We have mentioned in the article Luke that, according to Irenæus, the Gospels of Mark and Luke were written later than that of Matthew; and according to a tradition preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke preceded that of Mark. The chronological order of the Gospels is, according to Origen, the same in which they follow each other in the codices. Irenæus (*Adversus Hæreses*, iii. 1) states that Mark wrote after the death of Peter and Paul; but, according to Clemens Alexandrinus (*Hypotypos.* vi.) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 14), he wrote at Rome while Peter was yet living. These various data leave us in uncertainty.

If the opinions concerning the relation of Mark to Matthew and Luke, which have been current since the days of Griesbach, were correct, we might be able to form a true idea concerning the chronological succession in which the first three Gospels were written. Griesbach, Saunier, Strauss, and many others, state it as an unquestionable fact, that the Gospel of Mark was merely an abridgment of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. De Wette, even in the latest edition of his *Einleitung*, 1842, calls this opinion *erwiesen*, 'demonstrated' (see pp. 130 and 157). The value of such demonstrations may be learned from what appears to De Wette the most certain proof of the alleged fact, viz. that the statements of Mark concerning the *temptation* of Christ are merely an abridgment of other sources. But we do not perceive why it should be impossible to furnish a condensed statement from oral communications.

Weisse, Wolke, and Bauer, on the other hand, have, in recent times, asserted that the Gospel of Mark was the most ancient of all the Gospels, that Luke amplified the Gospel of Mark, and that Matthew made additions to both. Weisse and Wolke employ some very artificial expe-

dients in order to explain how it happened that, if Luke and Matthew transcribed Mark, there should have arisen a considerable difference both in words and contents. Wolke especially accuses Luke and Matthew of intentional misrepresentations. The author of *Kritik der Evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker*, Leipzig, 1841, goes still further.

The following examples will explain the foregoing observation. If Mark, in ch. i. 21-28, abridged Luke, ch. iv. 31-37, what could have induced him, although usually retaining the same sentences, nevertheless, for καθῆλθεν to substitute εἰσπορεύονται; for ῥίψαν, σπαράξαν; for ἐγένετο θάμβος, ἐθαμβήθησαν; and for ἦχος, ἀκοή, &c.? But if Mark's Gospel was earlier than that of Luke, what could have induced the latter to change these words in copying the Gospel of the former? According to Wolke, in his book entitled *Der Urevangelist*, 1838, p. 584, sq., Luke has, in an arbitrary manner, changed a collection of proverbial sayings into the Sermon on the Mount, and inserted Mark iii. 16; while Matthew again has amplified the Sermon on the Mount of Luke (p. 685, sq.)!

Wolke has left his readers in doubt how much these evangelists took from historical documents; but Bauer has distinctly asserted that Mark produced the contents of his book from his imagination, and that his fictitious narrative was extended and spun out by the other evangelists. Such assertions are so utterly groundless that they do not require to be formally refuted.

In the article GOSPELS we have stated our opinion concerning the relative position in which the evangelists stand to each other. We do not see any reason to contradict the unanimous tradition of antiquity concerning the dependence of Mark upon Peter. We deem it possible, and even probable, that Luke read Mark, and that he also alludes to him by reckoning him among the πόλλοι, the *many*, who had written gospel history before him. This supposition, however, is by no means necessary or certain; and it is still possible that Mark wrote after Luke. Some of the ancient testimonies which we have quoted, namely, those of Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Jerome, and others, state that Mark's Gospel was written at Rome. In favour of this opinion there have been urged some so-called Latinisms; for instance, in ch. xv. 15, τῷ ὄχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι, and ch. v. 23, ἐσχάτως ἔχει. These expressions are, however, rather Græcisms than Latinisms. Others appeal to words which have a Latin origin, such as σπεκουλάτωρ, κεντυρίων, ξέστης, φραγελλόω; but these are military terms which the Greeks adopted from the Romans. The words ξέστης and φραγελλόω occur in other Greek authors. The use of the word κεντυρίων is rather surprising, since in the other New Testament writers we find ἑκατόνταρχος and ἑκατοντάρχης. In our opinion these Latinisms cannot prove much respecting the locality in which Mark's Gospel was written; but it is certain that it was written for Gentile Christians. This appears from the explanation of Jewish customs (ch. vii. 2, 11; xii. 18; xiii. 3; xiv. 12; xv. 6, 42). The same view is confirmed by the scarcity of quotations from the Old Testament, perhaps also by the absence of the genealogy of Christ, and by the omission of the Sermon on the Mount, which explains the relation of Christ to the Old Testament dispensation, and which was, therefore, of the greatest importance to Matthew.

The characteristic peculiarity of Mark as an author is particularly manifest in two points: 1. He reports rather the works than the discourses of our Saviour; 2. He gives details more minutely and graphically than Matthew and Luke; for instance, he describes the cures effected by Jesus more exactly (iv. 31, 41; vi. 5, 13; vii. 33; viii. 23). He is also more particular in stating definite numbers (v. 13, 42; vi. 7, 14, 30), and furnishes more exact dates and times (i. 32, 35; ii. 1, 26; iv. 26, 35; vi. 2; xi. 11, 19, 20, &c.).

It may be that these characteristics of Mark originated from his connection with Peter. With more certainty we may ascribe to Mark himself certain peculiarities of diction and phraseology; for instance, the frequent use of the word εὐθέως, and his predilection for diminutives (v. 23, 39, 40, 41, 42; vi. 22, 28; vii. 25, 28).

Most of the materials of Mark's narrative occur also in Matthew and Luke. He has, however, sections exclusively belonging to himself, viz. iii. 21, 31, sq.; vi. 17, sq.; xi. 11; xii. 28, sq. These peculiar statements of Mark have an entirely historical character: consequently we deem it unjustifiable in Strauss and De Wette to endeavour to depreciate them by calling them arbitrary additions.

We mention the conclusion of Mark's Gospel separately, since its genuineness may be called in question.

Among the *Codices Majusculi* the Codex B. omits ch. xvi. 9-20 altogether, and several of the *Codices Minusculi* mark this section with asterisks as doubtful. Several ancient Fathers and authors of *Scholia* state that it was wanting in some manuscripts. We cannot, however, suppose that it was arbitrarily added by a copyist, since at present all codices, except B., and all ancient versions contain it, and the Fathers in general quote it. We may also say that Mark could not have concluded his Gospel with ver. 8, unless he had been accidentally prevented from finishing it. Hence Michaelis and Hug have inferred that the addition was made by the evangelist at a later period, in a similar manner as John made an addition in ch. xxi. of his Gospel. Perhaps also an intimate friend, or an amanuensis, supplied the defect. If either of these two hypotheses is well founded, it may be understood why several codices were formerly without this conclusion, and why, nevertheless, it was found in most of them.

Among the various commentaries on the Gospel of Mark, which have been published in modern times, the following deserves to be specially mentioned: *Evangelium Marci versionem, et cum Commentariis perpetuis edidit*, C. F. A. Fritzsche, Lipsiæ, 1830. This author does not enter much into the explanation of Biblical thoughts and truths, but he has furnished very valuable contributions for the critical study of the language.—

A. T.

MARRIAGE.—THE LEVIRATE LAW.—The divine origin of marriage, and the primitive state of the institution, are clearly recorded in the instance of the first human pair (Gen. ii. 18-25), whence it appears that woman was made after man to be 'a helper suited to him.' The narrative is calculated to convey exalted ideas of the mutu-

tution. It is introduced by a declaration of the Lord God, that 'it is not good that the man should be alone' (ver. 18); of the truth of which Adam had become convinced by experience. In order still further to enliven his sense of his deficiency, the various species of creatures are made to pass in review before him, 'to see what he would call them;' on which occasion he could behold each species accompanied by its appropriate helper, and upon concluding his task would become still more affectingly aware, that amid all animated nature 'there was not found an help meet for himself.' It was at this juncture, when his heart was thus thoroughly prepared to appreciate the intended blessing, that a divine slumber (Sept. ἔκστασις), or trance, fell upon him—a state in which, as in after ages, the exercise of the external senses being suspended, the mental powers are peculiarly prepared to receive revelations from God (Gen. xv. 12; Acts x. 10; xxvii. 17; 2 Cor. xii. 2). His exclamation when Eve was brought to him shows that he had been fully conscious of the circumstances of her creation, and had been instructed by them as to the nature of the relation which would thenceforth subsist between them. 'The man said, *this time*, it is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; *this* shall be called woman, for out of man was this taken' (New Translation by the Rev. D. A. De Sola, &c. Lond. p. 8). The remaining words, 'for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they (two) shall be one flesh,' which might otherwise seem a proleptical announcement by the historian of the social obligations of marriage, are by our Lord ascribed to the Divine agent concerned in the transaction, either uttered by him personally, or by the mouth of Adam while in a state of inspiration. 'Have ye not read that he that made them at the beginning, made them male and female, *and said*, for this cause,' &c. (Matt. xix. 4, 5). It is a highly important circumstance in this transaction, that God created only *one* female for *one* man, and united them—a circumstance which is the very basis of our Lord's reasoning in the passage against divorce and re-marriage; but which basis is lost, and his reasoning consequently rendered inconclusive, by the inattention of our translators to the absence of the article, 'he made them ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ,' *a* male and *a* female, 'and said, they shall become one flesh; so that they are no more two, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.' 'The weight of our Lord's argument,' says Campbell, 'lay in this circumstance, that God at first created no more than a single pair, one of each sex, whom he united in the bond of marriage, and, in so doing, exhibited a standard of that union to all generations.' 'The word δύο,' he observes, 'has indeed no word answering to it in the present Masoretic editions of the Hebrew Bible, but it is found in the Samaritan, Septuagint, Vulgate, Syriac, and Arabic versions of the Old Testament, and in all the quotations of the passage in the New Testament (Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 8; 1 Cor. vi. 16; Ephes. v. 31), and it may be reasonably concluded that the ancient reading in the Old Testament was the same with that in the New' (*The Four Gospels*, &c., vol. ii. p. 427, Lond. 1787). The apostacy introduced a new feature into the institution, namely, the subjection of the wife's will to that of her husband (Gen. iii. 16; comp. Num. xxx. 6-16). The primitive model was adhered to even by Cain, who seems to have had but one wife (Gen. iv. 17). Polygamy, one of the earliest developments of human degeneracy, was introduced by Lamech, who 'took unto him two wives' (Gen. iv. 19; circa 3871 B.C.). The intermarriage of 'the Sons of God,' *i. e.* the worshippers of the true God, with 'the daughters of men,' *i. e.* the irreligious (B.C. 2468), is the next incident in the history of marriage. They indulged in unrestrained polygamy, 'they took them wives of all that they chose.' From this event may be dated that headlong degeneracy of mankind at this period, which ultimately brought on them extirpation by a deluge (Gen. vi. 3-7). At the time of that catastrophe Noah had but one wife (Gen. vii. 7), and so each of his sons (ver. 13). The remaining part of the investigation will be pursued according to Townsend's chronological arrangement, as affording a means of tracing the development of the subject in succeeding times, though differences of opinion may be entertained respecting the true chronological order of some of the books or passages. According to that arrangement, Job next appears (B.C. 2130) as the husband of one wife (Job ii. 9; xix. 17). Reference is made to the adulterer, who is represented as in terror and accursed (xxiv. 15-18). The wicked man is represented as leaving 'widows' behind him; whence his polygamy may be inferred (xxvii. 15). Job expresses his abhorrence of fornication (xxxi. 1), and of adultery (ver. 9), which appears in his time to have been punished by the judges (ver. 11). Following the same arrangement, we find Abraham and Nahor introduced as having each one wife (Gen. xi. 29). From the narrative of Abraham's first equivocation concerning Sarah, it may be gathered that marriage was held sacred in Egypt. Abraham fears that the Egyptians would sooner rid themselves of him by murder than infringe by adultery the relation of his wife to an obscure stranger. The reproof of Pharaoh, 'Why didst thou say, She is my sister? so I might have taken her to me to wife: now therefore behold thy *wife*, take her, and go thy way' (Gen. xii. 11-19), affords a most honourable testimony to the views of marriage entertained by Pharaoh at that period, and most likely by his court and nation. It seems that Sarah was Abraham's half-sister. Such marriages were permitted till the giving of the law (Lev. xviii. 9). Thus Amram, the father of Moses and Aaron, married his father's sister (Exod vi. 20), a union forbidden in Lev. xviii. 12.

The first mention of concubinage, or the condition of a legal though subordinate wife, occurs in the case of Hagar, Sarah's Egyptian handmaid, whom Sarah, still childless, after a residence of ten years in Canaan, prevailed on Abraham, apparently against his will, to receive into that relation (Gen. xvi. 1), which was however considered inviolable (Gen. xlix. 4; Lev. xviii. 8; 2 Sam. iii. 8, 16, 21, 22; 1 Chron. v. 1). The vehement desire for offspring, common to women in the East, as appears from the histories of Rebecca (Gen. xxv. 21), of Rachel (xxx. 1), of Leah (ver. 5), and of Hannah (1 Sam. i. 6, 7), seems to have been Sarah's motive for adopting a procedure practised in such cases in that region in all ages.

The miseries naturally consequent upon it are amply portrayed in the history of the Patriarchs (Gen. xvi. 4-10; xxx. 1, 3, 15).

Lot does not appear to have exceeded one wife (Gen. xix. 15). The second equivocation of the same kind by Abraham respecting Sarah elicits equally honourable sentiments concerning marriage, on the part of Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gen. xx. 5, 6, 9, 10, &c.), who, it appears, had but one proper wife (ver. 17; see also ch. xxvi. 7-11). Perhaps Abraham relied on the ancient custom, which will shortly be adverted to, of the consent of the 'brother' being requisite to the sister's marriage, and thus hoped to secure his wife's safety and his own. In ancient times the parents chose wives for their children (Gen. xxi. 21; xxxviii. 5; Deut. xxii. 16); or the man who wished a particular female asked his father to obtain her from *her* father, as in the case of Shechem (B.C. 1732; Gen. xxxiv. 4-6; comp. Judges xiv. 2, 3). The consent of her brothers seems to have been necessary (ver. 5, 8, 11, 13, 14; comp. Gen. xxiv. 50; 2 Sam. xiii. 20-29). A dowry was given by the suitor to the father and brethren of the female (ver. 11, 12; comp. 1 Sam. xviii. 25; Hos. iii. 2). This, in a common case, amounted to from 30 to 50 shekels, according to the law of Moses (comp. Exod. xxii. 16; Deut. xxii. 29). Pausanias considers it so remarkable for a man to part with his daughter without receiving a marriage-portion with her, that he takes pains, in a case he mentions, to explain the reason (*Lacon.* iii. 12. 2). In later times we meet with an exception (Tobit viii. 23). It is most likely that from some time before the last-named period the Abrahamidæ restricted their marriages to circumcised persons (Gen. xxviii. 8; comp. Judg. iii. 6; 1 Kings xi. 8, 11, 16; Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 8. 2; xii. 4. 6; xviii. 9. 5). The marriage of Isaac developes additional particulars; for beside Abraham's unwillingness that his son should marry a Canaanitess (Gen. xxiv. 3; comp. xxvi. 34; xxvii. 46; Exod. xxxiv. 16; Josh. xxiii. 12; Ezra ix. 2; x. 3, 10, 11), costly jewels are given to the bride at the betrothal (ver. 22), and 'precious things to her mother and brother' (ver. 53); a customary period between espousals and nuptials is referred to (ver. 55); and the blessing of an abundant offspring invoked upon the bride by her relatives (ver. 60)—which most likely was the only marriage ceremony then and for ages afterwards (comp. Ruth iv. 11-13; Ps. xlv. 16, 17); but in Tobit vii. 3, the father places his daughter's right hand in the hand of Tobias before he invokes this blessing. It is remarkable that no representation has been found of a marriage ceremony among the tombs of Egypt (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt.* vol. ii., Lond. 1837). The Rabbins say that among the Jews it consisted of a kiss (Cant. i. 2). It is probable that the marriage covenant was committed to writing (Prov. ii. 17; Mal. ii. 14; Tobit vii. 13, 14); perhaps, also, confirmed with an oath (Ezra xvi. 8). It seems to have been the custom with the patriarchs and ancient Jews to bury their wives in their own graves, but not their concubines (Gen. xlix. 31). In Gen. xxv. 1, Abraham, after the death of Sarah, marries a second wife. Esau's polygamy is mentioned Gen. xxviii. 9; xxxvi. 2-13 (B.C. 1760). Jacob serves seven years to obtain Rachel in marriage (Gen. xxix. 18-20); and has a marriage feast, to which the men of the place are invited (ver. 22; comp. Cant. v. 1; viii. 33). Samson's marriage feast lasts a week (Judg. xiv. 10-12; B.C. 1136; comp. John ii. 1, &c.); in later times it lasted longer (Tobit viii. 19). The persons invited to Samson's marriage are young men (Judg. xiv. 10); called 'sons of the bridal-chamber,' Matt. ix. 15. Females were invited to marriages (Ps. xlv. 14), and attended the bride and bridegroom to their abode (1 Macc. ix. 37); and in the time of Christ, if it was evening, with lamps and flambeaux (Matt. xxv. 1-10). In later ages the guests were summoned when the banquet was ready (Matt. xxii. 3), and furnished with a marriage garment (ver. 11). The father of the bride conducted her at night to her husband (Gen. xxix. 23; Tobit viii. 1). The bride and bridegroom were richly ornamented (Isa. lxi. 10). In Mesopotamia, and the East generally, it was the custom to marry the eldest sister first (Gen. xxix. 26). By the deception practised upon Jacob in that country, he marries two wives, and, apparently, without any one objecting (ver. 31). Laban obtains a promise from Jacob not to marry any more wives than Rachel and Leah (Gen. xxxi. 50). The wives and concubines of Jacob and their children travel together (Gen. xxxii. 22, 23); but a distinction is made between them in the hour of danger (Gen. xxxiii. 1, 2; comp. Gen. xxv. 6). Following the arrangement we have adopted, we now meet with the first reference to *the Levirate Law.* Judah, Jacob's son by Leah, had married a Canaanitish woman (Gen. xxxviii. 2). His first-born son was Er (ver. 3). Judah took a wife for him (ver. 6). Er soon after died (ver. 7), and Judah said to Onan, 'Go in unto thy brother's wife, Tamar, and marry her, and raise up seed to thy brother.' 'Onan knew that the offspring would not be his.' All these circumstances bespeak a pre-established and well known law, and he evaded the purpose of it, and thereby, it is said, incurred the wrath of God (ver. 10). It seems, from the same account, to have been well understood, that upon his death the duty devolved upon the next surviving brother. Judah interfered to prevent him from fulfilling it, and this two-fold denial suggested to Tamar the stratagem related of her in Gen. xxxviii. 13-26. No change is recorded in this law till just before the entrance of Israel into Canaan (B.C. 1451), at which time Moses modified it by new regulations to this effect:—'If brethren dwell together (*i. e.* in the same locality), and one of them die, and leave no child, the wife of the dead must not marry out of the family, but her husband's brother or his next kinsman must take her to wife, and perform the duty of a husband's brother, and the first-born of this union shall succeed in the name of his deceased father, that his name may be extant in Israel;' not literally bear his name, for Ruth allowed her son by Boaz to be called Obed, and not Mahlon, the name of her first husband (Ruth iv. 17, yet see Josephus, *Antiq.*, iv. 8, 23). In case the man declined the office, the woman was to bring him before the elders, loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in, or, as some render it, before his face, by way of contempt (Deut. xxv. 9, 10: Josephus understands *in* the face, *Antiq.* v. 9. 4), and shall say, 'So shall it be done unto the man that will not build up his brother's house; and his name shall be called in Israel, the house of

him that hath his shoe loosed,' *quasi* Baresole! It does not appear that the original law was binding on the brother, if already married; and we may well believe that Moses, who wished to mitigate it, allowed of that exception. The instance of Ruth (B.C. 1245), who married Boaz, her husband's relation, exhibits the practice of the law under the Judges. Boaz was neither the father of, nor the nearest relation to, Elimelech, father-in-law to Ruth, the wife of Mahlon, and yet he married her after the refusal of him who was the nearest relation (Ruth ii. 20; iii., iv.). These facts serve to exonerate the stratagem of Tamar, Judah's daughter, already alluded to (Gen. xxxviii. 13-26), which was dictated by a wish to fulfil the Levirate Law as near as possible. Accordingly, when Judah discovered it he justified her conduct, saying: 'She hath been more righteous than I,' *i. e.* has more adhered to the law, 'because I gave her not to Shelah my son' (ver. 26; comp. ver. 11). Hence, then, the children of Judah, by Tamar, inherited as his sons legally as well as naturally, and are reckoned to him in the genealogy in 1 Chron. ii. 4: 'And Tamar, his daughter-in-law, bare him Pharez and Zerah' (comp. Num. xxvi. 20). The legitimacy of her offspring is an important question; for the pedigree of David, Solomon, and all the kings of Judah, and even of Christ himself, is derived from Pharez, the son of Judah, by Tamar (comp. Ruth iv. 18-22, and Matt. i. 3-16). It must, nevertheless, be confessed that the Levirate Law was attended with many inconveniences, not the least of which was the inducement which it afforded to females to intrigue and indelicacy, as in the cases of Tamar and Ruth. A subtle objection to the doctrine of the resurrection, proposed to our Lord by the Sadducees, was grounded upon a real or supposed case of compliance with it running through a family of seven brethren (Matt. xxii. 23, &c.). The marriage of Herod with Herodias, his brother Philip's wife (Mark vi. 17, 18), did not come under the Levirate Law; for Josephus states that Herodias had a daughter by her husband, and that the marriage with Herod was contracted in the lifetime of her husband (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 4). Resemblances to this law have been traced in India (*Asiatic Researches*, iii. 35); among the Athenians (Terence, *Phorm.*, act i. sc. ii. 75, 6); among the ancient Germans (Tacitus, *Germ.* 8); and among the modern Egyptians (Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 61; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, tom. ii. p. 74).

To return from this digression. It should seem, from the instance of Potiphar's wife, that monogamy was practised in Egypt (Gen. xxxix. 7). Pharaoh gave to Joseph one wife (Gen. xli. 45). The Israelites, while in Egypt, seem to have restricted themselves to one. One case is recorded of an Israelite who had married an Egyptian woman (Lev. xxiv. 10). The giving of the law (B.C. 1491) acquaints us with many regulations concerning marriage, which were different from the practices of the Jews while in Egypt, and from those of the Canaanites, to whose land they were approaching (Lev. xviii. 3). There we find laws for regulating the marriages of bondmen (Exod. xxi. 3, 4), and of a bondmaid (ver. 7-12). The prohibition against marriages with the Canaanites is established by a positive law (Exod. xxiv. 16). Marriage is prohibited with any one near of kin, 'of the remainder of his flesh' (Lev. xviii. 6-19). A priest is prohibited from marrying one that had been a harlot, or divorced (Lev. xxi. 7). The high-priest was also excluded from marrying a widow, and restricted to one wife (ver. 13, 14). Daughters who, through want of brothers, were heiresses to an estate, were required to marry into their own tribe, and, if possible, a kinsman, to prevent the estate passing into another family (Num. xxvii. 1-11; xxxvi. 1-12). The husband had power to annul his wife's vow, if he heard it, and interfered at the time (Num. xxx. 6-16). If a man had betrothed a wife, he was exempt from the wars, &c. (Deut. xx. 7; xxiv. 5). It was allowed to marry a beautiful captive in war, whose husband probably had been killed (Deut. xxi. 10-14, &c.). Abundance of offspring was one of the blessings promised to obedience, during the miraculous providence which superintended the Theocracy (Lev. xxvi. 9; Deut. vii. 13, 14; xxviii. 11; Ps. cxxvii. 3; cxxviii. 3); and disappointment in marriage was one of the curses (Deut. xxviii. 18, 30: comp. Ps. xlvii. 9; Jer. viii. 10). A daughter of a distinguished person was offered in marriage as a reward for perilous services (Josh. xv. 16, 17; 1 Sam. xvii. 25). Concubinage appears in Israel (B.C. 1413, Judg. xix. 1-4). The violation of a concubine is avenged (Judg. xx. 5-10). Polygamy (Judg. viii. 30). The state of marriage among the Philistines may be inferred, in the time of Samson, from the sudden divorce from him of his wife by her father, and her being given to his friend (Judg. xiv. 20), and from the father offering him a younger sister instead (Judg. xv. 2). David's numerous wives (2 Sam. iii. 3-5). In Ps. xlv., which is referred to this period by the best harmonists, there is a description of a royal marriage upon a most magnificent scale. The marriage of Solomon to Pharaoh's daughter is recorded in 1 Kings iii. 1; to which the Song of Solomon probably relates, and from which it appears that his mother 'crowned him with a crown on the day of his espousals' (ver. 3, 11; and see Sept. and Vulg. of Is. lxi. 10). It would appear that in his time females were married young (Prov. ii. 17; comp. Joel i. 8); also males (Prov. v. 18). An admirable description of a good wife is given in Prov. xxxi. 10-31. The excessive multiplication of wives and concubines was the cause and effect of Solomon's apostacy in his old age (1 Kings xi. 1-8). He confesses his error in Ecclesiastes, where he eulogizes monogamy (viii. 9; vii. 29). Rehoboam took a plurality of wives (2 Chron. xi. 18-21); and so Abijah (2 Chron. xiii. 21), and Ahab (1 Kings xx. 3), and Belshazzar, king of Babylon (Dan. v. 2). It would seem that the outward manners of the Jews, about the time of our Lord's advent, had become improved, since there is no case recorded in the New Testament of polygamy or concubinage among them. Our Lord excludes all causes of divorce, except whoredom (*παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας*, Matt. v. 32), and ascribes the origin of the Mosaic law to the hardness of their hearts. The same doctrine concerning divorce had been taught by the prophets (Jer. iii. 1; Micah ii. 9; Mal. ii. 14-16). The apostles inculcate it likewise (Rom. vii. 3; 1 Cor. vii. 4, 10, 11, 39); yet St. Paul considers obstinate desertion by an unbelieving party as a

release (1 Cor vii. 15). Our Lord does not reprehend celibacy for the sake of religion, 'those who make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake' (Matt. xix. 12; comp. 1 Cor. vii. 32, 36). Second marriages not condemned in case of death (Rom. vii. 12). Mixed marriages disapproved (1 Cor. vii. 39; 2 Cor. vi. 14). Early marriage not recommended (1 Cor. vii. 36). Marriage affords the means of copious illustrations to the writers of Scripture. The prophets employ it to represent the relation of the Jewish church to Jehovah, and the apostles that of the Christian church to Christ. The applications they make of the idea constitute some of the boldest and most touching figures in the Scripture. The striking similarity between modern and ancient Oriental customs, in regard to marriage, may be seen in the travels of Arvieux, Russell, Bruce, Buckingham, &c.; and see Selden, *Uxor Ebraicu, seu de Nuptiis et Divor.*, Londini, 1646; Selden, *De Successionibus*, c. 14; *De Nuptiis Boazi et Ruthæ*, Lond., 1631; Perizonius, *Dissert. de Constitut. Div. super ducenda defuncti patris uxore.* Lugd. Batav. 1740.—J. F. D.

MARS' HILL. [Areopagus.]

MARTHA (Μάρθα), sister of Lazarus and Mary, who resided in the same house with them at Bethany [Lazarus]. From the house at Bethany being called 'her house,' in Luke x. 38, and from the leading part which Martha is always seen to take in domestic matters, it has seemed to some that she was a widow, to whom the house at Bethany belonged, and with whom her brother and sister lodged; but this is uncertain, and the common opinion, that the sisters managed the household of their brother, is more probable. Luke probably calls it her house because he had no occasion to mention, and does not mention, Lazarus; and when we speak of a house which is occupied by different persons, we avoid circumlocution by calling it the house of the individual who happens to be the subject of our discourse. Jesus was intimate with this family, and their house was often his home when at Jerusalem, being accustomed to retire thither in the evening, after having spent the day in the city. The point which the Evangelists bring out most distinctly with respect to Martha, lies in the contrariety of disposition between her and her sister Mary. The first notice of Christ's visiting this family occurs in Luke x. 38-42. He was received with great attention by the sisters; and Martha soon hastened to provide suitable entertainment for the Lord and his followers, while Mary remained in his presence, sitting at his feet, and drinking in the sacred words that fell from his lips. The active, bustling solicitude of Martha, anxious that the best things in the house should be made subservient to the Master's use and solace, and the quiet earnestness of Mary, more desirous to profit by the golden opportunity of hearing his instructions, than to minister to his personal wants, strongly mark the points of contrast in the characters of the two sisters. 'There was,' says Bishop Hall, 'more solicitude in Martha's active part, more piety in Mary's sedentary attendance: I know not in whether more zeal. Good Martha was desirous to express her joy and thankfulness for the presence of so blessed a guest, by the actions of her careful and plenteous entertainment. I know not how to censure the holy woman for her excess of care to welcome our Saviour. Sure, she herself thought she did well; and out of that confidence feared not to complain to Christ of her sister.' This she did in the words, 'Lord, carest thou not that my sister leaveth me to serve alone?' Out of respect to Jesus, she presumed not to call her sister privately away without his leave. Her words, however, seem to convey a gentle reproach to Christ for not having sufficient regard to her exertions; and in this she was wrong, as well as in measuring her sister's conduct by her own. Apprehending her own act to be good, she supposed her sister's wrong, because it was not the same; 'whereas goodness,' as the bishop remarks, 'hath much latitude. Ill is opposed to good, not good to good. Mary might hear, Martha might serve, and both do well.' Martha no doubt expected that Jesus would commend her active zeal, and send away Mary with a slight reproof. Great, therefore, was her surprise to hear him say, 'Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: but *one* thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.' This has been variously explained; but the obvious reference is to the value of the soul as compared with that of the body, and to the eternal welfare of the one as compared with the temporary interests of the other.

The part taken by the sisters in the transactions connected with the death and resurrection of Lazarus, is entirely and beautifully in accordance with their previous history. Martha is still more engrossed with outward things, while Mary surrenders herself more to her feelings, and to inward meditation. When they heard that Jesus was approaching, Martha hastened beyond the village to meet him, 'but Mary sat still in in the house' (John xi. 20, 22). When she saw Jesus actually appear, whose presence had been so anxiously desired, she exhibits a strong degree of faith, and hesitates not to express a confident hope that he, to whom all things were possible, would even yet afford relief. But, as is usual with persons of her lively character, when Christ answered, with what seemed to her the vague intimation, 'Thy brother shall rise again,' she was instantly cast down from her height of confidence, the reply being less direct than she expected: she referred this saying to the general resurrection at the last day, and thereon relapsed into despondency and grief. This feeling Jesus reproved, by directing her attention, before all other things, to that inward, eternal, and divine life, which consists in union with him, and which is raised far above the power even of the grave. This he did in the magnificent words, 'I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this?' Sorrow and shame permitted the troubled Martha, in whose heart the feeling of an unconditional and entire surrender to his will was re-awakened, to make only the general confession that he was actually the promised Messiah; in which confession she, however, comprised an acknowledgment of his power and greatness. It is clear, however, that she found nothing in this discourse with Christ, to encourage her first expectation of relief. With the usual

rapid change in persons of lively susceptibilities, she had now as completely abandoned all hope of rescue for her brother, as she had before been sanguine of his restoration to life. Thus, when Jesus directed the stone to be rolled away from the sepulchre, she gathered from this no ground of hope; but rather objected to its being done, because the body, which had been four days in the tomb, must already have become disagreeable. The reproof of Christ, 'Said I not unto thee, that, if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?' suggests that more discourse had passed between them than the evangelist has recorded, seeing that no such assurance is contained in the previous narrative (John xi. 39, 40).

Nothing more is recorded of Martha, save that some time after, at a supper given to Christ and his disciples at Bethany, she, as usual, busied herself in the external service. Lazarus, so marvellously restored from the grave, sat with her guests at table. 'Martha served,' and Mary occupied her favourite station at the feet of Jesus, which she bathed with her tears, and anointed with costly ointment (John xii. 1, 2). [Lazarus; Mary.]

There are few characters in the New Testament, and certainly no female character, so strongly brought out in its natural points as that of Martha; and it is interesting to observe that Luke and John, although relating different transactions in which she was concerned, perfectly agree in the traits of character which they assign to her. Tholuck has skilfully followed out its development in his *Commentary* on the eleventh chapter of St. John. See also Niemeyer, *Charakt.* i. 66; and Hall's *Contemplations*, vol. iii., b. 4, *Contemp.*, 17, 23, 24.

MARTYR (*μάρτυς*). This word means properly *a witness*, and is applied in the New Testament—1. To judicial witnesses (Matt. xviii. 16; xxvi. 65; Mark xiv. 63; Acts vi. 13; vii. 58; 2 Cor. xiii. 1; 1 Tim. v. 19; Heb. x. 28). The Septuagint also uses it for the Hebrew עֵד *ed*, in Deut. xvii. 16; Prov. xxiv. 28.—2. To one who has testified, or can testify to the truth of what he has seen, heard, or known. This is a frequent sense in the New Testament: as in Luke xxiv. 48; Acts i. 8, 22; Rom. i. 9; 2 Cor. i. 23; 1 Thes. ii. 5, 10; 1 Tim. vi. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 2; 1 Pet. v. 1; Rev. i. 5; iii. 14; xi. 3, and elsewhere.—3. The meaning of the word which has now become the most usual, is that in which it occurs most rarely in the Scripture, *i. e.*, one who by his death bears witness to the truth. In this sense we only find it in Acts xxii. 20; Rev. ii. 13; xvii. 6. This now exclusive sense of the word was brought into general use by the early ecclesiastical writers, who applied it to every one who suffered death in the Christian cause (see Suicer, *Thesaurus Eccles.* sub voc.). Stephen was in this sense the first martyr [Stephen]; and the spiritual honours of his death tended in no small degree to raise to the most extravagant estimation, in the early church, the value of the testimony of blood. Eventually a martyr's death was supposed, on the alleged authority of the under-named texts, to cancel all the sins of the past life (Luke xii. 50; Mark x. 39); to supply the place of baptism (Matt. x. 39); and at once to secure admittance to the presence of the Lord in Paradise (Matt. v. 10-12). In imitation of the family custom of annually commemorating at the grave the death of deceased members, the churches celebrated the deaths of their martyrs by prayer at their graves, and by love-feasts. From this high estimation of the martyrs, Christians were sometimes led to deliver themselves up voluntarily to the public authorities—thus justifying the charge of fanaticism brought against them by the heathen. For the most part, however, this practice was discountenanced, the words of Christ himself being brought against it (Matt. x. 23; see Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.* i. 109, 110).

1. MARY (Μαρία or Μαρίαμ; Heb. מִרְיָם *Miriam*), 'the Mother of Jesus' (Acts i. 14), and 'Mary his Mother' (Matt. ii. 11), are the appellations of one who has in later times been generally called the 'Virgin Mary,' but who is never so designated in Scripture.

Little is known of this 'highly favoured' individual, in whom was fulfilled the first prophecy made to man, that 'the seed of the *woman* should bruise the serpent's head' (Gen. iii. 15). As her history was of no consequence to Christianity, it is not given at large. Her genealogy is recorded by St. Luke (ch. iii.), in order to prove the truth of the predictions which had foretold the descent of the Messiah from Adam through Abraham and David, with the design evidently of showing that Christ was of that royal house and lineage (comp. Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 589, ff.).

Eusebius, the early ecclesiastical historian, although unusually lengthy upon 'the name Jesus,' and the genealogies in Matthew and Luke's Gospels, throws no new light upon Mary's birth and parentage. The legends respecting Anne, who is said to have been her mother, are pure fables without the slightest evidence.

The earliest event in her history, of which we have any notice, was the annunciation to her by the angel Gabriel that she was destined, whilst yet a pure virgin, to become the mother of the Messiah—an event which was a literal fulfilment of the prophecy given centuries before by Isaiah, that 'a *virgin* should conceive, and bear a son, and should call his name Immanuel,' which being interpreted, is 'God with us' (Isa. vii. 14; Matt. i. 23). On this occasion she was explicitly informed that she should conceive by the miraculous power of God, and that her child should be 'Holy,' and be called 'the Son of God.' As a confirmation of her faith in this announcement she was also told by the angel that her cousin Elizabeth, who was the wife of one of the chief priests, and who was now far advanced in years, had conceived a son, and that the time was not far off when her reproach among women should cease (Luke i. 36).

Almost immediately on receiving this announcement Mary hastened from Nazareth, where she was when the angel visited her, to the house of her cousin, who was then residing in the hilly district in 'a city of Judah.' This 'city' some have supposed to be Hebron; whilst others, reading Ἰούττα for Ἰούδα, translate the clause 'the city Juttah,' and identify the place of Elizabeth's residence with the town of that name mentioned in Josh. xv. 55; xxi. 16 (Kuinoel, *in loc.*; Olshausen, *Bib. Comment. in loc.*; Reland, *Palaestina*, p. 870). The meeting of these two pious females, on whom such unexpected privileges had

been conferred, was one of mutual congratulations, and united thanksgiving to the author of their blessings. It was on this occasion that Mary uttered the *Magnificat*—that splendid burst of grateful adoration which Christians of all parties have from the earliest times delighted to adopt as expressive of the best feelings of the pious heart towards God (Luke i. 39-56). After spending three months with her relative, Mary returned to Nazareth, where a severe trial awaited her, arising out of the condition in which it had now become apparent she was. Betrothed (perhaps in early life) to a person of the name of Joseph, an artificer of some sort (τέκτων, Matt. xiii. 55, probably, as our translators suppose, a carpenter), the Jewish law held her exposed to the same penalties which awaited the married wife who should be found unfaithful to the spousal vow. Joseph, however, being a right-hearted man (δίκαιος = one who feels and acts as a man ought to do in the circumstances in which he is placed), was unwilling to subject her to the evils of a public exposure of what he deemed her infidelity; and accordingly was turning in his mind how he might privately dissolve his connection with her, when an angel was sent to him also to inform him in a dream of the true state of the case, and enjoin upon him to complete his engagement with her by taking her as his wife. This injunction he obeyed, and hence came to be regarded by the Jews as the father of Jesus (Matt. i. 18-25).

Summoned by an edict of Augustus, which commanded that a census (ἀπογραφή) of the population of the whole Roman empire should be taken, and that each person should be enrolled in the chief city of his family or tribe, Mary and her husband went up to Bethlehem, the city of the Davidic family; and whilst there the child Jesus was born. After this event the only circumstances in her history mentioned by the sacred historians are her appearance and offerings in the temple according to the law of Moses (Luke i. 22, ff.); her return with her husband to Nazareth (Luke ii. 39); their habit of annually visiting Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover (ver. 41); the appearance of the Magi, which seems to have occurred at one of these periodic visits (Matt. ii. 1-12); the flight of the holy family into Egypt, and their return, after the death of Herod, to Nazareth (ver. 13-23); the scene which occurred on another of those periodic visits, when, after having proceeded two days' journey on her way homeward, she discovered that her son was not in the company, and, on returning to Jerusalem, found him sitting in the temple with the doctors of the law, 'both hearing them and asking them questions' (Luke ii. 42-52); her appearance and conduct at the marriage-feast in Cana of Galilee (John ii. 1, ff.); her attempt in the synagogue at Capernaum to induce Jesus to desist from teaching (Matt. xii. 46, ff.); her accompanying of her son when he went up to Jerusalem immediately before his crucifixion; her following him to Calvary; her being consigned by him while hanging on the cross to the care of his beloved apostle John, who from that time took her to reside in his house (John xix. 25, ff.); and her associating with the disciples at Jerusalem after his ascension (Acts i. 14).

The traditions respecting the death of Mary differ materially from each other. There is a letter of the General Council of Ephesus in the fifth century, which states that she lived at Ephesus with St. John, and there died and was buried. Another epistle of the same age says she died at Jerusalem, and was buried in Gethsemane. The legend tells that three days after her interment, when the grave was opened (that Thomas the Apostle might pay reverence to her remains), her body was not to be found, 'but only an exceeding fragrance,' whereupon it was concluded that it had been taken up to heaven. The translations of Enoch and Elijah, and the ascension of the Lord Jesus Christ, took place while they were *alive*, and the facts are recorded by the inspiration of God; but when the *dead* body of Mary was conveyed through the earth, and removed thence, there were *no witnesses*, and no revelation was ever made of the extraordinary and novel incident, which certainly has no parallel in Scripture. This miraculous event is appropriately called 'the Assumption.'

It is said that Mary died in A.D. 63. The Canon of Scripture was closed in A.D. 96, thirty-three years after her decease; which, however, is never alluded to by any of the apostles in their writings, nor by St. John, to whose care she was entrusted.

In the Romish Church many facts are believed and doctrines asserted concerning the Virgin Mary, which not only are without any authority from Scripture, but many of which are diametrically opposed to its declarations. Such, besides that just mentioned, viz. the Assumption, are the following:—

1. 'The immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin.' The Council of Trent, treating upon 'Original Sin,' decreed that 'the blessed and immaculate Mary, the Mother of God,' is 'exempt from all sin, actual and original' (Sess. 5). This dogma is utterly destitute of any Scriptural evidence, and is plainly contradictory to the unqualified and repeated assertions of the sacred writers respecting the universal depravity of mankind (comp. especially Rom. iii. 10, 23; Gal. iii. 22). St. Paul, the inspired author of these passages, lived after the death of Mary, and must have known the singular fact of her immaculate and sinless nature, if such had been the case; but he makes no exception in her favour, and never alludes to her in any way. St. John could not have been ignorant of her alleged perfection, and yet he, writing about A.D. 90, declares, 'If we say that we have *not sinned*, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us' (1 John i. 10).

2. 'The perpetual virginity' of Mary. As to this point we possess no direct testimony from Scripture on either side; but from the very precise language and phraseology of the Bible on primogeniture, and from the application of this language in the case of Mary, there are grounds for concluding that she had *several* children *after* the birth of Christ.

Matthew (i. 25) and Luke (ii. 7) both state that 'she brought forth her *first-born* son.' The term 'first-born' signifies the eldest of a family, or first in order of nativity: in all tongues and countries the epithet is used in this sense, and in no other; and never, in any instance, signifies an *only child*. This analogy holds in all

cases. 'First-fruits' (Lev. xxiii. 10) relate to the maturity and beginning of a series of similar productions, and not to one solitary thing. 'The first-fruits of every creature' (Col. i. 15) cannot imply one detached unsucceeded person. The 'first-born from the dead' (Col. i. 18) does not mean that Christ alone should rise from the dead, for it is written, 'all shall rise in him.'

The Lord Jesus Christ is repeatedly called 'the only-begotten Son of God' (John iii. 16, 18), but never the only son of Mary. The evangelists say he was the 'first-born son'—an expression which necessarily involves the inference that there was at least a *second*. Neither Samson, nor the son of the Shunamite, who were only children, is ever styled '*first-born*;' yet, when there are but two children in a family, the order of their birth is always regularly noted as a thing of much importance. Esau, in claiming his superior right, says, 'I am thy first-born' (Gen. xxvii. 32). Joseph says of Manasseh, 'This is the first-born' (Gen. xlviii. 18). Very peculiar stress is laid upon this point, which is always carefully observed in Scripture; but nowhere can it be seen that the words 'first-born' are ever attached to an only child. We abstain, however, from pressing into the argument the repeated mention of 'the *brethren* of the Lord,' and 'James, the Lord's *brother*,' on account of the latitude of interpretation which the word 'brother' admits in Scripture, as explained in other articles [BROTHER; JAMES; JOSES; JUDE].

As the Gospels were not written till after the death of Christ, there could be no mistake upon the subject.

No Christian discredits or disbelieves the fact of Christ having been born, according to the prophecy, of a pure virgin; but the perpetual virginity of Mary is merely traditional, unsupported by any evidence, and opposed by the whole tenor of Jewish and Scriptural language.

3. 'The worship of the Virgin.' At the annunciation the angel said to Mary, 'Blessed art thou among women' (Luke i. 28). In the Scriptures this is a usual mode of salutation. In the Song of Deborah (Judg. v. 24) it is said, 'Jael is blessed above women.' Such was the Hebrew form of expressing great joy or congratulation; and although Mary was 'highly favoured' in being the mother of Jesus, yet as Jael receives a similar acknowledgment of her superior station and happiness, for having slain with her own hand the enemy of her country, the phrase must certainly be taken in both cases with some limitation; for in neither of them could it mean, that the party was to be reverenced with any species of worship. In the Old and New Testaments there are many persons who are both individually and collectively blessed. God said to Abraham (Gen. xii. 3), 'I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.' Again, our Lord Jesus Christ extends his blessing to an indefinite number, saying, '*Blessed* are they that mourn—the meek—the merciful,' 'for they shall see God'—'theirs is the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. v.). The words of *Christ* are much stronger, and contain greater promises to his faithful followers, than those of the *angel* to Mary. There is no instance of peculiar honour, or of any kind of worship, having been paid to Mary earlier than the fifth century, and it was not until the sixth that her festivals (under the patronage of Augustine) began to be generally observed.

4. 'The *mediation* and *intercession* of Mary.' This is not supported by a single passage of Holy Writ. The Lord seems to have had little or no communication with her after he entered upon his public ministry. Mary and Martha, Mary Magdalene, and 'other women,' are frequently mentioned as being in his company, but on one occasion we read that 'while Christ talked to the people his mother stood without, desiring to speak with him; and one said, Thy mother stands *without*, desiring to speak to thee. But he answered and said, who is my mother? And he stretched forth his hand towards his disciples, and said, *Behold my mother* and *my brethren*, for *whosoever* shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, *the same is my brother, and sister, and mother*' (Matt. xii. 46 to 50). Nothing can be more conclusive than this passage in showing that those who were his kindred according to the flesh were of no importance to him merely on *that* account, but that the righteous were alone regarded by him in the nearest degrees of relationship.

At the marriage in Cana of Galilee (John ii.), Mary, after desiring the servants to do whatever he commanded, 'saith unto him, they have no wine. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee?' If Jesus declined receiving any information from her upon a point of no consequence in worldly matters, it is impossible to believe that 'He who doeth all things after *his own* good pleasure' has permitted her to obtain any pre-eminence, or allows any interference by her in heaven. We have besides the explicit assurance that 'there is one God, and *one* Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus' (1 Tim. ii. 5). 'We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ' (1 John ii. 1).

It does not appear that Mary ever saw Christ after the resurrection; for she was not one of the 'chosen witnesses' specified in Scripture, as Mary Magdalene was.—S. P.

2. MARY MAGDALENE (Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή) was probably so called from Magdala in Galilee, the town where she may have dwelt. According to the Talmudists, Magdalene signifies 'a plaiter of hair.'

Much wrong has been done to this individual from imagining that she was the person spoken of by St. Luke in ch. vii. 39; but there is no evidence to support this opinion. There were two occasions on which Christ was anointed. The first is thus recorded in John xii. 1, 3:—'Six days before the Passover Jesus came to Bethany, where Lazarus was which had been dead, whom he raised from the dead. There they made him a supper; and Martha served. Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped His feet with her hair.' This Mary was certainly the sister of Martha. The second instance occurred in the house of Simon. 'And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment, and stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with

the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment' (Luke vii. 37). How Mary Magdalene came to be identified with the person here mentioned, it is difficult to say; but such is the case: and accordingly she is generally regarded as having been a woman of depraved character. For such an inference, however, there appears to be no just ground whatever.

The earliest notice of Mary Magdalene is in St. Luke's Gospel (viii. 2), where it is recorded that out of her 'had gone seven devils,' and that she was 'with Joanna, the wife of Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto Christ of their substance.'

This is sufficient to prove that she had not been known as a person of bad character; and it also implies that she was not poor, or amongst the lower classes, when she was the companion of one whose husband held an important office in the king's household.

It is as unjust to say that she who had been so physically wretched as to be possessed by seven devils, was dissolute, as to affirm that an insane person is necessarily depraved; and as there is no evidence to prove that Mary Magdalene was 'the sinner' referred to in the passage quoted above, the ignominy which has been attached to her name ought to be removed.

In the Saviour's last hours, and at his death and resurrection, Mary Magdalene was a chief and important witness. There had followed him from Galilee many women (Matt. xxvii. 55, 56), and there stood by the cross several, of whom Mary Magdalene was one; and, after his death, she 'and Mary the mother of Joses beheld where the body was laid' (Mark xv. 47; Luke xxiii. 55, 56); 'and they returned and prepared spices and ointments.' 'The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre' (John xx. 1).

Then she returned to tell Peter and John that the stone was removed. Peter immediately ran to the place with the other disciple, when *they* saw only the napkin and linen clothes lying; and 'the disciples went away again unto their own homes' (John xx. 2-11). But she 'who was last at the cross and first at the tomb' '*stood* at the sepulchre weeping,' and saw two angels, who said to her, 'Woman, why weepest thou? She saith, because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.' Her patient waiting was rewarded, for she had scarcely ceased speaking when Jesus himself asked her the same question, and as soon as he said 'Mary,' she turned herself, and then, seeing who it was, said unto him, 'Rabboni,' and at once acknowledged his risen person; when he not only assured her of his resurrection, but also announced his intended ascension (John xx. 17). Mary Magdalene then returned and told these things to the Apostles (Luke xxiv. 10, 11), 'and her words seemed to them as idle tales,' 'and they, when *they* had heard that He was alive, and had been seen of her, believed her not' (Mark xvi. 10). On every occasion Christ selected the most fit and proper persons, and on *this*, his *first* appearance from the dead, he chose Mary Magdalene to be the only witness of his resurrection; and to other women had been also vouchsafed the vision of angels (Luke xxiv. 10). These persons, with the acute perception of their sex, receiving distinct evidence without captious disbelief, at once saw, believed, and 'worshipped' their risen Lord (Matt. xxviii. 9): whilst the *men* who had been his daily companions during the whole time of his public ministry, and had heard 'the gracious words which fell from his lips,' entirely refused the testimony of eye-witnesses, to whom, 'by infallible proofs, He had shown himself alive,' and remained unconvinced until 'Jesus stood in the midst of them,' and 'showed them his hands and his feet' (Luke xxiv. 36, 40); and even then 'they believed not for joy.'

But the faith of Mary Magdalene is 'in everlasting remembrance,' inasmuch as, when others were 'fools and slow of heart to believe,' she, with less evidence than they possessed, at once acknowledged that 'Christ is risen from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them that slept,' and to her was granted the honour of being the *first* witness of that great event, the Resurrection, without which Christ would have died in vain (1 Cor. xv.).—S. P.

3. MARY, wife of Cleophas or Alphæus, and sister of the Lord's mother (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40; John xix. 25). This Mary was one of those holy women who followed Christ, and was present at the crucifixion; and she is that 'other Mary' who, with Mary Magdalene, attended the body of Christ to the sepulchre when taken down from the cross (Matt. xxvii. 61; Mark xv. 47; Luke xxiii. 55). She was also among those who went on the morning of the first day of the week to the sepulchre to anoint the body, and who became the first witnesses of the resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 1). James, Joses, Jude, and Simon, who are called the Lord's brethren [see the names; also ALPHÆUS; BROTHER], are very generally supposed to have been the sons of this Mary, and therefore *cousins* of Jesus, the term brother having been used with great latitude among the Hebrews. This is the usual alternative of those who deny that these persons were sons of our Lord's mother by her husband Joseph; although some imagine that they may have been sons of Joseph by a former wife. The fact seems to be this: Christ had four 'brethren' called James, Joses, Simon, and Jude; he had also three apostles called James, Simon, and Jude, who were his cousins, being sons of Alphæus and this Mary: and it is certainly very difficult to resist the conclusion that the three cousins and apostles are to be regarded as the same with those three of the four 'brethren' who bore the same names.

4. MARY, sister of Lazarus and Martha. The friendship of our Lord for this family has been explained in other articles [LAZARUS; MARTHA]. The points of interest in connection with Mary individually arise from the contrast of character between her and her sister Martha, and from the incidents by which that contrast was evinced. As these points of contrast have already been produced under MARTHA, it is not necessary to go over the same ground in the present article. Apart from this view, the most signal incident in the history of Mary is her conduct at the supper which was given to Jesus in Bethany, when he came thither after having raised Lazarus from the dead. The intense love which distinguished

her character then glowed with the highest fervour, manifesting the depth of her emotion and gratitude for the deliverance from the cold terrors of the grave of that brother who now sat alive and cheerful with the guests at table. She took the station she best loved, at the feet of Jesus. Among the ancients it was usual to wash the feet of guests before an entertainment, and with this the anointing of the feet was frequently connected [ANOINTING]. Mary possessed a large quantity of very costly ointment; and in order to testify her gratitude she sacrificed it all by anointing with it the feet of Jesus. We are told that the disciples murmured at the extravagance of this act, deeming that it would have been much wiser, if she had sold the ointment and given the money to the poor. But Jesus, looking beyond the mere external act to the disposition which gave birth to it—a disposition which marked the intensity of her gratitude—vindicated her deed. Always meditating upon his departure, and more especially at that moment, when it was so near at hand, he attributed to this act a still higher sense —as having reference to his approaching death. The dead were embalmed: and so, he said, have I received, by anticipation, the consecration of death (John xii. 1-8; Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mark xiv. 3-9).

MASCHIL, a title of some of the Psalms [PSALMS].

MASSA, an encampment of the Israelites [WANDERING].

MATTHEW (*Ματθαῖος*). 1. THE PERSON OF MATTHEW.—According to Mark ii. 14, Matthew was a son of Alphæus. It is generally supposed that Jacobus, or James, the son of Alphæus, was a son of Mary, the wife of Cleophas, who was a sister of the mother of Jesus (John xix. 25). If this opinion is correct, Matthew was one of the relatives of Jesus. Matthew was a *portitor*, or inferior collector of customs at Capernaum, on the Sea of Galilee. He was not a *publicanus*, or general farmer of customs. We may suppose either that he held his appointment at the port of Capernaum, or that he collected the customs on the high road to Damascus, which went through what is now called Khan Minyeh, which place, as Robinson has shown, is the ancient Capernaum (*Bibl. Res. in Palestine*, vol. iii. pp. 288-295). Thus we see that Matthew belonged to the lower class of people.

In Mark ii. 14, and Luke v. 27, he is called Levi. We hence conclude that he had two names. This circumstance is not mentioned in the list of the apostles (Matt. x. and Luke vi.); but the omission does not prove the contrary, as we may infer from the fact that Lebbæus is also called Judas in Luke vi. 16, in which verse the name Lebbæus is omitted. In Matt. ix. 9 is related how Matthew was called to be an apostle. We must, however, suppose that he was previously acquainted with Jesus, since we read in Luke vi. 13, that when Jesus, before delivering the Sermon on the Mount, selected twelve disciples, who were to form the circle of his more intimate associates, Matthew was one of them. After this Matthew returned to his usual occupation; from which Jesus, on leaving Capernaum, called him away. On this occasion Matthew gave a parting entertainment to his friends. After this event he is mentioned only in Acts i. 13.

According to a statement in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Pædagog.* ii. 1), Matthew abstained from animal food. Hence some writers have rather hastily concluded that he belonged to the sect of the Essenes. It is true that the Essenes practised abstinence in a high degree; but it is not true that they rejected animal food altogether. Admitting the account in Clemens Alexandrinus to be correct, it proves only a certain ascetic strictness, of which there occur vestiges in the habits of other Jews (comp. Joseph. *Vita*, cap. ii. & iii.). Some interpreters find also in Rom. xiv. an allusion to Jews of ascetic principles.

According to another account, which is as old as the first century, and which occurs in the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου* in Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* vi. 15), Matthew, after the death of Jesus, remained about fifteen years in Jerusalem. This agrees with the statement in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 24), that Matthew preached to his own nation before he went to foreign countries. Rufinus (*Hist. Eccles.* x. 9) and Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 19) state that he afterwards went into Ethiopia; and other authors mention other countries. There also he probably preached specially to the Jews. According to Heracleon (about A.D. 150) and Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* iv. 9), Matthew was one of those apostles who did not suffer martyrdom.

2. THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.—The genuineness of this Gospel has been more strongly attacked than that of any of the three others, as well by EXTERNAL as by INTERNAL arguments.

We will first consider the EXTERNAL arguments. The most ancient testimony concerning Matthew's Gospel is that of Papias, who, according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39), wrote as follows: *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος* (var. lect. *ὡς ἦν δύνατος ἕκαστος*).—'Matthew wrote the sayings in the Hebrew tongue, but every body interpreted them according to his ability.' Doubts of three different kinds have been raised whether this testimony could refer to our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew.

1st. Papias, the most ancient witness, who was a disciple of John, speaks only about the *λόγια* of Christ, which were apparently a collection of the remarkable sayings of our Lord.

2dly. He speaks about a work written in the Hebrew, which here means probably the Aramæan or Chaldee tongue.

3dly. His statement seems to imply that there was no translation of this work.

These doubts were particularly brought forward by Schleiermacher in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, Heft 4. The opinion of Schleiermacher was adopted by Schneckenburger, Lachmann, and many others. According to these critics, the apostle wrote only a collection of the remarkable sayings of Jesus; which collection was put into an historical form by a Greek translator. Papias is said to intend by *ἡρμήνευσε*, the explanation of the sayings of Christ by means of the addition of the historical facts. Most critics, however, have either never adopted, or have subsequently rejected, the above interpretation of the words *λόγια* and *ἡρμήνευσε*. It was first objected by Dr. Lücke, that Papias, in his report, followed the statements of Johannes Presbyter, who said that Peter furnished a *συντάξις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων*, 'a collection of the sayings of our Lord,' and that

Mark stated what he had heard from Peter, and that Papias nevertheless adds that Mark wrote τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λέχθεντα ἢ πράχθεντα, 'as well the sayings as the doings of Christ.' Hence it follows, according to Dr. Lücke, that λόγια is a term a *parte potiori*, which comprehends the history also. In addition to this, Dr. Lücke observes, that Papias himself wrote a work under the title of 'Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις,' and that the extracts from this work which Eusebius has furnished prove that its contents were partly historical. According to this view, the testimony of Papias may be considered as referring to our Gospel of St. Matthew; but the force of the two other objections remains still unimpared.

It has been observed by those who deny the genuineness of this Gospel, that in none of the Fathers before Jerome do we find any statement from which we could infer that they had seen the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew; and that consequently we may consider as a mere conjecture the opinion of the Fathers, that our Gospel is a Greek translation of a Hebrew original.

Jerome, in his *Catalogus de viris illustribus* (cap. iii.), reports that the Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew was preserved in the library at Cæsarea, and that he took a copy of it. In his commentary on Matt. xii. 13, he says that he translated this Hebrew Gospel into Greek. In the same passage, and in his book *Contra Pelagianos* (iii. 2), Jerome states that this Hebrew copy was considered 'by most people' (a plerisque) to be the original text of St. Matthew. The cautions expression 'a plerisque' is considered by many critics as an indication that Jerome's statement cannot be depended upon. Indeed it appears that the Hebrew copy of St. Matthew was not the mere original of our Gospel, for what motive, in that case, could Jerome have had to translate it into Greek?

The whole difficulty is cleared up if, like most modern critics, we suppose that the *Evangelium secundum Hebræos*, about which Jerome speaks, was the Gospel of St. Matthew corrupted by apocryphal additions. This conjecture is confirmed by the fragments of it which have been preserved.

Hence many critics are led to suppose that the strictly Judaizing Christians made a translation of St. Matthew, which they endeavoured to bring into harmony with their own opinions and legends. As a proof that this *Evangelium secundum Hebræos* was not an original work, but merely a translation, it has been urged that the name Βαραββᾶς was not rendered בר אבא, but בר רבהון, *filius magistri eorum*.

Nevertheless Jerome's statement respecting the *Evangelium secundum Hebræos* may be taken as a confirmation of the account of Papias, that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew. If this be the fact, the question must arise whether our Greek Matthew is a correct translation of the Hebrew. The words of Papias seem to imply that in his days there was no Greek translation in existence. This has induced many critics to question his account, and to suppose that the original text was Greek. Such is the opinion of Erasmus, Œcolampadius, Calvin, Beza, Lardner, Guerike, Harless, and others.

The authority of Papias has been deemed to be overthrown by the character given of him by Eusebius, according to whose statement he was σφόδρα σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν, 'of a very little mind.' Guerike considers also as rather incredible the addition, that everybody interpreted that gospel according to his ability, ἡρμήνευσε δ'αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

Papias, indeed, proves himself very credulous, by reporting, according to Eusebius, πολλὰ μυθικώτερα, 'many rather fabulous things;' but this does not authorize us to reject his testimony in a mere matter of fact, for the perception of which no extraordinary abilities were required, especially as his account of this fact agrees with the statements of Jerome.

It is by no means improbable, that after several inaccurate and imperfect translations of the Aramæan original came into circulation, Matthew himself was prompted by this circumstance to publish a Greek translation, or to have his Gospel translated under his own supervision. It is very likely that this Greek translation did not soon come into general circulation, so that Papias may have remained ignorant of its existence. It may also be, and nothing prevents us from supposing, that Papias, being acquainted with our Greek Gospel, spoke, in the passage referred to, of those events only which came to pass soon after the publication of the Aramæan original. We, at least, rather prefer to confess ourselves unable to solve the objection, than to question the direct testimony of Papias; especially since that testimony is supported by other ancient authorities:

1st. By Origen (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25). 2dly. By the Alexandrian Catechist Pantænus, who, according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 10), having, in the latter half of the second century, gone on a missionary expedition to India, found there some Christians who possessed the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew. 3dly. By Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 1) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 8).

To this it has been objected, that Origen and Irenæus probably only repeated the statement of Papias; but it is unlikely that a man of so much learning as Origen should have had no other authority for his account; and the statement of Pantænus, at least, is quite independent of that of Papias. It ought also to be considered that Matthew was not so much known in ecclesiastical antiquity, that any partizanship could have prompted writers to forge books in his name.

On summing up what we have stated, it appears that the external testimonies clearly prove the genuineness of the Gospel of St. Matthew. The authenticity indeed of this Gospel is as well supported as that of any work of classical antiquity. It can also be proved that it was early in use among Christians, and that the apostolical Fathers, at the end of the first century, ascribed to it a canonical authority (see Polycarp, *Epist.* c. ii. 7; Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.* c. vi.; *Ad Rom.* c. vi.; Clemens Romanus, *Epist.* i. c. xlvi.; Barnabas, *Epist.* c. iv.

But the EXTERNAL arguments against the authenticity of this Gospel are less important than the doubts which have been started from a consideration of its INTERNAL qualities.

1st. The representations of Matthew (it is said) have not that vivid clearness which characterizes the narration of an eye-witness, and which we find, for instance, in the Gospel of John. Even Mark and Luke surpass Matthew in this respect.

Compare, for example, Matt. iv. 18 with Luke v. 1, sq.; Matt. viii. 5 sq. with Luke vii. 1, sq. This is most striking in the history of his own call, where we should expect a clearer representation.

2nd. He omits some facts which every apostle certainly knew. For instance, he mentions only one journey of Christ to the passover at Jerusalem, namely, the last; and seems to be acquainted only with one sphere of Christ's activity, namely, Galilee. He even relates the instances of Christ's appearing after his resurrection in such a manner, that it might be understood as if he showed himself only to the women in Jerusalem, and to his disciples nowhere but in Galilee (Matt. xxvi. 32 and xxviii. 7).

3rd. He relates unchronologically, and transposes events to times in which they did not happen; for instance, the event mentioned in Luke iv. 14-30 must have happened at the commencement of Christ's public career, but Matthew relates it as late as ch. xiii. 53, sq.

4th. He embodies in one discourse several sayings of Christ which, according to Luke, were pronounced at different times (comp. Matt. v.-vii., and xxiii.).

5th. He falls, it is asserted, into positive errors. In ch. i. and ii. he seems not to know that the real dwelling-place of the parents of Jesus was at Nazareth, and that their abode at Bethlehem was only temporary (comp. Matt. ii. 1, 22, 23, with Luke ii. 4, 39). According to Mark xi. 20, 21, the fig-tree withered on the day after it was cursed, but according to Matt. xxi. 19, it withered immediately. According to Matt. xxi. 12, Christ purified the Temple immediately after his entrance into Jerusalem; but according to Mark he on that day went out to Bethany, and purified the Temple on the day following (Mark xi. 11-15). Matthew says (xxi. 7) that Christ rode on a she-ass and on a colt, which is impossible. The other Gospels speak only of a she-ass.

These circumstances have led Strauss and others to consider the Gospel of St. Matthew as an unapostolical composition, originating perhaps at the conclusion of the first century; while some consider it a reproduction of the Aramæan Matthew, augmented by some additions; others call it an historical commentary of a later period, made to illustrate the collection of the sayings of Christ which Matthew had furnished (comp. Sieffert, *Ueber die Aechtheit und den Ursprung des ersten Evangelii*, 1832; Schneckenburger, *Ueber den Ursprung des ersten Evangelii*, 1834; Schott, *Ueber die Authenticität des Ev. Matth.* 1837.

To these objections we may reply as follows:—

1st. The gift of narrating luminously is a personal qualification of which even an apostle might be destitute, and which is rarely found among the lower orders of people: this argument therefore has recently been given up altogether. In the history of his call to be an apostle, Matthew has this advantage over Mark and Luke, that he relates the discourse of Christ (ix. 13) with greater completeness than these evangelists. Luke relates that Matthew prepared a great banquet in his house, while Matthew simply mentions that an entertainment took place, because the apostle could not well write that he himself prepared a great banquet.

2nd. An *argumentum a silentio* must not be urged against the evangelists. The raising of Lazarus is narrated only by John; and the raising of the youth at Nain only by Luke; the appearance of five hundred brethren after the resurrection, which, according to the testimony of Paul (1 Cor. xv. 6), was a fact generally known, is not recorded by any of the evangelists. The apparent restriction of Christ's sphere of activity to Galilee, we find also in Mark and Luke. This peculiarity arose perhaps from the circumstance that the apostles first taught in Jerusalem, where it was unnecessary to relate what had happened there, but where the events which had taken place in Galilee were unknown, and required to be narrated: thus the sphere of narration may have gradually become fixed. At least it is generally granted that hitherto no satisfactory explanation of this fact has been discovered. The expressions in Matt. xxvi. 32, and xxviii. 7, perhaps only indicate that the Lord appeared more frequently, and for a longer period, in Galilee than elsewhere. In Matt. xxviii. 16, we are told that the disciples in Galilee went up to a mountain, whither Christ had appointed them to come; and since it is not previously mentioned that any such appointment had been made, the narrative of Matthew himself here leads us to conclude that Christ appeared to his disciples in Jerusalem after his resurrection.

3rd. There is no reason to suppose that the evangelists intended to write a chronological biography. On the contrary, we learn from Luke i. 4, and John xx. 31, that their object was of a more practical and apologetical tendency. With the exception of John, the evangelists have grouped their communications more according to the subjects than according to chronological succession. This fact is now generally admitted. The principal groups of facts recorded by St. Matthew are:—1. The preparation of Jesus, narrated in ch. i.—iv. 16. 2. The public ministry of Jesus, narrated in ch. iv. 17—xvi. 20. 3. The conclusion of the life of Jesus, narrated in ch. xvi. 21—xxviii.

The second of these groups is subdivided into minor groups. If we consider that Matthew, for the benefit of the Jews, describes Christ as being the promised Messiah of the old covenant, it must appear perfectly appropriate in him to narrate the Sermon on the Mount before the calling of his disciples. The Sermon on the Mount shows the relation in which the Redeemer stood to the old covenant. In ch. viii. and ix. are given examples of the power which Jesus possessed of performing miracles; after which, in ch. ix. 36, is stated the need of 'labourers' to instruct the people. Then naturally follows, in ch. x., the admonition delivered to the apostles before they are sent out on their mission. In ch. xii. is recorded how Jesus entered into conflict with the dominant party, &c. (comp. Kern's *Abhandlung über den Ursprung des Evangelii Matthæi*, p. 51, sq.; Köster, *Ueber die Composition des Ev. Matth.* in Pelt's *Mitarbeiten*, Heft i.; Kuhn, *Leben Jesu*, t. i., *Beilage*.

But our adversaries further assert, that the evangelist not only groups together events belonging to different times, but that some of his dates are incorrect: for instance, the date in Matt. xiii. 53 cannot be correct if Luke, ch. iv., has placed the event rightly. If, however, we carefully

consider the matter, we shall find that Matthew has placed this fact more chronologically than Luke. It is true that the question in Matt. xiii. 54, and the annunciation in Luke iv. 18-21, seem to synchronize best with the first public appearance of Jesus. But even Schleiermacher, who, in his work on Luke, generally gives the preference to the arrangement of that evangelist, nevertheless observes (p. 63) that Luke iv. 23 leads us to suppose that Jesus abode for a longer period in Capernaum (comp. the words κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ in ver. 16).

4th. If the Evangelist arranges his statements according to subjects, and not chronologically, we must not be surprised that he connects similar sayings of Christ, inserting them in the longer discourses after analogous topics had been mentioned. These discourses are not compiled by the Evangelist, but always form the fundamental framework to which sometimes analogous subjects are attached. But even this is not the case in the Sermon on the Mount; and in ch. xiii. it may be doubted whether the parables were spoken at different times. In the discourses recorded in ch. x. and xxiii., it can be proved that several sayings are more correctly placed by Matthew than by Luke (comp. especially Matt. xxiii, 37-39 with Luke xiii. 34, 35).

5th. It depends entirely upon the mode of interpretation, whether such positive errors as are alleged to exist are really chargeable on the evangelist. The difference, for instance, between the narrative of the birth of Christ, as severally recorded by Matthew and Luke, may easily be solved without questioning the correctness of either, if we suppose that each of them narrates what he knows from his individual sources of information. The history of Christ's childhood given in Luke, leads us to conclude that it was derived from the acquaintances of Mary, while the statements in Matthew seem to be derived from the friends of Joseph. As to the transaction recorded in Matt. xxi. 18-22, and Mark xi. 11, 15, 20, 21, it appears that Mark describes what occurred most accurately; and we must grant that we should scarcely have expected from an eye-witness the inaccuracy which is observable in Matthew. But we find that there are characters of such individuality that, being bent exclusively upon their main object, they seem to have no perception for dates and localities.

If these arguments should still appear unsatisfactory, they may be supported by adding the positive internal proofs which exist in favour of the apostolical origin of this Gospel. 1. The nature of the book agrees entirely with the statements of the Fathers of the church, from whom we learn that it was written for Jewish readers. None of the other Evangelists quotes the Old Testament so often as Matthew, who, moreover, does not explain the Jewish rites and expressions, which are explained by Mark and John. 2. If there is want of precision in the narration of facts, there is, on the other hand, a peculiar accuracy and richness in the reports given of the discourses of Jesus; so that we may easily conceive why Papias, *a parte potiori*, styled the Gospel of Matthew Λόγια τοῦ κυρίου, *the sayings of the Lord*. Some of the most beautiful and most important sayings of our Lord, the historical credibility of which no sceptic can attack, have been preserved by Matthew alone (Matt. xi. 28-30; xvi. 16-19; xxviii. 20; comp. also xi. 2-21; xii. 3-6, 25-29; xvii. 12, 25, 26; xxvi. 13). Above all, the Sermon on the Mount must here be considered. Even negative criticism grants that Luke's account is defective as compared with Matthew's; and that Luke gives as isolated sentences what in Matthew appears in beautiful connection. In short, the Sermon on the Mount, according to Matthew, forms the most beautiful and the best arranged whole of all the evangelical discourses. It may also be proved that in many particulars the reports of several discourses in Matthew are more exact than in the other evangelists; as may be seen by comparing Matt. xxiii. with the various parallel passages in Luke. Under these circumstances it is surprising that the genuineness of this gospel has not yet met with more distinguished advocates. The most important work in defence of the genuineness of Matthew is that of Kern, *Ueber den Ursprung des Evangelii Matthæi*, Tübingen, 1834. Next in value are Olshausen's *Drei Programme*, 1835, and the two *Lucubrationes* of Harless, 1840 and 1843. Even De Wette, in the fourth edition of his *Introduction*, p. 170, has ascribed only a qualified value to the doubts on this head.

With regard to the DATE of this gospel, Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen state that it was written before the others. Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 1) agrees with them, but places its origin rather late—namely, at the time when Peter and Paul were at Rome. Even De Wette grants (*Einleitung*, § 97) that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. In proof of this we may also quote ch. xxvii. 8.

Among all the German commentaries on the first three Gospels, the best spirit pervades that of Olshausen, 3rd edit. 1837. The commentary on St. Matthew by De Wette, 2nd edit. 1838, is pervaded by the scepticism of Strauss.—A. T.

MATTHIAS (Ματθίας, equivalent to Ματθαῖος, *Matthæus*), one of the seventy disciples who was chosen by lot, in preference to Joseph Barsabas, into the number of the apostles, to supply the deficiency caused by the treachery and suicide of Judas (Acts i. 23-26). Nothing is known of his subsequent career.

MAZZAROTH (Job xxxviii. 32). [ASTRONOMY.]

MEASURES. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

MEDAD and ELDAD, two of the seventy elders who were nominated to assist Moses in the government of the people, but who remained in the camp, probably as modestly deeming themselves unfit for the office, when the others presented themselves at the Tabernacle. The Divine spirit, however, rested on *them* even there, "and they prophesied in the camp" (Num. xi. 24-29). The Targum of Jonathan alleges that these two men were brothers of Moses and Aaron by the mother's side.

MEDAN or MADAN (מָדָן; Μαδάν), son of Abraham, by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2). He and his brother Midian are supposed to have peopled the country of Midian, east of the Dead Sea.

MEDEBA (מֵידְבָא; Sept. Μαδαβά), a town east of the Jordan, in the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 9, 16), before which was fought the great

battle in which Joab defeated the Ammonites and their allies (1 Chron. xix. 7). It originally belonged to the Moabites (Num. xxi. 30); and after the captivity of the tribes beyond the Jordan, they again took possession of it (Isa. xv. 2). The *Onomasticon* places it near Heshbon; and it was once the seat of one of the thirty-five bishoprics of Arabia (Reland, *Palæstina*, pp. 217, 223, 226). Medeba, now in ruins, still retains its ancient name, and is situated upon a round hill seven miles south of Heshbon. The ruins are about a mile and a half in circuit, but not a single edifice remains perfect (Seetzen, in Zach's *Monat. Corresp.*, xviii. 431; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 625; Legh, p. 245).

MEDES, the inhabitants in ancient times of one of the most fruitful and populous countries of Asia, called Media, the precise boundaries of which it is not easy, if indeed it is now possible, to ascertain. Winer, in his *Realwörterb.*, defines it as the country which lies westward and southward from the Caspian Sea, between 35° and 40° of N. lat. Nature has divided Media into three great divisions. On the north is a flat, moist, and insalubrious district, stretching along the Caspian Sea, which is made a separate portion by a chain of hills connected with Anti-Taurus. In this plain and on these mountains there live uncultivated and independent tribes. The country is now known under the names of Masanderan and Gilan (see Knight's *Illuminated Atlas*, last Map). South of this mountain range lies the country which the ancients denominated Atropatene (Ἀτροπατηνή), being separated on the west from Armenia by Mount Caspius, which springs from Ararat; and on the south and south-east by the Orontes range of hills, which runs through Media. South and south-east of the Orontes is a third district, formerly termed Great Media, which Mount Zagros separates from Assyria on the west, and from Persia on the south: on the east it is bordered by deserts, and connected on the north-east with Parthia and Hyrcania by means of Mount Caspius, being now called Irak-Ajemi. This for the most part is a high hilly country, yet not without rich and fruitful valleys, and even plains. The sky is clear and bright, and the climate healthy (Winer, *ut supra;* Ker Porter, i. 216). Media Atropatene, which corresponds pretty nearly with the modern Azerbijan, contains fruitful and well-peopled valleys and plains. The northern mountainous region is cold and unfruitful. In Great Media lay the metropolis of the country, Ecbatana (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 17), as well as the province of Rhagiana and the city Rhagæ, with the plain of Nisæum, celebrated in the time of the Persian empire for its horses and horse-races (Herod., iii. 106; Arrian, vii. 13; Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 1. 305). This plain was near the city Nisæa, around which were fine pasture lands producing excellent clover (*Herba Medica*). The horses were entirely white, and of extraordinary height and beauty, as well as speed. They constituted a part of the luxury of the great, and a tribute in kind was paid from them to the monarch, who, like all Eastern sovereigns, used to delight in equestrian display. Some idea of the opulence of the country may be had when it is known that, independently of imposts rendered in money, Media paid a yearly tribute of not less than 3000 horses, 4000 mules, and nearly 100,000 sheep. The races, once celebrated through the world, appear to exist no more; but Ker Porter saw the Shah ride on festival occasions a splendid horse of pure white. Cattle abounded, as did the richest fruits, as pines, citrons, oranges, all of peculiar excellence, growing as in their native land. Here also was found the Silphium (probably assafœtida), which formed a considerable article in the commerce of the ancients, and was accounted worth its weight in gold. The Median dress was proverbially splendid; the dress, that is, of the highest class, which seems to have gained a sort of classical authority, and to have been at a later period worn at the Persian court, probably in part from its antiquity. This dress the Persian monarchs used to present to those whom they wished to honour, and no others were permitted to wear it. It consisted of a long white loose robe, or gown, flowing down to the feet, and enclosing the entire body, specimens of which, as now used in those countries, may be seen in plates given in Perkin's *Residence in Persia*, New York, 1843. The nature and the celebrity of this dress combine with the natural richness of the country to assure us that the ancient Medians had made no mean progress in the arts; indeed, the colours of the Persian textures are known to have been accounted second only to those of India. If these regal dresses were of silk, then was there an early commerce between Media and India; if not, weaving, as well as dyeing, must have been practised and carried to a high degree of perfection in the former country (Ammian. Marcell. xxiv. 6, p. 353, ed. Bip.; Xenoph. *Cyrop.* i. 3. 2; Athen. xii. pp. 512, 514, sq.; Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 205, 307; Herod. vi. 112; Strabo, xi. p. 525; Dan. iii. 21).

The religion of the Medes consisted in the worship of the heavenly bodies, more particularly the sun and moon, and the planets Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, and Mars (Strabo, xv. p. 732; Rhode, *Heil. Sage de Baktr. Meder und Perser*, p. 820; *Abbildungen aus der Mythol. der Alten Welt; Pers. Med.*, tafel 10, 11; where also may be seen the famous Median dress, comprising the mitre, as well as the flowing robe). The priestly caste were denominated magi; they were a separate tribe, and had the charge not only of religion, but of all the higher culture.

The language of the ancient Medes was not connected with the Shemitic, but the Indian; and divided itself into two chief branches, the Zend, spoken in North Media, and the Pehlvi, spoken in Lower Media and Parthia; which last was the dominant tongue among the Parthians (Adelung, *Mithridates*, i. 256, sq.; Eichhorn, *Gesch. der Lit.*, v. 1, 294, sq.).

The Medes originally consisted of six tribes, of which the Magi (Μάγοι) were one (Herod., i. 101). Being overcome by Ninus, they formed a part of the great Assyrian empire, which, however, lost in course of time the primitive simplicity of manners to which its dominion was owing, and fell into luxury and consequent weakness; when Arbaces, who governed the country as a satrap for Sardanapalus, taking advantage of the effeminacy of that monarch, threw off his yoke, destroyed his capital, Nineveh, and became himself sovereign of the Medes, in the ninth century before the Christian era (Diod. Sic., ii. 1, 2, 24, 32). According to Diodorus, this empire ex-

tended through nine monarchs, enduring 310 years, until Astyages, son of Cyaxares, was dethroned by Cyrus in the year of the world 3495, when Media became a part of the Persian empire, sinking from the same inevitable causes as those which enabled it to gain over the Assyrian power the dominion of Asia. The account given by Herodotus varies from that now set forth. We do not propose to subject the diversities to a critical investigation, believing that little, if any, good could result, at least within our narrow space. Dates, names, and dynasties may be more or less uncertain, but the facts we have given are unimpeached. The magnitude of the Median empire is another important fact equally well ascertained. Being in their time the most valorous, as well as the most powerful nation of Asia, the Medes extended their power towards the east and the west beyond any strictly definable limits, though, like dominion generally in Oriental countries, it was of a vague, variable, and unstable kind. That they regarded the Tigris as their western boundary appears from the fact that they erected on its banks strongholds, such as Mespila and Larissa (Xenoph., *Anab.* iii. 4. 10); but that they carried their victorious arms still farther westward, appears from both Herodotus (i. 134) and Isaiah (xiii. 17, 18). The eastern limits of the empire seem to have been different at different periods. Heeren inclines to the opinion that it may have reached as far as the Oxus, and even the Indus (*Ideen*, i. 142). Many, however, were the nations and tribes which were under the sway of its sovereigns. The government was a succession of satrapies, over all of which the Medes were paramount; but the different nations exerted a secondary dominion over each other, diminishing with the increase of distance from the centre of royal power (Herod., i. 134), to which ultimately the tribute paid by each dependent to his superior eventually and securely came. Not only were the Medes a powerful, but also a wealthy and cultivated people; indeed, before they sank, in consequence of their degeneracy, into the Persian empire, they were during their time the foremost people of Asia, owing their celebrity not only to their valour, but also to the position of their country, which was the great commercial highway of Asia. The sovereigns exerted absolute and unlimited dominion, exacted a rigid court-ceremonial, and displayed a great love of pomp (Heeren, *Ideen*, 143). Under the Persian monarchs Media formed a province, or satrapy, by itself, whose limits did not correspond with independent Media, but cannot be accurately defined. To Media belonged another country, namely, Aria, which, Heeren says, took its name from the river Arius (now Heri), but which appears to contain the elements of the name in the Zend language, which was common to the two, if not to other Eastern nations, who were denominated Indians by Alexander the Great, as dwellers in or near the Indus, which he also misnamed, but who were known in their own tongue as Arians (Arii, Aria, Ariana, also the name of Persia, Iran; see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, v. 458; Mann, 22; x. 45; Herod., vii. 62, who declares that the Medes were of old universally called Arii, Ἄριοι). Subsequently, however, from whatever cause, the Arians were separated from the Medes, forming a distinct satrapy in the Persian empire. Thus the name of a clan, or gens, became the name of a nation, and then of an individual tribe (Strabo, quoted by Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 190). It may be added that Schlosser (*Alten Welt*, i. 243) holds it as a fundamental fact, that the Medes and Persians formed in reality one kingdom, only that now one, now another, of the two elements gained predominance: whence he thinks himself enabled to explain the discrepancies which the ancients present as to the names and succession of monarchs. Supported by Tychsen (*Observ. Hist. Crit. de Zoroast.*, in the first part of the *Gottingen Comment. Societ. Reg.*), Schlosser supposes that, under the influence of the Magian religion, there was a setting up of the Median kingdom by Cyaxares, whence Zoroaster is referred to this period; and a renewal of the old Median rule, accompanied by reforms, under Darius Hystaspis, whence also other authorities place Zoroaster in the days of that monarch.

The Medes are not mentioned in sacred Scripture till the days of Hoshea, king of Israel, about 740 B.C., when Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, brought that monarch under his yoke, and in the ninth year of his reign took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, placing them in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. Here the Medes appear as a part of the Assyrian empire; but at a later period Scripture exhibits them as an independent and sovereign people (Isa. xiii. 17; Jer. xxv. 25; li. 11, 28). In the last passage their kings are expressly named: 'The Lord hath raised up the kings of the Medes; for his device is against Babylon to destroy it.' 'Prepare against her (Babylon) the kings of the Medes, the captains thereof, and all the rulers thereof.' It has been conjectured that soon after the time of Arbaces they again fell under the dominion of the Assyrians; but availing themselves of the opportunity afforded by the distant expeditions which Sennacherib undertook, they gained their freedom, and founded a new line of kings under Dejoces (Winer, *Realwort.*). Indeed, so sudden and rapid are the changes of government, even to the present day, in Oriental monarchies, that we need not be surprised at any difficulties which may occur in arranging the dynasties or the succession of kings, scarcely in any ancient history, certainly least of all in the fragmentary notices preserved regarding the kings of Media and other neighbouring empires. According, however, to other historical testimony, we find the Medes and Persians united as one people in holy writ (Dan. v. 28; vi. 15; viii. 20; Esth. i. 3, 18; x. 2), in the days of Cyrus, who destroyed the separate sovereignty of the former. To the united kingdom Babylon was added as a province. After the lapse of about 200 years, Media, in junction with the entire Persian monarchy, fell under the yoke of Alexander the Great (B.C. 330); but after the death of Alexander it became, under Seleucus Nicator, the Macedonian governor of Media and Babylonia, a portion of the new Syrian kingdom (1 Macc. vi. 56), and, after many vicissitudes of warlike fortune, passed over to the Parthian monarchy (1 Macc. xiv. 2; Strabo, xvi. p. 745).

The ancient Medes were a warlike people, and much feared for their skill in archery (Herod., vii.

61; Strabo, xi. p. 525). They appear armed with the bow in the army of the Persians, who borrowed the use of that weapon from them (Herod., *ut supra*). Those who remained in the more mountainous districts did not lose their valour; but the inhabitants of the cities and towns which covered the plains, in becoming commercial lost their former hardy habits, together with their bravery, and, giving way to luxury, became in process of time an easy prey to new aspirants to martial fame and civil dominion.—J. R. B.

MEDIATOR. 1. Μεσίτης, 'mediator,' is a word peculiar to the Scriptures (see Beza, *Annot. in Gr. Test.*), and is used, in an accommodated sense, by many of the ancient Fathers, to denote one who intervenes between two dispensations. Hence it is applied to John the Baptist, because he came, as it were, between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. Thus Greg. Nazianzenus (*Orat.* xxxix. p. 633) calls him ὁ παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας μεσίτης. Theophylact, commenting on Matt. iii., gives him the same denomination.

2. Again, it signifies, in its more proper sense, an internuncius, or ambassador, one who stands as the channel of communication between two contracting parties. Some commentators think that the Apostle Paul, in Gal. iii. 19, calls Moses *mediator*, because he conveyed the expression of God's will to the people, and reported to God their wants, wishes, and determinations. In reference to this passage of Scripture, Basil (*De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. xiv.) says, 'Mosen figuram representâsse quando inter Deum et populum intermedius extiterit.' Many ancient and modern divines, however, are of opinion that Christ himself, and not Moses, is here meant by the inspired Apostle, and this view would seem to be confirmed by comparing Deut. xxxiii. 2 with Acts vii. 38-52. Christ it was who, surrounded by angelic spirits, communicated with Moses on Mount Sinai. On this point, the words of the learned and pious Chrysostom, on Gal. iii. are very express: 'Here,' says he, 'Paul calls Christ Mediator, declaring thereby that He existed before the law, and that by Him the law was revealed.' This application of the passage will be the more evident if we consider the scope of the Apostle's argument, which evidently is, to point out the dignity of the law. How could he present a clearer demonstration of this than by showing that it was the second person of the ever-blessed Trinity who stood forth on the mount to communicate between God the Father and his creature man! Moreover, to contradistinguish Christ's mediation from that of Moses, the former is emphatically styled μεσίτης κρείττονος διαθήκης (Heb. viii. 6).

3. Christ is called Mediator by virtue of the reconciliation He has effected between a justly offended God and his rebellious creature man (see Grotius, *De Satisfactione Christi*, cap. viii.). In this sense of the term Moses was, on many occasions, an eminent type of Christ. The latter, however, was not *Mediator*, merely by reason of his coming between God and his creatures, as certain heretics would affirm (see Cyril Alex. *Dial. I. de Sancta Trinitate*, p. 410); but because he appeased his wrath, and made reconciliation for iniquity. 'Christ is the mediator,' observes Theophylact, commenting on Gal. iii., 'of two, *i. e.* of God and man. He exercises this office between both by making peace, and putting a stop to that spiritual war which man wages against God. To accomplish this He assumed our nature, joining in a marvellous manner the human, by reason of sin unfriendly, to the divine nature.' 'Hence,' he adds, 'he made reconciliation.' Oecumenius expresses similar sentiments on the same passage of Scripture. Again, Cyril, in his work before quoted, remarks: 'He is esteemed mediator because the divine and human nature being disjointed by sin, he has shown them united in his own person; and in this manner he reunites us to God the Father.'

If, in addition to the above general remarks, confirmed by many of the most ancient and orthodox fathers of the church, we consider the *three great offices* which holy Scripture assigns to Christ as Saviour of the world, viz., those of *prophet*, *priest*, and *king*, a further and more ample illustration will be afforded of his Mediatorship.

One of the first and most palpable predictions which we have of the prophetic character of Christ, is that of Moses (Deut. xviii. 15): 'The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.' That this refers to Christ we are assured by the inspired apostle Peter (Acts iii. 22).

Again, in Isaiah lxi. 1, 3, Christ's consecration to the prophetic office, together with its sacred and gracious functions, is emphatically set forth: (see Luke iv. 16-21, where Christ applies this passage to himself). In order, then, to sustain this part of his mediatorial office, and thus work out the redemption of the world, we may see the necessity there was that Messiah should be both *God* and *man*. It belongs to a prophet to expound the law, declare the will of God, and foretell things to come: all this was done, and that in a singular and eminent manner, by Christ, our prophet (Matt. v. 21, &c.; John i. 8). All light comes from this prophet. The Apostle shows that all ministers are but stars which shine by a borrowed light (2 Cor. iii. 6, 7). All the prophets of the Old, and all the prophets and teachers of the New Testament, lighted their tapers at this torch! (Luke xxi. 15.) It was Christ who preached by Noah (1 Pet. iii. 19), taught the Israelites in the wilderness (Acts vii. 37), and still teaches by his ministers (Eph. iv. 11, 12). On this subject Bishop Butler (*Analogy*, part ii. ch. v.) says: 'He was, by way of eminence, *the prophet*, "the prophet that should come into the world" (John vi. 14) to declare the divine will. He published anew the law of nature, which men had corrupted, and the very knowledge of which, to some degree, was lost amongst them. He taught mankind, taught us authoritatively, to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, in expectation of the future judgment of God. He confirmed the truth of this moral system of nature, and gave us additional evidence of it, the evidence of testimony. He distinctly revealed the manner in which God would be worshipped, the efficacy of repentance, and the rewards and punishments of a future life. Thus he was a prophet in a sense in which no other ever was.' Hence the force of the term ὁ λόγος, by which St. John designates Christ.

But, on the other hand, had the second person of the Trinity come to us in all the majesty of his divine nature, we could not have approached

him as our instructor. The Israelites, terrified at the exhibitions of Deity, cried out that the Lord might not so treat with them again; it was then that He, in gracious condescension to their feelings, promised to communicate with them in future through a prophet like unto Moses. The son of God, in assuming the form of an humble man, became accessible to *all*. Thus we perceive the connection of Christ's prophetic office—he being both God and man—with the salvation of man. On this subject Chrysostom (*Homil.* cxxxiv. tom. v. p. 860) remarks: 'A mediator, unless he has a union and communion with the parties for whom he mediates, possesses not the essential qualities of a mediator. When Christ, therefore, became mediator between God and man (1 Tim. ii. &c.), it was indispensable that he should be both God and man.'

Macarius also (*Homil.* vi. 97), on this question more pointedly observes: 'The Lord came and took his body from the virgin; for if he had appeared among us in his naked divinity, who could bear the sight? But he spoke as man to us men.'

Again, the Redeemer was not only to propound, explain, and enforce God's law, but it was needful that he should give a practical proof of obedience to it in his own person. Now, if he had not been *man*, he could not have been subject to the law; hence it is said, Gal. iv. 4, 'When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his son, made of a woman, made under the law;' and if he had not been God, he could not, by keeping the law, have *merited* forgiveness for us, for he had done but what was required of him. It was the fact of his being *very God and very man* which constituted the *merit* of Christ's obedience.

Moreover, in working out the mighty scheme of redemption the mediator must assume the office of *priest*.

To this office he was solemnly appointed by God (Ps. cx. 4; Heb. v. 10), qualified for it by his incarnation (Heb. x. 6, 7), and accomplished all the ends thereof by his sacrificial death (Heb. ix. 11, 12); as in sustaining his *prophetic* character, *so in this*, his Deity and humanity will be seen. According to the exhibition of type and declaration of prophecy, the mediator must die, and thus rescue us sinners from death by destroying him who had the power of death. 'But we see Jesus,' says the Apostle (Heb. ii. 9), 'who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour, that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man. Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him who had the power of death, that is, the Devil.' On the other hand, had he not been *God* he could not have raised himself from the dead. 'I lay down my life (saith he, John x. 17, 18), and take it up again.' He had not had a life to lay down if he had not been man, for the Godhead could not die; and if he had not been God, he could not have acquired *merit* by laying it down: it must be his own, and not in the power of another, else his voluntarily surrendering himself unto death—as he did on the charge that he, being only man, made himself equal with God—was an act of *suicide*, and consequently an act of blasphemy against God! It was, then, the mysterious union of both natures in the one person of Christ, which constituted the *essential glory* of his vicarious obedience and death.

Nor are the two natures of Christ more apparent in his *death* than they are in the *intercession* which he ever liveth to make in behalf of all who come unto God by him (Heb. vii. 25). The author of the epistle to the Hebrews teaches us (chaps. vii., ix.) how the high-priest, under the Levitical dispensation, typified Christ in his intercessory character: as the high-priest entered *alone* within the holiest place of the tabernacle once a-year with the blood of the sacrifice in his hands, and the names of the twelve tribes upon his heart, so Christ, having offered up himself as a lamb without spot unto God, has gone into glory bearing on his *heart* the names of his redeemed. We may, then, ask, with the Apostle (Rom. viii. 33), 'Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh *intercession* for us.' In this part of his mediatorial work God's *incommunicable* attributes of *omniscience*, *omnipresence*, and *omnipotence* are seen. He must therefore have been God, and on the ground of his being able, from personal experience, to sympathise with the suffering members of his mystical body, he must have been man; being perfect God and perfect man, he is, then, a perfect *intercessor*.

We come, lastly, to notice Christ's mediatorial character *as king*. The limits of this article will not admit of our even alluding to the varied and multiplied passages of Scripture which delineate Christ as 'Head over all things to the church' (see Ps. ii. 6; lxx.; Isaiah xxxii. 1; Dan. ix. 25; Col. i. 17, 18, &c.). Suffice it here to say that Christ could not, without the concurrence of his *divine* nature, gather and govern the church, protect and defend it against all assailants open and secret, and impart to it his Holy Spirit, to enlighten and renew the minds and hearts of men and subdue Satan—all these are acts of his kingly office.

Such, then, is the work of Christ's mediatorship—salvation revealed by him as prophet, procured by him as priest, and applied by him as king—the work of the whole person wherein both natures are engaged. Hence it is that some of the ancients speaking of it, designate it θεανδρικὴ ἐνεργεία 'a divine-human operation' (see Dionys. Areopag. *Epist. IV. ad Caium. Damascenus*, iii. 19). For a more ample view of this important subject see Flavel, *Panstratia of Shavior*, vol. iii. fol. Genev. vii. 1, in which the views of the Romish church are ably controverted. See also Brinsley (John), *Christ's Mediation*, 8vo. Lond. 1637.—

J. W. D.

MEGIDDO (מְגִדּוֹ; in Zech. xii. 11 מְגִדּוֹן; Sept. Μαγεδδώ, Μαγεδδών), a town belonging to Manasseh, although within the boundaries of Issachar (Josh. xvii. 11). It had been originally one of the royal cities of the Canaanites (Josh. xii. 21), and was one of those of which the Israelites were unable for a long time to gain actual possession. Megiddo was rebuilt and fortified by Solomon (1 Kings ix. 15), and further Ahaziah king of Judah died when wounded by Jehu, and

died there (2 Kings ix. 27). It was in the battle near this place that Josiah was slain by Pharaoh-Necho (2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20-25). From the great mourning held for his loss, it became proverbial to compare any grievous mourning as being 'like the mourning of Hadad-rimmon in the valley of Megiddon' (Zech. xii. 11). 'The waters of Megiddo' (מי מגדו) are mentioned in Judges v. 19; and are probably those formed by the river Kishon. Eusebius and Jerome do not attempt to mark the situation of the place, and it appears that the name Megiddo was in their time already lost. They often mention a town called Legio, which must in their day have been an important and well-known place, as they assume it as a central point from which to mark the position of several other places in this quarter. This has been identified with the village now called Lejjun, which is situated upon the western border of the great plain of Esdraelon, where it begins to rise gently towards the low range of wooded hills that connect Carmel with the mountains of Samaria. This place was visited by Maundrell, who speaks of it as an old village near a brook, with a khan then in good repair (*Journey*, March 22). This khan was for the accommodation of the caravan on the route between Egypt and Damascus, which passes here. Having already identified the present village of Taannuk with the ancient Taanach, the vicinity of this to Lejjun induced Dr. Robinson to conceive that the latter might be the ancient Megiddo, seeing that Taanach and Megiddo are constantly named together in Scripture; and to this a writer in a German review adds the further consideration that the name of Legio was latterly applied to the plain, or low valley along the Kishon, as that of Megiddo had been in more ancient times. If this explanation be accepted, and it is certainly probable, though not certain, it only remains to conclude that the ancient Legio was not founded by the Romans, but that this was a new name imposed upon a still older place, which, like the names Neapolis (now Nabulus) and Sebaste (now Sebûstieh), has maintained itself in the mouths of the native population, while the earlier name has perished.

MELCHIZEDEK (מַלְכִּי צֶדֶק, *king of righteousness*; Sept. Μελχισέδεκ), 'priest of the most high God,' and king of Salem, who went forth to meet Abraham on his return from the pursuit of Chedorlaomer and his allies, who had carried Lot away captive. He brought refreshment, described in the general terms of 'bread and wine,' for the fatigued warriors, and bestowed his blessing upon their leader, who, in return, gave to the royal priest a tenth of all the spoil which had been acquired in his expedition (Gen. xiv. 18, 20).

This statement seems sufficiently plain, and to offer nothing very extraordinary; yet it has formed the basis of much speculation and controversy. In particular, the fact that Abraham gave a tithe to Melchizedek attracted much attention among the later Jews. In one of the Messianic Psalms (cx. 4), it is foretold that the Messiah should be 'a priest after the order of Melchizedek;' which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (vi. 20) cites as showing that Melchizedek was a type of Christ, and the Jews themselves, certainly, on the authority of this passage of the Psalms, regarded Melchizedek as a type of the regal-priesthood, higher than that of Aaron, to which the Messiah should belong. The bread and wine which were set forth on the table of shew-bread, was also supposed to be represented by the bread and wine which the king of Salem brought forth to Abraham (Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.* ii. 645). A mysterious supremacy came also to be assigned to Melchizedek, by reason of his having received tithes from the Hebrew patriarch; and on this point the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 1-10) expatiates strongly, as showing the inferiority of the priesthood represented, to that of Melchizedek, to which the Messiah belonged. 'Consider how great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave a tenth of the spoils;' and he goes on to argue that the Aaronic priesthood, who themselves received tithes of the Jews, actually paid tithes to Melchizedek in the person of their great ancestor. This superiority is, as we take it, inherent in his typical rather than his personal character. But the Jews, in admitting this official or personal superiority of Melchizedek to Abraham, sought to account for it by alleging that the royal priest was no other than Shem, the most pious of Noah's sons, who, according to the shorter chronology, might have lived to the time of Abraham (Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 1). Christian writers have not failed to enter into the same unprofitable researches, and would make Melchizedek to have been either Shem, or Mizraim or Canaan, the sons of Ham, or Ham himself, or even Enoch (Deyling, *Observat. Sacr.* ii. 71, sqq.; Clayton, *Chronolog. of the Heb. Bible*, p. 100). The last-named conjectures seem to require no notice; but the one which holds Melchizedek to have been Shem, and which we find in the Jerusalem Targum, and also that of Jonathan, requires an explanation of how his name came to be changed, how he is found reigning in a country inhabited by the descendants of Ham, how he came forth to congratulate Abraham on the defeat of one of his own descendants, as was Chedorlaomer, and how he could be said to have been without recorded parentage (Heb. vii. 3), since the pedigree of Shem must have been notorious. In that case also the difference of the priesthoods of Melchizedek and Levi would not be so distinct as to bear the argument which the Epistle to the Hebrews founds upon it. Rejecting on such grounds this opinion, others, in their anxiety to vindicate the dignity of Abraham from marks of spiritual submission to any mortal man, have held that Melchizedek was no other than the Son of God himself. But in this case it would hardly have been said that he was made '*like* unto the Son of God' (Heb. vii. 3), or that Christ was constituted 'a priest' after the order of Melchizedek (Heb. vi. 20), or, in other words, was a type of himself. Some who do not go so far as this, take him to have been an angel; and this was one of the wild notions of Origen and several of his school. The best founded opinion seems to be that of Carpzov (*Apparat. Antiq. Sacr. Cod.* c. iv. p. 52) and most judicious moderns, who, after Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* vi. 10), allege that he was a principal person among the Canaanites and posterity of Noah, and eminent for holiness and justice, and therefore discharged the priestly as well as regal functions among

the people: and we may conclude that his two-fold capacity of king and priest (characters very commonly united in the remote ages) afforded Abraham an opportunity of testifying his thankfulness to God in the manner usual in those times, by offering a tenth of all the spoil. This combination of characters happens for the first time in Scripture to be exhibited in his person, which, with the abrupt manner in which he is introduced, and the natute of the intercourse between him and Abraham, render him in various respects an appropriate and obvious type of the Messiah in his united regal and priestly character.

Salem, of which Melchizedek was king, is usually supposed to have been the original of Jeru*salem* (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 10. 2; Jerome, *Quæst. in Genes.*). But in another place (*ad Evagrium*, iii. fol. 13) Jerome mentions a town near Scythopolis, which in his time bore the name of Salem, and where was shown the palace of Melchizedek, which from the extent of the ruins must have been very magnificent. This he takes to have been the Shalem of Gen. xxxiii. 18; and the Salim, near to which John was baptizing (John iii. 23). The fact stated by Jerome shows that the place was in his time regarded as the Salem of Melchizedek; but the rabbinical tradition involved in this intimation is too late to be of much value; and as Jerusalem is called Salem in Ps. lxxvi. 2, the site of the Salem in question must be determined by the intimations of the context, which are more in agreement with Jerusalem than with any site near Bethshan. Besides the cited authorities, see Heidegger, *Hist. Patriarch.* ii. n. 2; Borger, *Hist. Crit. Melchisedeci;* Fabrici, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* i. 311; Hottinger, *Enneas Dissertatt.* p. 159, sqq.; Ursini, *Analect. Sacr.* i. 349.

MELITA (Μελίτη), an island in the Mediterranean, on which the ship which was conveying St. Paul as a prisoner to Rome was wrecked, and which was the scene of the interesting circumstances recorded in Acts xxvii. 28.



398. [Malta.]

Melita was the ancient name of Malta, and also of a small island in the Adriatic, now called Meleda, and each of these has found warm advocates for its identification with the Melita of Scripture. The received and long-established opinion is undoubtedly in favour of Malta; and those who uphold the claims of Meleda are to be regarded as dissenting from the general conclusion. This dissent proceeds chiefly upon the ground that the ship of St. Paul was 'driven about in (the sea of) Adria,' when wrecked on Melita. The conclusions deducible from this strong position are vigorously stated by P. Abate D. Ignazio Giorgi, in his *Inspezione Anticritiche*, published at Venice in 1730, and which then attracted considerable attention. There is a curious account of the controversy to which this gave rise in Ciantar's edit. of Abela's *Malta Illustrata*, i. 609, sqq. The view thus advocated was in this country taken up by the learned Bryant, and more lately by Dr. Falconer, in his clever *Dissertation on St. Paul's Voyage*, 1817. These writers do not, however, seem to be aware of the very solid answers to this notion, and the arguments in support of the received conclusions, which were produced at the time. There was nothing to answer but this one objection; for if that could be obviated, the historical and other probabilities in favour of Malta remained in their former force, although they could have no countervailing weight if the limitation of the name Adria to the gulf of Venice could be established. The course taken was, therefore, to show from ancient writers that the name Adria was *not*, in its ancient acceptation, limited to the present Adriatic Sea, but comprehended the seas of Greece and Sicily, and extended even to Africa. This seems to have been established beyond dispute, and every one ac-

quainted with the mass of evidence brought to bear on this point, must regard the only strong argument in favour of Meleda as having been entirely overthrown. Those who have any curiosity or doubt in the matter may find this evidence copiously produced in Ciantar's edition of Abela's work, and also in Wetstein. Abela, after disposing of this part of his subject, very properly calls attention to the ample memorials of St. Paul's visit which exist in Malta, and the utter absence of any such in Meleda:—'Finalmente in Meleda non vi fu ma vestigio, o memoria di S. Paolo, non che Tempio ad onor di lui edificato; ma sibbene nella nostra isola vene sono molte memorie: anzi non v' è luogo, in cui non si celebri il glorioso nome dell' Appostolo (*Malta Illustrata*, i. 608). He goes on to enumerate particulars, which we will spare the reader, although the present writer's personal acquaintance with the island would enable him greatly to extend Abela's list of the Pauline associations which it contains. There is, perhaps, no piece of land of the same extent in the world which is made to contain reference so diversified and so numerous to any one person, as the island of Malta to St. Paul, who is, in fact, the tutelary saint of the island. These appropriations of Pauline memorials may in detail be open to dispute, or may possibly all be erroneous; but they serve in the mass to indicate a current of opinion which may be traced back to a remote source in ancient times.

The name of St. Paul's Bay has been given to the place where the shipwreck is supposed to have taken place. This, the sacred historian says, was at 'a certain creek with a shore,' *i. e.* a seemingly practicable shore, on which they purposed, if possible, to strand the vessel, as their only apparent chance to escape being broken on the rocks. In attempting this the ship seems to have struck and gone to pieces on the rocky headland at the entrance of the creek. This agrees very well with St. Paul's Bay, more so than with any other creek of the island. This bay is a deep inlet on the north side of the island, being the last indentation of the coast but one from the western extremity of the island. It is about two miles deep, by one mile broad. The harbour which it forms is very unsafe at some distance from the shore, although there is good anchorage in the middle for light vessels. The most dangerous part is the western headland at the entrance of the bay, particularly as there is close to it a small island (Salamone), and a still smaller islet (Salamonetta), the currents and shoals around which are particularly dangerous in stormy weather. It is usually supposed that the vessel struck at this point. From this place the ancient capital of Malta (now Citta Vecchia, Old City) is distinctly seen at the distance of about five miles; and on looking towards the bay from the top of the church on the summit of the hill whereon the city stands, it occurred to the present writer that the people of the town might easily from this spot have perceived in the morning that a wreck had taken place; and this is a circumstance which throws a fresh light on some of the circumstances of the deeply interesting transactions which ensued.

The sacred historian calls the inhabitants *βάρβαροι*, 'barbarians:' — 'the barbarous people showed us no small kindness.' This is far from implying that they were savages or uncivilized men: it merely intimates that they were not of Greek or Roman origin. This description applies to the ancient inhabitants of Malta most accurately; and as it could not apply to the inhabitants of Melida, who were Greeks, this is another argument to show that not Melida but Malta is the Melita of Scripture.

The island of Malta lies in the Mediterranean, about sixty miles south from Cape Passaro in Sicily. It is sixty miles in circumference, twenty in length, and twelve in breadth. Near it, on the west, is a smaller island, called Gozo, about thirty miles in circumference. Malta has no mountains or high hills, and makes no figure from the sea. It is naturally a barren rock, but has been made in parts abundantly fertile by the industry and toil of man. The island was first colonized by the Phœnicians, from whom it was taken by the Greek colonists in Sicily, about B.C. 736; but the Carthaginians began to dispute its possession about B.C. 528, and eventually became entire masters of it. From their hands it passed into those of the Romans, B.C. 242, who treated the inhabitants well, making Melita a municipium, and allowing the people to be governed by their own laws. The government was administered by a proprætor, who depended upon the prætor of Sicily; and this office appears to have been held by Publius when Paul was on the island (Acts xxviii. 7). On the division of the Roman empire, Melita belonged to the western portion; but having, in A.D. 553, been recovered from the Vandals by Belisarius, it was afterwards attached to the empire of the East. About the end of the ninth century the island was taken from the Greeks by the Arabs, who made it a dependency upon Sicily, which was also in their possession. The Arabs have left the impress of their aspect, language, and many of their customs, upon the present inhabitants, whose dialect is to this day perfectly intelligible to the Arabians, and to the Moors of Africa. Malta was taken from the Arabs by the Normans in A.D. 1090, and afterwards underwent other changes till A.D. 1530, when Charles V., who had annexed it to his empire, transferred it to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, whom the Turks had recently dispossessed of Rhodes. Under the knights it became a flourishing state, and was the scene of their greatest glory and most signal exploits. The institution having become unsuited to modern times, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, commonly called Knights of Malta, gradually fell into decay, and the island was surrendered to the French under Buonaparte when on his way to Egypt in 1798. From them it was retaken by the English with the concurrence and assistance of the natives; and it was to have been restored to the Knights of Malta by the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens; but as no sufficient security for the independence of the Order (composed mostly of Frenchmen) could be obtained, the English retained it in their hands; which necessary infraction of the treaty was the ostensible ground of the war which only ended with the battle of Waterloo. The island is still in the hands of the English, who have lately remodelled the government to meet the wishes of the numerous inhabitants. It has lately become the actual seat

of an Anglican bishopric, which however takes its title from Gibraltar out of deference to the existing Catholic bishopric of Malta—a deference not paid to the Oriental churches in recently establishing the Anglican bishopric of Jerusalem. F. Wandalin, *Dissert. de Melita Pauli*, Havn. 1707; P. Carlo, *Origine della Fede in Malta*, Milan, 1759; Ciantar, *Critica de' Critici Moderni sub Controversa Naufragio di San Paolo*, Venez. 1763; Boisgelin, *History of Malta*, 1804; and the works cited in the course of this article.

MELON. [Abbatachim.]

MEMPHIS, a very ancient city, the capital of Lower Egypt, standing at the apex of the Delta, ruins of which are still found not far from its successor and modern representative, Cairo. Its Egyptian name, in the *hieroglyphics*, is Menofri; in Coptic, Memfi, Manfi, Membe, Panonfi or Mefi, being probably corrupted from Man-nofri, 'the abode,' or, as Plutarch terms it, ὅρμος ἀγαθῶν (*Isid. et Osir.* c. 20), 'the haven of good men.' It was called also Pthah-ei, the abode of Pthah (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 278). In Hebrew the city bears the name of מֹף (Hos. ix. 6), or נֹף (Isa. xix. 13). These several names are obviously variations of one, of which Meph seems to contain the essential sounds. Whether we may hence derive support to the statement that the place was founded by Menes, the first human king of Egypt, or whether we have here a very early instance of the custom which prevailed so extensively among the Greeks and Romans, of inventing founders for cities, having names correspondent with the names of the places they were said to have built, it is impossible, with the materials we possess, to determine with any fair approach to certainty. Menes, however, is universally reputed to have founded not only Memphis but Thebes; the addition of the latter may seem to invalidate his claim to the former, making us suspect that here, too, we have a case of that custom of referring to some one distinguished name great events which happened, in truth, at different and far distant eras. If, as is probable, Thebes as well as Memphis was, at any early period, the seat of a distinct dynasty, the cradle and the throne of a line of independent sovereigns, they could scarcely have had one founder.

The statement, however, is, that having diverted the course of the Nile, which had washed the foot of the sandy mountains of the Libyan chain, Menes obliged it to run in the centre of the valley, and built the city Memphis in the bed of the ancient channel. This change was effected by constructing a dyke about a hundred stadia above the site of the projected city, whose lofty mounds and strong embankments turned the water to the East and confined the river to its new bed. The dyke was carefully kept in repair by succeeding kings, and even as late as the Persian invasion, a guard was always maintained there to overlook the necessary repairs; for, as Herodotus asserts, if the river were to break through the dyke, the whole of Memphis would be in danger of being overwhelmed with water, especially at the period of the inundation. Subsequently, however, when the increased deposit of the alluvial soil had raised the circumjacent plains, the precautions became unnecessary; and though the spot where the diversion of the Nile was made may still be traced, owing to the great bend it takes about fourteen miles above ancient Memphis, the lofty mounds once raised there are no longer visible. The accumulated deposit of the river has elevated the bank about Kafr-el-Iyat to a level with the summit of these mounds; and a large canal runs, during the inundation, close to the villages of Saggara and Metrahenny, which occupy part of the old city, without endangering their security. And it is the opinion of Wilkinson, that considering the great height of several mounds still existing at Memphis, the city could not have been overwhelmed at any period by the rising Nile, though much damage might have been done to some of the portions of it which may have stood on less elevated ground (Herod. ii. 99; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 91). The site of Memphis was first accurately fixed by Pococke, at the village of Metrahenny. According to the reports of the French, the heaps which mark the site of the ancient buildings have three leagues of circumference; but this is less than its extent in early times, since Diodorus gives it 150 stadia, or six leagues and a quarter. Memphis declined after the foundation of Alexandria, and its materials were carried off to build Cairo (Kenrick, *Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 129; Rennell, ii. 115; Champoll. *Egypte et les Ph.* i. 336).

The kingdom of which Memphis was the capital, was most probably the Egypt of the patriarchs, in which Abraham, Jacob, and the Israelites resided. Psammetichus, in becoming sole monarch of all Egypt, raised Memphis to the dignity of the one metropolis of the entire land (*arx Ægypti regum*, Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 9), after which Memphis grew in the degree in which Thebes declined. It became distinguished for a multitude of splendid edifices, among which may be mentioned a large and magnificent temple to Vulcan, who was called by the Egyptians Phthah, the demiurgos, or creative power (Wilkinson, i. 96; Herod. ii. 136, 154; Strabo, xvii. p. 807; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* viii. 71; Diod. Sic. i. 57, 67). Under the dominion of the Persians, as well as of the Ptolemies, Memphis retained its pre-eminence as the capital, though even in the time of the former it began to part with its splendour; and when the latter bestowed their favour on Alexandria, it suffered a material change for the worse, from which the place never recovered. In the days of Strabo many of its fine buildings lay in ruins, though the city was still large and populous. The final blow was given to the prosperity of Memphis in the time of Abdollatif, by the erection of the Arabian city of Cairo.

That the arts were carried to a great degree of excellence at Memphis is proved by the most abundant evidence. Its manufactures of glass were famed for the superior quality of their workmanship, with which Rome continued to be supplied long after Egypt became a province of the empire. The environs of Memphis presented cultivated groves of the acacia tree, of whose wood were made the planks and masts of boats, the handles of offensive weapons of war, and various articles of furniture (Wilkinson, iii. 92, 168). Memphis was also distinguished as being the place where Apis was kept, and where his worship received special honour. Under the form of this sacred bull was Osiris worshipped. Psammetichus erected here in his honour a grand court ornamented with figures in lieu of columns, twelve

cubits in height, forming a peristyle around it, in which the god was kept when exhibited in public. The festival held in his honour lasted seven days, and brought a large concourse of people to Memphis. The priests then led the sacred bull in solemn procession, every one coming forward from their houses to welcome him as he passed; and Pliny affirms that children who smelt his breath were thought to be thereby gifted with the power of predicting future events (Wilkinson, ii. 351).—J. R. B.

MENAHEM (מְנַחֵם, *consoler;* Sept. Μαναήμ), sixteenth king of Israel, who began to reign B.C. 772, and reigned ten years. Menahem appears to have been one of the generals of king Zachariah. When he heard the news of the murder of that prince, and the usurpation of Shallum, he was at Tirzah, but immediately marched to Samaria, where Shallum had shut himself up, and slew him in that city. He then usurped the throne in his turn; and forthwith marched to Tiphsah, which refused to acknowledge his rule. Having taken this place after a siege, he treated the inhabitants with a degree of savage barbarity, which, as Josephus remarks (*Antiq.* ix. 11. 1), would not have been pardonable even to foreigners. He adhered to the sin of Jeroboam, like the other kings of Israel. In his time the Assyrians, under their king Pul, made their first appearance on the borders of Palestine; and Menahem was only able to save himself from this great invading power at the heavy price of 1000 talents of silver, which he raised by a tax of 50 shekels from every man of substance in Israel. This was probably the only choice left to him; and he is not therefore to be blamed, as he had not that resource in the treasures of the temple of which the kings of Judah availed themselves in similar emergencies. Menahem died in B.C. 761, leaving the throne to his son Pekahiah (2 Kings xv. 14-22.

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN (מְנֵא, מְנֵא, תְּקֵל, וּפַרְסִין; Sept. Μανή, Θεκέλ, Φάρες; Vulg. *Mane, Thecel, Phares*), the inscription supernaturally written 'upon the plaster of the wall' in Belshazzar's palace at Babylon (Dan. v. 5-25); which 'the astrologers, the Chaldæans, and the soothsayers' could neither read nor interpret, but which Daniel first read, and then interpreted. Yet the words, as they are found in Daniel, are pure Chaldee, and if they appeared in the Chaldee character, could have been read, at least, by any person present on the occasion who understood the alphabet of his own language. To account for their inability to decipher this inscription, it has been supposed that it consisted of those Chaldee words written in another character. Dr. Hales thinks that it may have been written in the primitive Hebrew character, from which the Samaritan was formed, and that, in order to show on this occasion that the writer of the inscription was the offended God of Israel, whose authority was being at that moment peculiarly despised (ver. 2, 3, 4), he adopted his own sacred character, in which he had originally written the decalogue, in which Moses could transcribe it into the law, and whose autograph copy was found in Josiah's days, and was most probably brought to Babylon in the care of Daniel, who could therefore understand the character without inspiration, but which would be unknown to 'the wise men of Babylon' (*New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. i. p. 505, Lond. 1811). This theory has the recommendation, that it involves as little as possible of miraculous agency. Josephus makes Daniel discourse to Belshazzar as if the inscription had been in Greek. The passage is certainly curious: Ἐδήλου δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα τάδε. ΜΑΝΗ. τοῦτο δ' ἔλεγεν Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ σημαίνοιτ' ἂν ἀριθμός· ὥσπερ τῆς ζωῆς σου τοσοῦτον χρόνον καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠρίθμηκεν ὁ θεός, καὶ περισσεύειν ἐπὶ σοὶ βραχὺν χρόνον. ΘΕΚΕΛ. σημαίνει τοῦτο σταθμόν. στήσας οὖν σου λέγει τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας ὁ θεός, ἤδη καταφερομένην δηλοῖ. ΦΑΡΕΣ. καὶ τοῦτο κλάσμα δηλοῖ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν. κλάσει τοιγαροῦν σου τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ Μήδοις αὐτὴν καὶ Πέρσαις διανεμεῖ. 'He (Daniel) explained the writing thus: MANH. "this," said he, "*in the Greek language*, may mean *a number;* thus God hath numbered so long a time for thy life and for thy government, and that there remains a short time for thee." ΘΕΚΕΛ. This signifies *weight;* hence he says, "God having weighed in a balance the time of thy kingdom, finds it already going down." ΦΑΡΕΣ. This also, according to *the Greek language*, denotes *a fragment;* hence "he will break in pieces thy kingdom, and divide it among the Medes and Persians"' (*Antiq.* x. 11. 3). There is some doubt whether the reading ἔλεγεν be genuine, but Josephus evidently represents the whole passage as addressed by Daniel to the king, and makes him speak as if the inscription had been in Greek. Still Josephus, for some cause or other, represents Daniel as speaking doubtfully ('may mean') in the former part of the passage, and scarcely less so in the latter. It has been supposed by some, that 'the wise men' were not so much at fault to read the inscription, as to explain its meaning, which, it is said, they might sufficiently understand to see its boding import to the monarch, and be unwilling to consider further—like the disciples in regard to the predictions of our Lord's death (Luke ix. 45), where it is said, 'this saying was hid from them, they perceived it not, and they feared to ask him of that saying.' And certainly it is said throughout our narrative that 'the wise men could not read the writing, nor make known the interpretation of it,' phrases which would seem to mean one and the same thing; since, if they mean different things, the order of ideas would be that they could not interpret nor even read it, and Wintle accordingly translates, 'could not read so as to interpret it' (*Improved Version of Daniel*, Lond. 1807). At all events the meaning of the inscription by itself would be extremely enigmatical and obscure. To determine the application, and to give the full sense, of an isolated device which amounted to no more than 'he or it is numbered, he or it is numbered, he or it is weighed, they are divided' (and there is even a riddle or paranomasia on the last word פרס; comp. Susannah, ver. 54, 55 and 58, 59, Greek, and Jer. i. 11, 12, Hebrew; which may either mean 'they divide,' or 'the Persians,' according as it is pronounced), must surely have required a supernatural endowment on the part of Daniel—a conclusion which is confirmed by the exact coincidence of the event with the prediction, which he propounded with so much fortitude (ver. 30, 31).—J. F. D.

MENI (מְנִי; it is doubtful whether the Sept. renders it by τύχη, or by δαιμόνιον) is mentioned in Is. lxv. 11, together with Gad, as receiving an offering of mixed wine. As derived from מנה, 'to distribute,' 'to number,' the word is either taken, by those namely who consider Gad in that passage to mean *troop*, to signify a *multitude*, a *number*; or, by those who suppose the whole verse to refer to idolatrous worship, to be the name of a god, and to mean *destiny*. To this sense the first clause of the next verse appears to allude: 'But I destine you to the sword.' The signification of destiny is very naturally evolved from the primitive notion of distributing, apportioning: as in the Greek μοῖρα, and in the Arabic منى *manan*, *fate*, from the same root as *Meni*. Pocock has, moreover, pointed out the resemblance between Meni and Manât, an idol of the ancient Arabs, which is mentioned in the Qurân, Sur. liii. 20 (*Specim.* p. 94). The fact of Meni being a Babylonian god renders it probable that some planet was worshipped under this name: but there is much diversity of opinion as to the particular planet to which the designation of *destiny* would be most applicable. Münter considers it to be Venus, as the lesser star of good fortune; Ewald takes it to be Saturn, the chief dispenser of evil influences; and Movers has returned to an old opinion, that Meni is the moon, which was also supposed to be an arbitress of fortune: the best arguments for which last view are collected by Vitringa (*ad loc.*). It also deserves notice that there are some, among whom is Hitzig, who consider Gad and Meni to be names for one and the same god, and who chiefly differ as to whether the sun or the moon is the god intended.—J. N.

MEPHIBOSHETH (מְפִי בֹשֶׁת, *extermination of idols*; Sept. Μεμφιβοσθέ; also in 1 Chron. ix. 40, Merib-Baal), son of Jonathan and nephew of Saul (2 Sam. iv. 4). He was only five years of age when his father and grandfather were slain in Mount Gilboa: and on the news of this catastrophe, the woman who had charge of the child, apprehending that David would exterminate the whole house of Saul, fled away with him; but in her hasty flight she stumbled with the child, and lamed him for life (B.C. 1055). Under this calamity, which was very incapacitating in times when agility and strength were of prime importance, Mephibosheth was unable to take any part in the stirring political events of his early life. According to our notions, he should have been the heir of the house of Saul; but in those times a younger son of an actual king was considered to have at least as good a claim as the son of an heir apparent who had never reigned, and even a better claim if the latter were a minor. This, with his lameness, prevented Mephibosheth from ever appearing as the opponent or rival of his uncle Ishbosheth on the one hand, or of David on the other (2 Sam. ix). He thus grew up in quiet obscurity in the house of Machir, one of the great men of the country beyond the Jordan (2 Sam. ix. 4; xvii. 27); and his very existence was unknown to David till that monarch, when firmly settled in his kingdom, inquired whether any of the family of Jonathan survived, to whom he might show kindness for his father's sake. Hearing then of Mephibosheth from Ziba, who had been the royal steward under Saul, he invited him to Jerusalem, assigned him a place at his own table, and bestowed upon him lands, which were managed for him by Ziba, and which enabled him to support an establishment suited to his rank. He lived in this manner till the revolt of Absalom, and then David, in his flight, having noticed the absence of Mephibosheth, inquired for him of Ziba, and being informed that he had remained behind in the hope of being restored to his father's throne, instantly and very hastily revoked the grant of land, and bestowed it on Ziba (2 Sam. xvi. 1-4). Afterwards, on his return to Jerusalem, he was met with sincere congratulations by Mephibosheth, who explained that being lame he had been unable to follow the king on foot, and that Ziba had purposely prevented his beast from being made ready to carry him: and he declared that so far from having joined in heart, or even appearance, the enemies of the king, he had remained as a mourner, and, as his appearance declared, had not changed his clothes, or trimmed his beard, or even dressed his feet, from the day that the king departed to that on which he returned. David could not but have been sensible that he had acted wrong, and ought to have been touched by the devotedness of his friend's son, and angry at the imposition of Ziba; but to cover one fault by another, or from indifference, or from reluctance to offend Ziba, who had adhered to him when so many old friends forsook him, he answered coarsely, 'Why speakest thou any more of thy matters? I have said, thou and Ziba divide the land.' The answer of Mephibosheth was worthy of the son of the generous Jonathan:—'Yea, let him take all; forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house' (2 Sam. xix. 24-30). Undoubtedly David does not shine in this part of his conduct to Mephibosheth; but some of the German writers, in their eagerness to impugn the character and motives of 'the man after God's own heart,' have handled the matter much more severely than a due consideration of the difficult circumstances in which the king was placed will be found to justify.

We hear no more of Mephibosheth, except that David was careful that he should not be included in the savage vengeance which the Gideonites were suffered to execute upon the house of Saul for the great wrong they had sustained during his reign (2 Sam. xxi. 7). Another Mephibosheth, a son of Saul by his concubine Rizpah, was, however, among those who suffered on that occasion (ver. 8, 9).

MERAB (מֵרַב, *increase*; Sept. Μερόβ), eldest daughter of king Saul, who was promised in marriage to David; but when the time fixed for their union approached, she was, to the surprise of all Israel, bestowed in marriage upon an unknown personage named Adriel (1 Sam. xiv. 49: xviii. 17-19). By him she had six sons, who were among those of the house of Saul that were given up to the Gibeonites, who put them to death in expiation for the wrongs they had sustained from their grandfather. By an error of some copyist, the name of Michal—the younger sister, who was afterwards given to David—has found its way into the text which records this transaction (2 Sam. xxi. 8), in place of that of Merab,

which renders the account unintelligible. The context, however, sufficiently indicates the proper correction.

MERARI (מְרָרִי, *bitter;* Sept. Μεραρί), youngest son of Levi, born in Canaan (Gen. xlvi. 11; Exod. vi. 16; Num. iii. 17; 1 Chron. vi. 1). He is only known from his name having been given to one of the three great divisions of the Levitical tribe.

MERCURY [HERMES].

MERCY-SEAT (כַּפֹּרֶת; Sept. ἱλαστήριον; Vulg. *propitiatorium;* Luth. *gnadenstuhl*). The Hebrew name literally denotes a *cover*, and, in fact, describes the lid of the ark with cherubim, over which appeared 'the glory of God' (Exod. xxvi. 17, sq.; xxx. 8; xxxi. 7, and elsewhere). [ARK.] Compare 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, where the holy of holies is called the בית הכפרת, 'house of the mercy-seat.' The idea involved in these translations seems to be founded upon the metaphorical application of the word כפר *copher* (perhaps the origin of the very word *cover* which translates it), thus making 'to cover sin' mean to forgive or expiate it. Whether this be the literal application of the word to the material covering of the ark, or a latent reference to this symbolical meaning of the term might have been doubted, had not the New Testament (Heb. ix. 5) followed the example of the Septuagint in assigning it the latter sense—which, therefore, all translators have felt bound to follow. The word used in the Septuagint and New Testament to translate the term, which in Hebrew means simply 'a cover,' is ἱλαστήριον, the 'expiatory' or 'propitiatory,' in allusion to that application of the Hebrew word which we have noted: which application is in this instance justified and explained by reference to the custom of the high-priest once a-year entering the most holy place, and sprinkling the lid of the ark with the blood of an expiatory victim, whereby 'he made atonement for the sins of the people.' As this was the most solemn and significant act of the Hebrew ritual, it is natural that a reference to it should be involved in the name which the covering of the ark acquired. By a comparison of the texts in which the word occurs, it will be seen that there would, in fact, have been little occasion to name the cover of the ark separately from the ark itself, but for this important ceremonial. From this it will be seen that 'mercy-seat' is not a good or correct translation of the idea involved in the metaphorical sense of the original Hebrew, and still less of the Greek ἱλαστήριον. It carries the idea a stage further from the original. The lid of the ark was no doubt the 'seat of mercy,' but it was mercy conferred through the act of expiation, and therefore a name bringing the sense nearer to the idea of expiation or of propitiation would be more exact. The term 'mercie-seat' occurs in Barker's Bible, but is explained there by 'or covering, or propitiatorie;' and the notion which led the English translators to call it 'mercie-seate,' is expressed in the note—'There God appeared mercifully unto them: and this was a figure of Christ.' In the same Bible a figure of the covering of the ark is given separately, and the explanatory description is, 'The propitiatorie, or mercie-seate, which is the covering of the arke of the testimonie.'

MERI-BAAL, or MERIB-BAAL (מְרִי־בַעַל; Sept. Μεριβαάλ), a name given to Mephibosheth, son of Jonathan, in 1 Chron. viii. 34; ix. 40 [MEPHIBOSHETH]. Of the two the latter seems the more correct form. It means 'contender against Baal.' Some think that the difference has arisen from some corruption of the text; but, from the analogy of Ishbosheth, whose original name was Esh-baal, it seems more like a designed alteration, arising probably from the reluctance of the Israelites to pronounce the name of Baal [ISHBOSHETH].

1. MERIBAH (מְרִיבָה, *quarrel, strife*), one of the names given by Moses to the fountain in the desert of Sin, on the western gulf of the Red Sea, which issued from the rock which he smote by the divine command (Exod. xvii. 1-17). He called the place, indeed, Massa (temptation) *and* Meribah, and the reason is assigned 'because of the *chiding* of the children of Israel, and because they did there *tempt* the Lord.' [WANDERING.]

2. MERIBAH. Another fountain produced in the same manner, and under similar circumstances, in the desert of Zin (Wady Arabah), near Kadesh; and to which the name was given with a similar reference to the previous misconduct of the Israelites (Num. xx. 13, 24; Deut. xxxiii. 8). In the last text, which is the only one where the two places are mentioned together, the former is called Massah only, to prevent the confusion of the two Meribahs, 'Whom thou didst prove at Massah, and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah.' Indeed this latter Meribah is almost always indicated by the addition of 'waters,' *i. e.* 'waters of Meribah' (מי מריבה), as if further to distinguish it from the other (Ps. lxxxi. 8; cvi. 32); and still more distinctly 'waters of Meribah in Kadesh' (Num. xxvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 51; Ezek. xlvii. 19). Only once is this place called simply Meribah (Ps. xcv. 8). It is strange, that with all this carefulness of distinction in Scripture, the two places should rarely have been properly discriminated. The distance of place from the former Meribah, the distance of time, and the difference of the people in a new generation, are circumstances which, when the positive conditions of the two wells were so equal, explain why Moses might give the same name to two places. The necessity for a diversified nomenclature was not at all felt in those ancient times: hence the number of places which in Scripture are found bearing the same names; which, however, are not perhaps greater, nor indeed so great as the repetitions of the same names which occur at this day in our own and other European countries.

MERODACH (מְרֹדָךְ; Sept. Vat. Μαιρωδὰχ) occurs in Jer. l. 2, in such connection with idols as to leave no doubt that it is the name of a Babylonian god. In conformity with the general character of Babylonian idolatry Merodach is supposed to be the name of a planet; and, as the Tsabian and Arabic names for Mars are Nerig and Mirrich, 'arrow' (the latter of which Gesenius thinks may be for Mirdich, which is very nearly the same as Merodach), there is some presumption that it may be Mars. As for etymologies of the word, Gesenius has suggested that it is the Persian *mardak*, the diminutive of *mard*, 'man,'

used as a term of endearment; or, rather, that it is from the Persian and Indo-Germanic *mord*, or *mort* (which means death, and is so far in harmony with the conception of Mars, as the lesser star of evil omen), and the affix *oeh*, which is found in many Assyrian names, as Nisroch, &c. The bloody rites with which Mars was worshipped by the ancient Arabs are described in Norberg's *Onomast. Codicis Nasar.* p. 107.—J. N.

MEROM. 'The waters of Merom,' of Josh. ix. 5, are doubtless the lake Samechonitis, now called Huleh, the upper or highest lake of the Jordan [Palestine].

MERORIM (מְרֹרִים) occurs in two places in Scripture, and is in both translated *bitter herbs* in our Authorized Version, as well as in several others. In Exod. xii. 8, Moses commanded the Jews to eat the lamb of the Passover 'with unleavened bread, and with *bitter* herbs (*merorim*) they shall eat it.' So at the institution of the second Passover, in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. ix. 11), 'The fourteenth day of the second month at even they shall keep it, and eat it with unleavened bread and *bitter* herbs.' The word *merorim*, which is here translated 'bitter herbs,' is universally acknowledged to signify *bitter*, and the word *herbs* has been supplied to complete the sense. By the Sept. it has been translated ἐπὶ πικρίδων, and by St. Jerome, 'cum lactucis agrestibus.' Several interpreters, however, render it simply *amara;* which Celsius adopts, and considers that *merorim* has reference to the ἔμβαμμα which was eaten with the paschal lamb, and that it signifies 'cum amaritudinibus, vel rebus amaris.' In the Arabic a word similar to the Hebrew has also reference to bitterness, and, like the Greek word πικρός, came to be applied to a bitter plant. Thus the Arabic *murr*, 'bitter,' pl. *murar*, signifies a species of bitter tree or plant; as does *maru*, a fragrant herb which has always some degree of bitterness. *Murooa* is in India applied both to the bitter *Artemisia*, or wormwood, and to the fragrant *Ocymum pilosum*, a species of Basil; in Arabia, to the bitter Centaury, according to Forskal. It is extremely probable that a bitter herb of some kind is intended, but whether a particular species or *any* bitter herb, it is difficult to say. The Jews, as we learn from the Mishna (Tract. *Pesachim*, cap. ii. § 6, as quoted by Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 1. ii. c. 50), used five kinds of bitter herbs, thus given by Dr. Harris: '1. *Chazareth*, taken for lettuce; 2. *Ulsin*, supposed to be endive, or succory; 3. *Tamea*, probably tansy; 4. *Charubbinim*, which Bochart thought might be the nettle, but Scheuchzer shows to be the camomile; 5. *Meror*, the sow-thistle, or dent-delion, or wild lettuce.' All these translations betray their European origin. To interpret them with any thing like accuracy, it is requisite in the first place to have a complete Flora of the countries, from Egypt to Syria, with the Arabic names of the useful plants, accompanied by a notice of their properties. Science is as yet far from having any thing of the kind. We have seen that the succory or endive was early selected as being the bitter herb especially intended; and Dr. Geddes justly remarks, that 'the Jews of Alexandria, who translated the Pentateuch, could not be ignorant what herbs were eaten with the paschal lamb in their days.' Jerome understood it in the same manner; and Pseudo-Jonathan expressly mentions *horehound* and *lettuces*. Forskal informs us that the Jews at Sana and in Egypt eat the lettuce with the paschal lamb. Lady Calcott inquires whether mint was originally one of the bitter herbs with which the Israelites ate the paschal, as our use of it with roast lamb, particularly about Easter time, inclined her to suppose it was. Aben Ezra, as quoted by Rosenmüller, states that the Egyptians used bitter herbs in every meal: so in India some of the bitter *Cucurbitaceæ*, as *kurella*, are constantly employed as food [Pakyoth]. It is curious that the two sets of plants which appear to have the greatest number of points in their favour, are the endive or succory, and one of the fragrant and usually also bitter labiate plants; because we find that the term *marooa* is in the East applied even in the present day both to the bitter wormwood and the fragrant *Ocymum*. Moreover the Chaldee translator, Jonathan, expressly mentions lettuce and *horehound*, or *marrubium*, which is also one of the Labiatæ. It is important to observe that the Artemisia, and some of these fragrant labiatæ, are found in many parts of Arabia and Syria; that is, in warm, dry, barren regions. The endive is also found in similar situations, but requires, upon the whole, a greater degree of moisture. Thus it is evident that the Israelites would be able to obtain suitable plants during their long wanderings in the Desert, though it is difficult for us to select any one out of the several which might have been employed by them.—J. F. R.

MEROZ (מֵרוֹז; Sept. Μηρώζ), a place in the northern part of Palestine, the inhabitants of which are severely reprehended in Judg. v. 23, for not having taken the field with Barak against Sisera. It would seem as if they had had an opportunity of rendering some particular and important service to the public cause which they neglected. The site is not known: Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Merus') fix it twelve Roman miles from Sebaste, on the road to Dothaim; but this position would place it south of the field of battle, and therefore scarcely agrees with the history.

MESECH; MESHECH [Nations, Dispersion of].

1. MESHA (מֵשָׁא; Sept. Μασσῆ), a place mentioned in describing that part of Arabia inhabited by the descendants of Joktan (Gen. x. 30). [See Nations, Dispersion of.]

2. MESHA (מֵישַׁע, *deliverance;* Sept. Μωσά), a king of Moab, who possessed an immense number of flocks and herds, and appears to have derived his chief wealth from them. In the time of Ahab, he being then under tribute, 'rendered unto the king of Israel 100,000 lambs, and 100,000 rams, with the wool (2 Kings iii. 4). These numbers may seem exaggerated if understood as the amount of yearly tribute. It is, therefore, more probable that the greedy and implacable Ahab had at some one time levied this enormous impost upon the Moabites; and it is likely that it was in the apprehension of a recurrence of such ruinous exactions, that they seized the opportunity for revolt, which the death of Ahab seemed to offer (2 Kings i. 1; iii. 5). The short reign of Ahaziah afforded no opportunity for

rations for war; and induced Jehoshaphat to join him in this expedition. The result, with the part taken by Elisha the prophet, has been related under other heads [Elisha; Jehoram; Jehoshaphat]. King Mesha was at length driven to shut himself up, with the remnant of his force, in Areopolis, his capital. He was there besieged so closely, that, having been foiled in an attempt to break through the camp of the Edomites (who were present as vassals of Judah), he was reduced to extremities, and in the madness of his despair, sought to propitiate his angry gods by offering up his own son, the heir of his crown, as a sacrifice, upon the wall of the city. On beholding this fearful sight, the besiegers withdrew in horror, lest some portion of the monstrous crime might attach to their own souls. By this withdrawal they, however, afforded the king the relief he desired, and this was, no doubt, attributed by him to the efficacy of his offering, and to the satisfaction of his gods therewith. The invaders, however, ravaged the country as they withdrew, and returned with much spoil to their own land [Moabites].

MESOPOTAMIA. [Aram.]

MESSIAH (מָשִׁיחַ; Sept. Χριστός). In both languages this word signifies the same thing, viz. *anointed*. Hence Sept. ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χριστός for הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ, *the high priest* (Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16). In order to have an accurate idea of the Scriptural application of the term, we must consider the custom of anointing which obtained amongst the Jews. That which was specifically set apart for God's service was anointed, whether *persons* or *things* [Anointing]. Thus we read that Jacob poured oil upon the pillar (Gen. xxviii. 18, 22). The tabernacle also and its utensils were anointed (Lev. viii. 10), being thereby appropriated to God's service.

But this ceremony had, moreover, relation to *persons*. Thus *priests*, as Aaron and his sons, were anointed, that they might minister unto God (Exod. xl. 13, 15). We are informed by Jewish writers (see Maimon. *H. Melach*; Abarbanel, on Exod. xxx. 33) that the high-priest was anointed, but not the inferior priests; the high-priesthood not devolving, as a matter of course, on the eldest son, the person who succeeded his father must needs be thus consecrated to God (Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabbin. s. v.* מָשִׁיחַ).

Kings were anointed. Hence it is that a king is designated *the Lord's anointed* (Heb. אֶת־מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה; Sept. ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ Κυρίου). Saul and David were, according to the divine appointment, anointed by Samuel (1 Sam. x. 1; xv. 1; xvi. 3, 13). Zadok anointed Solomon, that there might be no dispute who should succeed David (1 Kings i. 39).

We cannot speak with confidence as to whether the prophets were *actually* anointed with the material oil. We have neither an express law nor practice to this effect on record. True it is that Elijah is commanded to anoint Elisha to be prophet in his room (1 Kings xix. 16); but no more may be meant by this expression than that he should constitute him his successor in the prophetic office; for all that he did, in executing he arose and ministered unto him (ver. 21). For kings and priests the precept and practice are unquestionable. It is in this extended, figurative, sense of the expression that we are to understand the passages in Ps. cv. 15 and Isa. xlv. 1, wherein the Israelites and Cyrus are called the *Lord's anointed*—they being expressly raised up for the accomplishment of the divine purposes.

But the name *Messiah* is, *par excellence*, applied to the Redeemer of man in the Old Testament (Dan. ix. 16; Ps. ii. 2). The words of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, at the close of her divine song, are very remarkable (1 Sam. ii. 10): 'The adversaries of the Lord shall be broken in pieces; out of heaven shall He thunder upon them: the Lord shall judge the ends of the earth; and he shall give strength unto his *king*, and exalt the horn of his *Messiah*.' The Hebrews as yet had no king; hence the passage may be taken as a striking prophecy of the promised deliverer. In various parts of the New Testament is this epithet applied to Jesus. St. Peter (Acts x. 36, 38) informs Cornelius the centurion that God had anointed Jesus of Nazareth to be the *Christ*, and our Lord himself acknowledges to the woman of Samaria that he is the expected Messiah (John iv. 25). This term, however, as applied to Jesus, is less a *name* than the expression of his office; thus Lactantius says, 'Christus non proprium nomen est, sed nuncupatio potestatis et regni' (*Institut.* iv. 7).

Thus the Jews had in *type*, under the Mosaic dispensation, what we have in *substance* under the Christian system. The prophets, priests, and kings of the former economy were types of Him who sustains these offices as the head of his mystical body, the Church [Mediator]. As the priests and kings of old were set apart for their offices and dignities by a certain form prescribed in the law of Moses, so was the blessed Saviour by a better anointing (of which the former was but a shadow), even by the Holy Ghost. Thus the apostle tells us that God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power (Acts x. 38). He was anointed:—

First, at his *conception:* the angel tells Mary, 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God' (Luke i. 35).

Second, at his *baptism* at the river Jordan (Matt. iii. 13; Mark i. 9, 10, 11, 12). St. Luke, moreover, records (Luke iv. 17, 21) that our Lord being at Nazareth, he had given unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah; and on reading from ch. lxi. 1, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,' &c., he said to his hearers, 'This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.'

On this subject Chrysostom (*Homil.* i. *in Epist. ad Romanos*, p. 6) says, 'He, the Saviour, is called Christ, because, as to the flesh, he was anointed: and wherewith was he anointed? With nothing truly but the Spirit.' Commenting on Ps. xlv. the same father observes, 'Christ was anointed when the Spirit descended upon him in the form of a dove.' Theophylact, on Matt. i., writes, 'The Lord is called Christ as king, because He rules over sin, and as priest because He offered himself a sacrifice for us. He was

Church. But as the Jews will not acknowledge the right of either Jesus, or his apostles, to apply the prophetic passages which point to the Messiah to himself, it now remains for us to show—

First, That the promised Messiah *has already come.*

Second, That Jesus of Nazareth *is unquestionably he.*

To prove our first assertion, we shall confine our remarks to *three* prophecies. The first occurs in Gen. xlix. 8, 10, where Jacob is giving his sons his parting benediction, &c. When he comes to Judah he says: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.' It is evident that by Judah is here meant, not the *person* but the *tribe;* for Judah died in Egypt, without any pre-eminence. By *sceptre* and *lawgiver* are obviously intended the legislative and ruling power, which did, in the course of time, commence in David, and which, for centuries afterwards, was continued in his descendants. Whatever variety the form of government—whether monarchical or aristocratical—might have assumed, the *law* and polity *were still the same.* This prediction all the ancient Jews referred to the Messiah. Ben Uzziel renders it, 'Until the time when the king Messiah shall come.' The Targum of Onkelos speaks to the same effect, and that of Jerusalem paraphrases it thus: 'Kings shall not cease from the house of Judah, nor doctors that teach the law from his children, until that the king Messiah do come, whose the kingdom is; and all nations of the earth shall be subject unto him.' Now, that the sceptre has departed from Judah, and, consequently, that the Messiah has come, we argue from the acknowledgments of some most learned Jews themselves. Kimchi thus comments on Hosea: 'These are the days of our captivity, wherein we have neither king nor prince in Israel; but we are in the power of the Gentiles, and under their kings and princes.' Again, Abarbanel, commenting on Isa. c. liii., says that it is a great part of their misery in their captivity, that they have neither kingdom nor rule, nor a sceptre of judgment! The *precise* time when all authority departed from Judah is disputed. Some date its departure from the time when Herod, an Idumæan, set aside the Maccabees and Sanhedrim. Whereupon the Jews are said to have shaved their heads, put on sackcloth, and cried, 'Woe to us, because the sceptre is departed from Judah, and a lawgiver from beneath his feet!' Others think that it was when Vespasian and Titus destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple, that the Jews lost the last vestige of authority. If, therefore, the sceptre *has* departed from Judah—and who can question it who looks at the broken-up, scattered, and lost state of that tribe for ages?—the conclusion is clearly irresistible, that the Messiah *must have long since come!* To avoid the force of this conclusion the Jews now say, that the שֵׁבֶט *shebet*, which we render *sceptre*, may be translated *rod*, and metaphorically signifies, in the above passage, *affliction.* That the word cannot bear this meaning *here*, is evident, because

The next proof that the Messiah has long since come, we adduce from Dan. ix. 25, 26, 27. It is evident that the true Messiah is here spoken of. He is twice designated by the very name. And if we consider what the work is which he is here said to accomplish, we shall have a full confirmation of this. Who but He could finish and take away transgression, make reconciliation for iniquity, bring in everlasting righteousness, seal up the vision and prophecy, confirm the covenants with many, and cause to cease the sacrifice and oblation? Indeed there is a saying extant in the Talmud, as the tradition of former times, 'In Daniel is delivered to us the end of the Messiah,' *i. e.* the term wherein he ought to come, as it is explained by Jarchi. Grotius (*De Veritat.* v.) speaks of a Jew, R. Berachia, who lived fifty years before our Lord, and who declared that the time fixed by Daniel could not go beyond fifty years! If then it be the *true* Messiah who is described in the above prophecy, it remains for us to see how the time predicted for his coming has long since transpired. This is expressly said to be seventy weeks from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem. That by seventy weeks are to be understood seventy sevens of years, a day being put for a year, and a week for seven years, making up 490 years, is allowed by Kimchi, Jarchi, Rabbi Saadias, and other learned Jews, as well as by many Christian commentators. It is clear that these seventy weeks cannot consist of weeks of days, for all put together make but one year, four months, and odd days—a space of time too short to crowd so many various events into as are here specified; nor can any such time be assigned between the two captivities, wherein like events did happen (see Prideaux, *Connect.* lib. v., part 1). This period of time then *must have long since* elapsed, whether we date its commencement from the first decree of Cyrus (Ezra i. 1, 2), the second of Darius Hystaspes (ch. vi. 15), or that of Artaxerxes (ch. viii. 11). See Grotius *De Veritat.* v.; Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* vii. 12, 13.

We can only barely allude to one remarkable prediction more, which fixes the time of the Messiah's advent, viz., Hag. ii. 7-9: 'I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of Hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts.' The glory here spoken of *must* be in reference to the Messiah, or on some other account. It could not have been said that the second Temple exceeded in glory the former one; for in many particulars, according to the acknowledgment of the Jews themselves, it was far inferior both as a building (Ezra iii. 3, 12), and in respect of the symbols and tokens of God's special favour being wanting (see Kimchi and R. Salomon on Hag. i. 8). The promised glory, therefore, must refer to the coming and presence of him who was promised to the world before there was any nation of the Jews; and who is aptly called the '*Desire of all nations.*' This view is amply confirmed by the prophet Malachi (ch. iii. 1). Since then the

very Temple into which the Saviour was to enter, has for ages been destroyed, *He must*, if the integrity of this prophecy be preserved, *have come*. That there was, at the time of our Lord's birth, a great expectation of the Messiah, both amongst Jews and Gentiles, may be seen from three celebrated historians, as well as from the sacred Scriptures. Tacitus (*Hist.* c. 13) says: 'Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret *Oriens*, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur.' Again, Suetonius (in *Vespas.* 4) says: 'Percrebruerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judæi profecti rerum potirentur.' Josephus not being able to find any calculation by which to protract the general expectation of the Messiah, applies it in the following words to Vespasian (*De Bell. Jud.* vii. 31): 'That which chiefly excited the Jews to war was an ambiguous prophecy, which was also found in the sacred books, that at that time some one within their country should arise, that should obtain the empire of the whole world.' We are, moreover, informed again by Suetonius (*Octav.* 94), that, upon the conception of Augustus, it was generally thought that *Nature* was then in labour to bring forth a king that should rule the Romans! Some suppose that the words of Virgil (*Eclog.* iv.), point at our Saviour; but they were intended by him to apply to the son of Pollio. We may just add, that as there was a general expectation of the Messiah at this time, so there were many impostors who drew after them many followers (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 2. 6; *De Bell. Jud.* lvii. 31). See also a full account of the false Christs who appeared by John à Lent *Schediasm*, c. 2; Maimon. *Ep. ad Judæos Marsilienses;* Christ prophesies of such persons (Matt. xxiv. 24, 29).

The limits of this article will admit of our only touching upon the proofs that Jesus of Nazareth, and none other, is the very Messiah who was to come. What was predicted of the Messiah was fulfilled in Jesus. Was the Messiah to be of the seed of the woman (Gen. iii. 15), and this woman a virgin? (Isa. vii. 14). So we are told (Gal. iv. 4; Matt. i. 18, and 22, 23) that Jesus was made of a woman, and born of a virgin. Was it predicted that he (Messiah) should be of the tribe of Judah, of the family of Jesse, and of the house of David? (Mic. v. 2; Gen. xlix. 10; Isa. xi. 10; Jer. xxiii. 5). This was fulfilled in Jesus (Luke i. 27, 69; Matt. i. 1) [Genealogy].

2. If the Messiah was to be a prophet like unto Moses, so was Jesus also (Isa. xviii.; John vi. 14). If the Messiah was to appear in the second Temple, so did Jesus (Hag. ii. 7, 9; John xviii. 20).

3. Was Messiah to work miracles? (Isa. xxxv. 5, 6; comp. Matt. xi. 4, 5).

4. If the Messiah was to suffer and die (Isa. liii.), we find that Jesus died in the same manner, at the very time, and under the identical circumstances, which were predicted of him. The very man who betrayed him, the price for which he was sold, the indignities he was to receive in his last moments, the parting of his garments, and his last words, &c., were all foretold of the Messiah, and accomplished in Jesus!

5. Was the Messiah to rise from the dead? So did Jesus! How stupendous and adorable is the Providence of God, who, through so many apparent contingencies, brought such things to pass!—J. W. D.

METALS. The principal metals are in this work considered separately under their several names; and a few general observations alone are necessary in this place.

The mountains of Palestine contained metals, nor were the Hebrews ignorant of the fact (Deut. viii. 9); but they do not appear to have understood the art of mining. They therefore obtained from others the superior as well as the inferior metals, and worked them up. They received also metal utensils ready made, or metal in plates (Jer. x. 9), from neighbouring and distant countries of Asia and Europe. The metals named in the Old Testament are ברזל *barzel*, iron (steel, Jer. xv. 12); נחשת *nechusheth*, copper, or copper ore; כסף *ceseph*, silver; זהב *zahab*, gold; עפרת *ophereth*, lead; and בדיל *bedil*, tin. The trade in these metals was chiefly in the hands of the Phœnicians (Ezek. xxvii. 7), who obtained them from their colonies, principally those in Spain (Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 12). Some also came from Arabia (Ezek. xxvii. 19), and some apparently from the countries of the Caucasus (Ezek. xxvii. 13). A composition of several metals is expressed by the Hebrew word חשמל *chasmil* (which see). In general the ancients had a variety of metallic compositions, and that which the word *chasmil* describes appears to have been very valuable. Whether it was the same as that precious compound known among the ancients as Corinthian brass is uncertain, but it is likely that in later times the Jews possessed splendid vessels of the costly compound known by that name. Indeed this is distinctly affirmed by Josephus (*Vita*, 13).

The vast quantity of silver and gold used in the temple in the time of Solomon, and which was otherwise possessed by the Jews during the flourishing time of the nation, is very remarkable, under whatever interpretation we regard such texts as 1 Chron. xxii. 14; xxix. 4, &c. In like manner, we find among other ancient Asiatic nations, and also among the Romans, extraordinary wealth in gold and silver vessels and ornaments of jewellery. As all the accounts, received from sources so various, cannot be founded on exaggeration, we may rest assured that the precious metals were in those ancient times obtained abundantly from mines—gold from Africa, India, and perhaps even then from Northern Asia; and silver principally from Spain.

The following are the metallic manufactures named in the Old Testament:—Of *iron*, axes (Deut. xix. 5-2; 2 Kings vi. 5); saws (2 Sam. xii. 31); stone-cutters' tools (Deut. xxvii. 5); sauce-pans (Ezek. iv. 3); bolts, chains, knives, &c., but especially weapons of war (1 Sam. xvii. 7; 1 Macc. vi. 35). Bedsteads were even sometimes made of iron (Deut. iii. 11); 'chariots of iron,' *i. e.* war-chariots, are noticed elsewhere [Chariots]. Of *copper* we find vessels of all kinds (Lev. vi. 28; Num. xvi. 39; 2 Chron. iv. 16; Ezek. viii. 27); and also weapons of war, principally helmets, cuirasses, shields, spears (1 Sam. xvii. 5; vi. 38; 2 Sam. xxi. 16); also chains (Judg. xvi. 21); and even mirrors (Exod. xxxviii. 8) [Copper]. *Gold* and *silver* furnished articles of ornament, also vessels, such as cups, goblets, &c. The holy vessels of the temple were

mostly of gold (Ezra v. 14). Idolaters had idols and other sacred objects of silver (Exod. xx. 20; Isa. ii. 20; Acts xvii. 29; xix. 24). *Lead* is mentioned as being used for weights, and for plumb-lines in measuring (Amos vii. 7; Zech. v. 8). Some of the tools of workers in metal are also mentioned: פַּעַם *paam*, anvil (Isa. xli. 7); מַקֶּבָה *makkabah* (Isa. xliv. 12); פַּטִּישׁ *pattish*, hammer (Isa. xli. 7); מַלְקָחַיִם *mal kachim*, pincers; and מַפֻּחַ *mappuach*, bellows (Jer. vi. 29); מַצְרֵף *matzreph*, crucible (Prov. xvii. 3); כּוּר *cur*, melting-furnace (Ezek. xxii. 18).

There are also allusions to various operations connected with the preparation of metals. 1. The smelting of metal was not only for the purpose of rendering it fluid, but in order to separate and purify the richer metal when mixed with baser minerals, as silver from lead, &c. (Isa. i. 25; comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 47; Ezek. xxii. 18-20). The dross separated by this process is called סִיגִים *sigim*, although this word also applies to metal not yet purified from its dross. For the actual or chemical separation other materials were mixed in the smelting, such as alkaline salts, בּוֹר *bor* (Isa. i. 25); and lead (Jer. vi. 29; comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 31). 2. The casting of images (Exod. xxv. 12; xxvi. 37; Isa. xl. 19); which are always of gold, silver, or copper. The casting of iron is not mentioned, and was perhaps unknown to the ancients (Hausmann, in *Commentatt. Soc. Goett.* iv. 53, sqq.; Müller, *Archäol.* p. 371). 3. The hammering of metal, and making it into broad sheets (Num. xvi. 38; Isa. xliv. 12; Jer. x.). 4. Soldering and welting parts of metal together (Isa. xli. 7). 5. Smoothing and polishing metals (1 Kings vii. 45). 6. Overlaying with plates of gold and silver and copper (Exod. xxv. 11-24; 1 Kings vi. 20; 2 Chron. iii. 5; comp. Isa. xl. 19). The execution of these different metallurgic operations appears to have formed three distinct branches of handicraft before the Exile; for we read of the blacksmith, by the name of the 'worker in iron' (חָרַשׁ בַּרְזֶל, Isa. xliv. 12); the brass-founder (1 Kings vii. 14); and the gold and silver smith (Judg. xvii. 4; Mal. iii. 2).

The invention of the metallurgic arts is in Scripture ascribed to Tubal-cain (Gen. iv. 22). In later times the manufacture of useful utensils and implements in metals seems to have been carried on to a considerable extent among the Israelites, if we may judge from the frequent allusions to them by the poets and prophets. But it does not appear that, in the finer and more elaborate branches of this great art, they made much, if any progress, during the flourishing times of their commonwealth; and it will be remembered that Solomon was obliged to obtain assistance from the Phœnicians in executing the metal work of the temple (1 Kings vii. 13).

The Hebrew workers in iron, and especially such as made arms, were frequently carried away by the different conquerors of the Israelites (1 Sam. xiii. 19; 2 Kings xxiv. 14, 15; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2); which is one circumstance among others to show the high estimation in which this branch of handicraft was anciently held.

METHUSAEL (מְתוּשָׁאֵל, *man of God;* Sept. Μαθουσάλα), son of Mehujael, of the race of Cain (Gen. iv. 18).

METHUSELAH (מְתוּשֶׁלַח, *man of the dust;* Sept. Μαθουσάλα), son of Enoch, and remarkable as being the oldest of those antediluvian patriarchs whose great ages are recorded (Gen. v. 21, 22). At the age of 187 years he begat Lamech (the father of Noah); after which he lived 782 years, making altogether 969 years [LONGEVITY].

MEZUZOTH (מְזוּזוֹת). This word is found in Exod. xii. 17, 22; Deut. vi. 9; and in other places, in all of which it signifies 'door-posts.' It has no other meaning in Scripture. In the texts now referred to, the word occurs in the injunction, 'Thou shalt never forget the laws of the Lord thy God; but shalt write them on the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.' This, contrary to most Christian interpreters, the Jews understand in the literal sense; and in this sense it might have been followed in the East, where it is at this day not unusual for the Moslems to inscribe on or over the gates, and on other parts of buildings, passages from their sacred book, the Koran. If therefore the Jews, before their dispersion, interpreted this precept literally, they probably applied it in the same manner. But when they came into western countries, where such was not the custom, and where ofttimes it might have proved inconvenient thus to point out their houses as those belonging to Jews, they adopted the custom of writing the precepts on scrolls of parchment, which they enclosed in a case and attached to the doors of their houses and chambers. To the scrolls thus enclosed the name of *mezuzoth* is, not very properly, given.

The *mezuzah* (singular) then is a piece of parchment, prepared for the purpose according to the rules laid down by the rabbins, on which, with ink prepared with the same care, are written the words containing the precept, namely, Deut. vi. 4-9; xi. 13-30. The parchment is then rolled up, with the ends of the lines inward; the Hebrew word שַׁדַּי *Shaddai*, 'Almighty,' is then inscribed on the outside, and the roll is put into a cane, or a cylindrical tube of lead, in which a hole is cut that the word שַׁדַּי may appear. This tube is fastened to the door-post by a nail at each end. The fixing of it is accompanied by the prayer, 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast commanded us to fix the Mezuzah!' The injunction in the law being in the plural number, 'upon the posts of thy house and of thy gates,' it is concluded that Mezuzoth ought to be fixed on all the doors of dwelling-houses, whether palaces, bed-rooms, kitchens, or cellars, on the doors of barns or storehouses, or on the gates of cities or towns. The Mezuzah is generally placed on the right side of the entrance, and those who are deemed the most devout Israelites often touch and kiss it as they pass. The synagogue being a house of prayer, and not of residence, requires no Mezuzoth. *Talm. Bab. tit. Sabbat.* 10; Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* pp. 482-487; Leo Modena, *Rites and Customs*, pt. i. ch. ii. § iii.; Allen's *Modern Judaism*, pp. 327-329.



399.

MICAH (מִיכָה; Sept. Μιχαίας), one of the twelve Minor Prophets, who, according to the in-

scription of the book, prophesied during the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah (B.C. 759-699), and was consequently contemporary with Isaiah. It is however doubtful whether any accurate separation of the particular prophecies of Micah can be ascertained. He was a native of Moresheth of Gath (i. 14, 15), so called to distinguish it from another town of the same name, in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 44; 2 Chron. xiv. 9, 10). Micah is to be distinguished from a former prophet of the same name, called also Micaiah, mentioned in 1 Kings xxii. 8 (B.C. 897). The allusions to idolatry (vii. 13) and to Babylon (iv. 10) have induced Berthold to refer the prophecy of Micah to the time of the captivity; but De Wette truly observes that this supposition is unnecessary, as idolatry existed under Hezekiah (2 Kings xxiii.), and Babylon equally belonged to the kingdom of Assyria. Hartmann's attempt to regard the passage respecting Babylon as an interpolation (see *Micah neu übersetzt*) De Wette regards as even still more venturesome; nor had this writer the slightest authority for supposing that some only of the prophecies are Micah's, and that the work was compiled during the exile. In fact, the period of Micah's predictions is fully attested by Jeremiah (xxvi. 18, 19), where it is stated that Micah the Morasthite foretold the destruction of Jerusalem in the reign of Hezekiah. It is a matter of dispute whether the passage in ch. iv. 13 is borrowed from Isaiah, ii. 2, 4, or whether the passage in Micah is the original, if, indeed, both may not be derived from a common and more ancient source. Hengstenberg (*Christology*) strongly maintains the originality of this passage in Micah. De Wette (*Einleitung*) observes that we have the best reason for regarding the last years of Ahaz as the period of Micah's prophetic glory.

The contents of Micah's prophecy may be briefly summed up. It consists of two parts, the first of which terminates with chapter v. He commences with a majestic exordium (i. 2-4), in which is introduced a sublime theophany, the Lord descending from his dwelling-place to judge the nations of the earth, who are approaching to receive judgment. There is then a sudden transition to the judgment of Israel, whose captivity is predicted (chaps. i. and ii.). That of Judah follows, when the complete destruction of Jerusalem is foretold, with the expatriation of the Jews to Babylon, their future return, the glories of Sion, and the celebrity of its temple (iv. 1, 8, 9, 12), with the chastisement prepared for the oppressors of the Jews (ver. 13). After this, glorious wars are seen in perspective, attended with great slaughter (ch. v.); after many calamities a ruler is seen to arise from Bethlehem. An invasion of the Assyrians is predicted, to oppose which there will be no want of able leaders (v. 4-8). A new monarchy is beheld, attended with wars and destruction.

The second part, from this to the end, consists of an elegant dialogue or contestation between the Lord and his people, in which the corruption of their morals is reproved, and their chastisement threatened; but they are consoled by the promise of a return from their captivity.

Jahn (*Introd.*) points out the following predictions as contained in the prophet Micah. 1. The destruction of the kingdom of Israel, which was impending when the prophecy was delivered, and which was fulfilled in the taking of Samaria by Shalmaneser, in the sixth year of Hezekiah (2 Kings xvii.), and then that of the kingdom of Judah, with the destruction of Jerusalem (iii. 12; vii. 13). 2. The Babylonian captivity (iv. 10, 11; vii. 7, 8, 13). These predictions were delivered 150 years before the event, when the Chaldæans, by whom they were accomplished, were scarcely known as a people. 3. The return from the exile, with its happy effects, and the tranquillity enjoyed by the Jews under the Persian and Grecian monarchies, which referred to events from 200 to 500 years distant (iv. 18; vii. 11; xiv. 12). 4. The heroic deeds of the Maccabees, and their victories over the Syrians or Syro-Macedonians, called Assyrians in Micah v., as well as Zechariah x. 11 (iv. 13). 5. The establishment of the royal residence in Sion (iv. 8). 6. The birth and reign of the Messiah (v. 2). The three last prophecies, observes this learned writer, are more obscure than the others, by reason of the remote distance, in point of time, of their accomplishment, from the period of their being delivered.

There is no prophecy in Micah so interesting to the Christian as that in which the native place of the Messiah is announced. 'But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, [though] thou be little among the thousands of Judah, [yet] out of thee shall he come forth unto me, [that is] to be ruler in Israel' (Eng. Authorized Version). It is thus translated by the Sept.: Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ οἶκος τοῦ Ἐφραθὰ, ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ:—'And thou, Bethlehem, house of Ephratah, although thou be least among the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall come unto me one that shall be a ruler of Israel.' The citation of this passage by the Evangelist differs both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint: Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γαρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ:—'And thou, Bethlehem, [in] the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come a governor, that shall rule [Gr. feed] my people Israel' (Matt. ii. 6). The difference, however, is but verbal. Some suppose that the negative (οὐδαμῶς) originally belonged to the Hebrew, and others to the Greek, while many read the Hebrew interrogatively, 'art thou little,' &c.? Eichhorn supposes that the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Gospel interchanged אַלְפֵי, *thousands*, with אַלֻּפֵי, *rulers*.

Of more importance is the application of the prophecy. It is evident that the Jews in the time of Jesus interpreted this passage of the birth-place of the Messiah (Matt. ii. 5; John vii. 41, 42). The later Rabbinical writers, however, such as Kimchi, Aben Ezra, Abarbanel, &c., have maintained that it had only an indirect reference to the birth-place of the Messiah, who was to be a descendant of David, a Bethlehemite, but not of necessity himself born in Bethlehem. Others, however, as David Ganz (*B. Zemach David*), expressly mention Bethlehem as the birth-place of the Messiah. The interpretation which considered this prophecy as intimating only that the

Messiah was to be a descendant of David, was that current among the Jews in the time of Theodoret, Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Euthymius Zigabenus, from whom we learn that it was maintained to have been fulfilled in Zerubbabel, the leader of the Jews on their return from Babylon, of which, and not of Bethlehem, he was a native. This interpretation was held among Christians by the celebrated Theodore of Mopsuestia (as we learn from his condemnation by the council at Rome under Pope Vigilius), and afterwards by Grotius (*Comment.*), who, however, regarded Zerubbabel as a type of Christ, and considered Christ's birth-place at Bethlehem as an outward representation of his descent from the family of David. 'Natus ex Bethlehemo Zorobabel recte dicitur, quod ex Davidis familiâ esset, quæ orta Bethlehemi.' Many of the moderns have been attached to this interpretation of the prophecy, referring it to the general idea of the Messiah rather than to Zerubbabel, while some among them have, after the example of some Jews, ventured to assert that the account of the birth of Christ at Bethlehem was not to be depended on. Some have asserted after Jerome (*Comm. in Mic.*), that the citation in Matt. ii. 6 is that of the Sanhedrim only, not of the Evangelist (Hengstenberg's *Christology*). Jahn (*Append. Hermeneut.*) observes that it is evident that the Jews in the time of Christ expected the Messiah's birth to take place at Bethlehem; and although he admits that the prophecy may be understood tropically in the sense applied to it by Grotius, he contends that the context will not admit of its applicability either to Hezekiah or any other monarch than the Messiah; nor is it possible to apply the prophecy fully and literally to any but Him who was not only of the house and lineage of David, but was actually born at Bethlehem, according to the direct testimony of both St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Gospels.

The style of Micah is sublime and vehement, in which respects he exceeds Amos and Hosea. De Wette observes that he has more roundness, fulness, and clearness in his style and rhythm than the latter prophet. He abounds in rapid transitions and elegant tropes, and piquant plays upon words. He is successful in the use of the dialogue, and his prophecies are penetrated by the purest spirit of morality and piety (see especially ch. vi. 6-8; and vii. 1-10.)

Micah is the third of the minor prophets according to the arrangement of the Septuagint, the sixth according to the Hebrew, and the fifth according to the date of his prophecies.

See, besides the works on the minor prophecies collectively in De Wette's *Introd.*, Pococke's *Commentary on Micah;* Groseschopf's *Micah Uebersetzt;* and Jahn's and Eichhorn's *Introductions.*—W. W.

2. MICAH. An Ephraimite, apparently contemporary with the elders who outlived Joshua. He secretly appropriated 1100 shekels of silver which his mother had saved; but being alarmed at her imprecations on the author of her loss, he confessed the matter to her, and restored the money. She then forgave him, and returned him the silver, to be applied to the use for which it had been accumulated. Two hundred shekels of the amount were given to the founder, as the cost or material of two teraphim, the one molten and the other graven; and the rest of the money served to cover the other expenses of the semi-idolatrous establishment which was formed in the house of Micah, of which a wandering Levite became the priest, at a yearly stipend; till the Danite army, on their journey to settle northward in Laish, took away both the establishment and the priest, which they afterwards maintained in their new settlement (Judg. xvii. 18) [Dan; Jonathan 2]. The establishments of this kind, of which there are other instances—as that of Gideon at Ophrah—were, although most mistakenly, formed in honour of Jehovah, whom they thus sought to serve by means of a local worship, in imitation of that at Shiloh. This was in direct contravention of the law, which allowed but one place of sacrifice and ceremonial service; and was something of the same kind, although different in extent and degree, as the service of the golden calves, which Jeroboam set up, and his successors maintained, in Dan and Bethel. The previous existence of Micah's establishment in the former city no doubt pointed it out to Jeroboam as a suitable place for one of his golden calves.

MICAIAH (מִיכָיְהוּ, *who as Jehovah?* Sept. Μιχαίου), a prophet of the time of Ahab. He was absent from the mob of false prophets who incited the kings of Israel and Judah to march against the Syrians in Ramoth-gilead; for Ahab, having been offended by his sincerity and boldness, had not called for him on this occasion. But he was sent for at the special desire of Jehoshaphat; and as he declared against the enterprise, which the other prophets encouraged, Ahab commanded him to be imprisoned, and allowed only 'bread and water of affliction' till he returned from the wars in peace. To which the prophet ominously answered, 'If thou return at all in peace, then the Lord hath not spoken by me' (1 Kings xxii. 8-28). The event corresponded with this intimation [Ahab]; but we have no further information concerning the prophet.

2. MICAIAH. One of the princes whom Jehoshaphat sent to 'teach in the cities of Judah' (2 Chron. xviii. 7).

3. MICHAIAH, son of Gemariah, who, after having heard Baruch read the terrible predictions of Jeremiah in his father's hall, went, apparently with good intentions, to report to the king's officers what he had heard (Jer. xxxvi. 11-13).

MICHAEL (מִיכָאֵל, *who as God?* Sept. Μιχαήλ), the name given to one of the chief angels, who, in Dan. x. 13-21, is described as having special charge of the Israelites as a nation; and in Jude 9, as disputing with Satan about the body of Moses, in which dispute, instead of bringing against the arch-enemy any railing accusation, he only said, 'The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan!' Again, in Rev. xii. 7-9, Michael and his angels are represented as warring with Satan and his angels in the upper regions (ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ), from which the latter are cast down upon the earth. This is all the reference to Michael which we find in the Bible.

On the authority of the first of these texts the Jews have made Michael not only one of the 'seven' archangels, but the chief of them; and on the authority of all three the Christian church has been disposed to concur in this impression.

The Jews regard the archangels as being such, not simply as a class by themselves, but as respectively the chiefs of the several classes into which they suppose the angels to be divided; and of these classes Michael is the head of the first, and therefore chief of all the archangels (*Sepher Othioth*, fol. 16).

The passages in Daniel and Revelations must be taken as symbolical, and in that view offer little difficulty. The allusion in Jude 9 is more difficult to understand, unless, with Vitringa, Lardner, Macknight, and others, we regard it also as symbolical; in which case the dispute referred to is that indicated in Zech. iii. 1; and 'the body of Moses' as a symbolical phrase for the Mosaical law and institutions [JUDE]. A comparison of Jude 9 with Zech. iii. 1 gives much force and probability to this conjecture.

MICHAL (מִיכַל, *who as God?* Sept. Μελχόλ), youngest daughter of king Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 49). She became attached to David, and made no secret of her love; so that Saul, after he had disappointed David of the elder daughter [MERAB], deemed it prudent to bestow Michal in marriage upon him (1 Sam. xviii. 20-28). Saul had hoped to make her the instrument of his designs against David, but was foiled in his attempt through the devoted attachment of the wife to her husband. Of this a most memorable instance is given in 1 Sam. xix. 11-17. When David escaped the javelin of Saul he retired to his own house, upon which the king set a guard over-night, with the intention to slay him in the morning. This being discovered by Michal, she assisted him to make his escape by a window, and afterwards amused the intended assassins under various pretences, in order to retard the pursuit. 'She took an image (*teraph*), and laid it in the bed, and put a pillow of goats' hair for a bolster, and covered it with a cloth.' This she pretended was David, sick in bed; and it was not until Saul had commanded him to be brought forth even in that state, that the deception was discovered. Michal then pretended to her father that David had threatened her with death if she did not assist his escape. Saul probably did not believe this; but he took advantage of it by cancelling the marriage, and bestowing her upon a person named Phalti (2 Sam. xxv. 44). David, however, as the divorce had been without his consent, felt that the law (Deut. xxiv. 4) against a husband taking back a divorced wife could not apply in this case: he therefore formally reclaimed her of Ish-bosheth, who employed no less a personage than Abner to take her from Phalti, and conduct her with all honour to David. It was under cover of this mission that Abner sounded the elders of Israel respecting their acceptance of David for king, and conferred with David himself on the same subject at Hebron (2 Sam. iii. 12-21). As this demand was not made by David until Abner had contrived to intimate his design, it has been supposed by some that it was contrived between them solely to afford Abner an ostensible errand in going to Hebron; but it is more pleasant to suppose that, although the matter happened to be so timed as to give a colour to this suspicion, the demand really arose from David's revived affection for his first wife and earliest love.

The re-union was less happy than might have been hoped. On that great day when the ark was brought to Jerusalem, Michal viewed the procession from a window, and the royal notions she had imbibed were so shocked at the sight of the king not only taking part in, but leading, the holy transports of his people, that she met him on his return home with a keen sarcasm on his undignified and unkingly behaviour. This ill-timed sneer, and the unsympathising state of feeling which it manifested, drew from David a severe but not unmerited retort; and the Great King, in whose honour David incurred this contumely, seems to have punished the wrong done to him, for we are told that '*therefore* Michal, the daughter of Saul, had no child to the day of her death' (2 Sam vi. 16-23). It was thus, perhaps, as Abarbanel remarks, ordered by Providence that the race of Saul and David should not be mixed, and that no one deriving any apparent right from Saul should succeed to the throne.

MICHMAS, or MICHMASH (מִכְמָס, מִכְמָשׂ, מִכְמָשׁ; Sept. Μαχμάς), a town of Benjamin (Ezra ii. 27; Neh. xi. 31; comp. vii. 31), east of Beth-aven (1 Sam. xiii. 5), and south from Migron, on the road to Jerusalem (Isa. x. 28). The words of 1 Sam. xiii. 2, xiv. 4, and Isa. x. 29, show that at Michmas was a pass where the progress of a military body might be impeded or opposed. It was perhaps for this reason that Jonathan Maccabæus fixed his abode at Michmas (1 Macc. ix. 73); and it is from the chivalrous exploit of another hero of the same name, the son of Saul, that the place is chiefly celebrated (1 Sam. xiii., xiv., 4-16). Eusebius describes Michmas as a large village nine R. miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Ramah (*Onomast. s. v.* Μαχμά). Travellers have usually identified it with Bir or El-Bireh; but Dr. Robinson (*Researches*, ii. 117) recognises it in a place still bearing the name of Mukhmas, at a distance and position which correspond well with these intimations. This is a village situated upon a slope to the north of a valley called Wady es-Suweinit. It is small, and almost desolate, but bears marks of having been once a place of strength and importance. There are many foundations of hewn stones, and some columns lie among them. The valley es-Suweinit, steep and precipitous, is probably the 'passage of Michmash' mentioned in Scripture. In it, says Dr. Robinson, 'just at the left of where we crossed, are two hills of a conical, or rather spherical, form, having steep rocky sides, with small wadys running up between each so as almost to isolate them. One of them is on the side towards Jeba (Gibeah), and the other towards Mukhmas. These would seem to be the two rocks mentioned in connection with Jonathan's adventure (1 Sam. xiv. 4, 5). They are not, indeed, so "sharp" as the language of Scripture would seem to imply; but they are the only rocks of the kind in this vicinity. The northern one is connected towards the west with an eminence still more distinctly isolated.'

MIDIAN, fourth son of Abraham by Keturah, and progenitor of the Midianites (Gen. xxv. 2).

MIDIANITES (מִדְיָנִים; Sept. Μαδιανίται, Μαδιηναῖοι), a tribe of people descended from

Abraham's son Midian. His descendants must have settled in Arabia, and engaged in trade at an early period, if we identify them with those who in the time of Jacob appear, along with the Ishmaelites, as merchants travelling from Gilead to Egypt, and who, having in their way bought Joseph from his brethren, sold him in the latter country (Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36). It is, however, very difficult to conceive that the descendants of a son of Abraham, born so many years after Isaac, had become a tribe of people at the time when the descendants of Isaac himself were so few. One is therefore much inclined to suppose that these Midianites were different and distinct from those descended from Abraham's son; and there appears the more ground for this when at a later period we find two tribes of Midianites, different in locality and character, and different in their feelings towards the Israelites. If this distinction be admitted, then it would be necessary to seek the earlier Midianites in those dwelling about the eastern arm of the Red Sea, among whom Moses found refuge when 'he fled from Egypt,' and whose priest or sheikh was Jethro, who became the father-in-law of the future lawgiver (Exod. iii. 1; xviii. 5; Num. x. 29). These, if not of Hebrew, would appear to have been of Cushite origin, and descended from Midian the son of Cush. It is certain that some Cushite tribes did settle in and on the outskirts of Arabia, which was therefore called Cush, in common with other districts occupied by Cushite tribes; and, under this view, it is observable that the wife of Moses is called a Cushite (Num. xii. 1), and that, in Hab. iii. 7, the Midianites are named with the Cushites; for these are undoubtedly the Midianites who trembled for fear when they heard that the Israelites had passed through the Red Sea. We do not again meet with these Midianites in the Jewish history, but they appear to have remained for a long time settled in the same quarter, where indeed is the seat of the only Midianites known to Oriental authors. The Arabian geographers of the middle age (Edrisi, Ibn el Wardi, and Abulfeda) speak of the ruins of an ancient town called Madian on the eastern side of the Red Sea, where was still to be seen the well at which Moses watered the flocks of Shoaib, or Jethro. This was doubtless the same as Modiana, a town in the same district, mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geog.* v. 19); and Niebuhr conjectures that the site is now occupied by Moilah, a small town or village on the Red Sea, on the Hadj road from Egypt (*Descript. Arab.* p. 377); but, as Rosenmüller remarks (*Bibl. Geog.* iii. 224), this place is too far south to be identified with the Midian of Jethro.

The other Midianites, undoubtedly descended from Abraham and Keturah, occupied the country east and south-east of the Moabites, who were seated on the east of the Dead Sea; or rather, perhaps, we should say that, as they appear to have been a semi-nomade people, they pastured their flocks in the unsettled country beyond the Moabites, with whom, as a kindred, although more settled tribe, they seem to have been on the most friendly terms, and on whose borders were situated those 'cities and goodly castles which they possessed' (Num. xxxi. 10). It will, in fact, much contribute to the better understanding of the passages in which the Midianites appear, if it be understood that they were still in a great degree a nomade people, extending their wanderings far beyond any limits to which we might confine their territorial possessions. These Midianites, like the other tribes and nations who had a common origin with them, were highly hostile to the Israelites. In conjunction with the Moabites, they designedly enticed them to idolatry as they approached Canaan (Num. xxxi. 2, 5; xxv. 6, 14-18); on which account Moses attacked them with a strong force, killed all their fighting men, including their five princes or emirs, and made the women and children captives (Num. xxxi.). The account of the spoil confirms the view which we have taken of the semi-nomade position of the Midianites—namely, 675,000 sheep, 72,000 beeves, 61,000 asses, 32,000 persons. This was only the 'prey,' or live stock; but besides this there was a great quantity of 'barbaric pearl and gold,' in the shape of 'jewels of gold, chains, and bracelets, rings, ear-rings, and tablets.'

Some time after the Israelites obtained possession of Canaan, the Midianites had become so numerous and powerful, that, for seven successive years, they made inroads into the Hebrew territory in the time of harvest, carrying off the fruits and cattle, and desolating the land. At length Gideon was raised up as the deliverer of his country, and his triumph was so complete that the Israelites were never more molested by them (Judg. vi. 1-7; vii.; viii.). Their mode of invasion in a vast horde for this purpose, and at the time of in-gathering, corroborates the view we have taken of the essentially nomade character of these Midianites; and, in the account of the spoil, we have an indication of 'camels,' which were alone necessary in addition to the former list to stamp their character (Judg. viii. 26; comp. Isa. lx. 6). Here also there is the same display of personal ornament which was noticed on the former occasion:—'Golden ear-rings, ornaments, collars, purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian, and chains that were about their camels' necks.' To this victory there are subsequent allusions in the sacred writings (Ps. lxxxiii. 10, 12; Isa. ix. 4; x. 6); but the Midianites do not again appear in sacred or profane history.

MIGDOL (מִגְדּוֹל; Sept. Μάγδωλος, Μαγδωλόν), a place between which and the Red Sea the Israelites were commanded to encamp on leaving Egypt (Exod. xiv. 2; Num. xxxiii. 7) [Exodus]. The name, which means *a tower*, appears to indicate a fortified place. In Jer. xliv. 1; xlvi. 14, it occurs as a city of Egypt, and it would seem to have been the last town on the Egyptian frontier, in the direction of the Red Sea: hence 'fromMigdol to Syene,' in Ezek. xxix. 10; xxx. 6.

MIGRON (מִגְרוֹן; Sept. Μαγδών), a town which, from the historical indications, must have been south or south-west of Ai, and north of Michmas (Isa. x. 28). From Michmas northward a narrow valley extends out of and at right angles with that which has been identified as the pass of Michmas [Michmas]. The town of Migron seems to have been upon and to have commanded the pass through this valley, but its precise situation has not been determined. Saul was stationed at the further side of Gibeah, 'under a pomegranate-tree

which is by Migron' (1 Sam. xiv. 2), when Jonathan performed his great exploit at Michmas; and this is to be explained on the supposition that Migron was on the border, towards Michmas, of the district to which Gibeah gave its name.

MILCOM. [Moloch.]

MILE (*μίλιον*). This word is only mentioned in Matt. v. 41, where Christ says, 'If any one compel thee to go with him one mile, go with him two.' The mile was originally (as its derivation from *mille*, 'a thousand,' implies) a Roman measure of 1000 geometrical paces *(passus)* of 5 feet each, and was therefore equal to 5000 Roman feet. Taking the Roman foot at 11·6496 English inches, the Roman mile would be 1618 English yards, or 142 yards less than the English statute mile. By another calculation, in which the foot is taken at 11·62 inches, the mile would be little more than 1614 yards. The number of Roman miles in a degree of a large circle of the earth is very little more than 75. The most common Latin term for the mile is *mille passuum*, or only the initials M.P.; sometimes the word *passuum* is omitted. The Roman mile contained 8 Greek stadia (see Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiq.*, art. 'Milliare'). The Greek stade hence bore the same relation to the Roman mile which the English furlong does to the English mile: and it is indeed usual with the earlier writers on Biblical geography to translate the Greek 'stade' into the English 'furlong,' in stating the measurements of Eusebius and Jerome. As the measurements of these writers are often cited in the present work, it is necessary to remember that their mile is always the Roman mile.

MILETUS (*Μίλητος*), a city and seaport of Ionia in Asia Minor, about thirty-six miles south of Ephesus. St. Paul touched at this port on his voyage from Greece to Syria, and delivered to the elders of Ephesus, who had come to meet him there, a remarkable and affecting address (Acts xx. 15-38). Miletus was a place of considerable note, and the ancient capital of Ionia and Caria. It was the birth-place of several men of renown—Thales, Timotheus, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Democritus (Pomp. Mela, i. 17; Diog. Laert. *Vit. Philosoph.* pp. 15, 88, 89, 650). Ptolemy (*Geog.* v. 2) places Miletus in Caria by the sea, and it is stated to have had four havens, one of which was capable of holding a fleet. It was noted for a famous temple of Apollo, the oracle of which is known to have been consulted so late as the fourth century (Apollodorus, *De Orig. Deor.* iii. 130). There was, however, a Christian church in the place; and in the fifth, seventh, and eighth centuries we read of bishops of Miletus, who were present at several councils (Magdeburg, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 192; iv. 86; v. 3; vii. 254; viii. 4). The city fell to decay after its conquest by the Saracens, and is now in ruins, not far from the spot where the Meander falls into the sea. The site bears, among the Turks, the name of Melas.

Some take the Miletus where Paul left Trophimus sick (2 Tim. iv. 20) to have been in Crete, and therefore different from the above; but there seems no need for this conclusion.

MILK. The Hebrew word for milk, חָלָב *chalab*, is from the same root as חֵלֶב *cheleb*, 'fatness,' and is properly restricted to new milk, there being a distinct term, חֶמְאָה *chemah*, for milk when curdled. Milk, and the preparations from it, butter and cheese, are often mentioned in Scripture. Milk, in its fresh state, appears to have been used very largely among the Hebrews, as is usual among people who have much cattle, and yet make but sparing use of their flesh for food. The proportion which fresh milk held in the dietary of the Hebrews, must not, however, be measured by the comparative frequency with which the word occurs; because, in the greater number of examples, it is employed figuratively, to denote great abundance, and in many instances it is used as a general term for all or any of the preparations from it.

In its figurative use, the word occurs sometimes simply as the sign of abundance (Gen. xlix. 12; Ezek. xxv. 4; Joel iii. 18, &c.); but more frequently in combination with honey—'milk and honey' being a phrase which occurs about twenty times in Scripture. Thus a rich and fertile soil is described as a 'land flowing with milk and honey:' which, although usually said of Palestine, is also applied to other fruitful countries, as Egypt (Num. xvi. 13). This figure is by no means peculiar to the Hebrews, but is frequently met with in classical writers. A beautiful example occurs in Euripides (*Bacch.* 142). Hence its use to denote the food of children. Milk is also constantly employed as a symbol of the elementary parts or rudiments of doctrine (1 Cor. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12, 13); and from its purity and simplicity, it is also made to symbolize the unadulterated word of God (1 Pet. ii. 2; comp. Isa. lv. 1).

In reading of milk in Scripture, the milk of cows naturally presents itself to the mind of the European reader; but in Western Asia, and especially among the pastoral and semi-pastoral people, not only cows, but goats, sheep, and camels, are made to give their milk for the sustenance of man. That this was also the case among the Hebrews, may be clearly inferred even from the slight intimations which the Scriptures afford. Thus we read of 'butter of kine, and milk of sheep' (Deut. xxxii. 14); and in Prov. xxvii. 27, the emphatic intimation, 'Thou shalt have goats' milk for food,' seems to imply that this was considered the best for use in the simple state. 'Thirty milch camels' were among the cattle which Jacob presented to his brother Esau (Gen. xxxii. 15), implying the use of camels' milk.

The word for curdled milk (חמאה) is always translated 'butter' in the Authorized Version. It seems to mean both butter and curdled milk, but most generally the latter; and the context will, in most cases, suggest the distinction, which has been neglected by our translators. It was this curdled milk, highly esteemed as a refreshment in the East, that Abraham set before the angels (Gen. xviii. 8), and which Jael gave to Sisera, instead of the water which he asked (Judg. v. 25). In this state milk acquires a slightly inebriating power, if kept long enough. Isaiah vii. 22, where it is rendered 'butter,' is the only text in which the word is coupled with 'honey,' and there it is a sign of scarcity, not of plenty, as when honey is coupled with fresh milk. It means that there being no fruit or grain, the remnant would have to live on milk and honey; and, perhaps, that milk itself would be so scarce, that it would be needful to use it with economy;

and hence to curdle it, as fresh milk cannot be preserved for chary use. Although, however, this word properly denotes curdled milk, it seems also to be sometimes used for milk in general (Deut. xxxii. 14; Job xx. 15; Isa. vii. 15).

The most striking Scriptural allusion to milk is that which forbids a kid to be seethed in its mother's milk, and its importance is attested by its being thrice repeated (Exod. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21). There is, perhaps, no precept of Scripture which has been more variously interpreted than this, and we may state the most remarkable views respecting it:—1. That it prohibits the eating of the fœtus of the goat as a delicacy: but there is not the least evidence that the Jews were ever attached to this disgusting luxury. 2. That it prevents the kid to be killed till it is eight days old, when, it is said, it might subsist without the milk of its mother. 3. This ground is admitted by those who deduce a further reason from the fact, that a kid was not, until the eighth day, fit for sacrifice. But there appears no good reason why a kid should be described as 'in its mother's milk,' in those days, more than in any other days of the period during which it is suckled. 4. Others, therefore, maintain that the eating of a sucking kid is altogether and absolutely prohibited. But a goat suckles its kid for three months, and it is not likely that the Jews were so long forbidden the use of it for food. No food is forbidden but as unclean, and a kid ceased to be unclean on the eighth day, when it was fit for sacrifice; and what was fit for sacrifice could not be unfit for food. 5. That the prohibition was meant to prevent the dam and kid from being slain at the same time. But this is forbidden with reference to the goat and other animals in express terms, and there seems no reason why it should be repeated in this remarkable form with reference to the goat only. 6. Others understand it literally, as a precept designed to encourage humane feelings. But, as Michaelis asks, how came the Israelites to hit upon the strange whim of boiling a kid in milk, and just in the milk of its own mother? 7. Still, understanding the text literally, it is possible that this was not a common act of cookery, but an idolatrous or magical rite. Maimonides, in his *More Nevochim*, urges this opinion. He says, 'Flesh eaten with milk, or in milk, appears to me to have been prohibited, not only because it affords gross nourishment, but because it savoured of idolatry, some of the idolaters probably doing it in their worship, or at their festivals; and I am the more inclined to this opinion from observing that the law, in noticing this practice, does so twice, immediately after having spoken of the three great annual feasts (Exod. xxiii. 17, 19; xxxiv. 23, 26). "Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God. . . . . Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk." As if it had been said, "When ye appear before me in your feasts, ye shall not cook your food after the manner of the idolaters, who are accustomed to this practice." This reason appears to me of great weight, although I have not yet been able to find it in the Zabian books.' This is confirmed by an extract which Cudworth (*Discourses concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, p. 30) gives from an ancient Karaïte commentary on the Pentateuch. 'It was a custom of the ancient heathen, when they had gathered in all their fruits, to take a kid, and boil it in the dam's milk, and then in a magical way to go about and besprinkle with it all their trees, and fields, and gardens, and orchards, thinking that by this means they should make them fructify, and bring forth more abundantly the following year.' Some such rite as this is supposed to be the one interdicted by the prohibition. This opinion is supported by Spencer (*De Legibus Hebr.* ii. 9, sec. 2), and has been advocated by Le Clerc, Dathe, and other able writers. It is also corroborated by the addition in the Samaritan copy, and in some degree by the Targum. The former has 'For he who doth this is like a man who sacrificeth an abomination, and it is a trespass against the God of Jacob:' and the latter, 'O my people, house of Israel, it is not lawful for you to boil or eat flesh and milk mixed together, lest my wrath be enkindled, and I boil your products, corn and straw, together.' 8. Michaelis, however, advances a quite new opinion of his own. He takes it for granted that בשל, rendered 'seethe,' may signify to roast as well as to boil, which is hardly disputable; that the kid's mother is not here limited to the real mother, but applies to any goat that has kidded; that חלב here denotes not *milk* but *butter;* and that the precept is not restricted to kids, but extends not only to lambs (which is generally granted), but to all other not forbidden animals. Having erected these props, Michaelis builds upon them the conjecture, that the motive of the precept was to endear to the Israelites the land of Canaan, which abounded in *oil*, and to make them forget their Egyptian *butter*. Moses, therefore, to prevent their having any longing desire to return to that country, enjoins them to use oil in cooking their victuals, as well as in seasoning their sacrifices (*Mosaisches Recht*, pt. iv. p. 210). This is ingenious, but it is open to objection. The postulates cannot readily be granted; and if granted, the conclusion deduced from them is scarcely just, seeing that, as Geddes remarks, 'there was no need nor temptation for the Israelites to return to Egypt on account of its butter, when they possessed a country that flowed with milk and honey' (*Critical Remarks*, p. 257).

Butter is not often mentioned in Scripture, and even less frequently than our version would suggest; for, as already intimated, the word חמאה *chemah*, must sometimes be understood of curdled milk. Indeed, it may be doubted whether it denotes butter in any place besides Deut. xxxii. 14, 'butter of kine,' and Prov. xxx. 33, 'the churning of milk bringeth forth butter,' as all the other texts will apply better to curdled milk than to butter. Butter was, however, doubtless, much in use among the Hebrews, and we may be sure that it was prepared in the same manner as at this day among the Arabs and Syrians. The milk is put into a large copper pan over a slow fire, and a little *leben* or sour milk (the same as the curdled milk mentioned above), or a portion of the dried entrails of a lamb, is thrown into it. The milk then separates, and is put into a goat-skin bag, which is tied to one of the tent poles, and constantly moved backwards and forwards for two hours. The buttery substance then coagulates, the water is pressed out, and the butter put

into another skin. In two days the butter is again placed over the fire, with the addition of a quantity of *burgoul* (wheat boiled with leaven, and dried in the sun), and allowed to boil for some time, during which it is carefully skimmed. It is then found that the burgoul has precipitated all the foreign substances, and that the butter remains quite clear at the top. This is the process used by the Bedouins, and it is also the one employed by the settled people of Syria and Arabia. The chief difference is, that in making butter and cheese the townspeople employ the milk of cows and buffaloes, whereas the Bedouins, who do not keep these animals, use that of sheep and goats. The butter is generally white, of the colour and consistence of lard, and is not much relished by English travellers. It is eaten with bread in large quantities by those who can afford it, not spread out thinly over the surface, as with us, but taken in mass with the separate morsels of bread.

Cheese has been noticed under its proper head.

MILL (רֶחַיִם; Sept. μύλη). The mill for grinding corn had not wholly superseded the mortar for pounding it in the time of Moses. The mortar and the mill are named together in Num. xi. 8. But fine meal, that is, meal ground or pounded fine, is mentioned so early as the time of Abraham (Gen. xviii. 6): hence mills and mortars must have been previously known. The mill common among the Hebrews differed little from that which is in use to this day throughout Western Asia and Northern



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Africa. It consisted of two circular stones two feet in diameter, and half a foot thick. The lower is called the 'nether millstone,' פלח תחתית Job xli. 16 (24), and the upper the 'rider,' רכב (Judg. ix. 53; 2 Sam. xi. 21). The former was usually fixed to the floor, and had a slight elevation in the centre, or in other words, was slightly convex in the upper surface. The upper stone had a concavity in its under surface fitting to, or receiving, the convexity of the lower stone. There was a hole in the top, through which the corn was introduced by handfuls at a time. The upper stone had an upright stick fixed in it as a handle, by which it was made to turn upon the lower stone, and by this action the corn was ground, and came out at the edges. As there were neither public mills nor bakers, except the king's (Gen. xl. 2; Hos. vii. 4-8), each family possessed a mill; and as it was in daily use, it was made an infringement of the law for a person to take another's mill or mill-stone in pledge (Deut. xxiv. 6). On the second day, in warm climates, bread becomes dry and insipid; hence the necessity of baking every day, and hence also the daily grinding at the mills early in the morning. The operation occasions considerable noise, and its simultaneous performance in a great number of houses or tents forms one of the sounds as indicative of an active population in the East, as the sound of wheel carriages is in the cities of the West. This sound is alluded to in Scripture (Jer. xxv. 10; Rev. xviii. 22, 23). The mill was, as now, commonly turned by two persons, usually women, and these, the work being laborious, the lowest maid-servants in the house. They sat opposite each other. One took hold of the mill-handle, and impelled it half way round; the other then seized it, and completed the revolution (Exod. xi. 5; Job xxxi. 10, 11; Isa. xlvii. 2; Matt. xxiv. 41). As the labour was severe and menial, enemies taken in war were often condemned to perform it (Judg. xvi. 21; Lam. v. 13). (Jahn, *Biblisches Archæol.* ix. 139.) It will be seen that this millstone does not materially differ from the Highland *quern;* and is, indeed, an obvious resource in those remote quarters, where a population is too thin or too scattered to afford remunerative employment to a miller by trade. In the East this trade is still unknown, the hand-mill being in general and exclusive use among the corn-consuming, and the mortar among the rice-consuming, nations. [Bread.]

MILLENNIUM. This word is not found in Scripture; but as it refers to ideas supposed to be founded in Scripture, a slight notice of it is required. The word denotes the term of a thousand years, and, in a theological sense, that thousand years mentioned in Rev. xx. 2, 3, 4, 6; during which Satan is there described as being bound, Christ as reigning triumphant, and the saints as living and reigning with him. The doctrine involved in this view is usually called Millennarianism, but in ecclesiastical history more usually *Chiliasm*, from the Greek word χίλιοι, 'a thousand.' As the world was made in six days, and as, according to Ps. xc. 4, 'a thousand years are as one day' in the sight of God, so it was thought the world would continue in the condition in which it had hitherto been for 6000 years; and as the Sabbath is a day of rest, so will the seventh period of a thousand years consist of this millennial kingdom, as the close of the whole earthly state.

The Jews supposed that the Messiah at his coming would reign as king upon the earth, and would reside at Jerusalem, the ancient royal city. The period of his reign they thought would be very long, and it was therefore put

down as a thousand years, which was at first understood only as a round number. This period was conceived by the Jews as a sort of golden age to the earth, and every one formed such a picture of it as agreed with his own disposition, and with the views concerning the highest felicity which were dictated by the degree of intellectual and moral culture to which he had attained. With many these views were very low, being confined to sensual delights, while others entertained better and more pure conceptions of that happy time (Wetstein, *Comment. in Rev.* xxii. 2; Knapp, *Christ. Theolog.*, translated by Leonard Woods, Jun. D.D., § 154).

This notion was taken up by many of the Judaizing Christians: Jesus had not yet appeared as an earthly king, and these persons were unwilling to abandon an expectation which seemed to them so important. They therefore allowed themselves to hope for a second advent of Christ to establish an earthly kingdom, and to this they transferred most if not all of that which in their unconverted state they had expected of the first. The apostles generally seem to have entertained this notion till after the ascension of Christ and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, whereby they were instructed in the higher verities and mysteries of the Gospel: but that they then abandoned it, and expected no other coming of Christ than that at the judgment of the world, appears clear from 1 Cor. xv. and other passages. The fact that these Jewish notions had taken deep root in the minds of many Christians, even in the apostolical age, is however manifest from 1 Thess. iv. 13, sq. v., and 2 Thess. ii.

From this explanation, Eusebius must be understood with some limitation, when he alleges that the doctrine 'took its rise from Papias (a disciple of St. John), a man of slender judgment; but the antiquity of the man prevailed with many to be of that opinion, particularly with Irenæus' (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39). This seems to mean, not that Papias was the first to entertain the opinion, but the first to advance and advocate it in writing. It, however, occurs in the Epistle of Barnabas (ch. xv.), which, whatever view be formed of its genuineness, is evidence for the opinions of the age in which it was written. In the second century the opinion seems to have been all but universally received in the orthodox churches, and is as plainly produced in the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian, as afterwards in those of Cyprian and Lactantius.

Perhaps the most satisfactory view of the opinions on this subject which many sincere, pious, and even well-instructed early Christians deemed themselves warranted in entertaining, is that which Semisch has collected out of the writings of Justin Martyr. After the lapse of the appointed time, which the prophet Daniel had foretold, Justin expected the visible return of Christ to earth. The prophets, he affirms, foretold two advents (*παρουσίαι*). One had already taken place. In that Christ appeared as a sufferer, in a mean and despised form, dishonoured, and at last crucified. It will be otherwise at his second appearing. Christ will then visit the earth in splendour and glory, on the clouds of heaven, and surrounded by the angelic hosts, as the judge of mankind. In the very place where he was crucified, his murderers will recognise him whom they pierced, and all the tribes shall mourn, tribe by tribe, the men apart, and the women apart (*Apol.* i. 52. p. 74; *Dial. c. Tryph.* xxxi. p. 128: xl. p. 137). But before this advent takes place Elias will come (*Dial. c. Tryph.* xlix. p. 145), agreeably to the prophecy in Mal. iv. 5; also the man of apostacy and iniquity, who will utter blasphemies against the Most High, and commit outrages against the Christians, must precede the re-appearance of the Son of Man. This will soon happen, for already the adversary is at the door (*Dial. c. Tr.* xxxii. p. 129). The immediate object of this return of Christ is the erection of the Millennial kingdom (*Dial.* li. 147). Christ, Justin says, will come again, in order to make a new heaven and new earth, to reign as king over Salem, and to shine in Jerusalem as an unchangeable light. The fallen city will be restored, changed, and beautified; all the saints, that is, believing Christians, will rise from the dead, and be assembled in Jerusalem and the Holy Land, in order to take possession of it, there to receive the eternal and unchangeable blessings promised to them, and to rejoice in communion with Christ. Justin dwells with deep emotion on this hope. It was in his esteem a sacred fire, at which he kindled afresh his Christian faith and practice. That this hope (in its pure millennarian character and extent) might possibly be vain, never entered his thoughts. He believed that it was supported by Scripture. He expressly appealed to the New Testament Apocalypse, and from such passages in the Old Testament as Isa. lxv. 22 (in connection with Gen. ii. 17, and v. 5, and Ps. xc. 4), he deduced the millennial period (*Dial.* lxxxi. 178 sq.). How could he doubt it? As to the specific mode in which he conceived that hope, he held the mean between the gross materialism with which the Ebionites (Jerome, *Comment. in Jes.* lxv. 20; lxvi. 20; *in Zech.* xiv. 9), Papias (*Adv. Hæres.* v. 33; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39), Irenæus (*Adv. Hæres.* v. 53), and Lactantius (*Instit. Divin.* vii. 14) explained it; and the spiritualizing in which Barnabas (*Epist.* c. 15) and Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* iii. 24) indulged. He certainly expected physical enjoyments, and believed that Christ would eat and drink with the members of his kingdom (*Dial. c. Tr.* li. 147). But he denied the continuance of the sexual functions, being assured from Luke xx. 34, that those who rose again would 'neither marry nor be given in marriage, but be as the angels' (*Dial.* li. p. 157); and depicted the state of the elect under the personal reign of Christ as one of blissful unchangeableness, repose, and exemption from pain. Thus he says, 'At his glorious advent Christ will in every way confound those who have hated him and unrighteously apostatized from him; but his own people he will bring to enjoy repose, and fulfil all their expectations' (*Dial.* cxxi. p. 214). And in another passage, 'Whoever is faithful to the doctrine of Jesus, him will Christ raise from the dead at his second advent, and make him immortal, unchangeable, and free from all sorrow' (*Dial.* lxix. p. 168). At the close of the thousand years of the personal reign, to enjoy which the saints only were to be raised, Justin expected that the general and final resurrection of all the dead would take place; but this being the term of the millennial

period we need not proceed with him further (Semisch, *Justin Martyr, his Life, Writings, and Opinions*, translated by J. E. Ryland, Edinb. 1843, ii. 370-376).

This millennial doctrine may be regarded as generally prevalent in the second century. Origen, in the third century, was the first who wrote in opposition to it, and who gave a different and allegorical interpretation of the texts of Scripture on which the Chiliasts rested their opinion. The anti-materialism of the Alexandrian school necessarily led to this opposition. Clement does not once allude to it, and Origen strenuously opposed it. And this opposition was effectual; for Origen's pupil, Dionysius (A.D. 223-248), bishop of Alexandria, may be regarded as having completely put down in the Eastern church, by personal argument and by his work περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν, the doctrine which his master had attacked. (Knapp, *Christ. Theolog.* § 154, 2; Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.*, ch. iii. § 61, 62, 64).

The blow thus given was followed up in the Latin churches by Augustine, Jerome, and others. Dionysius had been answered by Apollonaicus, and the answer so far satisfied the Latin churches, that it was still the prevailing opinion in them when Jerome wrote. This great man opposed the Chiliasts with characteristic energy. 'If,' says he, 'we understand the revelation literally, we must Judaize; if spiritually, as it is written, we shall seem to contradict many of the ancients, particularly the Latin, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius, and the Greeks, especially Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, against whom Dionysius, bishop of the church of Alexandria, wrote a curious piece deriding the fable of a thousand years, the terrestrial Jerusalem adorned with gold and precious stones, rebuilding the temple, bloody sacrifices, sabbatical sect, circumcision, marriages, lyings-in, nursing of children, dainty feasts, and servitude of the nations: and, again, after this, wars, armies, triumphs, and slaughters of conquered enemies, and the death of the sinner a hundred years old. Him Apollonarius answered in two volumes, whom not only men of his own sect, but *most of our own people likewise*, follow in this point. So it is no hard matter to foresee what a multitude of persons I am like to displease' (Hieron. *In Es.* ii. 18; *In Proem.*, pp. 477, 478).

The outward prosperity which the church attained under Constantine and his successors seems to have done quite as much as the arguments of these fathers, in putting down a doctrine which had been cherished as a source of consolation to a suffering and martyr church; and during the invasions of the northern nations, and the deluge of disasters which flowed in upon the empire, speculation was overborne, and the minds of Christians were absorbed by the commotion of the times, and the evils endured by them or impending over them. In the age of darkness which succeeded, scarcely a vestige of millennarian doctrine is to be traced; but in the ferment produced in men's minds by the Reformation, it was turned up in Germany by Müncer and his followers, who wished to establish the earthly kingdom of Christ by fire and sword. Hence Luther and Melancthon set themselves against the doctrine with great zeal and earnestness (vide *Augsb. Confess.*, art. 18). But it was afterwards reproduced in England by the Fifth Monarchy men, who were disposed to carry their notions to the like extremities of infatuation. The writings of the learned Joseph Mede, in the seventeenth century, contributed much to revive the ancient doctrine as a speculative opinion; and individual writers have, from that time to this, sent forth their speculations, advocating substantially the same views. More especially, within the last ten or fifteen years, the subject has acquired anew a considerable degree of prominence, and has given rise in England to an animated controversy, which is at this day dividing the ranks of biblical scholars and theologians.

Dionysius, the ancient opponent of the millennial doctrine, perceiving that his antagonists derived their chief arguments and illustrations from the Apocalypse, took upon him to deny that that book was written by St. John.

The modern opponents of the opinion seldom take this ground; but allege that the Apocalypse (xx. 1-8) does not speak of Christ as reigning visibly and bodily upon the earth, but of his spiritual dominion, resulting from the spread of Christianity, when it shall at length be universally diffused throughout the earth—a kingdom which shall last a thousand years, here used as a round number to denote many centuries, or a long period. A modified expectation and hope, founded substantially on this latter view, sometimes exhibits itself in high-toned feeling and flowing language, which might be taken for downright chiliasm, and which has, indeed, caused many ancient writers to be set down as millennarians, who certainly would have refused the designation. On the other hand, the progress of this doctrine is not to be estimated by the number of those who adopt the name as a distinctive title. Believers in the doctrine, and advocates of it, have been, and are still, found among all denominations; and the number of the gifted and holy men by whom it has been entertained, and to whom it has been a well-spring of hope and comfort, entitles it to the respectful consideration even of those who deem it erroneous as a speculative opinion. When soberly entertained, there is nothing in it contrary to Christian grace; and it may safely be placed among the notions on which Christians may allowably differ. Neander, in his account of this doctrine (*Kirchengesch.*, b. i., abth. 3, sec. 1090), suggests the important caution, that we should not allow ourselves, through disgust at the extravagant visions of enthusiasts about the millennium, to decide against that which we are really justified in hoping and expecting as to the future extension of the kingdom of Christ. As the Old Testament contains an intimation of the things in the New, so Christianity contains an intimation of a higher order of things hereafter, which it will be the means of introducing; but faith must necessarily come before sight. The divine revelations enable us to see a little now and then of this higher order, but not enough to form a complete picture. As prophecy is always obscure until its fulfilment, so must be the last predictions of Christ respecting the destiny of his church, until the entrance of this higher order.

The doctrine is entertained with shades of difference so numerous, that it is difficult to define its characteristics beyond the great leading point

—that Christ shall again come in person to live and reign with his saints a thousand years upon the earth. The formal tenets of the millennarians, as a sect, do not materially differ from the notions already defined from Justin Martyr. In the most recent account of these tenets (Rupp's *History of the Religious Denominations of the United States*, 1844), in which the articles are written by members of the bodies described, an expectation of the restoration of antediluvian longevity during the millennial period, is deduced from Isa. lxv. 20, 'The child shall die a hundred years old,' coupled with ver. 23, 'As the days of a tree, are the days of my people;' 'which,' says the writer, 'according to the best testimony, is from 800 to 1000 years in Palestine,' as if the ages of trees did not vary with the species, and as if trees of the same species were not of the same age in Palestine as in other countries. The same writer is certainly in error, in alleging that millennarianism was the doctrine of the Reformers and their successors, till Whitby 'introduced into the Protestant church a system of spiritualizing the prophecies to such an extent, as to leave little to be anticipated in relation to the personal reign of David's greater son on the throne of his father David, as king of Zion.'

On a topic so fruitful of controversy, it is impossible to enumerate all the writers upon it. The following are among those which have fallen under our notice:—Tibbechon, *Hist. Chiliasmi*, 1667; Mede, *Works*, p. 603, sqq.; Whitby, *Treat. on the True Millenium;* Dauhez, *Perpet. Comment. on Revel.*, 1720; Gill, *Serm. on the Glory of the Chureh*, 1752; Corrodi, *Krit. Geseh. d. Chiliasmus*, 1781-1783; Gregoire, *Hist. des Seetes Relig.*, ii. 333, sqq.; Bogue, *Dise. on the Millenium;* Noel (Gerard), *Enquiry into the Prospeets of the Christian Chureh;* Anderson, *Apolog. for Millen. Doet.*, Glasg. 1830; Irving, *Leet. on the Revelat.*, 1831; Greswell, *Exposition of the Parables*, 1834-5; Pigou, *The Millennium*, 1837; *Millenniarism Unscriptural*, 1838; Jefferson, *The Millennium*, 1840; Bush, *The Millenium*, Salem (N.S.), 1842. Several American writers on the subject, little known in this country, are enumerated in Rupp's *Relig. Denominations*, p. 519.

MILLET. [Dochan.]

MILLO (מִלּוֹא; Sept. ἄκρα). This word denotes 'fulness,' and is applied to a mound or rampart, probably as being filled up with stones or earth. Hence it is the name given to

1. Part of the citadel of Jerusalem, probably the rampart (2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Kings ix. 15, 24; xi. 27; 1 Chron. xi. 8; 2 Chron. xxxii. 5). In the last of these texts, where David is said to have restored or fortified Millo 'of' (not 'in') the city of David, the Sept. has τὸ ἀνάλημμα τῆς πόλεως, 'the fortification of the city of David.'

2. The fortress in Shechem. 'All the men of Shechem, and all that dwelt in the house of Millo;' that is, in the castle or citadel (Judg. ix. 6, 20).

MINISTER, one who acts as the less (from *minus* or *minor*) or inferior agent, in obedience or subservience to another, or who serves, officiates, &c., as distinguished from the master, *magister* (from *magis*), or superior. The words so translated in the Old Testament are מְשָׁרֵת and פֻּלַח (Chald.), and in the New, διάκονος, λειτουργός, and ὑπηρέτης. 1. משרת, 'Moses and his minister Joshua' (Exod. xxiv. 13); Sept. παρεστηκὼς αὐτῷ; Aquila and Symm. ὁ λειτουργός αὐτοῦ; comp. Exod. xxxiii. 11 (Sept. θεράπων Ἰησοῦς); Num. xi. 28; Josh. i. 1 (Sept. ὑπουργὸς Μωυσῆ; Alex. λιτουργός). This Hebrew word is clearly distinguished from עבד, which is the more comprehensive term for servant (1 Kings x. 5), 'Solomon's servants and ministers,' where the Sept. reads παίδων for the former, and λειτουργῶν for the latter. It is applied to Elisha as minister to Elijah, 2 Kings vi. 15 (Sept. λειτουργός); comp. 2 Kings iii. 11; 1 Kings xix. 21. Persons thus designated sometimes succeeded to the office of their principal, as did Joshua and Elisha. The word is applied to the angels, Ps. ciii. 21 (λειτουργοί); comp. Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7; and see Stuart's *Comment. in loc.* Both the Hebrew and Sept. words are applied to the Jews in their capacity as a sacred nation, 'Men shall call you the ministers of our God' (Isa. lxi. 6); to the priests (Jer. xxxiii. 21; Ezek. xliv. 11; xlv. 4; Joel i. 9). The Greek word is continued in the same sense in Luke i. 23, and applied to Christian teachers, Acts xiii. 2; Rom. xv. 16; and to Christ, Heb. viii. 2; to the collectors of the Roman tribute, in consequence of the divine authority of political government, 'they are God's ministers' (λειτουργοί). It was applied by the Athenians to those who administered the public offices (λειτουργίαι) at their own expense (Boeckh, *Staatshaush. der Athener.* i. 480; ii. 62; Potter's *Gr. Ant.* i. 85. 2. פלחי (Chald.), Ezra vii. 24, 'ministers' of religion, λειτουργοῖς (comp. פלחן, ver. 19), though he uses the word משרתים in the same sense, ch. viii. 17. 3. The word διάκονος, 'minister,' is applied to Christian teachers, 1 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 6; vi. 4; xi. 23; 1 Thess. iii. 2; to false teachers, 2 Cor. xi. 15; to Christ, Rom. xv. 8, 16; Gal. ii. 17; to heathen magistrates, Rom. xiii. 4; in all which passages it has the sense of a minister, assistant, or servant in general, as in Matt. xx. 26; but it means a particular sort of minister, 'a deacon,' in Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8, 12. The term διάκονοι denotes among the Greeks a higher class of servants than the δοῦλοι (Athen. x. 192; B. comp. Xen. *l. c.* Buttm. *Lexic.* i. 220; comp. Matt. xxii. 13, and Sept. for משרת, Esth. i. 10; ii. 2; vi. 3). 4. ὑπηρέτης is applied to Christian ministers, Luke i. 2; Acts xxvi. 16; 2 Cor. iv. 1. Josephus calls Moses τὸν ὑπηρέτην Θεοῦ, *Antiq.* iii. 1. 4. Kings are so called in Wisd. vi. 4. The word denotes, in Luke iv. 20, the attendant in a synagogue who handed the volume to the reader, and returned it to its place. In Acts xiii. 5 it is applied to 'John whose surname was Mark,' in his capacity as an attendant or assistant on Barnabas and Saul. It primarily signifies an underrower on board a galley, of the class who used the longest oars, and consequently performed the severest duty, as distinguished from the θρανίτης, the rower upon the upper bench of the three, and from the οἱ ναῦται, sailors, or the ἐπιβάται, marines (Dem. 1209. 11. 14; comp. also 1208. 20: 1214. 23; 1216. 13; Pol. i. 25. 3): hence in general a hand, agent, minister, attendant, &c.

J. F. D.

MINCHA, the Hebrew name of the bloodless

offerings (meal, cakes, &c.) presented in the Temple [Offerings].

MINNI. [Armenia.]

MINNITH (מִנִּית), a town in the country of the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 33), celebrated for the excellence of its wheat, which was exported to the markets of Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 17). It still existed in the age of Eusebius, four R. miles from Heshbon, on the road to Philadelphia (*Onomast.* in Μααvιθ). The Sept. seem to have found difficulty in this name. In Judg. xi. 33 they substitute the name of the Arnon, and in Ezek. xxvii. 17 they render it by μύρον, 'myrrh.'

MINT. [Heduosmon.]

MIRACLES. God sees fit to carry on his common operations on established and uniform principles. These principles, whether relating to the physical or moral world, are called *the laws of nature*. And by the laws of nature the most enlightened philosophers and divines have understood *the uniform plan according to which*, or *the uniform manner in which, God exercises his power throughout the created universe*. Or it may be said, the laws of nature are the uniform method in which the powers or active principles, which God has imparted to created things, called *second* or *secondary causes*, operate and produce their effects. Or, according to the language of some, the laws of nature are the uniform manner in which events come to pass, or, in which action and the results of action among created beings take place. It is evident that various powers and properties belong to the things which are made, and are inherent in them, and that nothing in the creation, whether material or spiritual, would be what it is without those powers and properties. But we know that the existence of things, with their several powers and properties, was, at first, owing to the operation of divine power, and that their continued existence is owing to the same cause.

The above-mentioned uniform method of divine operation is evidently conducive to the most important ends. It manifests the immutable wisdom and goodness of God, and, in ways too many to be here specified, promotes the welfare of his creatures. Without the influence of this uniformity, rational beings would have no effectual motive to effort, and the affairs of the universe, intelligent and unintelligent, would be in a state of total confusion. And this general fact may be considered as a sufficient reason why God, in the common course of his providence, has adopted a uniform method of operation in preference to any other.

But if, in conducting the affairs of his great empire, God sees, in any particular case, as good a reason for a *deviation* from this uniform order, as there is generally for *uniformity*, that is, if the glory of his attributes and the good of his creatures require it—and no one can say that such a case may not occur—then, unquestionably, the unchangeable God will cause such a deviation; in other words, will work *miracles*:—miracles being effects which are produced, or events which take place, in a manner not conformed to the common laws of nature, and which cannot be accounted for according to those laws. In the case supposed, if God should not depart from his usual course, and work miracles, he would not show the same regard as he ordinarily does to his own glory and the good of his creatures. On the condition, then, here supposed, there is a strong and decided presumption in favour of miraculous operations; and it would contradict our best views of the immutable perfection of God, to suppose that they will not take place.

It is admitted that no man, apart from the knowledge of facts, could ever, by mere reasoning, have arrived at a confident belief, that the conjuncture supposed would certainly occur. But to us, who know that mankind are so depraved and wretched, and that the efforts of human wisdom to obtain relief have been in vain, the importance of a special divine interposition is very apparent. And being informed what the plan is, which a merciful God has adopted for our recovery to holiness and happiness, and being satisfied that this plan, so perfectly suited to the end in view, could never have been discovered by man, and never executed, except by a divine dispensation involving miracles, we conclude, that the introduction of a new and miraculous dispensation was in the highest degree an honour to God and a blessing to the world. It is clear that man could not have been saved without it. The divine government proceeding according to the original law of justice, would have left no hope for transgressors. If man is to be saved, there must be a departure from the original laws of a moral government. There must be a new dispensation, and that new dispensation must be made known to man; because, without knowing it, man could not enjoy its benefits. The work of saving a lost world cannot be accomplished while the world remains wholly ignorant of the grace which saves. But the requisite knowledge can never be reached by any of our natural faculties, and never communicated to us by any thing in creation. It must come from God, and that in an extraordinary manner. Now God is able, if he please, by a supernatural influence, to impart the requisite knowledge directly to every human being. But this mode of imparting knowledge would itself be miraculous, as it would be entirely beyond what any human mind would be capable of in the use of ordinary means. But it is manifest that such a mode of imparting knowledge is not in fact the mode which God has chosen, and that it would not be well suited to the ends of divine wisdom. The method of divine appointment, as set forth in the sacred volume, is that of making a revelation to a number of individuals, who are to write and publish it for the benefit of the world. This revelation to individuals is made in such a manner as renders it certain to their minds, that the revelation is from God. But how can that revelation be made available to others? It will not answer the purpose for those who receive it merely to declare that God has made such a revelation to them, and authorized them to proclaim it to their fellow creatures. For how shall we know that they are not deceivers? Or if their character is such as to repel any suspicion of this kind, how shall we know that they are not themselves deceived,—as it is no uncommon thing for a man, even a good man, to be misled by enthusiastic impressions, or in some other way? How shall we come to feel entire confidence in the truth and divine au-

thority of what individuals say has been revealed to them from God? Have we not a right, nay, are we not bound in duty, to ask for evidence? But what evidence will suffice? The reply is obvious. The revelation, in order to be of use to us, as it is to those who receive it directly from God, must not only be declared by them to us, but must have a divine attestation. In other words, those who declare it to us must show, by some incontestable proof, that *it is from God.* Such proof is found in a miracle. If an event takes place which we know to be contrary to the laws of nature, we at once recognise it as the special act of him who is the God of nature, and who alone can suspend its laws, and produce effects in another way. The evidence of a direct interposition of God given in this way is irresistible. No man, no infidel, could witness an obvious miracle, without being struck with awe, and recognising *the finger of God.* What would become of the scepticism of a Hume or a Voltaire, should he go to the grave where a father or brother had been buried for years, and see him wake up to life and come forth at the word of a divine messenger? What will become of his scepticism, when he himself, after having slept in death thousands of years, shall rise from the dead, and shall see others rise around him? In a miracle, God works, and shows us his hand, speaks, and causes us to hear his voice, as plainly as if he should instantly, before our astonished eyes, create a new sun in the expanse of heaven, or in a voice as loud as thunder should speak distinct and intelligible words in our ears.

In respect to the subject before us, there is a manifest and wide difference between a miracle and any event which is referable to the laws of nature. Let a man come to us and say, that such a doctrine has been made known to him by special revelation. It may properly be our first inquiry, whether the doctrine referred to, for example, the deity of Christ, or the truth of the Newtonian philosophy, is supported by other evidence. If so, we receive it on the ground of that other evidence, not because he tells us that it was revealed to him. But suppose that there is no other evidence, and that if we receive it, we must receive it on the ground of his declaration. We look then for evidence that his declaration is true. We say to him, prove that you are a prophet sent from God, and that this doctrine has been revealed to you from above. He undertakes to give the proof required, and he says, the Hudson river, or the Danube, which is now liquid, shall, to a considerable depth, become a solid mass, before the end of January; and thus my claim to a special revelation shall be confirmed. We reply to him,—why not make it a solid mass now in the midst of summer? And why not freeze up a river in the torrid zone? A man who has had no revelation can do all that you undertake. He may say, he will bring about a total eclipse of the sun at such a time (having found out the right time). We tell him to bring about such an eclipse in *the old of the moon,* and we will yield to his pretensions.

It is clear that no event, which can be accounted for on natural principles, can prove a supernatural interposition, or contain a divine attestation to the truth of a prophet's claim. But when we look at an event which cannot be traced to the laws of nature, and is clearly above them, such as the burning of the wood upon the altar in the case of Elijah's controversy with the false prophets, or the resurrection of Lazarus, we cannot avoid the conviction, that the Lord of heaven and earth does, by such a miracle, give his testimony, that Elijah is his prophet, and that Jesus is the Messiah. The evidence arising from miracles is so striking and conclusive, that there is no way for an infidel to evade it, but to deny the existence of miracles, and to hold that all the events called miraculous may be accounted for according to the laws of nature.

Hume arrays *uniform experience* against the credibility of miracles. But the shallow sophistry of his argument has been fully exposed by Campbell, Paley, and many others. We inquire what and how much he means by *uniform experience.* Does he mean his own experience? But because *he* has never witnessed a miracle, does it follow that others have not? Does he mean the uniform experience of the greater part of mankind? But how does he know that the experience of a smaller part has not been different from that of the greater part? Does he mean, then, the uniform experience of all mankind in all ages? How then does his argument stand? He undertakes to prove that no man has ever witnessed or experienced a miracle, and his real argument is, that no one *has* ever witnessed or experienced it. In other words, to *prove* that there has never been a miracle, he *asserts* that there never has been a miracle. This is the nature of his argument—an instance of *petitio principii*, which a man of Hume's logical powers would never have resorted to, had it not been for his enmity to religion.

If it is said that the *ordinary* experience of mankind in general *contradicts* the idea of a miracle, it is said without due consideration. The experience or testimony of any number of men cannot be regarded as contradictory to the experience or testimony of other men, unless the experience or testimony of both parties relate to the same event, and to the same place and time of its occurrence. Ten thousand Romans might have said that no such thing as the murder of Julius Cæsar had ever taken place within their observation or experience, and their testimony might have been true; but how would their testimony have contradicted the testimony of those who witnessed the fatal deed of his murderers? There is no contradiction between two witnesses, or two sets of witnesses, if the testimony of both may be true. Suppose two men testify before a court of justice, that, at such a time, naming the hour and the minute, and in such a room, naming the very part of the room, they saw a man murder his father by stabbing him. Now let three other men come forward and testify that they often saw the father and son together, but never witnessed any act of violence on the part of the son. Here is no contradiction of testimonies; for both may be true. But let the three witnesses testify that they were present at the very time and place referred to; that they saw the father and son together in the room, and the part of the room mentioned by the two witnesses; that the son had no instrument in his hand; and that the father was attacked suddenly with apoplexy, and died in the arms of his son. Here you have contradic-

tory testimonies, and both cannot be true. The testimony of all generations antecedent to the time of Christ, that they had never seen a man who had been dead and buried for some days, raised to life by a word of command; and the testimony of the greater part of the Jewish nation at that time, that they had seen no such thing as the resurrection of Lazarus, would not have contradicted the testimony of the few who declared that they were present and witnessed his resurrection. The truth of the former testimonies would not have disproved the truth of the last. So much for the argument of Hume. After all, he seems to admit that a miracle may be credible, *if it is not wrought in favour of religion;* whereas it would have been much nearer the truth, had he said, a miracle is credible, if it *is* wrought in favour of religion.

The miraculous events recorded in the Scriptures, particularly those which took place in the times of Moses and Christ, have all the marks which are necessary to prove them to have been matters of fact, and worthy of full credit, and to distinguish them from the feats of jugglers and impostors. This has been shown very satisfactorily by Leslie, Paley, Douglas, and many others. These miracles took place in the most public manner, and in the presence of many witnesses; so that there was opportunity to subject them to the most searching scrutiny. Good men and bad men were able and disposed to examine them thoroughly, and to prove them to have been impostures, if they had been so. Why did not the scribes and pharisees and rulers, who were so full of zeal against the religion of Jesus, adopt the most natural and effectual means of preventing its growing influence? Why did they not bring Jesus and his disciples to a fair trial before a proper tribunal, and prove them to be deceivers?

A large number of men, of unquestionable honesty and intelligence, constantly affirmed that the miracles took place before their eyes. And some of these original witnesses wrote and published histories of the facts, in the places where they were alleged to have occurred, and near the time of their occurrence. In these histories it was openly asserted that the miracles, as described, were publicly known and acknowledged to have taken place; and this no one took upon him to contradict, or to question. Moreover, many persons who stood forth as witnesses of these miracles passed their lives in labours, dangers, and sufferings, in attestation of the accounts they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of the truth of those accounts; and, from the same motive, they voluntarily submitted to new rules of conduct; while nothing like this is true respecting any other pretended miracles (see Paley's *Evidences*). Paley attaches great importance, and that very justly, to these positions; and he says he should believe in the reality of miracles in any other case, if attended with the circumstances which distinguished the miracles of Christ. And if any one calls assent to such evidence credulity, it is incumbent on him to produce examples in which the same evidence has turned out to be fallacious.

In comparing the evidence for Christian miracles with that which can be offered in favour of any other miracles, it is proper, as the same author shows, to lay out of the case such accounts as the following:—

1. It is proper to lay out of the case such accounts of supernatural events as are written a long time after their alleged occurrence. On this principle, we may at once set aside the miraculous story of Pythagoras, the fables of the heroic ages, a great part of the accounts of Popish saints, and the miracles of Apollonius Tyanæus. And this circumstance is shown to be of special value in regard to the history of Ignatius Loyola. His life, written by a companion of his, who was one of the order of the Jesuits, was published about fifteen years after his death. The author of this biography, so far from ascribing miracles to Ignatius, states the reasons why he was not invested with any such power. About sixty years after, the Jesuits, wishing to exalt the character of their founder, began to attribute to him a catalogue of miracles, which could not then be distinctly disproved, and which those who ruled in the church were disposed to admit upon the slightest evidence.

2. 'We may lay out of the case accounts published in one country of what passed in a distant country, without any proof that such accounts were received or known at home.' It is greatly in favour of Christianity that the history of Christ was first published, and his church first planted in the place where he lived, and wrought miracles, and died. But most of the miracles of Apollonius Tyanæus are related to have been performed in India; while we have no evidence that the history of those miracles was ever published, or that the miracles were ever heard of, in India. This matter is satisfactorily treated by Douglas in his *Criterion*.

3. We ought to lay out of the case *transient rumours*. On the first publication of any story, unless we are personally acquainted with the fact referred to, we cannot know whether it is true or false. We look for its confirmation, its increasing notoriety, and its permanency, and for subsequent accounts in different forms, to give it support. In this respect the miracles recorded in Scripture are presented before us in the most favourable light.

4. We lay out of the case what may be called *naked history*,—history found merely in a book, unattended with any evidence that the accounts given in the book were credited and acted upon at the time when the events are said to have occurred, and unsupported by any collateral or subsequent testimony, or by any important visible effects. We see here what singular advantage attends the history of the miracles of Christ. That history is combined with permanent Christian institutions; with the time and place, and circumstances of the origin and progress of the Christian religion, as collected from other history; with its prevalence to the present day; with the fact of our present books having been received by the advocates of Christianity from the first; with a great variety of subsequent books referring to the transactions recorded in the four Gospels, and containing accounts of the effects which flowed from the belief of those transactions—those subsequent books having been written with very different views, 'so disagreeing as to repel the suspicion of confederacy, and yet so agreeing as to show that they were founded in a common origin.'

5. We lay out of the case stories of supernatural events upon which nothing depends, and in which no interest is involved—stories which require only an indolent assent, and which pass from one to another without examination. How different are the accounts of the miracles of Christ! Those accounts, if true, decided the most momentous questions upon which the immortal mind can fix. Who could be indifferent and careless in such a case as this? Whoever entertained the account of these miracles, whether Jew or Gentile, could not avoid the following reflection: 'If these things be true, I must surrender the principles in which I have been brought up, the religion in which my fathers lived and died.' And who would do this? Who would give up his most favourite opinions, and his former way of life, and adopt new rules, and new habits, and a new course of conduct, and encounter the severest sufferings, upon a mere idle report, or, indeed, without the most serious consideration, and the fullest conviction of the truth of the history in which he confided?

6. We lay aside all those events which can be accounted for by a heated imagination, false perception, momentary insanity, or any other natural principle. Now, although we may, in some cases, be in doubt, whether the events which take place can be resolved into the common powers of nature, no doubt can remain as to the principal miracles of Christ. If a person born blind is, by a word, restored to sight, or a man unquestionably dead restored to life, or if a conversion takes place, with the accompanying circumstances and the permanent consequences of that of Paul, we are sure that the event must be ascribed to a supernatural cause.

It appears, then, that after the various classes of events above-mentioned have been excluded, the miracles recorded in Scripture remain, with all the characteristics of supernatural events, showing the special presence and extraordinary agency of God, and containing his direct testimony in favour of the doctrines to which they refer. Hence we see the propriety and the perfect conclusiveness of the appeal which Jesus often made to his works as proof of his Messiahship: 'The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me;' again, 'The works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father has sent me.' These miraculous works were as really a divine attestation to the Messiahship of Jesus, as that voice which God uttered from heaven, 'This is my beloved Son, hear ye him.'

It has been a long agitated question, whether miracles have ever been wrought, or can be consistently supposed to be wrought, *by apostate spirits*.

It is sufficient to say here, that it would be evidently inconsistent with the character of God to empower or to suffer wicked beings to work miracles *in support of falsehood*. Miracles, supposing them not to be wrought at random, but to contain a divine attestation, must go to support the truth. Neither wicked beings nor good beings can overwork them *in such a manner* that they shall avail to give countenance to error, and thus nullify the clearest and most striking evidence which can be given in support of the truth of a special divine communication. Balaam was a *real prophet;* that is, he was endued with supernatural knowledge, and enabled to predict the good which was to come upon the people of God. His supernatural foresight availed to make known the truth—as really so as though he had been a good man. Yea, the divine testimony in that case was attended with one peculiar advantage, namely, that Balaam was constrained by divine influence to pronounce a blessing upon Israel against both his interest and his inclination. And if wicked spirits in the time of Christ had power to produce preternatural effects upon the minds or bodies of men, and if those effects are to be ranked among real miracles (which, however, we do not affirm), still the end of miracles is not contravened. For those very operations of evil spirits were under the control of divine providence, and were made in two ways to subserve the cause of Christ. First; they furnished an occasion, as doubtless they were designed to do, for Christ to show his power over evil spirits, and, by his superior miracles, to give a new proof of his Messiahship. Secondly; the evil spirits themselves were constrained to give their testimony, that Jesus was the Christ, the Holy One of Israel—a very different matter from what it would have been if they had declared that Jesus was an impostor, and had undertaken to support their declaration by supernatural works.

Instead, therefore, of attempting to prove absolutely, as some writers have done, that evil spirits have never had power, and never been permitted, in any case, to do supernatural works, we shall content ourselves with saying, that God has never given them power, and never permitted them to do such works *in such circumstances, and in such a manner*, as to support error, or in any way to discredit divine truth. This being the case, it will not detract at all from the weight of the testimony which God gives by miracles to the truth of any supernatural revelation, if, in some instances, he should see fit to empower evil spirits to do miraculous works *for the same holy ends*—thus making use of the agency of evil spirits, as well as of good men, to promote the cause of righteousness and truth.

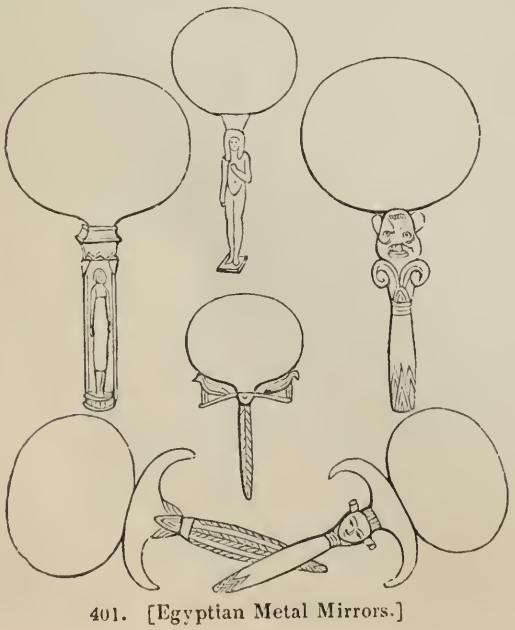
As to the time when the miraculous dispensation ceased, we can only remark, that the power of working miracles, which belonged pre-eminently to Christ and his apostles, and, in inferior degrees, to many other Christians in the apostolic age, subsided gradually. After the great object of supernatural works was accomplished in the establishment of the Christian religion, with all its sacred truths, and its divinely appointed institutions, during the life of Christ and his apostles, there appears to have been no farther occasion for miracles, and no satisfactory evidence that they actually occurred.

If the inquiry is made, whether in the future advancement of Christ's kingdom and the conversion of Jews and Gentiles, miraculous interpositions are to be expected, our reply is, that this must be referred entirely to the sovereign wisdom of God. It does, indeed, seem quite evident, that the grand design and appropriate influence of miracles have been already realized in the confirmation of the truth and authority of the Christian religion. And it has become more and more evident, that the Gospel may be propagated, and men in all circumstances converted, by the power of divine truth, and the renewing of the

Holy Spirit, without any resort to miracles. From these and other considerations we very naturally infer, that the recurrence of a miraculous dispensation is not required in order to the completion of the Saviour's work; still it is not for us to decide this point. As Christians, we ought to keep in remembrance that God's ways are not as our ways, and to cherish such a state of mind, that if God should at any time see fit, for the glory of his name and the salvation of men, to repeat the wonderful works which he wrought in former days, or to perform any other unquestionable miracles, we may not turn away from them in sullen unbelief, but may hail them as precious tokens of God's special favour, and evidences of his gracious design to give new success to the Gospel, and an enlargement and prosperity never before experienced to the kingdom of righteousness and peace.—L. W.

MIRIAM (מִרְיָם, *bitterness;* Sept. Μαριάμ; Josephus. Μαριάμνη), sister of Moses and Aaron, and supposed to be the same that watched her infant brother when exposed on the Nile; in which case she was probably ten or twelve years old at the time (Exod. ii. 4, sq.). When the Israelites left Egypt, Miriam naturally became the leading woman among them. She is called 'a prophetess' (Exod. xv. 20). After the passage of the Red Sea, she led the music, dance, and song, with which the women celebrated their deliverance (Exod. xv. 20-22). The arrival of Moses' wife in the camp seems to have created in her an unseemly dread of losing her influence and position, and led her into complaints of and dangerous reflections upon Moses, in which Aaron joined. For this she was smitten with leprosy, and, although healed at the intercession of Moses, was excluded for seven days from the camp (Num. xii.; Deut. xxiv. 9). Her death took place in the first month of the fortieth year after the Exodus, at the encampment of Kadesh-barnea (Num. xx. 1), where her sepulchre was still to be seen in the time of Eusebius.

MIRROR (מַרְאָה, Exod. xxxviii. 8; רְאִי, Job xxxii. 8). In the first of these passages the mirrors in the possession of the women of the Israelites, when they quitted Egypt, are described as being of brass; for 'the laver of brass, and the foot of it,' are made from them. In the second, the firmament is compared to 'a molten mirror.' In fact, all the mirrors used in ancient times were of metal; and as those of the Hebrew women in the wilderness were brought out of Egypt, they were doubtless of the same kind as those which have been found in the tombs of that country, and many of which now exist in our museums and collections of Egyptian antiquities. These are of mixed metals, chiefly copper, most carefully wrought and highly polished; and so admirably did the skill of the Egyptians succeed in the composition of metals, that this substitute for our modern looking-glass was susceptible of a lustre which has even been partially revived at the present day in some of those discovered at Thebes, though buried in the earth for so many centuries. The mirror itself was nearly round, and was inserted in a handle of wood, stone, or metal, the form of which varied according to the taste of the owner (see Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 384-386).



401. [Egyptian Metal Mirrors.]

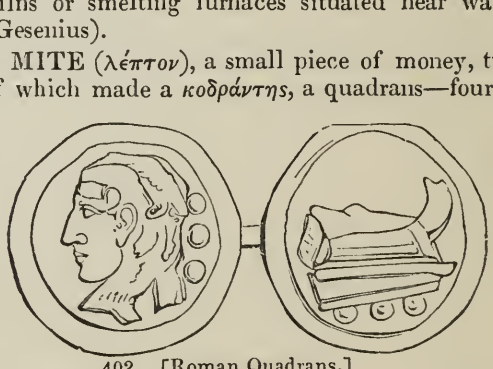
MISHAEL, one of the three companions of Daniel, who were cast into the burning furnace by Nebuchadnezzar, and were miraculously delivered from it (Dan. iii. 13-30). The Chaldæan name was Meshech (Dan. i. 7).

MISHPAT, a fountain in Kadesh [see KADESH].

MISHNAH. [TALMUD.]

MISREPHOTH-MAIM (מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם; Sept. Μασερέθ Μεμφωμαίμ), a place or district near Sidon (Josh. xi. 8; xiii. 6). The name means 'burnings of water,' which Kimchi understands of warm baths; but more probably it means burnings *by* or *beside* the water—either lime kilns or smelting furnaces situated near water (Gesenius).

MITE (λέπτον), a small piece of money, two of which made a κοδράντης, a quadrans—four of the latter being equal to the Roman *as*. The *as* was of less weight and value in later than in early times. Its original value was 3·4 farthings, and afterwards $2\frac{1}{8}$ farthings. The latter was its value in the time of Christ, and the mite being one-eighth of that sum, was little more than one-fourth of an English farthing. It was the smallest coin known to the Hebrews (Luke xii. 59).



402. [Roman Quadrans.]

MITHCAH, one of the encampments of the Israelites [WANDERING].

MITYLENE (Μιτυλήνη), the capital of the isle of Lesbos, in the Ægean Sea, about seven miles and a half from the opposite point on the coast of Asia Minor. It was a well-built town, but unwholesomely situated (Vitruv. *De Architect.* i. 6). It was the native place of Pittacus, Theophanes,

Theophrastus, Sappho, Alcæus, and Diophanes. St. Paul touched at Mitylene in his voyage from Corinth to Judæa (Acts xx. 14). It does not appear that any Christian church was established at this place in the apostolic age. No mention is made of it in ecclesiastical history until a late period; and in the second century heathenism was so rife in Mitylene that a man was annually sacrificed to Dionysus. In the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, we, however, find bishops of Mitylene present at several councils (Magdeburg, *Hist. Eccles. Cent.* ii. 195; v. 6; vi. 6; vii. 4, 253, 254; viii. 6). Mitylene still exists, and has given its name, in the form of Mytilni, to the whole island; but it is now a place of no importance.

MIZPAH (מִצְפָּה; Sept. Μασσηφά). The word signifies *a watch-tower*, and is the name of several towns and places in lofty situations whether furnished with a watch-tower or not.

1. MIZPAH, a town or city in Gilead (Judg. x. 17; xi. 11, 34; Hos. v. 1). The place originated in the heap of stones set up by Laban, and to which he gave his name (Gen. xxxi. 49). Some confound this with the Mizpeh of Gilead in Judg. xi. 29; but it is better to distinguish them [Mizpeh 3].

2. MIZPAH, a city of Benjamin, where the people were wont to convene (Josh. xviii. 26; Judg. xx. 1, 3; xxi. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5-16; x. 17, sq.). It was afterwards fortified by Asa, to protect the borders against the kingdom of Israel (1 Kings xv. 22; 2 Chron. xvi. 6). In later times it became the residence of the governor under the Chaldæans (Jer. xl. 6, sq.; comp. Neh. iii. 7, 15, 19). In one place the name occurs with *e*, Mizpeh (מִצְפֶּה). Its position is nowhere mentioned in Scripture or by Josephus; but it could not have been far from Ramah, since king Asa fortified it with materials taken from that place; and that it was situated on an elevated spot is clear from its name. There are two such high points, which in these respects might correspond with the site of Mizpah. One is Tell el-Ful (Bean-hill), lying about an hour's journey south of Er-Ram (Ramah), towards Jerusalem. It is high, and overlooks the eastern slope of the mountains, and has upon it the remains of a large square tower; but there is no trace of a former city upon or even around the hill. The other point is at the present village of Neby Samwil (Prophet Samuel), which, although somewhat distant from Er-Ram, is a higher and more important station than the other. On these grounds Dr. Robinson (*Researches*, ii. 144) inclines to regard this as the probable site of Mizpah, especially as in 1 Macc. iii. 46 it is described as 'over against Jerusalem,' implying that it was visible from that city, which is true of Neby Samwil, but not of Tell el-Ful. This Neby Samwil is the place which it has been usual to identify with Ramah; but this on sufficient probability has been removed to Er-Ram, leaving Neby Samwil vacant for the present appropriation. This last place is now a poor village, seated upon the summit of an elevated ridge. It contains a mosque, now in a state of decay, which, on the ground of the apparently erroneous identification with Ramah, is regarded by Jews, Christians, and Moslems, as the tomb of Samuel. This mosque was once a Latin church, built in the form of a cross, upon older foundations, and probably of the time of the Crusaders. There are few houses now inhabited, but many traces of former dwellings. By the map of Dr. Robinson this place is about four miles and a half N.N.W. from Jerusalem.

MIZPEH (מִצְפֶּה). This name has the same meaning and application as Mizpah, and is borne by several places mentioned in Scripture.

1. MIZPEH, a town in the plains of Judah (Josh. xv. 38). Eusebius and Jerome identify it with a place which, in their time, bore the name of Mapha, on the borders of Eleutheropolis southward, on the road to Ælia or Jerusalem.

2. MIZPEH, the place more usually called Mizpah, in the tribe of Benjamin, is once called Mizpeh (Josh. xviii. 26) [Mizpah 2].

3. MIZPEH OF GILEAD, through or by which Jephthah passed in his pursuit of the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 29). Some think it the same with Mizpah 1; and it is possibly the same with the Ramath-mizpeh of Josh. xiii. 26.

4. MIZPEH, a valley in the region of Lebanon (Josh. xi. 8; comp. xi. 3).

MIZRAIM (מִצְרַיִם; Sept. Μεσραΐν), or LAND OF MIZRAIM, the name by which, in Scripture, Egypt is generally designated, apparently from its having been peopled by Mizraim, the son of Ham (Gen. x.). This ancient title is still preserved in Misr, the existing Arabic name of the country [Egypt].

MNASON (Μνάσων), an 'old disciple,' with whom St. Paul lodged when at Jerusalem in A.D. 58 (Acts xxi. 16). He seems to have been a native of Cyprus, but an inhabitant of Jerusalem, like Joses and Barnabas. Some think that he was converted by Paul and Barnabas while at Cyprus (Acts xiii. 9); but the designation 'an old disciple,' has more generally induced the conclusion that he was converted by Jesus himself, and was perhaps one of the seventy.

MOAB (מוֹאָב, *semen patris*; Sept. Μωάβ), son of Lot and his eldest daughter (Gen. xix. 30-38). He was born about the same time with Isaac, and became the founder of the Moabites.

MOABITES, a tribe descended from Moab the son of Lot, and consequently related to the Hebrews (Gen. xix. 37). Previous to the exodus of the latter from Egypt, the former, after expelling the original inhabitants, called אֵימִים *Emims* (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 11), had possessed themselves of the region on the east of the Dead Sea and the Jordan, as far north as the river Jabbok. But the northern, and indeed the finest and best, portion of the territory, *viz.* that extending from the Jabbok to the Arnon, had passed into the hands of the Amorites, who founded there one of their kingdoms, with Heshbon for its capital (Num. xxi. 26). Og had established another at Bashan. Hence at the time of the exodus the valley and river Arnon constituted the northern boundary of Moab (Num. xxi. 13; Judg. xi. 18; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 5. 1). As the Hebrews advanced in order to take possession of Canaan, they did not enter the proper territory of the Moabites (Deut. ii. 9; Judg. xi. 18), but conquered the kingdom of the Amorites (a Canaanitish tribe), which had formerly belonged to Moab; whence the western part, lying along the

Jordan, frequently occurs under the name of עַרְבוֹת מוֹאָב, 'plains of Moab' (Deut. i. 5 ; xxix. 1). The Moabites, fearing the numbers that were marching around them, showed them at least no kindness (Deut. xxiii. 3) ; and their king (Balak) hired Balaam to utter prophetic curses, which, however, were converted into blessings in his mouth (Num. xii. sq.). The Gadites now took possession of the northern portion of this territory, which the Amorites had wrested from the Moabites, and established themselves there ; while the Reubenites settled in the southern part (Num. xxxii. 34 ; comp. Josh. xiii., which, however, differs somewhat in the designation of particular towns).

We see the first hostilities breaking out in the beginning of the period of the Judges, when the Hebrews had been for a long time tributary to the Moabites, but threw off their yoke under Ehud (Judg. iii. 12-30). Towards the end of this period, however, peace and friendship were restored, mutual honours were reciprocated (as the history of Ruth shows), and Moab appears often to have afforded a place of refuge to outcasts and emigrant Hebrews (Ruth i. 1; comp. 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4; Jer. xl. 11; Isa. xvi. 2). After Saul had waged successful war against them (1 Sam. xiv. 47), David made them tributary (2 Sam. viii. 2, 12; xxiii. 20). The right to levy this tribute seems to have been transferred to Israel after the division of the kingdom ; for upon the death of Ahab (about B.C. 896), they refused to pay the customary tribute of 100,000 lambs and as many rams (2 Kings i. 1 ; iii. 4 ; comp. Isa. xvi. 1). Jehoram (B.C. 896), in alliance with Judah and Edom, sought indeed to bring them back to their subjection. The invading army, after having been preserved from perishing by thirst through the intervention of Elisha, defeated the Moabites and ravaged the country ; but, through the strange conduct of the king, in offering up in sacrifice his son [MESHA], were induced to retire without completing the object of the expedition. The Moabites deeply resented the part which the king of Judah took in this invasion, and formed a powerful confederacy with the Ammonites, Edomites, and others, who marched in great force into Judæa, and formed their camp at Engedi, where they fell out among themselves and destroyed each other through the special interposition of Providence, in favour of Jehoshaphat and his people (2 Kings iii. 4, sq. ; comp. 2 Chron. xx. 1-30) [ELISHA ; JEHORAM ; JEHOSHAPHAT]. Under Jehoash (B.C. 849) we see them undertake incursions into the kingdom of Israel, and carry on offensive war against it (2 Kings xiii. 20).

Though the subsequent history of Israel often mentions the Moabites, yet it is silent respecting a circumstance which, in relation to one passage, is of the greatest importance, namely, the reconquest of the territory between the Arnon and the Jabbok, which was wrested from the Moabites by the Amorites, and afterwards of the territory possessed by the tribes of Reuben and Gad. This territory in general we see, according to Isa. xvi., in the possession of the Moabites again. Even Selah, the ancient capital of the Edomites, seems likewise, from Isa. xvi. 1, to have belonged to them, at least for a time. The most natural supposition is that of Reland (*Palæstina*, p. 720), Paulus (*Clavis*, p. 110), and Rosenmüller (*in loc.*), that, after the carrying away of those tribes into captivity, the Moabites occupied their territory ; as it is expressly stated (Jer. xlix. 1-5) that the Amorites intruded themselves into the territory of the captive Gadites, as the Edomites did in respect to the Jews at a later period (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* v. 79). The tribes of Reuben and Gad were not, however, as is commonly supposed, first carried away after the destruction of Samaria (B.C. 722) by Shalmaneser (2 Kings xviii. 9,10), but, according to 1 Chron. v. 26, by Pul and Tiglathpileser certainly, and perhaps (for the account is somewhat indefinite) in the earliest campaign against Menahem, B.C. 774 (2 Kings xv. 19), and Pekah, B.C. 741 (2 Kings xv. 29). Nevertheless the singular fact remains, that here, where we should have expected every wrong done to the Israelites by Moab to be made prominent, this usurpation of their territory is not noticed. Hence we cannot wholly resist the conjecture that it was with that territory as with the territory of the Philistines, Tyrians, and Sidonians, *i. e.* it was never permanently possessed by the Hebrew tribes, and the division of this region into many parts in the book of Joshua remained ideal (an assignment *in partibus infidelium*), without being generally realised in history. Perhaps also many of these cities were as little inhabited by the Hebrews as Tyre and Sidon, which are likewise assigned them in the book of Joshua. In like manner it may be explained why many cities (Num. xxxii. 34, sq.) were apportioned to the tribe of Reuben, which are afterwards ascribed (Josh. xiii.) to Gad, and *vice versâ* (Reland, *Palæstina*, pp. 582, 720, 735).

Still later, under Nebuchadnezzar, we see the Moabites acting as the auxiliaries of the Chaldæans (2 Kings xxiv. 2), and beholding with malicious satisfaction the destruction of a kindred people (Ezek. xxv. 8-11); yet, according to an account in Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 9. 7), Nebuchadnezzar, when on his way to Egypt, made war upon them, and subdued them, together with the Ammonites, five years after the destruction of Jerusalem. On the other hand, there is no authority in any one ancient account for that which modern historians have repeatedly copied from one another, *viz.* that Moab was carried into exile by Nebuchadnezzar, and restored with the Hebrews under Cyrus.

That continual wars and contentions must have created a feeling of national hostility between the Hebrews and the Moabites, may be readily conceived. This feeling manifested itself on the part of the Hebrews, sometimes in bitter proverbs sometimes in the denunciations of the prophets ; on the part of the Moabites in proud boastings and expressions of contempt (Isa. xvi. 6).

Among the prophecies, however, that of Balaam (Num. xxii.-xxiv.) is above all remarkable, in which this ancient prophet (who withal was not an Israelite), hired by Moab to curse, is impelled by the Divine Spirit to *bless* Israel, and to announce the future destruction of Moab by a mighty hero in Israel (Num. xxiv. 17). It is a genuine epic representation worthy of the greatest poet of any age. Nor should we overlook the song of triumph and scorn respecting Moab, suggested by Heshbon, and obscure only as to its origin (Num. xxi. 17-30). Among the later prophets, Amos (ii. 1-3) predicts their destruction in consequence of their

cruelty to the king of Edom; probably with reference to the war recorded in 2 Kings iii., when the Edomites were confederate with the Hebrews; although the particular instance of cruelty is not there specified. Zephaniah (ii. 8-10) condemns them to punishment for their scorn and contempt of Israel. Jeremiah repeats the denunciation of evil, for the most part in the words of Numbers and Isaiah (Jer. xlviii.; comp. also ix. 26; xxv. 21); and Ezekiel threatens them with punishment for their malicious joy at the overthrow of Judæa (xxv. 6-11). Moreover, the subjection of Moab finds a place in every ideal description of splendid wars and golden ages predicted for Israel (Isa. xi. 14; xxv. 10; Ps. lx 8), 'Moab is my wash-pot' (Ps. lxxxiii. 6).

After the exile, an intimate connection between the two nations had found place by means of intermarriages (Ezra ix. 1, sq.; Neh. xiii. 1), which, however, were dissolved by the theocratic zeal of Ezra. The last (chronologically) notice of the Moabites which occurs in Scripture is in Dan. xi. 41, which contains an obscure intimation of the escape of the Moabites from the overthrow with which neighbouring countries would be visited: but Josephus, in the history of Alexander Jannæus, mentions the cities between Arnon and Jabbok under the title of cities of Moab (*Antiq.* xiii. 15). Thenceforth their name is lost under that of the Arabians, as was also the case with Ammon and Edom. At the time of Abulfeda, Moab Proper, south of the Arnon, bore the name of Karak, from the city so called; and the territory north of the Arnon, that of Belka, which includes also the Ammonites. Since that time, the accounts of that region are uncommonly meagre; for through fear of the predatory and mischievous Arabs that people it, few of the numerous travellers in Palestine have ventured to explore it. For scanty accounts, see Büsching's *Asia*, pp. 507, 508. Seetzen, who in February and March, 1806, not without danger of losing his life, undertook a tour from Damascus down to the south of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and thence to Jerusalem, was the first to shed a new, and altogether unexpected light upon the topography of this region. He found a multitude of places, or at least of ruins of places, still bearing the old names; and thus has set bounds to the perfectly arbitrary designations of them on the old charts. Seetzen's wish, that some other traveller might acquaint the public with the remarkable ruins of this region, especially those of Gerasa and Ammân, and then advance to the splendid ruins of Petra at Wady Mousa, is already partly accomplished, and will soon be completely so. From June to September, 1812, Burckhardt made the same tour from Damascus beyond the Jordan down to Karak; whence he advanced over Wady Mousa, or the ancient Petra (which he was the first European traveller to visit), to the bay of Aila, and thence went to Cairo. The accurate details of this tour, which are contained in his *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822, threw much light upon the ancient topography and present condition of the lands of Moab and Edom. The accounts of Seetzen and Burckhardt give the substance of all the information which we even yet possess concerning the land of Moab in particular, although of Edom, or rather of Petra, fuller, if not more exact accounts, have been since obtained. Most of the travellers who visited Petra after Burckhardt, passed also through the land of Moab; but it afterwards became usual to pass from Petra direct to Hebron; whence this country has escaped the researches of many travellers whose observations have of late years enriched the topography of this region. A party of English gentlemen, Captains Irby and Mangles, Mr. Bankes and Mr. Legh, passed through the land of Moab in returning from Petra in 1818; and their observations published in their *Travels* by Irby and Mangles, and by Legh in a Supplement to Dr. Macmichael's *Journey from Moscow to Constantinople*, 1819, furnish the most valuable additions which have as yet been obtained to the information of Seetzen and Burckhardt. The northern parts of the country were visited by Mr. Buckingham, and more lately by Mr. George Robinson and by Lord Lindsay, but very little additions have been made by these travellers to our previous knowledge. The plates to Laborde's new work, *Voyage en Orient*, show that he also visited the land of Moab; but the particulars of his journey have not yet been published.

From these sources we learn that in the land of Moab, which lay to the east and south-east of Judæa, and which bordered on the east, north-east, and partly on the south of the Dead Sea, the soil is rather more diversified than that of Ammon; and, where the desert and plains of salt have not encroached upon its borders, of equal fertility. There are manifest and abundant signs of its ancient importance. 'The whole of the plains are covered with the sites of towns on every eminence or spot convenient for the construction of one; and as the land is capable of rich cultivation, there can be no doubt that the country, now so deserted, once presented a continued picture of plenty and fertility' (Irby and Mangles, p. 378). The form of fields is still visible, and there are remains of Roman highways which are in some places completely paved, 'and on which there are milestones of the times of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Severus, with the numbers of the miles legible upon them. Wherever any spot is cultivated the corn is luxuriant; and the frequency and almost, in many instances, the close vicinity of the sites of ancient towns, prove that the population of the country was formerly proportioned to its fertility' (Irby and Mangles, pp. 377, 378, 456, 460). It was in its state of highest prosperity that the prophets foretold that the cities of Moab should become desolate, without any to dwell in them; and accordingly we find, that although the sites, ruins, and names of many ancient cities of Moab can be traced, not one of them exists at the present day as tenanted by man. The argument for the inspiration of the sacred records deducible from this, among other facts of the same kind, is produced with considerable force by Dr. Keith in his work on Prophecy. Gesenius, *Comment. on Isa.* xv. xvi. *Introduct.* translated by W. S. Tyler, with *Notes* by Moses Stuart, in *Biblical Repos.* for 1836, vol. vii. pp. 107-124; Keith's *Evidence from Prophecy*, pp. 153-165; and *Land of Israel*, 279-295; *Pictorial Bible*, Notes to Deut. ii. 2; Isa. xvi. xvii.; Jer. xliii. See also the travels and other works cited in this article.

MOLE, חלד *chaled;* Arabic, *khuld* (Lev. xi. 29, in our version 'weasel'). Although the similarity of sound in names is an unsafe ground to depend upon when it is applied to specific animals, still, the Hebrew and Syriac appearing likewise to imply creeping into, creeping underneath by burrowing—characteristics most obvious in moles—and the Arabic denomination being undoubted, *chaled* may be assumed to indicate the above animal, in preference to *chinsemeth*, which, in conformity with the opinion of Bochart, is referred to the *chamælcon.* This conclusion is the more to be relied on as the animal is rather common in Syria, and in some places abundant. Zoologists have considered the particular species to be the *Talpa Europæa*, which, under the name of the common mole, is so well known as not to require a more particular description. The ancients represented the mole to have no eyes: which assertion later scientific writers believed they had disproved by showing our species to be possessed of these organs, though exceedingly small. Nevertheless, recent observations have proved that a species, in other respects scarcely, if at all, to be distinguished from the common, is totally destitute of eyes, and consequently has received the name of *Talpa cæca.* It is to be found in Italy, and probably extends to the East, instead of the *Europæa.* Moles must not, however, be considered as forming a part of the Rodent order, whereof all the families and genera are provided with strong incisor teeth, like rats and squirrels, and therefore intended for subsisting chiefly on grain and nuts: they are on the contrary supplied with a great number of small teeth, to the extent of twenty-two in each jaw—indicating a partial regimen; for they feed on worms, larvæ, and under-ground insects, as well as on roots, and thus belong to the insectivorous order: which brings the application of the name somewhat nearer to carnivora and its received interpretation 'weasel.'

With regard to the words חפר פרות *khaphar phiroth*, which have exercised the ingenuity of Gesenius and others, there does not appear sufficient evidence to prove that any, or a particular, animal is meant; and consequently, that the *Spalax microsthalmus*, or blind rat, may be intended, is very doubtful; nor is אשת *eseth*, 'an embryo,' 'an abortion,' more applicable to this *spalax*, which makes galleries and hills like the common mole, and, most likely, was confounded with it by the ancient Hebrews: unless it was designated by כרפדית, which should, perhaps, be read as one word, and gives great force to Isa. ii. 20.—C. H. S.

MOLOCH, or rather Molech (הַמֹּלֶךְ, always with the article, except in 1 Kings xi. 7). The Septuagint most frequently render it as an appellative, by ὁ ἄρχων, or βασιλέυς; but they also write Μολόχ, as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, appear to have generally done. Whatever reasons there may be for doubting whether *Malchâm* is a name of this god, or is merely 'their king,' in a civil sense, in Am. i. 15; Zeph. i. 5 (on which see the notes of Hitzig, *Die xii. Kleinen Propheten*), yet the context, in Jer. xlix. 1, seems to require that it should there denote this god, as indeed the Septuagint and Syriac versions have expressed it. But *Milchôm*—which Movers considers to be an Aramaic pronunciation of *Malcham, i. c.* to be an appellative, 'their king,' in a theocratical sense (*Die Phönizier*, i. 358)—is evidently a name of this god (comp. 1 Kings xi. 5 and 7).

Molech is chiefly found in the Old Testament as the national god of the Ammonites, to whom children were sacrificed by fire. There is some difficulty in ascertaining at what period the Israelites became acquainted with this idolatry; yet three reasons render it probable that it was before the time of Solomon, the date usually assigned for its introduction. First, Molech appears—if not under that name, yet under the notion that we attach to it—to have been a principal god of the Phœnicians and Canaanites, whose other idolatries the Israelites confessedly adopted very early. Secondly, there are some arguments which tend to connect Molech with Baal, and, if they be tenable, the worship of Molech might be essentially as old as that of the latter. Thirdly; if we assume, as there is much apparent ground for doing, that, wherever human sacrifices are mentioned in the Old Testament, we are to understand them to be offered to Molech—the apparent exception of the gods of Sepharvaim being only a strong evidence of their identity with him—then the remarkable passage in Ezek. xx. 26 (cf. v. 31) clearly shows that the Israelites sacrificed their first-born by fire, when they were *in the wilderness.** Moreover, those who ascribe the Pentateuch to Moses will recognise both the early existence of the worship of this god, and the apprehension of its contagion, in that express prohibition of his bloody rites which is found in Lev. xx. 1-5. Nevertheless, it is for the first time directly stated that Solomon erected a high-place for Molech on the Mount of Olives (1 Kings xi. 7); and from that period his worship continued uninterruptedly there, or in Tophet, in the valley of Hinnom, until Josiah defiled both places (2 Kings xxiii. 10, 13). Jehoahaz, however, the son and successor of Josiah, again 'did what was evil in the sight of Jehovah, according to all that his fathers had done' (2 Kings xxiii. 32). The same broad condemnation is made against the succeeding kings, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah; and Ezekiel, writing during the captivity, says, 'Do you, by offering your gifts, and by making your sons pass through the fire, pollute yourselves with all your idols *until this day*, and shall I be enquired of by you?' (xx. 31). After the restoration, all traces of this idolatry disappear.

It has been attempted to explain the terms in which the act of sacrificing children is described in the Old Testament so as to make them mean a mere passing between two fires, without any risk of life, for the purpose of purification. This theory—which owes its origin to a desire in some Rabbins to lessen the mass of evidence which their own history offers of the perverse idolatries of the Jews—is effectually declared untenable by such passages as Ps. cvi. 38; Jer. vii. 31; Ezek. xvi. 20; xxiii. 37; the last two of which may

* The words in Amos v. 26, as rendered by the Septuagint, and as cited from that version in Acts vii. 43, might also be adduced here. But it is not clear that Molech is intended by the 'your king' of the original text; and Jarchi refers the whole verse to the *future*, instead of the past, in which he is followed by Ewald.

also be adduced to show that the victims were slaughtered before they were burnt.

As the accounts of this idol and his worship found in the Old Testament are very scanty, the more detailed notices which Greek and Latin writers give of the bloody rites of the Phœnician colonies acquire peculiar value. Münter has collected these testimonies with great completeness, in his *Religion der Karthager*. Many of these notices, however, only describe late developments of the primitive rites. Thus the description of the image of Molech as a brazen statue, which was heated red hot, and in the outstretched arms of which the child was laid, so that it fell down into the flaming furnace beneath—an account which is first found in Diodorus Siculus, as referring to the Carthaginian Κρόνος, but which was subsequently adopted by Jarchi and others—is not admitted by Movers to apply to the Molech of the Old Testament.

The connection between Molech and Baal—the very names, as meaning 'king' and 'lord,' being almost synonymous—is seen in comparing Jer. xxxii. 35 with xix. 5, in which both names are used as if they were interchangeable, and in which human sacrifices are ascribed to both. Another argument might be drawn from Jer. iii. 24, in which *Habbosheth*, 'shame,' is said to have devoured their flocks and herds, their sons and daughters. Now, as Bosheth is found, in the names Ish-bosheth and Jerubbesheth, to alternate with Baal, as if it was only a contemptuous perversion of it, it would appear that human sacrifices are here again ascribed to Baal. Further, whereas Baal is the chief name under which we find the principal god of the Phœnicians in the Old Testament, and whereas only the two above cited passages mention the human victims of Baal, it is remarkable that the Greek and Latin authors give abundant testimony to the human sacrifices which the Phœnicians and their colonies offered to their principal god, in whom the classical writers have almost always recognised their own Κρόνος and Saturn. Thus we are again brought to the difficulty, alluded to above [Baal], of reconciling Molech as Saturn with Baal as the sun and Jupiter. In reality, however, this difficulty is in part created by our association of classical with Semitic mythology. When regarded apart from such foreign affinities, Molech and Baal may appear as the personifications of the two powers which give and destroy life, which early religions regarded as not incompatible phases of the same one God of nature.—J. N.

MONEY. This term is used to denote whatever commodity the inhabitants of any country may have agreed or are compelled to receive as an equivalent for their labour, and in exchange for other commodities. Etymologists differ respecting its derivation. Bouteroue contends that it is derived from *monere*, because the stamp impressed on the coin indicates its weight and fineness (*Recherches sur les Monnoyes de France*); and Suidas (*s. v.* Μονῆτα), that it originated in the circumstance of silver having been first coined at Rome in the temple of *Juno Moneta*.

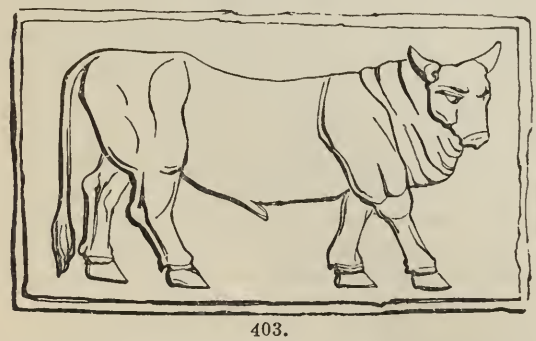
Different commodities have been used as money in the primitive state of society in all countries. Those nations which subsist by the chase, such as the ancient Russians and the greater part of the North American Indians, use the skins of the animals killed in hunting as money (Storch, *Traité d'Economie Politique*, tome i.). In a pastoral state of society cattle are chiefly used as money. Thus, according to Homer, the armour of Diomede cost nine oxen, and that of Glaucus one hundred (*Iliad*, vi. 235). The etymology of the Latin word *pecunia*, signifying money, and of all its derivatives, affords sufficient evidence that cattle (*pecus*) were the first money of the Romans. They were also used as money by the Germans, whose laws fix the amount of penalties for particular offences to be paid in cattle (Storch, *l. c.*). In agricultural countries corn would be used in remote ages as money, and even at the present day it is not unusual to stipulate for corn rents and wages. Various commodities have been and are still used in different countries. Smith mentions salt as the common money of Abyssinia (*Wealth of Nations*, i. 4). A species of *cypræa* called the *cowree*, gathered on the shores of the Maldive Islands, and of which 6400 constitute a rupee, is used in making small payments throughout India, and is the only money of certain districts in Africa. Dried fish forms the money of Iceland and Newfoundland; sugar of some of the West India Islands; and among the first settlers in America corn and tobacco were used as money (Holmes's *American Annals*). Smith mentions that, at the time of the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, there was a village in Scotland where it was customary for a workman to carry nails as money to the baker's shop or the alehouse (i. 4).

A long period of time must have intervened between the first introduction of the precious metals into commerce, and their becoming generally used as money. The peculiar qualities which so eminently fit them for this purpose would only be gradually discovered. They would probably be first introduced in their gross and unpurified state. A sheep, an ox, a certain quantity of corn, or any other article, would afterwards be bartered or exchanged for pieces of gold or silver in bars or ingots, in the same way as they would formerly have been exchanged for iron, copper, cloth, or anything else. The merchants would soon begin to estimate their proper value, and, in effecting exchanges, would first agree upon the quality of the metal to be given, and then the quantity which its possessor had become bound to pay would be ascertained by weight. This, according to Aristotle and Pliny, was the manner in which the precious metals were originally exchanged in Greece and Italy. The same practice is still observed in different countries. In many parts of China and Abyssinia the value of gold and silver is always ascertained by weight (Goguet, *De l'Origine des Loix*, &c.). Iron was the first money of the Lacedæmonians, and copper of the Romans.

In the sacred writings there is frequent mention of gold, silver, and brass, sums of money, purchases made with money, current money, and money of a certain weight. Indeed, the money of Scripture is all estimated by weight. 'Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant' (Gen. xxiii. 19). The brethren of Joseph carried back into Egypt the money 'in

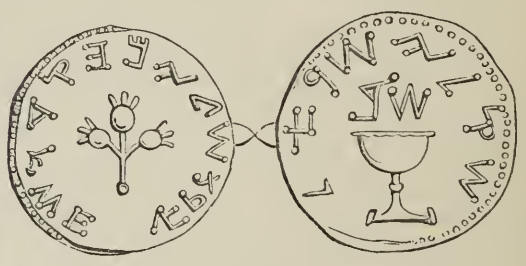
full weight' which they had found in their sacks (Gen. xliii. 21). The golden earring presented by Abraham's steward to Rebekah weighed half a shekel, and the two bracelets for her hands were 'ten shekels weight of gold' (Gen. xxiv. 22). In paying for the field of Hanameel, Jeremiah 'weighed him the money, even seventeen shekels of silver' (Jer. xxxii. 9). Amos represents the merchants of Israel as 'falsifying the balances by deceit' (viii. 5). The shekel and the talent do not appear to have been originally fixed and stamped pieces of money, but simply weights used in traffic. Hence, 'thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small' (Deut. xxv. 13). It was customary for the Jews to have scales attached to their girdles for weighing the gold and silver they received; but the Canaanites carried them in their hands.

There is no direct allusion in the sacred writings to coined money as belonging to the Jewish nation. In Gen. xxxiii. 19, Jacob is said to have bought a part of a field 'for an hundred pieces of money;' and the friends of Job are said to have given him each 'a piece of money' (Job xlii. 11). The term in the original is *kesitoth*, and is by some thought to denote 'sheep' or 'lamb;' by others a kind of money having the impression of a sheep or lamb; and by others again a purse of money. The most correct translation may be presumed to be that which favours the idea of a piece of money bearing some stamp or mark indicating that it was of the value of a sheep or lamb. The name shekel, first used to indicate a weight, might afterwards be applied to a piece of money. According to Arbuthnot, 3000 of these shekels were equal to a talent. Some allegorical device would naturally suggest itself as the most appropriate for being impressed upon pieces of gold or silver of a given weight and fineness; and as in the patriarchal ages property consisted chiefly of flocks and herds, no better emblem could be used than that of a lamb, with which it is imagined the pieces of money alluded to may have been impressed. Maurice, in his *Antiquities of India* (vol. vii.), bears testimony to the fact that the earliest coins were stamped with the figure of an ox or sheep. In the British Museum there is a specimen of the original Roman As, the surface of which is nearly the size of a brick, with the figure of a bull impressed upon it. Other devices



403.

would suggest themselves to different nations as arising out of, or connected with, particular places or circumstances, as the Babylonish lion, Ægina's tortoise, Bœotia's shield, the lyre of Mytilene, the wheat of Metapontum. On some of the reverses of the Roman large brass may be deciphered, 'Valour standing full armed: Honour robed and chapleted: Happiness crowned with obliviscent poppies: Concord with extended hand, and the horn of plenty in her bosom: Hope tripping lightly, and smiling on a flower-bud: Peace offering the olive-branch: Fortune resting on a rudder: Military Faith stretching forth his consecrated standard: Abundance emptying her cornucopia: Security leaning on a column: Modesty veiled and sitting: Piety taking her gift to the altar: Fruitfulness in the midst of her nurselings: Equity adjusting her scales: Victory with wings and coronal and trumpet: Eternity holding the globe and risen phœnix; or better, seated on a starry sphere: Liberty with cap and staff: National Prosperity sailing as a good ship before the favouring gale: and Public Faith with joined hands clasping between them the palms of success, and the caduceus of health' (*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxii. p. 358). Religion would also at an early period claim to be distinguished, and accordingly the effigies of Juno, Diana, Ceres, Jove, Hercules, Apollo, Bacchus, Pluto, Neptune, and many other of the heathen deities are found impressed upon the early coins. The Jews, however, were the worshippers of the one only true God; idolatry was strictly forbidden in their law; and therefore their shekel never bore a head, but was impressed simply with the almond rod and the pot of manna.



404.

The first Roman coinage took place, according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 3), in the reign of Servius Tullius, about 550 years before Christ; but it was not until Alexander of Macedon had subdued the Persian monarchy, and Julius Cæsar had consolidated the Roman empire, that the image of a living ruler was permitted to be stamped upon the coins. Previous to that period heroes and deities alone gave currency to the money of imperial Rome.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, is represented to have granted to Simon Maccabæus the privilege of coining money in Judæa (1 Macc. xv. 6). This is considered to be the first mention of Hebrew money, properly so called. It consisted of shekels and demi-shekels, the third part of a shekel, and the quarter of a shekel, of silver.

From the time of Julius Cæsar, who first struck a living portrait on his coins, the Roman coins run in a continued succession of so-called Cæsars, their queens and crown-princes, from about B.C. 48 down to Romulus Augustulus, emperor of the West, who was dethroned by Odoacer about A.D. 475 (*Quarterly Review*, ut supra).

After its subjugation by Rome much foreign money found its way into the land of Judæa. The piece of tribute money, or coin mentioned in Luke xx. 24, as presented to our Saviour, bore the image and superscription of the Roman emperor, and it is reasonable to suppose that a

large quantity of Roman coins was at that time in circulation throughout Judæa.—G. M. B.

MONEY CHANGERS. It is mentioned by Volney that in Syria, Egypt, and Turkey, when any considerable payments are to be made, an agent of exchange is sent for, who counts paras by thousands, rejects pieces of false money, and weighs all the sequins either separately or together. It has hence been suggested that the 'current money with the merchant,' mentioned in Scripture (Gen. xxiii. 16), might have been such as was approved of by competent judges whose business it was to detect fraudulent money if offered in payment. The Hebrew word סוחר *socher*, signifies one who goes about from place to place, and is supposed to answer to the native exchange-agent or money-broker of the East, now called *shroff*. It appears that there were bankers or money-changers in Judæa, who made a trade of receiving money in deposit and paying interest for it (Matt. xxv. 27). Some of them had even established themselves within the precincts of the temple at Jerusalem (xxi. 12), where they were in the practice of exchanging one species of money for another. Persons who came from a distance to worship at Jerusalem would naturally bring with them the money current in their respective districts, and it might therefore be a matter of convenience for them to get this money exchanged at the door of the temple for that which was current in Jerusalem, and upon their departure to receive again that species of money which circulated in the districts to which they were journeying. These money-changers would, of course, charge a commission upon all their transactions, but from the observation of our Saviour, when he overthrew the tables of those in the temple, it may be inferred that they were not distinguished for honesty and fair dealing: 'It is written, my house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves' (ver. 13).

In the *Life of Aratus*, by Plutarch, there is mention of a banker of Sicyon, a city of Peloponnesus, who lived 240 years before Christ, and whose whole business consisted in exchanging one species of money for another.—G. M. B.

MONTHS. It is proposed to comprise, under this head, some observations which may be considered supplementary to the articles on the separate months, and subordinate to that on the year. For this end it is expedient to distinguish three periods in the Jewish mode of denoting dates by months: the first extending until the Babylonian captivity; the second until one or two centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; and the third from the adoption of the calendar of Rabbi Hillel the younger (*i. e.* from about the middle of the fourth century of our era) until the present time.

In the first period the months are, as a rule, mentioned by their numerical designation only—as 'the first month,' 'the second,' &c.* We have no explicit indication of the number of days in a month, nor of the number of months in a year: the 27th day and the 11th month being respectively the highest mentioned (Gen. viii. 14; Deut. i. 3); unless 1 Kings iv. 7 be considered to prove that the year had 12 months.* Nevertheless, as the two Hebrew terms for month—חדשׁ, literally *new moon*, thence *month*, from a root signifying *to be new;* and ירח, *moon*, and thence *month*—afford some proof that the months were measured by the moon (comp. Ps. civ. 19); and, as the festivals of the Mosaic law bore a fixed relation to certain epochs of the agricultural year, which were fixed by nature, there is much reason to conclude that the year had twelve lunar months, and that it must have been kept parallel with the sun by some mode of intercalation adequate to, if not identical with, the one afterwards employed.

In the second period, we find, in part, a continuation of the previous method, with somewhat more definite statements (for instance, 1 Chron. xxvii. clearly proves that the year had twelve months), and, in part, the adoption of new names for the months: but the co-existence of both these systems is not easily explained. For, whereas Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, introduce the seven new names—Shebat, Chislev, Adar, Nisan, Elul, Tebeth, and Sivan—all th other canonical books written after the restoration do nothing more than enumerate the months, without any name, in the order of their succession. There is, moreover, another discrepancy in the usage of the writers of the former class, inasmuch as, while they all generally give the name of the month together with its ordinal adjective, Nehemiah gives the naked names alone. It is on these discrepancies that Benfey and Stern, who also give a minute statement of the particular deviations, rest one external support of their theory, that these names of the months are not Aramaic, as is commonly supposed, but Persian, and adopted during the Captivity—for which it may suffice to refer to their *Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, Berlin, 1836. Although only the above-mentioned seven names occur in the Old Testament, yet there is no manner of doubt that the Jews at the

* The only exception to this rule in the Pentateuch, occurs in the terms, 'in the month of Abib,' which are found in the Authorized Version. This is, however, only an apparent exception, since *Abib* is not the proper name of the month, but means *ears of corn*, and distinguishes that month, which is elsewhere called 'the first,' as the month of ears, in reference to the ripeness of the corn (Sept. μὴν τῶν νέων; Vulg. *mensis novarum frugum*). The only remaining exceptions in the other books of this period occur exclusively in 1 Kings vi. and viii., where we find the second, eighth, and seventh months called *Ziv*, *Bul*, and *Ethanim*. In this case, two circumstances militate against the hypothesis that these names were in the current use of the people: the one being, that this is the only instance of their use; the other, that the writer has, at the same time described the three by the order of their succession (as 'in the month Ziv, which is the second month,' &c.) just as the writers of the second period do with the confessedly foreign names, *Nisan*, &c.

* Some have attempted to show, from the sum of days assigned to the flood (Gen. vii. 11; viii. 4, 14), that the ancient Hebrew months had 30 days each, and that the antediluvian year was a solar year of 365 days, like that of the Egyptians. (See Von Bohlen, *Die Genesis*, p. 107).

same time adopted the entire twelve names, of which the following is a table:

Nisan,	Tishri,
Iyar,	Marcheshvan,
Sivan,	Chislev,
Tammuz,	Tebeth,
Ab,	Shebat,
Elul.	Adar.

In the same manner as the Old Testament contains no indication of the mode of intercalation, when yet it is certain that some mode must have been used, so also it does not mention by what method the commencement and conclusion of every month were ascertained in either of these periods. According to the Talmud, however, it is certain that, in the second period, the commencement of the month was dated from the time when the earliest visible appearance of the new moon was announced to the Sanhedrim; that, if this happened on the 30th day of the current month, that month was considered to have ended on the preceding 29th day, and was called *deficient* (חסר); but, if no announcement was made on the 30th day, that day was reckoned to the current month, which was in that case called *full* (מלא), and the ensuing day was at once considered to be the first of the next month. Further, as the cloudy state of the weather sometimes hindered the actual sight of the new moon, it was an established rule that no year should contain less than four, and more than eight, full months. It is generally assumed, although without express warrant, that the commencement of the month was determined in the same way in the first period: but it is very probable, and the Mosaic festivals of the new moon seem to be some evidence for it.

This is a fit occasion for discussing a question which equally concerns both periods:—with which of *our* months, namely, did the first month, 'the month of ears,' or Nisan, most nearly coincide? We are indebted to J. D. Michaelis for discovering the true state of this case, after the rabbinical writers had so universally established an erroneous opinion that it has not even yet disappeared from our popular books. His dissertation 'De Mensibus Hebræorum' (in his *Commentationes per annos* 1763-1768 *oblatæ*, Bremen, 1769, p. 16) proceeds on the following chief arguments:—That, if the first month began with the new moon of *March*, as was commonly asserted, the climate of Palestine would not in that month permit the oblation of the sheaf of barley, which is ordered on the second day of the Paschal Feast; nor could the harvest be finished before the Feast of Weeks, which would then fall in May; nor could the Feast of Tabernacles, which was after the gathering of all fruits, accord with the month of September, because all these feasts depend on certain stages in the agricultural year, which, as he shows from the observations of travellers, solely coincide with the states of vegetation which are found, in that climate, in the months of April, June, and October. Secondly, that the Syrian calendar, which has essentially the same names for the months, makes its Nisan absolutely parallel with our April. And, lastly, that Josephus, in one place, makes Nisan equivalent to the Macedonian month Xanthicus; and, in another, mentions that, on the 14th of Nisan, the sun was in the sign of the Ram—which could not be on that day, except in April (*Antiq.* ii. 14. 6; iii. 10. 5). Michaelis concludes that the later Jews fell into this departure from their ancient order, either through some mistake in the intercalation, or because they wished to imitate the Romans, whose year began in March. Ideler says, 'So much is certain, that, in the time of Moses, the month of ears cannot have commenced before the first days of our April, which was then the period of the vernal equinox (*Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 490). As Nisan then began with the new moon of April, we have a scale for fixing the commencement of all the other months with reference to our calendar; and we must accordingly date their commencement one whole month later than is commonly done: allowing, of course, for the circumstance that, as the new moon varies its place in our solar months, the Jewish months will almost invariably consist of portions of two of ours.

With regard to the third period, it is not necessary to say more here than that, as the dispersion of the Jews rendered it impossible to communicate the intelligence of the visible appearance of the new moon, they were obliged to devise a systematic calculation of the duration of their months; but that they retained the above-mentioned names for the months, which are still lunar months, of the mean duration of 29 days, 12 hours, 44 seconds; and that when they were no longer able to regulate the epochs of their festivals by the agricultural year of Palestine, they came, for some such reasons as those assigned by Michaelis, to place every month earlier by one lunation than it had been in the first two periods, so that their Nisan now most nearly coincided with March. The rabbinical writers, therefore, who maintained that the ancient Nisan likewise began with the new moon of March, were mainly led into that opinion by the practice existing in their own time.—J. N.

MOON. The worship of the heavenly bodies was among the earliest corruptions of religion, which would naturally take its rise in the eastern parts of the world, where the atmosphere is pure and transparent, and the heavens as bright as they are glowing. In these countries the moon is of exceeding beauty. If the sun 'rules the day,' the moon has the throne of night, which, if less gorgeous than that of the sun, is more attractive, because of a less oppressively brilliant light, while her retinue of surrounding stars seems to give a sort of truth to her regal state, and certainly adds not inconsiderably to her beauty. The moon was therefore worshipped as a goddess in the East at a very early period; in India under the name of Maja; among the Assyrians as Mylitta; with the Phœnicians she was termed Astarte or Ashteroth, who was also denominated the Syrian mother. The Greeks and Romans worshipped her as Artemis and Diana. Job (xxxi. 26) alludes to the power of the moon over the human soul: 'If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand: this also were an iniquity, for I should have denied the God that is above.' There is to the same effect a remarkable passage in Julian (*Orat. in Salem.* p. 90): 'From my childhood I was filled with a wonderful love for the rays of that goddess; and when, in my boyhood, I di-

rected my eyes to her ætherial light, I was quite beside myself. By night especially, when I found myself under a wide, pure, cloudless sky, I forgot everything else under her influence, and was absorbed in the beauties of heaven, so that I did not hear if addressed, nor was aware of what I did. I appeared solely to be engaged with this divinity, so that even when a beardless boy I might have been taken for a stargazer.'

The moon, as being mistress of the night, may well have been considered as the lesser of the two great lights of heaven (Gen. i. 16). It was accordingly regarded in the old Syrian superstition as subject to the sun's influence, which was worshipped as the active and generative power of nature, while the moon was reverenced as the passive and producing power. The moon, accordingly, was looked upon as feminine. Herein Oriental usage agrees with our own. But this usage was by no means universal. The gender of *mond* in German is an exception in modern days, which may justify the inference that even among the northern nations the moon had masculine qualities ascribed to it. The Egyptians represented their moon as a male deity, Ihoth; and Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* v. 5) remarks that 'the same custom of calling it male is retained in the East to the present day, while the sun is considered feminine, as in the language of the Germans. Ihoth, in the character of Lunus, the moon, has sometimes a man's face, with the crescent of the moon upon his head supporting a disk. Plutarch says the Egyptians 'call the moon the mother of the world, and hold it to be of both sexes: female, as it receives the influence of the sun; male, as it scatters and disperses through the air the principles of fecundity.' In other countries also the moon was held to be hermaphrodite. Another pair of dissimilar qualities was ascribed to the moon—the destructive and the generative faculty—whence it was worshipped as a bad as well as a good power.

The epithet 'queen of heaven' (Horace, siderum regina) appears to have been very common. Nor was it, any more than the worship of the moon, unknown to the Jews, as may be seen in a remarkable passage in Jeremiah (xliv. 17), where the Israelites (men and women, the latter exert most influence) appear given over to this species of idolatry: 'We will certainly burn incense to the *queen of heaven*, and pour out drink-offerings unto her, as we have done, we and our fathers; for then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and saw no evil. But since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven, we have wanted all things.' The last verse of the passage adds to the burnt-offerings and drink-offerings, 'cakes to worship her.' Vows were also made by the Jews to the moon, which superstition required to be fulfilled (ver. 25). The appeal made in this passage to the alleged authority of the ancient Israelites can have no other ground than such as these idolaters made or found by referring to the religious observances in the Jewish church connected with the full moon. In all probability, however, their consciences misgave them while they put forth this plea, though they may to some extent have confounded the new moon ceremonies with their loved idolatrous rites. Whence arises a justification of the conduct of Moses in separating, in the most sharp and rigid manner, the customs, usages and laws of his people from those of the idolaters by whom they were surrounded: had he not done so, the flesh-pots of Egypt would have had an irresistible attraction for the children of Israel, and a nation of monotheists would not have been produced, to become the great spiritual instructors of the world.

The baneful influence of the moon still finds credence in the East. Moonlight is held to be detrimental to the eyes. In Ps. cxxi. 6 we read, 'The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night;' so that the impression that the moon may do injury to man is neither partial nor vague. Rosenmüller (*Morgenland.* iv. 108) refers this to the cold of night, which, he says, is very great and sensible in the East, owing, partly, to the great heat of the day. If this extreme (comparative) cold is considered in connection with the Oriental custom of sleeping *sub divo*, out of doors, *à la belle étoile*, on the flat roofs of houses, or even on the ground, without in all cases sufficient precautionary measures for protecting the frame, we see no difficulty in understanding whence arose the evil influence ascribed to the moon. In the East Indies similar effects result from similar self-exposure. Shakspere, who knew everything that the eye and the heart could teach, makes reference in two passages to this evil influence:—

—— 'the moon, the governess of floods,
Pale in her anger, washes all the air,
That rheumatic diseases do abound.'
Mids. N. D. ii. 2.

'It is the very error of the moon;
She comes more nearer earth than she was wont,
And makes men mad.'—*Othello*, v. 2.

Unquestionably, great is the operation of the moon on all the higher animals, as well as man. The usages of language attest this, pointing also to her malign effects; thus 'moon-stricken,' 'lunatic.' Darkness seems essential to sound repose; accordingly men sleep uneasily under moonshine; sometimes they awake to a half or dreamy consciousness; or never sink into that entire self-oblivion which is necessary to sweet and refreshing slumber. By her very changes, too, the moon would rouse and stimulate the minds of men; the regularity of these changes would suggest and supply the earliest measure of time; the coincidence of certain events with certain states of the planet, would make the first be regarded as the consequence of the last; hence watchful observation, which would lead to honourable observance, and this feeling is worship begun. Even at the present hour, how much are the changes of the weather held by the vulgar weather-wise to depend on changes of the moon. The new moon is regarded as specially auspicious, not only to bring serene skies, but to give success. And, as of old the interlunar space was a time of terror (*iracunda Diana*, Horat. *Ars Poet.* v. 454), when the queen of heaven had sunk into Proserpine, 'mistress of hell,' so still the darkness which intervenes from the disappearance of the old to the return of the new moon, causes the latter to be hailed with pleasurable feelings, and to be regarded as the bright harbinger of various kinds of good (Hone, *Every-Day Book*, i. 1509). Birth and growth induce grateful and cheerful emotions; waning, vanishing, and darkness give sorrow and pain; no wonder, therefore, that the moon became an object

of intense interest to man. In some respects its claims were superior to those of the sun, since the moon, by its proximity, by its variations, by its soft light, and less oppressive beauty, seems to be more suited to the mind, the disposition, and the lot of mortal man, and may well have easily won its way to his heart as a friend taking part in the fluctuations and diversities of our human condition. Whence it came to pass that in days of ignorance and superstition the agency of the moon was sought in love potions and other remedies for human ills. Dido is represented by Virgil (*Æn.* iv. 512) to have chosen moonlight for getting the herbs requisite to recover for her the affection of Æneas:—

'ad lunam quæruntur
Pubentes herbæ.'

On the influence of the moon on man, see Hayn, *De Planetar. in Corp. hum. Influxu;* and Kretschmar, *De Astror. in Corp. hum. Imperio*, Jena, 1820; also Carne, *Leb. und Sitten im Morgenl.* i. 73.—J. R. B.

MOON, NEW. [Festivals.]

MOR (מוֹר), sometimes written Mur, is the well known substance *myrrh*, which the Æolians called *μύρρα*, and the other Greeks *σμύρνα*. The Greek *μύρρα* and the Latin *myrrha* are no doubt derived from the Hebrew *mor*, or Arabic مر *mur*, though some of the ancients traced them to the mythological Myrrha, daughter of Cinyras, king of Cyprus, who fled to Arabia, and was changed into this tree—'dominæ nomina gutta tenet' (Ov. *Art. Am.* i. 288). Myrrh is the exudation of a little known tree found in Arabia, but much more extensively in Abyssinia. It formed an article of the earliest commerce, was highly esteemed by the Egyptians and Jews, as well as by the Greeks and Romans, as it still is both in the East and in Europe. The earliest notice of it occurs in Exod. xxx. 23, 'Take thou also unto thee principal spices, of *pure myrrh (morderor)* 500 shekels.' It is afterwards mentioned in Esther ii. 12, as employed in the purification of women; in Ps. xlv. 8, as a perfume, 'All thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes, and cassia;' also in several passages of the Song of Solomon, 'I will get me to the mountain of myrrh, and to the hill of frankincense' (iv. 6); 'My hands dropped with myrrh, and my fingers with *sweet smelling* myrrh' (v. 5); so in ver. 13, in both which passages Rosenmüller states that in the original it is *stilicidious* or *profluent myrrh.* Under its Greek name, *σμύρνα*, we find it mentioned in Matt. ii. 11, among the gifts presented by the wise men of the East to the infant Jesus—'gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.' It may be remarked as worthy of notice, that myrrh and frankincense are frequently mentioned together. In Mark xv. 23, we learn that the Roman soldiers 'gave him (Jesus) to drink wine mingled with *myrrh;* but he received it not.' The Apostle John (xix. 39) says, 'Then came also Nicodemus, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes [Ahalim], about an hundred pound weight,' for the purpose of embalming the body of our Saviour.

Though myrrh seems to have been known from the earliest times, and must consequently have been one of the most ancient articles of commerce, the country producing it long remained unknown. Herodotus mentions Arabia as the last inhabited country towards the south which produced frankincense, myrrh, &c.; Hippocrates employed it as a medicine; Theophrastus describes it as being produced in Southern Arabia, about Saba and Adramytta; so Pliny, 'Myrrha thuris arboribus permixta in Sabæorum sylvis nascitur;' so also Dioscorides and several other Greek authors. But others have not so limited its production. Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. 523) says, 'Gigni perhibent in Syria, Gedrosia (Arrian, *Exped. Al.* vi. p. 421), India, Æthiopia, Troglodytica, et Ægypto; ubi *βάλ* dictam fuisse refert Plutarchus de Iside et Osiride, p. 383 (Kircher, *Prod. Copt.* p. 175).' The fact of myrrh being called *bal* among the Egyptians is extremely curious, for *bol* is the name by which it is universally known throughout India in the present day. The writer learns from Professor Wilson that the Sanscrit name is *bola*, which occurs in the Ameera Cosha, that is, at least before the Christian era, with several other names showing that it was well known. But from the time of the ancients until that of Belon we were without any positive information respecting the tree yielding myrrh: he supposed it to be produced in Syria, and says, that near Rama he met with a thorny shrub with leaves resembling acacia, which he believed to be that producing myrrh (*Mimosa agrestis*, Spr.). Similar to this is the information of the Arabian author Abu'l Fadli, quoted by Celsius, who says, that *mur* is the Arabic name of a thorny tree resembling the acacia, from which flows a white juice, which thickens and becomes a gum. The Persian authors referred to under Abattachim state that myrrh is the gum of a tree common in the Mughrub, that is, the West or Africa, in Room (a general name for the Turkish empire), and in Socotra. The Arabian and Persian authors probably only knew it as an article of commerce: it certainly is not produced in Socotra, but has undoubtedly long been exported from Africa into Arabia. We were informed by the captain of a vessel trading with the Red Sea, that myrrh is always to be obtained cheap and abundant on the Soumalee coast. Bruce had indeed long previously stated that myrrh is produced in the country behind Azab. Mr. Johnson, in his recently published *Travels in Abyssinia* (i. 249), mentions that 'Myrrh and mimosa trees abounded in this place' (Koranhedudah in Adal). The former he describes as being 'a low, thorny, ragged-looking tree, with bright-green trifoliolate leaves; the gum exudes from cracks in the bark of the trunk near the root, and flows freely upon the stones immediately underneath. Artificially it is obtained by bruises made with stones. The natives collect it principally in the hot months of July and August, but it is to be found, though in very small quantities, at other times of the year. It is collected in small kid-skins, and taken to Errur, whence the Hurrah merchants, on their way from Shoa, convey it to the great annual market at Berberah, from whence great quantities are shipped for India and Arabia.' When the Portuguese first entered these seas, gold dust, ivory, myrrh, and slaves formed the staple commerce of Adal. So early as the time of Arrian, in his Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, we find myrrh (*σμύρνα*)

one of the articles of export, with λίβανος, or frankincense, from the coast of Adal, styled Barbaria.

The Periplus mentions the myrrh of this coast as the finest of its kind, and specifies the means of conveying it to Yemen, or Sabea. There the first Greek navigators found it, and through their hands it was conveyed into Europe under the name of Sabean myrrh. Though there is no doubt that the largest quantity of myrrh has always been obtained from Africa—'omnium prima est quæ Troglodytica appellatur'—yet it is equally certain that some is also procured in Arabia. This seems to be proved by Ehrenberg and Hemprich, who found a small tree in Arabia near Gison, on the borders of Arabia Felix, off which they collected pieces of myrrh, which, when brought home and analysed, was acknowledged to be genuine. It is an interesting fact that the specimens of the myrrh-plant brought by Mr. Johnson from the confines of Abyssinia seem to be of the same species. This is the *Balsamodendron Myrrha* of botanists, and which we here figure



405. [Balsamodendron Myrrha.]

from Nees von Esenbeck's plate of Ehrenberg's plant. By some it is supposed to be produced by another species of *Balsamodendron*, the *Amyris kataf* of Forskal, which differs little from *A. kâfal.*

Several kinds of myrrh were known to the ancients, and are described by Dioscorides under the name of *Stacte*, *Gabirea*, *Troglodytica*, *Kaukalis*, *Aminasa*, *Ergasima*. So the Arab authors mention several varieties, as 1. *mur saf*, 2. *mur fortarukh*, 3. *mur jushee;* and in modern commerce we have Turkish and East Indian myrrh, and different names used to be, and are still applied to it, as red and fatty myrrh, myrrh in tears, in sorts, and myrrh in grains. In the Bible also several kinds of myrrh are enumerated, respecting which various opinions have been entertained. Thus, in Exod. xxx. 23, the words *mor-deror* have been variously translated *myrrha prima*, *electa*, *ingenua*, *excellens*, &c. ذرور *dheror*, in Arabic, according to Celsius, means an aromatic powder, and *mur dheroree*, in Arabic, like *mor deror* in Hebrew, signifies *myrrheus pulvis.* This may be the correct meaning, but it is curious that the Arabians should apply the term *Kusb-al-zurire* to another famed aromatic, the sweet cane of Scripture. Hence there may be a connection between these similarly sounding terms. Rosenmüller says, 'Luther correctly translates the Hebrew expression, which properly denotes *spontaneously profluent myrrh.*' The same kind of myrrh is in the Song of Solomon (ch. v. 13) called *stilicidious* or *profluent myrrh* (*mor obor*), usually translated *myrrham electam et præstantissimam*, *transeuntem*, &c. (Cels. *l. c.* p. 528). Another kind of myrrh is said to be indicated by the word *Nataf*, translated *stacte*, which occurs in Exod. xxx. 24; but on this opinions have differed [Natap].

Myrrh, it is well known, was celebrated in the most ancient times as a perfume, and a fumigator, as well as for its uses in medicine. As several kinds were included under the name of myrrh, it is probable that some may have possessed more aromatic properties than others: but the tastes and the customs of nations vary so much in different ages of the world, that it is impossible for us to estimate correctly what was most agreeable to the nations of antiquity. Myrrh was burned in their temples, and employed in embalming the bodies of the dead. Herodotus, speaking of the practice of embalming among the Egyptians, says, 'They then fill the body with powder of pure myrrh, cassia, and other perfumes, except frankincense' (ii. 86). It was offered in presents, as natural products commonly were in those days, because such as were procured from distant countries were very rare. In the same way we often hear of a rare animal or bird being presented to royalty even in the present day. The ancients prepared a *wine of myrrh*, and also an *oil of myrrh*, and it formed an ingredient in many of the most celebrated compound medicines, as the *Theriaca*, the *Mithridata*, *Manus Dei*, &c. Even in Europe it continued to recent times to enjoy the highest medicinal reputation, as it does in the East in the present day. It is no doubt useful as a moderately stimulant medicine; but Von Helmont was extravagant enough to state that it is calculated to render man immortal, if we had any means of perfectly dissolving it in the juices of the body. From the sensible properties of this drug, and from the virtues which were ascribed to it, we may satisfactorily account for the mention of it in the several passages of Scripture which have been quoted.—J. F. R.

MORDECAI (מָרְדֳּכַי, supposed to come from the Persian مردکی, *little man*, *mannikin;* or, according to others, from the idol מְרֹדַךְ *Merodach*, thus signifying *a votary of Merodach.* The last supposition is not unlikely, seeing that Daniel had the Chaldæan name of Belshazzar; Sept. Μαρδοχαῖος), son of Jair, of the tribe of Benjamin, descended from one of the captives transported to Babylon with Jehoiachin (Esth. ii. 5). He was resident at Susa, then the metropolis of the Persian empire, and had under his care his niece Hadessa, otherwise Esther, at the time

when the fairest damsels of the land were gathered together, that from among them a fitting successor to queen Vashti might be selected for king Ahasuerus. Among them was Esther, and on her the choice fell; while, by what management we know not, her relationship to Mordecai, and her Jewish descent, remained unknown at the palace. The uncle lost none of his influence over the niece by her elevation, although the seclusion of the royal harem excluded him from direct intercourse with her. He seems to have held some office about the court; for we find him in daily attendance there, and it appears to have been through this employment that he became privy to a plot of two of the chamberlains against the life of the king, which through Esther he made known to the monarch. This great service was however suffered to pass without reward at the time. On the rise of Haman to power at court, Mordecai alone, of all the nobles and officers who crowded the royal gates, refused to manifest the customary signs of homage to the royal favourite. It would be too much to attribute this to an independence of spirit, which, however usual in Europe, is unknown in Eastern courts. Haman was an Amalekite; and Mordecai brooked not to bow himself down before one of a nation which from the earliest times had been the most devoted enemies of the Jewish people. The Orientals are tenacious of the outward marks of respect, which they hold to be due to the position they occupy; and the erect mien of Mordecai among the bending courtiers escaped not the keen eye of Haman. He noticed it, and brooded over it from day to day: he knew well the class of feelings in which it originated, and—remembering the eternal enmity vowed by the Israelites against his people, and how often their conquering sword had all but swept his nation from the face of the earth—he vowed by one great stroke to exterminate the Hebrew nation, the fate of which he believed to be in his hands. The temptation was great, and to his ill-regulated mind irresistible. He therefore procured the well-known and bloody decree from the king for the massacre of all the Israelites in the empire in one day. When this decree became known to Mordecai, he covered himself with sackcloth and ashes, and rent the air with his cries. This being made known to Esther through the servants of the harem, who now knew of their relationship, she sent Hatach, one of the royal eunuchs, to demand the cause of his grief: through that faithful servant he made the facts known to her, urged upon her the duty of delivering her people, and encouraged her to risk the consequences of the attempt. She was found equal to the occasion. She risked her life by entering the royal presence uncalled, and having by discreet management procured a favourable opportunity, accused Haman to the king of plotting to destroy *her* and her people. His doom was sealed on this occasion by the means which in his agitation he took to avert it; and when one of the eunuchs present intimated that this man had prepared a gallows fifty cubits high on which to hang Mordecai, the king at once said, 'Hang him thereon.' This was, in fact, a great aggravation of his offence, for the previous night, the king, being unable to sleep, had commanded the records of his reign to be read to him; and the reader had providentially turned to the part recording the conspiracy which had been frustrated through Mordecai. The king asked what had been the reward of this mighty service, and being answered 'nothing,' he commanded that any one who happened to be in attendance without, should be called. Haman was there, having come for the very purpose of asking the king's leave to hang Mordecai upon the gallows he had prepared, and was asked what should be done to the man whom the king delighted to honour? Thinking that the king could delight to honour no one but himself, he named the highest and most public honours he could conceive, and received from the monarch the astounding answer, 'Make haste, and do even so to Mordecai that sitteth in the king's gate!' Then was Haman constrained, without a word, and with seeming cheerfulness, to repair to the man whom he hated beyond all the world, to invest him with the royal robes, and to conduct him in magnificent cavalcade through the city, proclaiming, 'Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour.' After this we may well believe that the sense of poetical justice decided the perhaps till then doubtful course of the king, when he heard of the gallows which Haman had prepared for the man by whom his own life had been preserved.

Mordecai was invested with power greater than that which Haman had lost, and the first use he made of it was, as far as possible, to neutralize or counteract the decree obtained by Haman. It could not be recalled, as the kings of Persia had no power to rescind a decree once issued; but as the altered wish of the court was known, and as the Jews were permitted to stand on their defence, they were preserved from the intended destruction, although much blood was, on the appointed day, shed even in the royal city. The Feast of Purim was instituted in memory of this deliverance, and is celebrated to this day (Esth. ii. 5; x.) [Purim].

A Mordecai, who returned from the exile with Zerubbabel, is mentioned in Ezra ii. 2 and Neh. vii. 7; but this cannot well have been the Mordecai of Esther, as some have supposed.

MORIAH (מֹרִיָּה; Sept. Ἀμωρία), one of the hills of Jerusalem, on which the temple was built by Solomon (2 Chron. iii. 1). The name seldom occurs, being usually included in that of Zion, to the north-east of which it lay, and from which it was separated by the valley of Tyropœon (Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 3-9) [Jerusalem]. The Land of Moriah, whither Abraham went to offer up Isaac (Gen. xxii. 2), is generally supposed to denote the same place, and may at least be conceived to describe the surrounding district. The Jews themselves believe that the altar of burnt-offerings in the temple stood upon the very site of the altar on which the patriarch purposed to sacrifice his son.

MOSERAH, MOSEROTH, a station of the Israelites near Mount Hor (Num. xxxiii. 30) [Wandering].

MOSES (מֹשֶׁה; Μωϋσῆς; Μωσῆς), the lawgiver of Israel, belonged to the tribe of Levi, and was a son of Amram and Jochebed (Exod. vi. 20). According to Exod. ii. 10, the name מֹשֶׁה means *drawn out of water*. Even ancient writers knew that the correctness of this interpretation

could be proved by a reference to the Egyptian language (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 9. 6; *contra Apionem*, i. 31; Philo, ii. 83, &c. ed. Mang.). The name contains also an allusion to the verb מָשָׁה, *extraxit, he extracted, pulled out.* Hence it appears that מֹשֶׁה is a significant memorial of the marvellous preservation of Moses when an infant, in spite of those Pharaonic edicts which were promulgated in order to lessen the number of the Israelites. It was the intention of divine providence that the great and wonderful destiny of the child should be from the first apparent: and what the Lord had done for Moses he intended also to accomplish for the whole nation of Israel.

It was an important event that the infant Moses, having been exposed near the banks of the Nile, was found there by an Egyptian princess; and that, having been adopted by her, he thus obtained an education at the royal court (Exod. ii. 1-10). Having been taught all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts vii. 22; comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 9. 7), the natural gifts of Moses were fully developed, and he thus became in many respects better prepared for his future vocation.

After Moses had grown up, he returned to his brethren, and, in spite of the degraded state of his people, manifested a sincere attachment to them. He felt deep compassion for their sufferings, and showed his indignation against their oppressors by slaying an Egyptian whom he saw ill treating an Israelite. This doubtful act became by Divine Providence a means of advancing him further in his preparation for his future vocation, by inducing him to escape into the Arabian desert, where he abode for a considerable period with the Midianitish prince, Jethro, whose daughter Zipporah he married (Exod. ii. 11, sq.). Here, in the solitude of pastoral life, he was appointed to ripen gradually for his high calling, before he was unexpectedly and suddenly sent back among his people, in order to achieve their deliverance from Egyptian bondage.

His entry upon this vocation was not in consequence of a mere natural resolution of Moses, whose constitutional timidity and want of courage rendered him disinclined for such an undertaking. An extraordinary divine operation was required to overcome his disinclination. On Mount Horeb he saw a burning thorn-bush, in the flame of which he recognised a sign of the immediate presence of Deity, and a divine admonition induced him to resolve upon the deliverance of his people. He returned into Egypt, where neither the dispirited state of the Israelites, nor the obstinate opposition and threatenings of Pharaoh, were now able to shake the man of God.

Supported by his brother Aaron, and commissioned by God as his chosen instrument, proving, by a series of marvellous deeds, in the midst of heathenism, the God of Israel to be the only true God, Moses at last overcame the opposition of the Egyptians. According to a divine decree, the people of the Lord were to quit Egypt, under the command of Moses, in a triumphant manner. The punishments of God were poured down upon the hostile people in an increasing ratio, terminating in the death of the firstborn, as a sign that all had deserved death. The formidable power of paganism, in its conflict with the theocracy, was obliged to bow before the apparently weak people of the Lord. The Egyptians paid tribute to the emigrating Israelites (Exod. xii. 35), who set out laden with the spoils of victory.

The enraged king vainly endeavoured to destroy the emigrants. Moses, firmly relying upon miraculous help from the Lord, led his people through the Red Sea into Arabia, while the host of Pharaoh perished in its waves (Exod. xii.-xv.).

After this began the most important functions of Moses as the lawgiver of the Israelites, who were destined to enter into Canaan as the people of promise, upon whom rested the ancient blessings of the patriarchs. By the instrumentality of Moses they were appointed to enter into intimate communion with God through a sacred covenant, and to be firmly bound to him by a new legislation. Moses, having victoriously repulsed the attack of the Amalekites, marched to Mount Sinai, where he signally punished the defection of his people, and gave them the law as a testimony of divine justice and mercy. From Mount Sinai they proceeded northward to the desert of Paran, and sent spies to explore the Land of Canaan (Num. x.-xiii.). On this occasion broke out a violent rebellion against the lawgiver, which he, however, by divine assistance, energetically repressed (Num. xiv.-xvi.).

The Israelites frequently murmured, and were disobedient during about forty years. In a part of the desert of Kadesh, which was called Zin, near the boundaries of the Edomites, after the sister of Moses had died, and after even the new generation had, like their fathers, proved to be obstinate and desponding, Moses fell into sin, and was on that account deprived of the privilege of introducing the people into Canaan. He was appointed to lead them only to the boundary of their country, to prepare all that was requisite for their entry into the land of promise, to admonish them impressively, and to bless them.

It was according to God's appointment that the new generation also, to whom the occupation of the country had been promised, should arrive at their goal only after having vanquished many obstacles. Even before they had reached the real boundaries of Canaan they were to be subjected to a heavy and purifying trial. It was important that a man like Moses was at the head of Israel during all these providential dispensations. His authority was a powerful preservative against despondency under heavy trials.

Having in vain attempted to pass through the territory of the Edomites, the people marched round its boundaries by a circuitous and tedious route. Two powerful kings of the Amorites, Sihon and Og, were vanquished. Moses led the people into the fields of Moab over against Jericho, to the very threshold of Canaan (Num. xx., xxi.). The oracles of Balaam became, by the instrumentality of Moses, blessings to his people, because by them they were rendered conscious of the great importance of having the Lord on their side.

Moses happily averted the danger which threatened the Israelites on the part of Midian (Num. xxv.-xxxi.). Hence he was enabled to grant to some of the tribes permanent dwellings in a considerable tract of country situated to the east of the river Jordan (Num. xxxii.), and to

give to his people a foretaste of that well-being which was in store for them.

Moses made excellent preparations for the conquest and distribution of the whole country, and took leave of his people with powerful admonitions and impressive benedictions, transferring his government to the hands of Joshua, who was not unworthy to become the successor of so great a man. With a longing but gratified look, he surveyed, from the elevated ground on the border of the Dead Sea, the beautiful country destined for his people.

Moses died in a retired spot at the age of one hundred and twenty years. He remained vigorous in mind and body to the last. His body was not buried in the promised land, and his grave remained unknown, lest it should become an object of superstitious and idolatrous worship. This honour was due, not to him, but to the Lord, who had manifested himself through the whole life of Moses. Not the body, but the word, of Moses was permanently to abide in Israel. The people of God produced no prophet greater than Moses, because by none was the Lord more glorified. Among all the men of God recorded in the Old Testament, Moses presents the most wonderful and imposing aspect.

The Pentateuch is the greatest monument of Moses as an author. The ninetieth psalm also seems to be correctly ascribed to him. Some learned men have endeavoured to prove that he was the author of the book of Job, but their arguments are inconclusive [Job].

Numerous traditions, as might have been expected, have been current respecting so celebrated a personage. Some of these were known to the ancient Jews, but most of them occur in later rabbinical writers (comp. Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, c. iii.; Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 9, sq.; Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, iv. 115, sq.).

The name of Moses is celebrated among the Arabs also, and is the nucleus of a mass of legends (comp. Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, p. 80, sq.). The Greek and Roman classics repeatedly mention Moses, but their accounts contain the authentic Biblical history in a greatly distorted form (vid. the collection of Meier, *Judaica, seu veterum Scriptorum profanorum de Rebus Judaicis Fragmenta*, Jenæ, 1832).

Concerning the life of Moses, compare also Warburton, *On the Divine Legation of Moses;* Hess, *Geschichte Mosis*, Zurich, 1778, 2 vols.; Niemeyer, *Charakteristik der Bibel*, 3rd vol.

H. A. C. H.

MOTH (עָשׁ) occurs in Job iv. 19; xiii. 28; xxvii. 18; Isa. l. 9; li. 8; Hosea v. 12; Matt. vi. 19, 20; Luke xii. 33; Ecclus. xix. 3; xlii. 13: in all which places the Sept. and Greek Testament read *σής*, and the Vulg. *tinea*. In Ps. xxxix. 11, עש, Sept. *ἀράχνη*, Vulg. *aranea*. The same Hebrew word occurs in the phrase 'moth-eaten,' Job xiii. 28; Sept. *σητόβρωτον, comeditur a tineis;* James v. 2, *σητόβρωτα, a tineis comesta*. The word סס occurs once in Isa. li. 8; Sept. *σής*, Vulg. *tinea*. There is no biblical insect whose identity is better ascertained. The following is the chain of evidence through which it is traced. The word *σής*, adopted by the Sept., unquestionably means 'moth' in the writings of Aristotle (who was contemporary with the translators of the earliest and best rendered portions of the Sept.); for when treating of the generation of insects he says: Γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ζῳδάρια, τὰ μὲν ἐν ἐρίοις, καὶ ὅσα ἐξ ἐρίων ἐστίν, οἷον οἱ σῆτες, οἱ ἐμφύονται μᾶλλον ὅταν κονιορτώδη ᾖ τὰ ἔρια. 'Other small creatures are generated, some in wool, and in such substances as are formed from wool, as for instance, moths, or moth worms, which are principally produced in dusty woollen substances:' and, again, speaking of the same insect, γίνεται δὲ ἐν χιτῶνι ὁ σκώληξ οὗτος, 'this worm or insect is produced in garments.' To the same effect, Aristotle's pupil, Theophrastus, speaking of the herb *πολίον*, says, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σῆτας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις ἀγαθόν— 'this is good against the moths in clothes' (*Hist. Plant.* i. 16). Menander, educated under Theophrastus, speaking of things which consume, says, τὸ δ' ἱμάτιον οἱ σῆτες, 'moths consume clothes.' Then with regard to the word *tinea*, adopted by the Vulg., Pliny uses it in translating our first quotation from Aristotle ('pulvis in lanis et veste *tineas* creat,' *Hist. Nat.* xi. 41, edit. Harduin), and elsewhere, for the moth, though he also applies the word to other insects, &c.; and from the time of Pliny to Aldrovandus, this, and almost all the other names in natural history, remained the same, and were retained as much as possible by Willughby and Linnæus. The latter, under the order Lepidoptera, genus Phalæna, gives the species of moths, *Tinea tapetzella*, *T. pellionella*, and *T. recurvaria sarcitella*, as peculiarly destructive to woollen clothes, furs, &c. The following allusions to the moth occur in Scripture;—to its being produced in clothes: 'for from garments cometh a moth' (Ecclus. xlii. 13); to its well-known fragility: 'mortal men are crushed *before* the moth' (Job iv. 19), literally 'before the face of the moth,' but which words really mean '*like as* the moth is crushed.' The Hebrew word לפני, here translated 'before,' occurs in the sense of *as* or *like* in 1 Sam. i. 16: 'count not thine handmaid (לפני בת־בליעל) as a daughter of Belial;' literally, 'before,' or 'as the face of:' and so the Sept. understood our passage, *σητὸς τρόπον*. The Latin phrase *ad faciem* occurs in the same sense in Plautus (*Cistell.* i. 1. 73): 'ad istam faciem est morbus qui me macerat.' Others take this allusion to the moth in an active sense, thus—'as a garment is consumed by the moth;' so the Vulg. *a tinea*. The allusion to 'the house of the moth' (Job xxvii. 18) seems to refer plainly to the silky spindle-shaped case, covered with detached hairs and particles of wool, made and inhabited by the larva of the *Tinea sarcitella;* or to the felted case or tunnel formed by the larva of the *Tinea pellionella;* or to the arched gallery formed by eating through wool by the larva of the *Tinea tapetzella*. References occur to the destructiveness of the clothes-moth: 'as a garment that is moth-eaten' (Job xiii. 28); 'the moth shall eat them up' (Isa. l. 9); 'the moth shall eat them up like a garment' (li. 8); 'I will be to Ephraim as a moth,' *i. e.* will secretly consume him (Hos. v. 12); comp. Matt. vi. 19, 20; Luke xii. 33; James v. 2, metaphorically; and Ecclus. xix. 3—'Moths and worms shall have him that cleaveth to harlots,' but the better reading is *σήπη*, 'rottenness.' Since the 'treasures' of the Orientals, in

ancient times, consisted partly of 'garments, both new and old' (Matt. xiii. 52; and comp. Josh. vii. 21; Judges xiv. 12), the ravages of the clothes-moth afforded them a lively emblem of destruction. Their treasures also consisted partly of corn laid up in barns, &c. (Luke xii. 18, 24); and it has been supposed that the *βρῶσις*, translated 'rust,' joined with the *σής* in Matt. vi. 19, 20, refers also to some species of moth, &c., probably in the larva state, which destroys corn. Kuinoel says the 'curculio, or kornwurm,' the larva of the *Tinea granella*, is injurious to corn. Compare the common Roman phrase *blatta et tinea*. Aquila gives *βρῶσις* for עש in Jer. l. 9; and those words, 'Gods which cannot save themselves from moths,' *βρωμάτων*, Ep. of Jer. xii., may be another instance. Comp. Mal. iii. 11, Sept. and MS. B. in margin, and Symmachus in Isa. v. 9. The word סס occurs, as well as the word עש, in Isa. li. 8: 'the עש shall eat them up like a garment, and the סס shall eat them like *wool*,' Sept. *ὡς ἔρια βρωθήσεται ὑπὸ σητός* (comp. the first quotation from Aristotle), where the similarity between the Hebrew and Greek word is striking. If two species of moth be here alluded to, may not the סס be the distinctive name for the *Tinea tapetzella*, which is peculiarly destructive to 'wool?' The Sept. also gives *σής* for רקב, Prov. xiv. 30, and for חדק, Micah vii. 4. Moths, like fleas, &c., amid other more immediate purposes of their existence, incidentally serve as a stimulus to human industry and cleanliness; for, by a remarkable discrimination in her instinct, the parent moth never deposits her eggs in garments frequently overlooked or kept clean. Indeed, the most remarkable of all proofs of animal intelligence, is to be found in the larvæ of the water-moth, which get into straws, and adjust the weight of their case so that it can always float: when too heavy they add a piece of straw or wood, and when too light a bit of gravel (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 12).—J. F. D.

MOTHER. The Hebrew word for *mother* is אֵם *am*, and is regarded by the lexicographers as a primitive, imitating the earliest lisping of an infant: they compare it with the Greek *μάμμα, μάμμη, μαῖα*; Sanscrit, *má, ambâ*; Copt., *mau*; English and French, *mama*; German, *amme* (nurse), &c.

The ordinary applications of the word require no illustration; but the following points of Hebrew usage may be noticed. When the father had more than one wife, the son seems to have confined the title of 'mother' to his real mother, by which he distinguished her from the other wives of his father. Hence the source of Joseph's peculiar interest in Benjamin is indicated in Gen. xliii. 29, by his being 'his mother's son.' The other brethren were the sons of his father by other wives. Nevertheless, when this precision was not necessary, the step-mother was sometimes styled mother. Thus Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 10) speaks of Leah as Joseph's mother, for his real mother had long been dead. The step mother was however more properly distinguished from the womb-mother by the name of 'father's wife' (אִשַּׁת אָב). The word 'mother' was also, like father, brother, sister, employed by the Hebrews in a somewhat wider sense than is usual with us. It is used of a grandmother (1 Kings xv. 10), and even of any female ancestor (Gen. iii. 20); of a benefactress (Judg. v. 7), and as expressing intimate relationship (Job xvii. 14). In Hebrew, as in English, a nation is considered as a mother, and individuals as her children (Isa. l. 1; Jer. l. 12; Ezek. xix. 2; Hos. ii. 4; iv. 5); so our 'mother-country,' which is quite as good as 'father-land,' which we seem beginning to copy from the Germans. Large and important cities are also called mothers, *i. e.* 'mother-cities,' with reference to the dependent towns and villages (2 Sam. xx. 19), or even to the inhabitants, who are called her children (Isa. iii. 12; xlix. 23). 'The *parting* of the way, at the head of two ways' (Ezek. xi. 21) is in the Hebrew 'the mother of the way,' because out of it the two ways arise as daughters. In Job i. 21, the earth is indicated as the common 'mother to whose bosom all mankind must return.' So Chaucer—

'And on the ground, which is my modres gate,
I knocke with my staf erlich and late,
And say to hire, "Leve, mother, let me in."'

The particulars relating to the position which a mother occupied among the Jews, are involved in other relations, which are referred to the general head Woman.

MOUNTAINS. The mountains mentioned in Scripture are noticed under their different names, and a general statement with reference to the mountains of Palestine is given under that head. We have therefore in this place only to notice more fully some remarkable symbolical or figurative uses of the word in the Bible.

In Scripture the governing part of the body politic appears under symbols of different kinds. If the allegory or figurative representation is taken from the heavens, the luminaries denote the governing body; if from an animal, the head or horns; if from the earth, a mountain or fortress; and in this case the capital city or residence of the governor is taken for the supreme power. These mutually illustrate each other. For a capital city is the head of the political body: the head of an ox is the fortress of the animal; mountains are the natural fortresses of the earth; and therefore a fortress or capital city, though seated in a plain, may be called a mountain. Thus the words head, mountain, hill, city, horn, and king, are used in a manner as synonymous terms to signify a kingdom, monarchy, or republic, united under one government, only with this difference, that it is to be understood in different respects; for the term head represents it in respect of the capital city; mountain or hill in respect of the strength of the metropolis, which gives law to, or is above, and commands the adjacent territory. When David says, 'Lord, by thy favour thou hast made my mountain to stand strong' (Ps. xxx. 7), he means to express the stability of his kingdom.

It is according to these ideas that the kingdom of the Messiah is described under the figure of a mountain (Isa. ii. 2; xi. 9; Dan. ii. 35), and its universality by its being the resort of all nations, and by its filling the whole earth. The mystic mountains in the Apocalypse denote kingdoms and states subverted to make room for the Messiah's kingdom (Rev. vi. 14; xvi. 20).

The Chaldæan monarchy is described as a mountain in Jer. li. 25; Zech. iv. 7; and the Targum illustrates the idea by substituting the

word 'fortress' in the former text. In this view, then, a mountain is the symbol of a kingdom, or of a capital city with its domains, or of a king, which is the same.

Mountains are frequently used to signify places of strength, of what kind soever, and to whatsoever use applied (Jer. iii. 23).

Eminences were very commonly chosen for the sites of Pagan temples: these became places of asylum, and were looked upon as the fortresses and defenders of the worshippers, by reason of the presence of the false deities in them. On this account mountains were the strongholds of Paganism, and therefore in several parts of Scripture they signify idolatrous temples and places of worship (Jer. ii. 23; Ezek. vi. 2-6; Mic. iv. 1; comp. Deut. xii. 2; Jer. ii. 20; iii. 16; Ezek. vi. 3). See Wemyss's *Clavis Symbolica*, pp. 309-316.

MOURNING. This head embraces both the outward expressions of sorrow for the dead, referred to in the Scriptures, and those expressions which were intended to exhibit repentance, &c. These subjects will be pursued according te Townsend's chronological arrangement, and sinco they nearly approximate, will be pursued together. Assuming the propriety of this arrangement, the earliest reference to any kind of mourning is that of Job (B.C. 2130), who being informed of the destruction of his children as the climax of his calamities, 'arose, rent his mantle, shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped' (Job i. 20), uttered sentiments of submission (ver. 21), and sat down among the ashes (ch. ii. 8). His friends came to him by an appointment among themselves to mourn with him and comfort him (ver. 11); they lift up their voices and wept upon a view of his altered appearance; they rent every man his mantle and sprinkled dust upon their heads towards heaven (ver. 12), and sat down with him on the ground seven days and seven nights, waiting till his grief should subside before they commenced their office as mourners. Job then bewails aloud his unhappy condition (ch. iii.). In ch. xvi. 15, 16, reference is made to the customs of sewing sackcloth upon the skin, defiling the head with dust, and suffering the face to be begrimed with weeping. Clamour in grief is referred to (xix. 7; xx. 28): it is considered a wicked man's portion that his widows shall not weep at his death (xxvii. 15). Upon Job's recovery from his afflictions all his relatives and acquaintances bemoan and comfort him concerning his past sufferings; which seems to have been a kind of congratulatory mourning, indulged in order to heighten the pleasures of prosperity by recalling associations of adversity (ch. xlii. 11). Indeed, the expressions of affectionate joy and grief nearly coincide. Joseph fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck and wept (Gen. xlv. 14; comp. Acts xx. 37, 38, and Gen. l. 1). However it is to be accounted for, in the course of the book of Job nearly all the chief characteristics of eastern mourning are introduced. This will appear as we proceed. The next instance is that of Abraham, who came to mourn and weep for Sarah (B.C. 1871), words which denote a formal mourning (Gen. xxiii. 2). Days of mourning are referred to in regard to the expected death of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 41). These appear generally to have consisted of seven, as for Saul (1 Sam. xxxi. 13; for Judith xvi. 24; comp. Ecclus. xxii. 12). Weeping appears (B.C. 1729), either as one chief expression of mourning, or as the general name for it. Hence when Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, was buried at Bethel under an oak, at this period, the tree was called Allon-bachuth, the oak of weeping (Gen. xxxv. 8). The children of Israel were heard to weep by Moses throughout their families, every man in the door of his tent (Num. xi. 10; comp. xiv. 1; xxv. 6). So numerous are the references to tears in the Scriptures as to give the impression that the Orientals had them nearly at command (comp. Ps. vi. 6). The woman washed our Lord's feet with tears (Luke vii. 38; comp. Ecclus. xxviii. 17). Weeping, with lifting up of the voice, occurs in Ruth i. 9; 1 Sam. ii. 4; 2 Sam. iii. 31; xiii. 36). Their exciteableness appears otherwise; they shout for joy and howl for grief, even the ministers of the altar (Joel i. 13; Micah i. 8, &c.). Reuben rent his clothes upon finding Joseph gone (Gen. xxxvii. 29), and uttered lamentations (ver. 30). Jacob rends his clothes and puts sackcloth upon his loins, and mourns for his son many days; his sons and his daughters rise up to comfort him, and he gives utterance to his grief; '*thus* his father wept for him' (Gen. xxxvii. 34, 35). Joseph's brothers rend their clothes (Gen. xliv. 13); and this act, as expressive of grief or horror, occurs in multitudes of passages down to the last age of the Jewish empire (Acts xiv. 14). Scarcely less numerous are the references to sackcloth on the loins as an expression of mourning; we have even lying in sackcloth (1 Kings xxi. 27), and sackcloth upon both man and beast at Nineveh (Jonah iii. 8). Joseph's brethren fell to the ground before him in token of grief (Gen. xliv. 14); and this, or lying, or sitting on the ground, was a common token of mourning (comp. Ps. xxxv. 14; 1 Sam. xxv. 24; Isa. iii. 26; xlvii. 1; Ezek. xxvi. 16, &c.). The next incident in the history of the subject is the mourning for Jacob by the Egyptians, which was conducted, no doubt, by professional mourners during threescore and ten days (Gen. l. 3), called the days of mourning (ver. 4), though most likely that computation includes the process of embalming (Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, v. 454, 459). It seems to have amounted to a royal mourning, doubtless out of regard to Joseph. Herodotus states that the Egyptians mourned for a king seventy-two days. The mourning for Joseph's father was renewed by Joseph's command, with a very great and sore lamentation, upon the funeral cavalcade having arrived in Canaan, and continued seven days (ver. 10). The vehemency of that mourning seems to have surprised even the Canaanites, who in consequence named the place where it was held Abel-mizraim, or the mourning of the Egyptians (ver. 11). We learn from Diodorus that at the death of a king the Egyptian people tore their garments, every temple was closed, sacrifices were forbidden, and no festivals celebrated. A procession of two or three hundred persons wandered through the streets, throwing dust and mud upon their heads, and twice every day sung a funeral dirge in honour of the deceased. In the mean time the people abstained from baths, ointments, every luxury, and even wheaten bread (i. 72, 91). The Egyptians have ever been re-

nowned for the vociferation of their grief; 'there was a great cry in Egypt at the death of the first-born' (Exod. xii. 30). When the children of Israel (B.C. 1491) mourned under the threat of the divine displeasure, they did not put on their ornaments (Exod. xxxiii. 4; comp. Joel ii. 16; Ezek. xxiv. 17). At the giving of the law the modes of mourning were regulated by several enactments. It was forbidden the Jews to make cuttings in their flesh for the dead (Lev. xix. 28). The ancient Egyptians, according to Herodotus, did not cut themselves (ii. 61); it was a Syrian custom, as appears from the votaries of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 28): nor were the Jews allowed to make any baldness between their eyes for the dead (Deut. xiv. 1). The priests were forbidden to uncover the head in mourning (Lev. x. 6), or to rend their clothes, or to contract the ceremonial defilement involved in mourning except for their nearest kindred (Lev. xxi. 1, 4); but the high-priest was entirely forbidden to do so even for his father or his mother (ver. 11), and so was the Nazarite (Num. vi. 7). These prohibitions respecting the head and the beard (Lev. xix. 27) seem to have been restricted to funeral occasions, as the customs referred to were lawfully practised on other sorrowful events (comp. Ezra ix. 3; Job i. 20; Isa. xxii. 12; Jer. vii. 29; Micah i. 16). Even the food eaten by mourners was considered unclean (comp. Deut. xxvi. 14, with Hos. ix. 4; Ezek. xxiv. 17). The Jews were commanded to afflict their souls on the day of atonement (Lev. xxiii. 27), and at the Feast of Trumpets (Num. xxix. 7). All the house of Israel mourned for Aaron thirty days (Num. xx. 29). The beautiful captive, whom the law permitted to marry, was required first to bewail her father and mother a full month, and the requisitions that she should shave her head and pare her nails have been by some considered signs of mourning (Deut. xxi. 11, 13). The Israelites wept for Moses thirty days, called the days of weeping *and* mourning for Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 8; B.C. 1451). Joshua and the elders of Israel put dust upon their heads at the defeat of Ai, and fasted (Josh. vii. 6), as did the eleven tribes after the defeat at Gibeah, and wept (Judg. xx. 26), as did all the Israelites at the command of Joshua, on which occasion it is said 'they drew water and poured it out before the Lord' (1 Sam. vii. 6; comp. Ps. xxii. 14). The prophet Joel commanded a fast as part of a national mourning. A fast is proclaimed to all the inhabitants or visitors at Jerusalem (Jer. xxxvi. 9; comp. Zech. vii. 5). Fasting is practised at Nineveh as part of a public humiliation (Jonah iii. 5). In our Lord's language, 'to fast' and 'to mourn' are the same thing (Matt. ix. 15). Public humiliations attended with religious assemblies and prayers (Joel ii. 16, 17); with fasts (Isa. lviii. 3); see all these united (1 Macc. iii. 44, 47, 48). The first complete description of mourning for the dead occurs in 2 Sam. iii. 31, 35, where David commands Joab and all the people that were with him to rend their clothes, gird themselves with sackcloth, and mourn for Abner, and David himself followed the bier, and they buried Abner in Hebron; and the king lifted up his voice and wept at the grave of Abner, and all the people wept, and David fasted two days, and wrote a lamentation for the deceased. Elegies were composed by the prophets on several disastrous occasions (Ezek. xxvi. 1-18; xxvii. 1-36; Amos v. 1, &c.). The incident of Jephthah's daughter (B.C. 1187) is too uncertain to afford any index to the modes of mourning at that era. It appears that she was allowed two months to bewail her virginity, with her companions, and that the Jewish women of that country went some where yearly to lament or celebrate her (Judg. xi. 37-40) [JEPHTHAH]. In Ps. xxxv., which is ascribed to David, there is a description of the humiliations practised by the friends of the sick, in order to procure their recovery: 'When they were sick my clothing was sackcloth; I humbled my soul with fasting; I behaved as if it had been a friend or a brother; I bowed down heavily, as one that mourneth for his mother;' where different modes of mourning seem adverted to for different occasions. Samuel is honoured with a public mourning by the Israelites (1 Sam. xxv. 1), B.C. 1058. Upon the death of Saul, David wrote an elegy (2 Sam. i. 17-27). This, like that upon the death of Abner, seems to be a poetical description of the character of the departed, like the dirge for an Egyptian king.



406. [Mourning at Grave—Lifting up hands, &c.]

Lifting up the hands seems to have been an expression of grief (Ps. cxli. 2; Lam. i. 17; Ezra ix. 5). Messengers were sent to condole with survivors; thus David sent such to Hanun, king of Ammon, upon the death of his father (2 Sam. x. 1, 2); 'Many of the Jews came to comfort Martha and Mary' (John xi. 19); 'A great company of women attended our Lord to the cross, bewailing and lamenting him' (Luke xxiii. 27); 'Much people' were with the widow of Nain (Luke vii. 12). Indeed, if persons met a funeral procession they were expected to join it—a custom which is thought to illustrate St. Paul's words, 'Weep with them that weep' (Rom. xii. 15). Herodotus relates that when Cambyses bewailed his calamities, the Persians tore their garments and expressed their grief aloud (iii. 66). The next incident in historical order is the mourning of Bathsheba for Uriah (2 Sam. xi. 26). David, in deprecation of the death of his son by her, prayed to God for the child, fasted, and lay all night upon the earth. Ashes were often laid on the head in token of mourning; thus 'Tamar put ashes on her head,

rent her garment, and laid her hand upon her head, and went on crying' (2 Sam. xiii. 19, 20; comp. Isa. lxi. 3; 2 Esdras ix. 38). They even wallowed in ashes (Ezek. xxvii. 30). Mourning apparel is first mentioned in 2 Sam. xiv. 2, where it appears that the wearer did not anoint himself with oil (comp. Matt. vi. 17). In Egypt the common people allowed their beards to grow when mourning (Herod. ii. 36; comp. 2 Sam. xix. 24). The first reference to hired mourners occurs in Eccles. xii. 5, 'The mourners הסופדים go about the streets.' (The root of this word, observes Gesenius, signifies 'a mournful noise,' and he adduces Micah i. 8; Jer. xxii. 18; xxxiv. 5). They are certainly alluded to in Jer. ix. 17-20, 'the mourning women' (probably widows, comp. Ps. lxxviii. 64; Acts ix. 39), answering to the Præficæ of the Romans (comp. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 429). Another reference to them occurs in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; comp. Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 9. 5. The greater number of the mourners in ancient Egypt were women, as in the modern East. In the following cut (No. 407) mourners, all females, are



407. [Egyptian Mourners—ashes on Head.]

shown casting dust upon their heads before the mummy of a man. Mourning for the dead was conducted in a tumultuous manner; they also wept and wailed greatly (Mark v. 38). Even devout men made great lamentations (Acts viii. 2). When any one died in ancient Egypt the females of his family covered their faces with mud, ran through the streets with their bosoms exposed, striking themselves, and uttering loud lamentations; they were joined as they went by neighbours and friends, and, if the deceased was of consequence, by strangers also. The men, girding their dress below their waist, ran through the town, smiting their breast, and throwing mud upon their heads (Herod. ii. 85; Diod. Sic. i. 91). The modern lamentations in Cairo seem to resemble the ancient. The mourners are said to parade the streets, crying 'Oh, my misfortune!' 'Oh, my brother!' 'Oh, my master!' 'Oh, lord of the house!' &c. The similarity is striking between such exclamations and the following: Jephthah's 'Alas, my daughter!' David's 'Oh, Absalom, my son; my son Absalom!' (2 Sam. xviii. 33.) 'Alas, my brother!' (1 Kings xiii. 30). 'Ah, my brother! ah, my sister! ah, Lord, or ah, his glory' (Jer. xxii. 18). See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 286.

Among other signs of mourning they shaved the head, and even tore off the hair (Amos viii. 10; Micah i. 16; Isa. xv. 2; xxii. 12; Jer. vii. 29). Ezra plucked off the hair of his head and of his beard (Ezra ix. 3; Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 7. 5). The Jews went up to the house-tops to mourn (Isa. xv. 2, 3; xxii. 1); and so did the Moabites



408. [Wail with Tabrets, &c.]

(Jer. xlviii. 37, 38; Judith viii. 5). They also made cuttings in their hands (Jer. xlviii. 37, 38); they smote upon the thigh (Jer. xxxi. 19; Ezek. xxi. 12); on the breast (Nahum ii. 7; Luke xviii. 13; xxiii. 48; they smote both hands together (Num. xxiv. 10), stamped with the foot (Ezek. vi. 11), bowed down the head (Lam. ii. 10), covered the lips (Micah iii. 7), the face (2 Sam. xix. 4), and the head (2 Sam. xv. 30), and went barefoot (2 Sam. xv. 30). Neighbours and friends provided food for the mourners (2 Sam. iii. 35; Jer. xvi. 7; comp. Ezek. xxiv. 17); this was called 'the bread of bitterness,' 'the cup of consolation.' In later times the Jews had a custom of giving bread to the poor, at funerals, and leaving it for their use at tombs, graves, &c., which resembles the Roman *visceratio* (Tobit iv. 17; Ecclus. xxx. 8). Women went to tombs to indulge their grief (John xi. 31); anniversary mournings (1 Esdras i. 22). The extravagance of mourning among the Greeks is ridiculed by



[409. Mourning the Dead—Etruscan.]

Lucian (*De Luctu*), who describes them as expostulating with the dead for leaving them, &c., and other particulars similar to an Irish wake. It is difficult to ascertain the philosophy of mourning. Potter thinks that it consisted in receding as much as possible from ordinary customs and manners, in token that an extraordinary event had happened, and observes that such is the diversity of human customs that the signs of mourning in some nations coincide with those of joy in others (*Archæologia Græca*, ii. 194, 195, Lond. 1775). Although, no doubt, many modes of mourning are conventional, and originated in caprice, yet there would seem to be physical reasons for certain forms which have so widely and permanently prevailed. Shaving the head may be a dictate of nature to relieve the excited brain. Plucking the hair is well calculated to assuage the action of some particular organs, to which the sensations of the individual may be a sufficient guide. Beat-

ing the breast may relieve the heart, oppressed with a tumultuous circulation. Cutting may be the effect of nature's indication of bleeding. Crying aloud certainly diverts the attention from anguish of mind or body. Tearing and rending seem to palliate nervous irritation, &c. (Carpzov, *De cinerum ap. Hebr. usu mœroris atque luctus*, Rostock; Kirchmann, *De Funer. Roman.*; J. Q. Hedenus, *De Scissione Vest. Ebræis ac Gentibus usitata*, Jen. 1663; or in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, 29; Wichmannshausen, *De Laceratione Vestium ap. Hebr.* Viteb.; also in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, 33; Wichmannshausen, *De Corpore Scissuris figurisque non cruentando*, Viteb.; J. G. Michaelis, *De Incisura super mortuos*, in *Observatt. Sacr.*—J. F. D.

MOUSE (עַכְבָּר *achbar*; perhaps generically including *aliarbai* or *jerboa*, or فَارَة *parah* of the Arabs). The word occurs where, it seems, the nomenclature in modern zoology would point out two species of distinct genera (Lev. xi. 29; 1 Sam. vi. 4, 5, 11, 18; Isa. lxvi. 17). The radical meaning of the name, according to Bochart, designates a field ravager, one that devours the produce of agriculture, and therefore is applicable to several genera of Rodentia, &c., notwithstanding that the learned etymologist would confine it to the *jerboa* or jumping-mouse of Syria and Egypt, although that animal is not abundant in the first-mentioned region, and even in the second is restricted almost exclusively to the desert, as it can live without water. Bochart, it is true, cites examples of the ravages committed by murine animals in divers localities; but among them several are pointed out where the *jerboa* is rare, or not found at all; consequently they apply not to that species, but to some other Rodent. It is likely that the Hebrews extended the acceptation of the word *achbar*, in the same manner as was the familiar custom of the Greeks, and still more of the Romans, who included within their term *mus*, insectivora of the genus *sorex*, that is 'shrews;' carnivora, among which was the *Mustela erminea*, 'stoat' or 'ermine,' their *Mus ponticus*; and in the systematic order Rodentia, the *muridæ* contain *Myoxus glis* or fat dormouse; *Dipus jaculus* or Egyptian jerboa; *Mus*, rats and mice properly so called, constituting several modern genera; and *cricetus* or hamster, which includes the marmot or Roman *Mus Alpinus*. This was a natural result of the imperfect state of zoological science, where a somewhat similar external appearance was often held sufficient for bestowing a general name which, when more remarkable particulars required further distinction, received some trivial addition of quality or native country, or a second local designation, as in the present case; for, according to some Biblical critics, the *jerboa* may have been known also by the name of שָׁפָן, *shaphan*. In the above texts, all in 1 Sam. vi. apparently refer to the short-tailed field-mouse, which is still the most destructive animal to the harvests of Syria, and is most likely the species noticed in antiquity and during the crusades; for, had they been *jerboas* in shape and resembled miniature kangaroos, we would expect William of Tyre to have mentioned the peculiar form of the hestriyers, which was then unknown to Western Europe; whereas, they being of species or appearance common to the Latin nations, no particulars were required. But in Leviticus and Isaiah, where the mouse is declared an unclean animal, the species most accessible and likely to invite the appetite of nations who, like the Arabs, were apt to covet all kinds of animals, even when expressly forbidden, were, no doubt, the hamster and the dormouse; and both are still eaten in common with the *jerboa*, by the Bedoueens, who are but too often driven to extremity by actual want of food.—

C. H. S.

MOUTH (פֶּה). The ordinary applications of this word, common to all languages, require no explanation; but the following somewhat peculiar uses may be noted: 'Heavy-mouthed,' that is, slow of speech, and so translated in Exod. iv. 10; 'smooth mouth' (Ps. xxvi. 28), that is, a flattering mouth; so also 'a mouth of deceit' (Ps. cix. 2). The following are also remarkable phrases: 'To speak with one mouth to mouth,' that is, in person, without the intervention of an interpreter (Num. xii. 8; comp. 1 Kings viii. 15; Jer. xxxii. 4). 'With one mouth,' that is, with one voice or consent (Josh. ix. 2; 1 Kings xxii. 13; 2 Chron. xviii. 12). 'With the whole mouth,' that is, with the utmost strength of voice (Job xix. 16; Ps. lxvi. 17). 'To put words into one's mouth,' that is, to suggest what one shall say (Exod. iv. 15; Num. xxii. 38; xxiii. 5, 12; 2 Sam. xiv. 19, &c.). 'To be in one's mouth,' is to be often spoken of, as a law, &c. (Exod. xiii. 9; comp. Ps. v. 10; xxxviii. 15). The Hebrew also says, '*upon* the mouth,' where we say, and indeed our translation says, *in* or *into* the mouth (*e. g.* Nah. iii. 12); that which is spoken is also said to be '*upon* the mouth,' where we should say, 'upon the lips' (as in 2 Sam. xiii. 32). 'To lay the hand upon the mouth' is to be silent (Judg. xviii. 19; Job xxi. 5; xl. 4; comp. Prov. xxx. 32), just as we lay the finger on the mouth to enjoin silence. 'To write from the mouth of any one' is to do so from his dictation (Jer. xxxvi. 4, 27, 32; xlv. 1).

The mouth, as the organ of speech, also signifies the words that proceed out of it, which in the sacred style are the same as commands and actions, because they imply the effects of the thoughts; words and commands being the means used to communicate decrees to those who are to execute them. Instances of this also not in Scripture, in various shades of application, but few of them are preserved in translation. Thus (Gen. xlv. 12), 'according to the commandment of Pharaoh,' is in the original, 'according to the *mouth* of Pharaoh' (comp., among numerous other examples, Num. iii. 16; Job xxxix. 27; Eccles. viii. 2). Hence, for a person or thing to come out of the mouth of another is to be constituted or commanded to become an agent or minister under a superior power: this is frequent in the Revelations (Rev. xvi. 13, 14; i. 16; xi. 4, 5; xii. 15; ix. 19). The term *mouth* is not only applied to a speech or words, but to the speaker (Exod. iv. 16; Jer. xv. 19), in which sense it has a near equivalent in our expression 'mouth piece.'

MULBERRY-TREE. [BACA.]

MUSIC. It seems probable that music is the oldest of all the fine arts. It is more than any other

an immediate work of nature. Hence we find it among all nations, even those which are totally ignorant of every other art. Some instruments of music are in Scripture named even before the deluge, as being invented by Jubal, one of Cain's descendants (Gen. iv. 21); and some will regard this as confirmed by the common opinion of the Orientals. Chardin relates that the Persians and Arabians call musicians and singers *Kayne*, or 'descendants from Cain.' The instruments invented by Jubal seem to have remained in use after the flood, or at least the names were still in use, and occur in the latest books of the Old Testament. Music, in practical use, is almost constantly mentioned in connection with the song and the dance (Gen. xxxi.27; Exod. xv. 20), and was doubtless employed to elevate the former and regulate the latter. Women especially are seen to have employed it in this connection from the earliest times (Exod. xv. 20; Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6). At a later period we trace the appearance of foreign girls in Palestine, as in Greece and Italy, who visited the towns like the Bayaderes of the present day (Isa. xxiii. 16). Music was also through all periods used in social meetings, and in public rejoicings (1 Kings i. 40; Isa. v. 12; xiv. 11; xxiv. 8; Amos vi. 5; Hag. v. 14; 1 Macc. ix. 39; Judith iii. 8). By David music was variously and conspicuously connected with the temple worship (1 Chron. xxv. 1); in particular, the Levites, in their several choirs, performed their music divided into different classes at the great sacrifices (2 Chron. xxix. 25; xxx. 21; xxxv. 15). The prophets also appear to have regarded music as necessary to their services (1 Sam. x. 5); and they used it sometimes for the purpose, apparently, of bringing their minds into the frame suited for prophetic inspirations (2 Kings iii. 15). In the case of David playing before Saul, we have marked and interesting evidence that the effect of music in soothing the perturbasions of a disordered intellect, was well known among the Hebrews (1 Sam. xvi. 16).

It would be truly interesting to know to what extent the Israelites, during their sojourn in Egypt, where they became a nation, profited by the musical science and instruments of that country. It is impossible but the patriarchs had some kind of music and musical instruments before they journeyed thither; but the presence of music among the Israelites is not positively indicated till after the exode. If we could rely on the assumption that the celebrated painting at Beni-Hassan really represents the arrival of the Israelites in Egypt, we should thence learn that they were in possession of a lyre peculiar to themselves, or more probably adopted from the Canaanites. Whatever instruments they had before they went down to Egypt they doubtless retained, although they may have *added to* their musical science and their instruments while in that country. One people adopts the musical instruments of another, without also adopting its music. If we find this to be the case now, how much more so in those ancient times, when the absence of musical notation made every air a matter of tradition—since the traditions of one people are not usually imparted to foreigners, or sought after by a foreign people. Hence, although we have no doubt that the musical *instruments* which we read of in Scripture may find their types in the Egyptian monuments, we are unable even to conjecture how much they were indebted to the music of that people, of which indeed we know almost as little as of that of the Hebrews, although we know more of their instruments.

It will be remembered that music and song were cultivated in the region from which the Israelites first came (Gen. xxxi. 27), and that there must have been in the party which Abraham brought from Aram, and in the larger party which Jacob took into Egypt, many persons by whom this native music was practised, and to whom it was dear; and they were almost certain to preserve and transmit it to their children. In Egypt they were in the midst of a people infinitely their superiors in all the arts of civilization, in consequence of which they were kept more apart, and likely to adopt less from them than if the resemblance had been greater. Their condition was also soon changed into one of intolerable bondage—a state in the highest degree unfavourable to the cultivation of music and its kindred arts, although there were doubtless among the Israelites many individuals who were led by circumstances or inclination to cultivate the learning and the arts of Egypt, among which music was not likely to be forgotten. The conclusion we should be disposed to deduce from this is, that the native music of the Israelites was much of the same kind which exists in Syria and Western Asia to this day, and that the instruments resembled the most simple of those in present use, while we must be content to remain in ignorance respecting the measure of that improvement in musical science which they may be supposed to have derived from the Egyptians; although with respect to the *instruments* much information may be collected from the monuments of that ancient people.

With respect to the nature of the Hebrew music, it was doubtless of the same essential character as that of other ancient nations, and of all the present Oriental nations; consisting not so much in harmony (in the modern sense of the term) as in unison or melody. This is the music of nature, and for a long time after the more ancient period was common among the Greeks and Romans. From the Hebrews themselves we have no definite accounts in reference to this subject; but the history of the art among other nations must here also serve as our guide. It was not the harmony of differing or dissonant sounds, but the voice formed after the tones of the lyre, that constituted the beauty of the ancient music.

'Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus,' was the general rule followed in the musical rhapsodies of the ancients, and which so enraptured the Arabian servant of Niebuhr, that he cried out, in contempt of European music, 'By Allah, that is fine! God bless you!' (*Reisebeschreib. nach Arabien*, p. 176). The whole of antiquity is full of stories in praise of this music. By its means battles were won, cities conquered, mutinies quelled, diseases cured (Plutarch, *De Musica*). Effects similar to these occur in the Scriptures, and have already been indicated. Why are these effects so seldom produced by our music? Are they among the things in music yet to be restored? The different parts which we now have are the invention of modern times. Respecting the base, treble, &c., very few discriminating re-

marks had then been made. The old, the young, maidens, &c., appear to have sung one part. The beauty of their music consisted altogether in melody. The instruments by which, in singing, this melody was accompanied, occupied the part of a sustained base; and, if we are disposed to apply in this case what Niebuhr has told us, the beauty of the concerts consisted in this—that other persons repeated the music which had just been sung, three, four, or five notes, lower or higher. Such, for instance, was the concert which Miriam held with her musical fellows, and to which the 'toph,' or tabret, furnished the continued base; just as Niebuhr has also remarked of the Arabian women of the present day, 'that when they dance or sing in their harem, they always beat the corresponding time upon this drum' (*Reiseb.* i. 181). To this mode of performance belongs the 21th Psalm, which rests altogether upon the varied representation; in like manner, also, the 20th and 21st Psalms. This was all the change it admitted; and although it is very possible that this monotonous, or rather unisonous music, might not be interesting to ears tuned to musical progressions, modulations, and cadences, there is something in it with which the Orientals are well pleased. They love it for the very reason that it is monotonous or unisonous, and from Morocco to China we meet with no other. Even the cultivated Chinese, whose civilization offers so many points of resemblance to that of the ancient Egyptians, like their own music, which consists wholly of melody, better than ours, although it is not wholly despised by them (Du Halde's *China*, iii. 216).

A music of this description could easily dispense with the compositions which mark the time by notes; and the Hebrews do not appear to have known anything of musical notation; for that the accents served that purpose is a position which yet remains to be proved. At the best the accent must have been a very imperfect instrument for this purpose, however high its antiquity. Europeans had not yet attained to musical notes in the 11th century; and the Orientals do not profess to have known them till the 17th. On the other hand, the word סלה *selah*, which occurs in the Psalms and Habakkuk, may very possibly be a mark for the change of time, or for repeating the melody a few tones higher, or, as some think, for an accompaniment or after-piece of entirely instrumental music.

The Hebrew music is judged to have been of a shrill character; for this would result from the nature of the instruments — harps, flutes, and cymbals—which were employed in the temple service.

The manner of singing single songs was, it seems, ruled by that of others in the same measure, and it is usually supposed that many of the titles of the Psalms are intended to indicate the names of other songs according to which these were to be sung [Psalms].

There is a notion somewhat widely diffused, that in their sacred services the Hebrews dispensed with real melody, and contented themselves with such cantillation as they now use in their synagogues. This seems very doubtful. On such a subject it is not safe to argue from the practice of the modern Jews; and as singing is something so exceedingly simple and natural, it is difficult to believe that in the solemn services of their religion they stopped at the point of cantillation.

The allusions to music in the Scriptures are so incidental and concise, that it will never be possible to form out of them a complete or connected view of the state of musical science among the ancient Hebrews. The little knowledge which has been realized on the subject has been obtained chiefly through the patient labours and minute investigations of the authors named at the end of the next article.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. It is less difficult to determine the general character of the Hebrew instruments of music, than to identify the particular instruments which are named in the Hebrew Scriptures. We see certain instruments different from our own in use among the modern Orientals, and we infer that the Hebrew instruments were probably not unlike these, because the Orientals change but little, and we recognise in them the peoples, and among them the habits and the manners described in the Bible. We see other instruments represented in great variety in the sculptures and mural tablets of the Egyptians; and we conclude that the Hebrews had something similar, on account of their long sojourn among that people. We find also many instruments presented in the sculptures of Greece and Rome, and we need not refuse to draw inferences from them, for they derived their origin from the East, and the Romans distinctly refer them to Syria (Juv. *Sat.* iii.; Liv. *Hist.* xxxix. 5). When, however, we endeavour to identify with these a particular instrument named by the Hebrews, our difficulty begins; because the Hebrew names are seldom to be recognised in those which they *now* bear, and because the Scripture affords us little information respecting the form of the instruments which it mentions. There are some clues, however. It is likely that the Greeks and Romans retained the names of the instruments they derived from Syria, and these names have been preserved. The Orientals also have for the most part retained the original names of things really old; and by comparing these names with the Hebrew, and then examining the instruments to which they appear to belong, we shall throw some glimmerings of light on the subject.

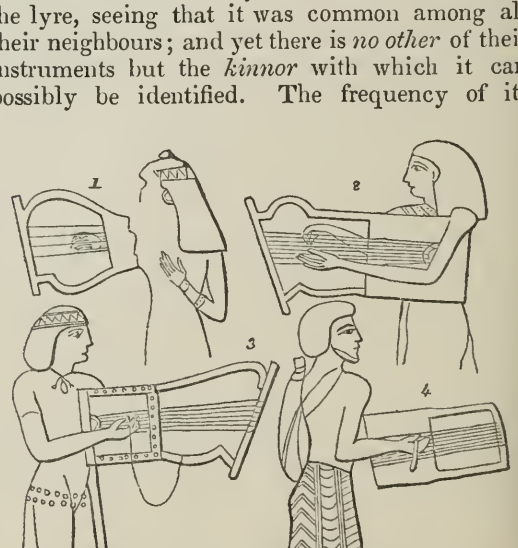
The matter naturally arranges itself under the following heads—

I. Stringed Instruments.
II. Wind Instruments.
III. Instruments of Percussion.

I.—1. At the head of the Stringed Instruments we must place the כִּנּוֹר *kinnor*, which is rendered 'harp' in the Authorized Version. The invention and first use of this instrument are ascribed to Jubal (Gen. iv. 21); and Laban names it among the instruments which should have celebrated the departure of his son-in-law (Gen. xxxi. 27). In the first ages the *kinnor* was consecrated to joy and exultation; hence the frequency of its use by David and others in praise of the Divine Majesty. It is thought probable that the instrument received some improvements from David (comp. Amos vi. 5). In bringing back the ark of the covenant (1 Chron. xvi. 5), as well as afterwards, at the consecration of the temple, the

kinnor was assigned to players of known eminence, chiefly of the family of Jeduthun (1 Chron. xxv. 3). Isaiah mentions it as used at festivals along with the *nebel;* he also describes it as carried round by Bayaderes from town to town (xxiii. 16), and as increasing by its presence the joy of vintage (xxiv. 8). When Jehoshaphat obtained his great victory over the Moabites, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem was accompanied by the *nebel* and the *kinnor* (2 Chron. xx. 27, 28). The sorrowing Jews of the captivity, far removed from their own land and the shadow of the sanctuary, hung their *kinnors* upon the willows by the waters of Babylon, and refused to sing the songs of Zion in a strange land (Ps. cxxxvii. 2). Many other passages of similar purport might be adduced in order to fix the uses of an instrument, the name of which occurs so often in the Hebrew Scriptures. They mostly indicate occasions of joy, such as jubilees and festivals. Of the instrument itself the Scripture affords us little further information than that it was composed of the sounding parts of good wood, and furnished with strings. David made it of the berosh wood [Berosh]; Solomon of the more costly algum (2 Sam. vi. 5; 2 Kings x. 12); and Josephus mentions some composed of the mixed metal called electrum. He also asserts that it was furnished with ten strings, and played with a plectrum (*Antiq.* vii. 12. 3); which however is not understood to imply that it never had any other number of strings, or was always played with the plectrum. David certainly played it with the hand (1 Sam. xvi. 23; xviii. 10; xix. 9), and it was probably used in both ways, according to its size.

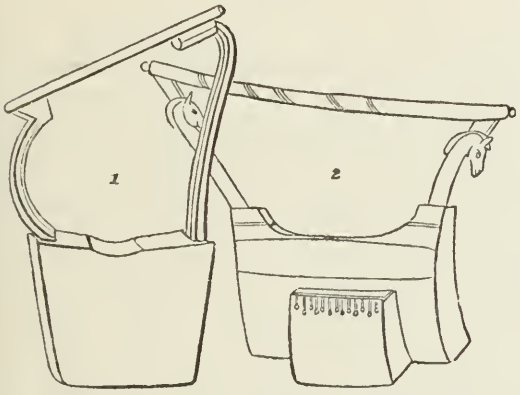
That this instrument was really a harp, is now very generally denied; and Pfeiffer, Winer, and other writers on the subject, conclude that it was a kind of guitar. This is entirely grounded on somewhat uncertain etymological derivations. Thus כנור is in the Septuagint translated by κιθάρα and κινύρα; and by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion always by κιθάρα. Now the Greek *cithara*, it is argued, was a kind of guitar, from which the modern instrument so called, and its very name, *gittare*, *guitar*, is derived. The testimony of the Arabic is also adduced; for the name among the Arabians for instruments of the guitar kind is *tambūra*, and it happens that this is the very term by which the word *kinnor* is rendered in the Arabic version. When this kind of argument was used by Pfeiffer and others, it was not well known that the guitar was in fact an ancient Egyptian, as it is also a modern Oriental, instrument. It is frequently figured in the monuments. There is therefore little room to doubt that the guitar was known to the Hebrews, and probably in use among them. Notwithstanding this kind of evidence, the editor of the Pictorial Bible (on Ps. xliii. 4) ventured to suggest the greater probability that the *lyre*, in some of its various kinds, was denoted by the word *kinnor;* and subsequent inquiry has tended to establish this conclusion as firmly perhaps as the nature of the subject admits. It is shown, first, that the *cithara*, which the Greek translators appear to have had in view, was in fact originally the same as the lyre; in other words, the name λύρα, *lyra*, rarely occurs in the early Greek writers, that of κιθάρα being far more common. But, about the time of Pindar, certain innovations were introduced, in consequence of which the lyre and cithara came to be used as distinctive words: the *lyre* denoting the instrument which exhibited the strings free on both sides, and the *cithara* that with the strings partly drawn over the sounding body. This latter instrument, preserving the shape of the lyre, and wholly distinct in form and arrangement from the guitar, resembling it only in this one point, should surely not be confounded with it, especially as antiquity had another instrument which more obviously belongs to the guitar species. If those who allege that the *kinnor* was a kind of guitar, mean merely that it was a species of lyre which in one point resembled a guitar, we do not differ from them; but if they allege that it had any general resemblance to the modern instrument, they remove it from the lyre class of instruments, which the authorities on which they rely will not allow. If therefore the word κιθάρα denoted, when the Greek translators of the Bible lived, a species of lyre, which was the only lyre when the Hebrew Scriptures were written, it follows, that in using this word for the Hebrew *kinnor*, they understood and intended to convey that a lyre was signified. They also could not but know that the distinction between the *lyra* and *cithara* was of recent origin; and as the latter word had originally been a general term for the lyre, they must have felt it to be more strictly equivalent than *lyra* to the Hebrew *kinnor*. It may also be observed that all the uses of the *kinnor*, as described in Scripture, were such as were applicable to the lyre, and to the lyre only, of all the ancient instruments of music: most of them being egregiously inapplicable to the harp, and not very suitable to the guitar. And it must not be overlooked that it is morally certain the Hebrews had the lyre, seeing that it was common among all their neighbours; and yet there is *no other* of their instruments but the *kinnor* with which it can possibly be identified. The frequency of its



410. [Egyptian figures of lyres. 1, 2, played without, and 3, 4, with the plectrum; 4. is the supposed Hebrew lyre.]

occurrence in Scripture also corresponds with preference given to it in most ancient writers

We are moreover inclined to place some reliance upon the Egyptian painting supposed to represent the arrival of Joseph's brethren in Egypt (No. 410, fig. 4). Here one of the men is playing on a lyre of somewhat peculiar shape; and if he be a Hebrew the instrument is undoubtedly a *kinnor*, as no other stringed instrument is mentioned till the time of David. This instrument has *seven* strings (the usual number of the lyre), which are partly drawn over the sounding body: this is the characteristic of that more ancient species of lyre called the *cithara*. The engravings 410 and 411 will give some idea of the varieties in form and strings which the lyre assumed among the Egyptians. There were probably similar differences among the Hebrews; for in concluding the *kinnor* to be the lyre, we have no wish to restrict it to any one particular instrument: we rather apprehend that it was a general term for all instruments of the lyre kind. If there was one instrument more

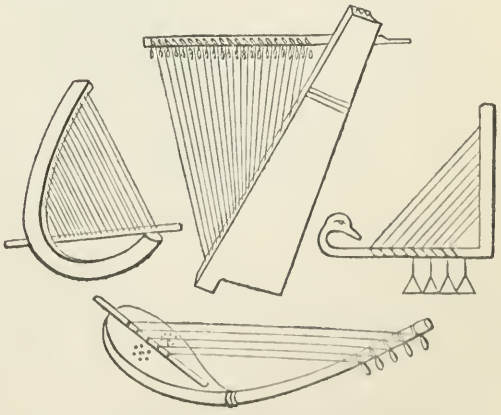


411. [Egyptian Lyres. 1, in the Leyden collection; 2, in the Berlin collection.]

than another on which the Hebrews were likely to pride themselves, and which should be regarded as their national instrument, it is the *kinnor;* and if they gave the figure of an instrument on any coin as a type of their nation, as the harp of Ireland, it would be this. Now the instrument which we do find on some coins ascribed to Simon Maccabæus is no other than a lyre (No. 415, fig. 3), and there can be little doubt that it was intended to represent the instrument known among the Hebrews by the name of *kinnor*. An instrument resembling the ancient lyre is also in use among the Arabians, bearing the name of *kussir* (derived perhaps from *kithara*). There is a figure of it in Niebuhr, and he saw no other instrument in the East which he felt disposed to identify with 'the harp of David' (*Reisebesch.* i. 179).

2. נֵבֶל *nebel*, is the next instrument which requires attention. The Greek *ναβλίον* (*νάβλα*, *νάβλη*, *ναύλα*, or *νάβλας*) and the Latin *nablium*, *nablum* (or *nabla*) are obviously connected with or derived from the same source as the Hebrew word, and may afford some help in our search after the instrument. The word is rendered 'psaltery' in the Authorized Version, in imitation of the Sept. translation of the Psalms and Nehemiah, which renders it by *ψαλτήριον* with the exception of *ψάλμος* in Ps. lxxi. 22, and *κιθάρα* in Ps. lxxxi. 2. The Septuagint in the other books in which the word occurs, renders it by *νάβλα*, or with a different ending *νάβλον*. As to when this instrument was invented, and when it came into use among the Hebrews, nothing can be determined with certainty. The first mention of it is in the reign of Saul (1 Sam. x. 5), and from that time forward we continue to meet with it in the Old Testament. It is however not found in the 2nd chapter of Daniel, where mention is made of so many instruments: whence we may infer either that it did not exist among the Babylonians, or was known among them by another name. Indeed, among the Greeks and Latins the word *nablium* is not of frequent occurrence, and is only employed by the poets, who are generally fond of borrowing foreign names. The use of the instrument prevailed particularly in the public worship of God. David's own instrument was the *kinnor;* but he neglected not the *nebel*. It was played upon by several persons in the grand procession at the removal of the ark (1 Chron. xv. 16; xvi. 5); and in the final organization of the temple music it was entrusted to the families of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (1 Chron. xxv. 1-7); Asaph, however, was only the overseer of the nebelists, as he himself played on the מצלתים *metziltaim*. Out of the worship of God, it was employed at festivals and for luxurious purposes (Amos vi. 5). In the manufacture of this instrument a constant increase of splendour was exhibited. The first we meet with were made simply of the wood of the *berosh* (2 Sam. vi. 5; 1 Chron. xiii. 8), others of the rarer *algum* tree (1 Kings x. 12; 2 Chron. ix. 11); and some perhaps of metal (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 8. 3), unless the last is to be understood of particular parts of the instrument.

Conjectures respecting the probable form of this instrument have been exceedingly various. Passing by the eccentric notion that the *nebel* was a kind of bagpipe, we may assume from the evident tendency of the Scriptural intimations, and from the general bearing of other authorities, that it was composed of strings stretched over a wooden frame. This being assumed or granted, we must proceed to seek some hint concerning its shape; and we find nothing more tangible than the concurrent testimony of Jerome, Isidorus, and Cassiodorus, that it was like the Greek letter Δ inverted ∇. The only in-

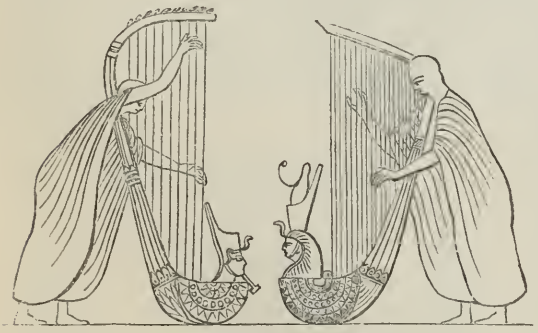


412. [Egyptian triangular instruments.]

strument of this shape known to the older writers on the subject was the harp; which some of them (as Calmet) on this insufficient ground inferred to be the instrument intended. But since then vast

additions to our knowledge of ancient musical instruments have been found in the tombs of Egypt and the buried cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. From these we learn two things—that the ancient harp was *not* shaped like the Greek Δ inverted; and that there were stringed instruments, something between the harp and the lyre, which in their various forms bore a remarkable resemblance to that letter (No. 412). We feel assured that among these forms may be found the instrument which the fathers had in view, for they lived while they were still in use. They held it to be the same as the Hebrew *nebel;* and as we can, through the Egyptian monuments, trace the instrument up to early Scriptural times, this view certainly deserves considerable attention.

We are, however, far from thinking that the *nebel* was always of this shape. It appears to us to be a general name for various of the larger stringed instruments of the harp kind, and also to denote, in a more special sense, one particular sort: in other words, that the *nebel* was an instrument of a principal species, the name of which was applied to the whole genus. In fact we have the names of several instruments which are generally conceived to be different varieties of the *nebel.* Before proceeding to these, we must express an opinion that one of these kinds, if not the principal kind, or the one most frequently denoted by the word, was the ancient harp, agreeing more or less with that represented in the Egyptian monuments. Whether the *nebel* or not, there can be little doubt that the Hebrews had such an instrument, although we may be unable to point out the precise word by which they described it. It is morally impossible that an instrument so common in Egypt, and of which the powers must have much exceeded that of any other instrument known to them, could have been neglected by a people whose stringed instruments of music were so various as those of the Hebrews. It may further be observed, that the use of this instrument as shown in the Egyptian paintings, agrees in all respects with that which the Scriptures refer to



413. [Grand Egyptian harps.]

the *nebel,* so far as we can gather any indications from them; and it is somewhat remarkable that the two great harps, in what is called Bruce's tomb, have respectively eleven and thirteen strings, being only one more and one less than the twelve assigned by Josephus to the *nebel.* These harps are shown in No. 413, and other varieties of the same instrument are figured in No. 414.

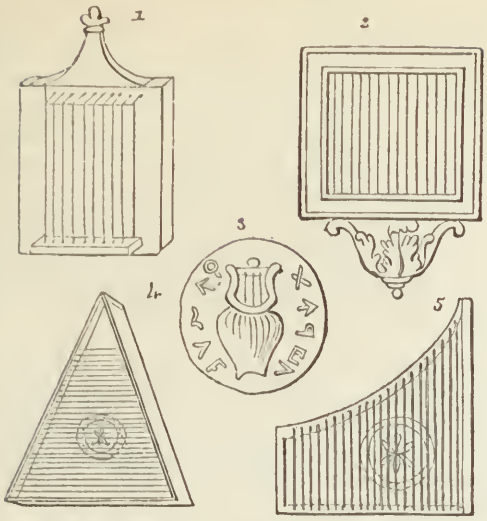
One of the classical traditions respecting the origin of the lyre refers it to an observation made upon the resonance of the gut-strings in the shell of a dried-up tortoise; another to a similar observation upon the twanging of a bow-string. These traditions have been deemed contradictory, from



414. [Other forms of Egyptian harps.]

being supposed to refer to one and the same instrument; but they are perfectly reconcilable when referred to two. The lyre, which we have already sought to connect with the Hebrew *kinnor,* might have had the tortoise origin, and the instrument we have now in view might as obviously be referred to the bow and its string. That the latter has only lately become known to us through the Egyptian monuments sufficiently accounts for this confusion, and explains why no attempt has hitherto been made (except in the *Pictorial Bible,* note on Ps. cxxxviii. 2), to place the Egyptian harp among the musical instruments of the Hebrews. We have no desire to insist on its identity with the *nebel* in particular: but it is remarkable that whereas the *nebel* is in Scripture mentioned so as to show that it always or generally formed part of a band of instruments, so the Egyptian harp is usually seen to be played in concert with other instruments. Sometimes, however, it was played alone, or as an accompaniment to the voice, and a band of seven or more choristers frequently sung to it a favourite air, beating time with their hands between each stanza (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 239). The principle of the bow was among the Egyptians extended to other instruments, which, from their smaller size and manner of being played, might be classed among lyres (No. 416). It is more than probable that these simple instruments were known to the Hebrews, although we are unable to discover the name by which they were called.

3. עָשׂוֹר *asor,* occurs as an instrument in only a few places, and never but in connection with the *nebel.* This has given rise to the conjecture that the two instruments may have differed from each other only in the number of their strings, or the openings at the bottom. Hence we meet with the Sept. translation ἐν δεκαχόρδῳ, and in the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, words expressing an instrument of *ten* strings, which is also followed in the Authorized Version (Ps. xxxiii. 2; cxliv. 1). We see no reason to dissent from this conclusion. Pfeiffer was inclined to think that the *asor* may have been the quadrangular lyre which is represented in different varieties in ancient monuments, and which has usually ten strings, though sometimes more (No. 415, figs. 1, 2).



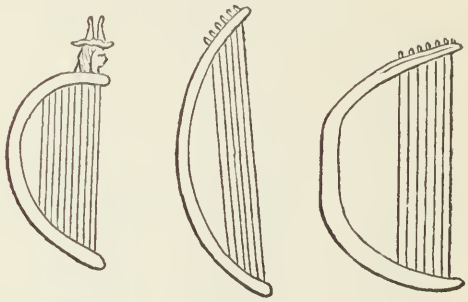
415. [Miscellaneous stringed instruments.]

4. גִּתִּית *gittith*, a word which occurs in the titles to Ps. viii., lxxxi., lxxxiv., and is generally supposed to denote a musical instrument. From the name it has been supposed to be an instrument which David brought from Gath; and it has been inferred from Isa. xvi. 10, that it was in particular use at the vintage season. If an instrument of music, it is remarkable that it does not occur in the list of the instruments assigned by David to the temple musicians; nor even in that list which appears in verses 1 and 2 of Ps. lxxxi., in the title of which it is found. The supposition of Gesenius, that it is a general name for *a stringed instrument*, obviates this difficulty. The Septuagint renders the title by ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν, 'upon the winepress,' and Carpzov, Pfeiffer and others, follow this, in taking the word to denote a song composed for the vintage, or for the Feast of Tabernacles (Carpzov, *Observ. Philol. super Psalmos Tres* עַל־הַגִּתִּית, Helmst. 1758; Pfeiffer, *über die Musik*, p. 32).

5. מְנִים *minnim*, which occurs in Ps. xlv. 8 and cl. 4, is supposed by some to denote a stringed instrument, but it seems merely a poetical allusion to the *strings* of any instrument. Thus in Ps. xlv. 8 we would read 'Out of the ivory palaces *the strings* (*i. e.* concerts of music) have made thee glad;' and so in Ps. cl. 4, 'Praise him with strings (stringed instruments) and *ugabs*.'

6. שַׂבְּכָא or סַבְּכָא, *sabeca*, an instrument rendered 'sackbut,' and which occurs only in Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15. It is doubtless the same as the stringed instrument of music denominated by the Greeks σαμβύκη, σαμβύκης, σάμβυξ, ζαμβίκη, and by the Latins *sambuca*. It seems to have been a species of harp or lyre, and, as some think, was only a species of the *nebel*, distinguished by the number of its strings. The able writer of the musical articles in Smith's *Classical Dictionary* thinks the sambuca was the same as the Egyptian harp, which we have already conjectured to be the particular instrument designated by the name *nebel*, or one of the instruments of the class so denominated. We should have no objection to regard this harp as being represented by the *sabeca* as a species of the *nebel;* but we cannot see that any proof of the conjecture is adduced, and as the word only occurs in a list of Babylonian instruments, and never among those of the Hebrews, the identification would go to show that the latter had *not* the harp, for which conclusion we are by no means prepared.

As the intimations which can be collected respecting the sambuca amount to this, that it was a *large* stringed instrument of a somewhat triangular shape, it may possibly have borne some resemblance to figs. 4 and 5, No. 415, which are copied from old writers on the subject, and which bear much resemblance to instruments, such as the *khanoon* and *tchenk*, which continue to be common and popular in Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Persia, and which correspond to both these conditions.

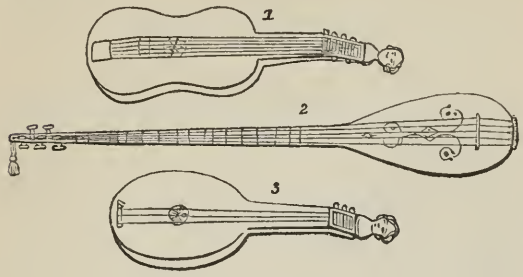


416. [Bow-shaped Egyptian instruments.]

7. פְּסַנְתֵּרִין or פְּסַנְטֵרִין, *pesanterin*, the ψαλτήριον or psaltery of the Greeks: it occurs only in Dan. iii. 7, 10, 15, where it is supposed to represent the Hebrew *nebel*. The word ψαλτήριον is, however, applied by the Greek translators so arbitrarily to instruments which have different names in Hebrew, that nothing can be built upon its use; still less are we disposed to accept the conclusion of Gesenius, that the Chaldee word is in this instance formed from the Greek. The Chaldee name, and perhaps the instrument represented by it, may be recognised in the modern سنطير *santeer*, which is of the class already referred to as represented by figs. 3, 4, No. 415).

8. מַחֲלַת *machalath*, which occurs in the titles of Ps. liii. and lxxxviii., is supposed by Gesenius and others to denote a kind of lute or guitar, which instrument others find in the *minnim* above noticed. We should not like to affirm that instruments of this kind are represented by either of these words—not that we doubt whether the Hebrews had such instruments, but because we are not satisfied that these are the precise words by which they were denoted. The prevalence in the East of instruments of this sort would alone suggest the probability that the Jews were not without them; and this probability is greatly increased by the evidence which the Egyptian paintings offer, that they were equally prevalent in ancient times in neighbouring nations. Before this evidence was obtained it was usual to offer figs. 1 and 3 in the subjoined cut (No. 417), as affording probable examples of Hebrew instruments of this class; and fig. 3, from Niebuhr's *Travels*, as a modern Arabian example. Objections were urged to these figures, which it would, until lately, have been difficult to answer. But now we find their prototypes among the ancient Egyptians. This will be seen from the

subjoined engravings, a very cursory inspection of which will show the general resemblance of



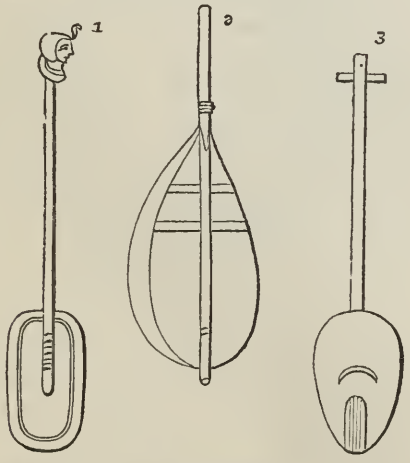
417. [1. A kind of guitar; 2. Ancient lute. 3. Arabian tanbur.]

the above to the instruments represented in at least figs. 1, 3 (No. 418), or in other words, to instruments of the lute and guitar class.



418. [Egyptian stringed instruments with necks.]

The Egyptian guitar consisted of two parts, a long flat neck or handle, and a hollow oval body, composed wholly of wood, or covered with leather, whose upper surface was perforated with several holes to allow the sound to escape; over this body, and the whole length of the handle, extended three strings of catgut secured at the upper extremity. The length of the handle was sometimes twice, sometimes thrice that of the body,



419. [Egyptian stringed instruments with necks.]

and the whole instrument seems to have measured three or four feet. It was struck with a plectrum, and the performers usually stood as they played. Both men and women used the guitar; some danced while they touched its strings (No. 418, fig. 2), supporting it on the right arm; and in one instance (fig. 3) it is seen slung by a band round the neck, like the modern Spanish guitar. The others (No. 419) are variations of these instruments; in fig. 3 making a near approach to the lute. They are from actual and somewhat decayed specimens, and therefore do not exhibit the wires and other minute parts.

With all this evidence before us, we need not hesitate to conclude that the Hebrews were in possession of instruments of this kind, although we may not venture to affirm by what name they were called.

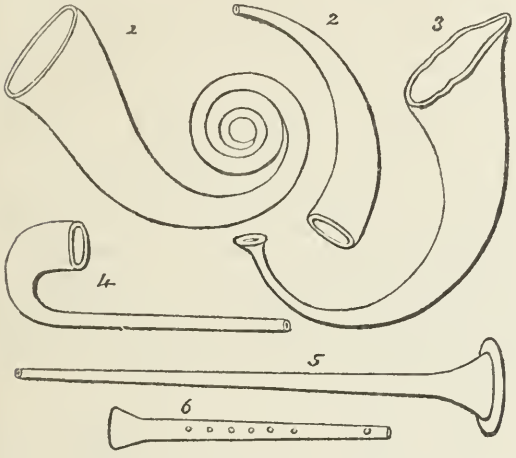
II. Wind Instruments.—There is, happily, less difficulty with respect to instruments of this class than with respect to stringed instruments. The most ordinary division of these is into trumpets and pipes, of which the Hebrews had both, and of various kinds.

1. קֶרֶן *keren*, 'horn,' sometimes, but not often, occurs as the name of a musical instrument (Josh. vi. 5; 1 Chron. xxv. 5; Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15). Of natural horns, and of instruments in the shape of horns, the antiquity and general use are evinced by every extensive collection of antiquities. It is admitted that natural horns were at first used, and that they at length came to be imitated in metal, but were still called horns. This use and application of the word are illustrated in our 'cornet.' It is generally conceived that rams' horns were the instruments used by the early Hebrews; and these are, indeed, expressly named in our own and many other versions, as the instruments used at the noted siege of Jericho (Josh. vi. 5); and the horns are those of the ram, which Josephus assigns to the soldiers of Gideon (*Antiq.* v. 6. 5; comp. Judg. vii. 16).

The former of these passages requires some remark. The text is קרן יובל, *keren jobel*, or *jobel*-horn. It is admitted that *jobel* means the *jubilee*, and in that case it would be jubilee-horn; and in the other verses of the chapter where trumpets are mentioned, with the epithet *jobelim* affixed, to denote 'jubilee-trumpets.' But then the translation 'rams' horn' in verse 5 is sought to be justified on the ground that the jubilee itself took its name from the instruments with which it was proclaimed, and as these instruments are believed to have been rams' horns, the term has so been rendered in this text. In other words the argument stands thus:—1. The jubilee was named from the instruments by which it was proclaimed. 2. These instruments were rams' horns. 3. Therefore *jobel* means a ram. It is, however, admitted that a ram is never called *jobel* in Hebrew: and an anecdote of R. Akiba implies that it was derived from an Arabian source. 'When I was in Arabia,' he says, 'I heard them call a ram *jobel;* and the trumpet itself is called *jobel*, because made of rams' horn.' It would be better, however, to translate it 'jubilee-horn' (see below, sect. 4). The text is not necessary to show that rams' horns were in use; the general belief of the Jews on the subject, and the existence of sculptured figures of ancient instruments imitated from the horns of rams, if not actually rams' horns, bring good evidence in favour of this opinion. Bochart and a few others contest this conclusion on the ground that rams'

horns are not suited to the purpose, and that the Greeks and Romans used the horns of neat cattle. Neither of these positions is tenable or of much weight, and the probability seems to be that *keren* was first, in its widest acceptation, the general name for instruments of the horn kind, and also the particular name for rams' horns, or the more crooked kind of horns, and were thus distinguished from the

2. שׁוֹפָר *shophar*, which is a far more common word than *keren*, and is rendered 'trumpet' in the Authorized Version. This word seems, first, to



420. [1, 2, 3, 4. Ancient horns and curved trumpets; 5. straight trumpet; 6. pipe.]

denote horns of the straighter kind, including, probably, those of neat cattle, and all the instruments which were eventually made in imitation of and in improvement upon such horns. It is, however, difficult to draw a distinction between it and the *keren*, seeing that the words are sometimes used synonymously. Thus that which is called 'a jobel-horn' in Josh. vi. 5, is in the same chapter (ver. 4, 6, 8, 13), called 'a jobel-horn trumpet' (*shophar*). Upon the whole, we may take the *shophar*, however distinguished from the *keren*, to have been that kind of horn or horn-shaped trumpet which was best known to the Hebrews. The name *shophar* means *bright* or *clear*, and the instrument may be conceived to have been so called from its clear and shrill sound, just as we call an instrument a 'clarion,' and speak of a musical tone as 'brilliant' or 'clear.' In the service of God this *shophar* or trumpet was only employed in making announcements, and for calling the people together in the time of the holy solemnities, of war, of rebellion, or of any other great occasion (Exod. xix. 13; Num. x. 10; Judg. iii. 7; 1 Sam. xiii. 3; xv. 10; 2 Chron. xv. 14; Isa. xviii. 3). The strong sound of the instrument would have confounded a choir of singers, rather than have elevated their music. At feasts, and exhibitions of joy, horns and trumpets were not forgotten (2 Sam. vi. 15; 1 Chron. xvi. 42). There is no reason to conclude that the trumpet was an instrument peculiar to the Levites, as some have supposed. If that were the case we should be unable to account for the 300 trumpets with which Gideon's men were furnished (Judg. vii. 8), and for the use of trumpets in making signals by watchmen, who were not always Levites. In Matt. vi. 2, we read 'When thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues, and in the streets, that they may have glory of men.' This verse has excited some speculation, and many have sought to illustrate it by reference to the custom of Eastern beggars of attracting attention by means of a musical instrument—a usage which, indeed, exists in England. But here it is the donor and not the beggar who is enjoined not to sound a trumpet; and Lightfoot, after examining the matter with his usual care, confesses that he can find no trace in the whole range of Hebrew literature, of a trumpet being sounded in connection with public or private almsgiving (*Hor. Hebr.* on Matt. vi. 2). It is therefore safest to suppose the expression derived by an easy metaphor from the practice of using the trumpet to proclaim whatever was about to be done, in order to call attention to it and make it extensively known.

3. חֲצֹצְרָה *chatzozerah*. This was the straight trumpet, different from the *shophar*, which was more or less bent like a horn. There has been various speculation on the name; but we are disposed to assent to the conclusion of Gesenius, that it is an onomatopoetic word, imitating the broken pulse-like sound of the trumpet, like the Latin *taratantara*, which this word would more resemble if pronounced as in Arabic, *hadâderah*. Among the Israelites these trumpets were a divine regulation, Moses having been expressly directed how to make them (Num. x. 2). They were of pure beaten silver, but the particular form does not appear in Scripture. The words בחצרות וקול שופר, 'with *chatzotzeroth* and voice of the *shophar*' (Ps. xcviii. 6), brings together names which most translators confound under that of 'trumpet,' and obliges them for once, at least, to draw a distinction between the two.



421. [Ancient Egyptian trumpets.]

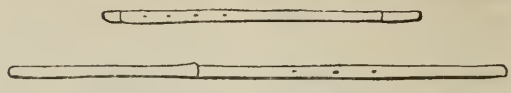
The Auth. Vers. here has 'with trumpets and the sound of the cornet,' which clearly intimates that the translator considered the *shophar* a kind of horn, though usually called a trumpet. The Sept. draws the distinction very nicely—ἐν σάλπιγξιν ἐλαταῖς, και φωνῇ σάλπιγγος κερατίνης, 'with ductile trumpets, and the sound of horn-trumpets,' which is closely copied by the Vulgate, 'in tubis ductilibus, et voce tubæ corneæ.' The idea conveyed of the *chatzotzerah* in these translations is, that these trumpets were of wrought or ductile silver, and drawn out in length; with this some combine a reference to the signification of the word מִקְשָׁה *mikshah*, applied to these trumpets in the

original description in Num. x. 2, which they understand to mean 'turned' or 'rounded,' and hence infer that they were not merely drawn out in length but turned back upon themselves, like a trombone. Some German writers, indeed, directly call the instrument a trombone, as De Wette, who, in his translation of the Psalms, renders the line under notice 'Mit trompeten, mit posaunen-klang,' that is, 'with trumpets, with trombone-sound.' And Pfeiffer, pressing upon this signification, gives the figure of an Oriental instrument of this kind called the *sumara*, as a possible representative of the *chatzotzerah*. We assign little weight to all this. It seems clear that these instruments were long trumpets of solid wrought silver; and as it appears that these are the only musical instruments undoubted representations of which are preserved, there ought to be no question on the subject. These silver trumpets are figured on the arch of Titus, among the other spoils of the Jewish Temple (Fig. 5, No. 420), and they correspond with the description which Josephus, who, as a priest, could not in this matter be mistaken, has given: 'Moses,' he says, 'invented a kind of trumpet of silver; in length it was little less than a cubit, and it was somewhat thicker than a pipe; its opening was oblong, so as to permit blowing on it with the mouth; at the lower end it had the form of a bell, like the horn,' σάλπιγξ (*Antiq.* iii. 2). Moses was commanded to make only two of these trumpets, because there were then but two priests, the two sons of Aaron. Afterwards far more of them were made; and Josephus ventures to say that Solomon made 200,000 of them, according to the command of Moses (*Antiq.* viii. 4). When, however, riches departed from Palestine, trumpets of baser metal were used (2 Kings xii. 13), although probably a certain number of silver were still preserved. They were used in calling the congregation together for sacrifices, and in battle (Hos. v. 8). The tone of this trumpet, or rather the noise made by blowing on it, was very variable, and is distinguished by different terms in Scripture.

4. יוֹבֵל *jobēl*. There has been much speculation concerning this term, which the reader may find in ample abundance in Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 436). It seems now to be agreed that the word does not denote a separate instrument, but is an epithet applied to the trumpets with which the jubilees were proclaimed, *i. e.* the '*jubilee*-trumpet;' and as the same trumpets were used for signals and alarms, 'the alarm-trumpet, the alarm-horn.' This name for the sound of music is supposed to be derived from Jubal, the inventor of instruments of music.

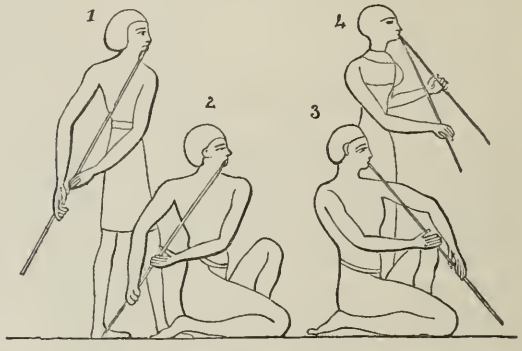
Wind instruments of softer sound next require attention. The first and principal of these is the

5. חָלִיל *chalil*, the meaning of which is *bored through*, and denotes a pipe, perforated and furnished with holes. The Sept. always renders it by αὐλός, a pipe or flute. There are but five places where it occurs in the Old Testament (1 Sam. x. 5; 1 Kings i. 40; Isa. v. 12; xxx. 29; Jer. xlviii. 36); but the Greek αὐλός occurs in the New Testament (Matt. ix. 23), and in the Apocryphal books (1 Macc. iv. 54; ix. 39; Judith iii. 8). It would seem to have come rather late into use among the Hebrews, and probably had a foreign origin. The passages to which we have referred will indicate the use of this instrument or class of instruments; but of the form



422. [Egyptian reed-pipes.]

we can only guess by reference to those of the ancient Egyptians, which are very similar to those still in use in Western Asia. The pipe is, however, rarely introduced in the Egyptian sculptures, and does not seem to have been held in much estimation. The principal are the single and double pipes. The single pipe of the Greeks is allowed to have been introduced from Egypt (J. Pollux, *Onom.* iv. 10; Athenæus, *Deipnos.* iv.), from which the Jews probably had theirs. It was a straight tube, without any increase at the mouth, and when played was held with both hands. It was usually of moderate length, about eighteen inches, but occasionally less, and sometimes so exceedingly long and the holes so low that the player was obliged to extend his arms to the utmost. Some had three holes, others four, and actual specimens made of common reed have been found (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 309).



423. [1, 2, 3, Single pipes; 4, double pipe.]

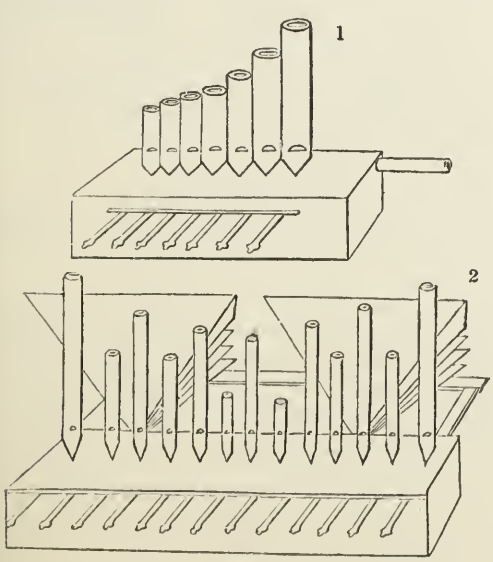
The double pipe was formed with two of such tubes, of equal or unequal lengths, having a common mouth-piece, and each played with the corresponding hand. They were distinguished as the right and left pipes, and the latter, having but few holes and emitting a deep sound, served as a base; the other had more holes and gave a sharp sound (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 36). This pipe is still used in Palestine. The Scottish missionary deputation overtook, among the hills of Judah, 'an Arab playing with all his might upon a shepherd's pipe, made of two reeds. This was the first time we had seen any marks of joy in the land' (*Narrative*, p. 118).

From the references which have been given it will be seen that the pipe was, among the Jews, chiefly consecrated to joy and pleasure. So much was this the case that in the time of Judas Maccabæus the Jews complained 'that joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp (κιθάρα) ceased' (1 Macc. iii. 45). It was particularly used to enliven the periodical journeys to Jerusalem to attend the great festivals (Isa. xxx. 29); and this custom of accompanying travelling in companies with music is common in the East at this day (Harmer, *Observatt.* ii. 197; to which add Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, iii. 189). Athenæus (iv. 174) tells us of a plaintive pipe

which was in use among the Phœnicians. This serves to illustrate Matt. ix. 23, where our Saviour, finding the flute-players with the dead daughter of the ruler, orders them away, because the damsel was not dead; and in this we also recognise the regulation of the Jews, that every one, however poor he might be, should have at least two pipes (חלילים) at the death of his wife (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* ix. 23). [Mourning.]

6. מִשְׁרוֹקִיתָא *mishrokitha.* This word occurs four times in Daniel (ch. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15), but nowhere else, and appears to be the Chaldæan name for the flute with two reeds, of which we have already spoken. If that double pipe be not comprehended under the Hebrew *chalil*, then we may consider that we have it here. The Sept. and Theodotion render it by *σύριγξ*, *syrinx*, which is the name of the Pandæan pipe. This would imply that it had at least more than one reed; and if it really denotes the Pandæan pipe itself, the word is to be regarded as the Chaldæan name of the instrument called by the Hebrews עוּגָב *ugab*, which was undoubtedly the syrinx. This is the more probable from the fact that the Hebrew translator actually renders *mishrokitha* by *ugab*.

It may, however, have differed from the common *ugab;* and some writers on the subject have been disposed to regard it as similar to the instrument represented in the annexed cut (No. 424 fig. 1). This is constructed somewhat on the principle of an organ, being composed of pipes of various sizes, fitted into a kind of modern chest, open at top, and stopped at the bottom with wood covered by a skin; wind was conveyed to it from the lips by means of a pipe fixed to the chest; the pipes were of lengths musically proportioned to each other, and the melody was varied at pleasure, by stopping or unstopping the apertures at the upper extremity. We are not however satisfied with the evidence which makes this instrument, or the modification of it in fig. 2, to have been known to either the ancient Hebrews or the Babylonians.



424.

7. עוּגָב *ugab*, is the word rendered 'organ' in our version. This and the *kinnor* are the instruments whose invention is ascribed to Jubal (Gen. iv. 21), and higher antiquity cannot therefore be claimed for any instrument. There are only three other places in which it is mentioned in the Old Testament; two in the book of Job (xxi. 12; xxx. 31), and one in the Psalms (cl. 4). The Targum renders the word simply by אבובא, *a pipe;* the Septuagint varies; it has *κιθάρα* in Genesis, *ψάλμος* in Job, and *ὄργανον* in the Psalms. The last is the sense which the Arabic, Syriac, Latin, English, and most other versions have adopted. The *organon* simply denotes a double or manifold pipe; and hence in particular the Pandæan or shepherd's pipe, which is at this day called a 'mouth-organ' among ourselves. Formerly it was called simply 'organ,' and 'mouth' has been added to distinguish it from the comparatively modern instrument which has usurped the more simple designation of 'organ.' Our translators are thus not chargeable with the obscurity which has since arisen, for they, by the word 'organ,' intended to indicate no other instrument than this. We thus find a tolerably fair concurrence on the subject among the translations which we are accustomed to respect. The grounds of their conclusion are to be sought in the etymology of the Hebrew word; and, so far as these go, which is not very far, they tend to support it. To these probabilities the known antiquity of the Syrian syrinx (*σύριγξ*) or Pandean pipe may be added. The instrument is in fact so old that the profane writers do not know to whom to ascribe it. Some refer it to Pan (Virgil, *Ecl.* ii.), others to Mercury (Pind. *Od.* xii. *de Pallade*), others to Marsyas and Silenus (Athenæus, iv. 182). This antiquity corresponds with the Scriptural intimation concerning the *ugab*, and justifies us in seeking for the *syrinx* among the more ancient instruments of the Orientals, especially as it is still common in Western Asia. Niebuhr saw it in the hands of a peasant at Cairo (*Reisebeschr.* i. 181); and Russell, in his *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo* (i. 155, 156), says that 'the *syrinx* or Pan's pipe is still a festival instrument in Syria; it is known also in the city, but very few performers can sound it tolerably well. The higher notes are clear and pleasing, but the longer reeds are apt, like the dervise flute, to make a hissing sound, though blown by a good player. The number of reeds of which the *syrinx* is composed, varies in different instruments from five to twenty-three.' The classical *syrinx* is usually said to have had seven reeds (Virg. *Ecl.* ii.); but we find some in the monuments with a greater number, and the shepherd of Theocritus (*Id.* viii.) had one of nine reeds.

III. Instruments of Percussion,—or such as give forth their sounds on being struck or shaken.

1. תֹּף *toph*, seems to have denoted primarily the tambourine, and generally all instruments of the drum kind which were in use among the Israelites. There is not the slightest doubt about this instrument. All the translations and lexicons agree in this one point; and we have, besides, the actual evidence of existing instruments of this kind among the Arabians, bearing the same name in the forms of *doff* and *adufe*. The *toph* was known to the Jews before they quitted Syria (Gen. xxxi. 27); it is also mentioned by Job (xxi. 12), and it is the first instrument named after the exode, being that with which Miriam led the dances with which the daughters of Israel celebrated the

overthrow of Pharaoh (Exod. xv. 20). It was employed by David in all the festivities of religion (2 Sam. vi. 5). Isaiah adduces it as the instrument of voluptuaries, but left in silence amid wars and desolations (Isa. xxiv. 8). The occasions on which it was used were mostly joyful, and those who played upon it were generally females (Ps. lxviii. 25), as was the case among most ancient nations, and is so at the present day in the East. It is nowhere mentioned in connection with battles or warlike transactions. The usages of the modern East might adequately illustrate all the Scriptural allusions to this instrument, but happily we have more ancient and very valuable illustration from the monuments of Egypt. In these we find that the tambourine was a favourite instrument, both on sacred and festive occasions. There were three kinds, differing, no doubt, in sound as well as form; one was circular, another square or oblong, and the third consisted of two squares separated by a bar. They were all beaten by the hand, and often used as an accompaniment to the harp and other instruments. The tambourine



425. [Tambourines. 1. angular; 2. circular.]

was usually played by females, who are represented as dancing to its sound without the accompaniment of any other instrument. The imperfect manner of representation does not allow us to see whether the Egyptian tambourine had the same moveable pieces of metal let into the wooden frame which we find in the tambourines of the present day. Their presence may, however, be inferred from the manner in which the tambourine is held up after being struck; and we know that the Greek instruments were furnished with balls of metal attached by short thongs to the circular rim (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 314).

At mournings for the dead the tambourine was sometimes introduced among the Egyptians, and the 'mournful song' was accompanied by its monotonous sound. This is still a custom of the East, and probably existed among the Jews.

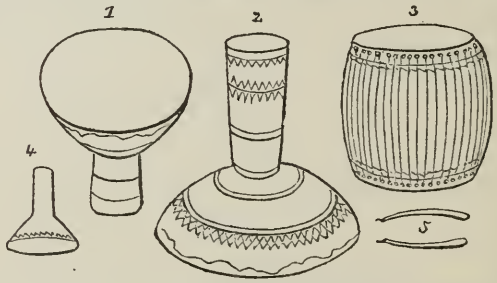
Whether the Israelites had drums or not does not clearly appear, and in the absence of evidence *pro* or *con* it is useless to speculate on the subject. If they had, they must be included under the general name of *toph*. The ancient Egyptians had a long drum, very similar to the tom-toms of India (No. 426, figs. 1, 3). It was about two feet or two feet and a half in length, and was beaten with the hand. The case was of wood or copper, covered at both ends with parchment or leather, and braced with cords extended diagonally over the exterior of the cylinder. It was used chiefly in war. There was another larger drum, less unlike



426. [Ancient Egyptian drums.]

our own; it was about two feet and a half long by about two feet broad, and was shaped much like a sugar-cask (No. 427, fig. 3). It was formed of copper, and covered at the ends with red leather, braced by catgut strings passing through small holes in its broad margin. This kind of drum was beaten with sticks (fig. 5). It does not appear on the monuments, but an actual specimen was found in the excavations made by D'Athanasi, in 1823, and is now in the museum at Paris.

Another species of drum is represented in the Egyptian paintings, and is of the same kind which is still in use in Egypt and Arabia, under the name of the *darabooka* drum. It is made of parchment stretched over the top of a funnel-shaped case of metal, wood, or pottery (No. 427, figs. 1, 2, 4). It is beaten with the hand, and when relaxed, the parchment is braced by exposing it for a few moments to the sun, or the warmth of a fire. This kind of drum claims particular attention from its being supposed to be represented on one of the coins ascribed to Simon Maccabæus (No. 429, fig. 5). When closely examined, this



427. [Drums. 1, 2, 4. modern oriental; 3. ancient Egyptian; 5. sticks to 3.]

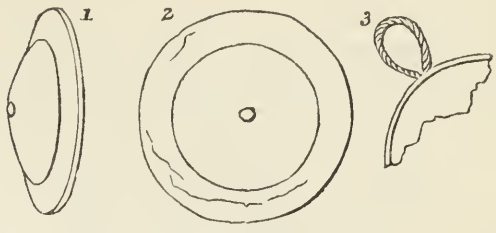
instrument will appear to be the same in principle with our kettle-drum, which, indeed, has been confessedly derived from the East, where other instruments on the same principle are not wanting. One of them (No. 429, fig. 4) is just the same as the instrument we have derived from it: others are smaller in various degrees, are of different forms, and are tapped lightly with the fingers. Such drum-tabrets were not unknown to the ancient Egyptians, as may be perceived by fig. 2, No. 426.

The Rabbins speak obscurely of a sort of drum which may have been of this kind. It stood, they say, in the temple court, and was used to call the priests to prayer, the Levites to singing, and

leprous persons to their purification. They venture to add that its sound could be heard from Jerusalem to Jericho (Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabbin.* s. v. מגריפה).

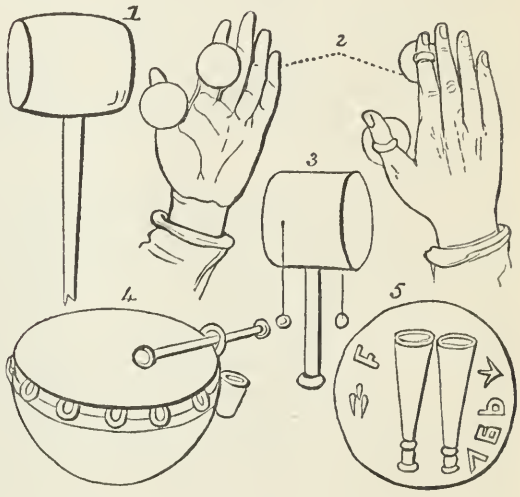
2. פַּעֲמוֹן *phaamon.* This name nowhere occurs but with reference to the small golden appendages to the robe of the high-priest (Exod. xxviii. 33; xxxix. 25), which all versions agree in rendering 'bells,' or 'little bells.' These bells were attached to the hem of the garment, and were separated from each other by golden knobs, shaped like pomegranates. They obviously produced their tinkling sound by striking against the golden knobs which were appended near them. There is no trace of bells among the ancient Egyptians, or in classical antiquity, and we call these such for want of a better term to describe sonorous pieces of metal used in this manner.

3. צֶלְצְלִים *tzeltzelim*, מְצִלּוֹת *metzilloth*, מְצִלְתַּיִם *metzilthaim.* These words are translated *cymbals* in most versions, except in Zech. xiv. 20, where they are rendered 'bells'—the 'bells of the horses.' If the words, however, denote cymbals in other places, they cannot well denote a different thing here. It is true that camels, and sometimes horses, wear bells in the East at present; and it is probable that the Hebrews had something similar in the shape of small cymbal-shaped pieces of metal, suspended under the necks of the animals, and which struck against each other with the motions of the animal. The Romans attached metallic pendants of this kind, called *phalarea*, to their war-horses, in order to produce a terrific effect when shaken by the rapid motions of the animals. These were certainly not bells, but might without any violent impropriety be called cymbals, from the manner in which they struck against each other. This is the single doubtful text; in all the other texts we may conclude with reasonable certainty that cymbals, and sometimes castagnets (which are small cymbals), are intended. There is an important passage (Ps. cl. 5), 'Praise him with the clear cymbal, praise him with the resounding cymbal,' which clearly points to two instruments under the same name, and leaves us to conclude that the Hebrews had both hand-cymbals and finger-cymbals (or castagnets), although it may not in all cases be easy to say which of the two is intended in particular texts. Cymbals figure in the grand procession at the removal of the ark (1 Chron. xiii. 8): other instances occur of their being used in the worship of God (Neh. xii. 27; Ps. cl. 5; 1 Chron. xv. 2); and the illustrious Asaph was himself a player on the cymbal (1 Chron. xvi. 5). The sound of these instruments is very sharp and piercing, but it does not belong to fine, speaking, expressive music. Hence Paul could describe it by the word ἀλαλάζον, 'clanging' (1 Cor. xiii. 1). The Hebrew instruments were probably similar to those of the Egyptians. These were of mixed metal, apparently brass, or a compound of brass and silver, and of a form exactly resembling those of modern times, though smaller, being only seven inches or five inches and a half in diameter. The handle has disappeared from the existing specimens, but is supposed to have been of the same material, bound with leather or string, and being inserted in a small hole at the summit, to have been secured by bending back the two ends (No. 428, fig. 3). The same kind of instrument is still used by the modern inhabitants of



428. [Cymbals—Egyptian.]

Egypt, and from them, says Wilkinson, 'have been borrowed the very small cymbals played with the finger and thumb, which supply the place of castagnets in the *almeh* dance' (*Ancient Egypt.* iii. 255). In thus calling instruments used as castagnets 'small cymbals,' this author incidentally supports the view we have taken. The modern castagnet, introduced into Spain by the Moors, is to be referred to the same source.

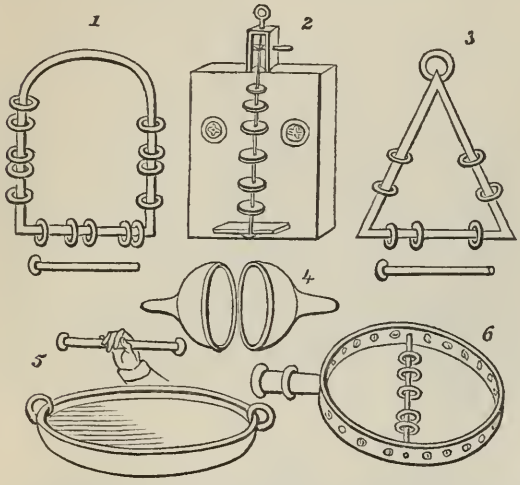


429. [Instruments of Percussion. 1. mallet used in striking suspended boards; 2. castagnets; 3. tabret-drum, struck by attached balls; 4. Oriental kettle-drum; 5. supposed ancient Jewish coin representing drums.]

4. שְׁלִשִׁים *shalishim.* This word occurs but once, viz. in 1 Sam. xviii. 6, and is there uncertainly rendered, in the Authorized Version, 'instruments of music,' and in the margin 'three-stringed instruments.' The word is plural, and means 'threes.' Most writers, proceeding upon this interpretation, identify it with the triangle, which Athenæus (iv. 23) alleges to have been a Syrian invention. We have no Egyptian representation of it, but that people had instruments which are not figured on the existing monuments. As this was the instrument with which the damsels of Israel came forth to meet the victorious David, the ancient translators have usually rendered the word by cymbals or castagnets, which seemed to them more proper to women. But the triangle may not the less have been suited to a military triumph, and as an accompaniment to the other instruments used on that occasion. Jerome has *sistra*, an idea which has received little attention from commentators; but if we had not preferred to find the *sistrum* under another word

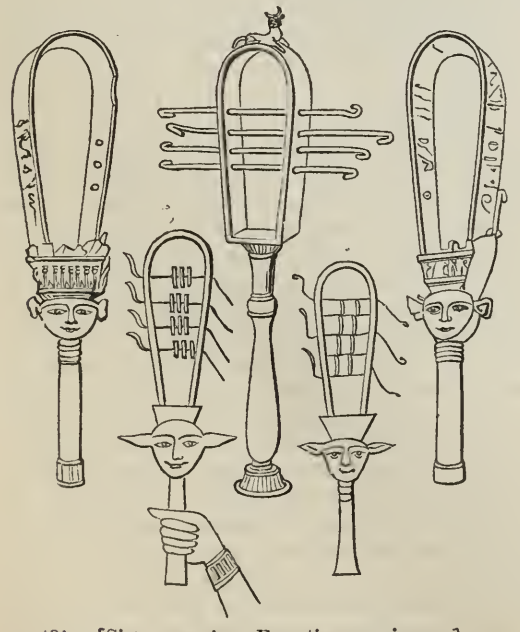
we would not hesitate to accept this conclusion, founded, as it manifestly is, on the *three* transverse moveable bars with which the *sistra* are usually furnished. In Barker's Bible (1595), the word is rendered by 'rebecke.'

5. מְנַעֲנְעִים *menaaneim*. This is another word which occurs but once in Scripture (2 Sam. vi. 5), where our version translates it by 'cymbals,'



430. [Instruments of Percussion. 1, 3, 6. Triangular and other rods of metal charged with rings; 2. a supposed Hebrew instrument, regarded by some as the *Menaaneim;* 4. a kind of Eastern cymbals; 5. a pan of sounding metal.]

although it has appropriated another word to that instrument. It is now more generally thought to denote the *sistrum*, and appears to be derived from נוּעַ *nua*, 'to shake' or 'to vibrate,' corresponding to the etymology of the *sistrum* (σεῖστρον), from σείω. An objection has indeed been urged, that the *sistrum* was not sufficiently ancient; but this has been set at rest by the recent discoveries in Egyptian antiquities, which have revealed *sistra* belonging to the most ancient period. The sistrum was generally from eight



431. [Sistra—various Egyptian specimens.]

to sixteen or eighteen inches in length, and entirely of bronze or brass. It was sometimes inlaid with silver, gilt, or otherwise ornamented, and being held upright was shaken, the rings moving to and fro upon the bars. The last were frequently made to imitate snakes, or simply bent at each end to secure them from slipping through the holes. Several actual specimens of these instruments have been found, and are deposited in the British, Berlin, and other museums. They are mostly furnished with sacred symbols, and were chiefly used by the priests and priestesses in the ceremonies of religion, particularly in those connected with the worship of Isis (Plut. *de Isid.* c. 63; Juven. xiii. 93; Jablonsky, *Opusc.* i. 306). See Burney's and Hawkins's *Histories of Music;* Forkel, *Geschichte der Musik;* Calmet, *Dissert. sur la Musique des Hébreux*, annexed to his Commentary on the Psalms; Pfeiffer, *Ueber die Musik der Alten Hebr.* 1779; Saalchutz, *Form der Hebr. Poesie; Gesch. und Würdigung d. Musik bei den Hebr.* 1829; Harenberg, *Comm. de Re Musica Vetus.* in *Miscell. Lips.* ix. 218, sq.; Winer, *Biblisches Real-wörterbuch*, arts. 'Musik,' 'Musikalische Instrumente,' 'Becken,' 'Harfe,' 'Tambourine,' &c.; Jahn, *Biblisches Archäologie;* Reland, *De Spoliis Temp. Hieros.;* Versuch, *Die Melodie u. Harmonie der Alt. Hebr.; Shilte Haggiborim*, in Ugolini *Thesaur.* tom. xxxii.; Constant, *Traité sur la Poësie et la Musique des Hébreux;* De Wette, *Commentar. über die Psalmen;* Rosellini, *Monumenti dell' Egitto;* Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians;* Villoteau, *Sur la Musique des Orientaux*, in *Descript. de l'Egypte;* Lady M. W. Montague's *Letters;* Volney, *Voyage en Syrie;* Tournefort, *Voyage au Levant;* Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung;* Russell's *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo;* Lane's *Modern Egyptians.*

MUSTARD-TREE. [Sinapis.]

MYRA (Μύρα), one of the chief towns of Lycia, in Asia Minor. It lay about a league from the sea (in N. lat. 36° 18′; E. long. 30°), upon a rising ground, at the foot of which flowed a navigable river with an excellent harbour at its mouth (Strabo, xiv. p. 665; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 8). The town now lies desolate. When Paul was on his voyage from Cæsarea to Rome, he and the other prisoners were landed here, and were reembarked in a ship of Alexandria bound to Rome (Acts xxvii. 5).

MYRRH. [Mor.]

MYRTLE. [Hadas.]

MYSIA (Μυσία), a province occupying the north-west angle of Asia Minor, and separated from Europe only by the Propontis and Hellespont: on the south it joined Æolis, and was separated on the east from Bithynia by the river Æsopus. Latterly Æolis was included in Mysia, which was then separated from Lydia and Ionia by the river Hermus, now Sarabad or Djedis (Strabo, xii. 562, xiii. 628; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 32; Ptol. *Geog.* v. 2). In ancient times the province of Mysia was celebrated for its fertility in corn and wine, and although now but poorly tilled it is still one of the finest tracts in Asia Minor. Paul passed through this province and embarked at its chief port, Troas, on his first voyage to Europe (Acts xvi. 7, 8; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geog.* iii. 32; Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterb. s. v. Mysia;* Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 460).

MYSTERY (μυστήριον). The etymology of this Greek word, which seems to be the simplest and

most illustrative of its meaning, is that from סתר, to 'hide' or 'conceal,' whence מסתור or מסתר, a covert or secret place, a secret. A most unscriptural and dangerous sense is but too often put upon the word, as if it meant something absolutely unintelligible and incomprehensible; whereas, in every instance in which it occurs in the Sept. or New Testament, it is applied to something which is *revealed*, declared, explained, spoken, or which may be known or understood. This fact will appear from the following elucidation of the passages in which it is found. First, it is sometimes used to denote the meaning of a symbolical representation, whether addressed to the mind by a parable, allegory, &c., or to the eye, by a vision, &c. Thus our Lord, having delivered to the multitude the parable of the sower (Matt. xiii. 3-9), when the disciples asked him (ver. 10) why spoke to them in parables, replied, 'Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but unto them which are without it is not given' (Mark iv. 11); 'Therefore I speak to them in parables' (Matt. xiii. 13); 'But *your* eyes see, and your ears understand' (ver. 16); where our Lord applies the term 'mysteries' to the *moral* truths couched under that parable, that is, to its figurative meaning. His words, taken in their general sense, are thus paraphrased by Dr. Macknight: 'I may explain to you the nature of the Messiah's kingdom, and the other difficult doctrines of the Gospel, because you are able to hear them, but I may not deal so with the multitude, who are obstinate to such a degree, that they will not hear anything contrary to their prejudices and passions' (*Harmony of the Gospels*, § 49). Again, the mystery or symbolical vision of the 'seven stars and of the seven golden candlesticks' (Rev. i. 12, 16), is explained to mean 'the angels of the seven churches of Asia, and the seven churches themselves' (ver. 20). Again, 'the mystery' or symbolical representation 'of the woman upon a scarlet-coloured beast' (Rev. xvii. 3-6), is also explained, 'I will tell thee the mystery of the woman,' &c. (xvii. 7). When St. Paul, speaking of marriage, says 'this is a great mystery' (Eph. v. 32), he evidently treats the original institution of marriage, as affording a figurative representation of the union betwixt Christ and the church (Campbell, *Dissertation*, p. 10, part iii. § 9). The word is also used to denote anything whatever which is hidden or concealed, till it is explained. The Sept. uses it to express רז, *a secret* (Dan. ii. 18, 19, 27, 28, 29, 30, 47; iv. 6), in relation to Nebuchadnezzar's dream, which was a secret till Daniel explained it, and even from the king himself, for he had totally forgotten it (ver. 5, 9). Thus the word is used in the New Testament to denote those doctrines of Christianity, general or particular, which the Jews and the world at large did not understand, till they were revealed by Christ and his apostles, 'Great is the mystery of godliness,' *i. e.* the Christian religion (1 Tim. iii. 16), the chief parts of which the apostle instantly proceeds to adduce,—'God was manifest in the flesh, justified by the Spirit, seen of angels,' &c.—facts which had not entered into the heart of man (1 Cor. ii. 9) until God visibly accomplished them, and revealed them to the apostles by inspiration (ver. 10). The apostle is generally thought here to compare the Gospel with the greater Eleusinian mysteries; for which see Diod. Sic. iv. 25; Dem. xxix. *ult.* Xen. *H. G.*, i. 4, 14; or Leland's *Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation*, part i. ch. 8, 9; or Macknight's *Preface to the Ephesians*, § 7. Thus also the Gospel in general is called 'the mystery of the faith,' which it was requisite the deacons should 'hold with a pure conscience' (1 Tim. iii. 9), and 'the mystery which from the beginning of the world had been hid with God, but which was now made known through means of the church' (Eph. iii. 9); the mystery of the Gospel which St. Paul desired 'to make known' (Eph. vi. 19); 'the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ,' to the full apprehension or understanding of which (rather than 'the acknowledgment') he prayed that the Colossians might come (Col. ii. 2; comp. the use of the word ἐπίγνωσις, 1 Tim. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iii. 7); which he desired the Colossians to pray that God would enable himself and his fellow apostles 'to speak and to make manifest' (Col. iv. 3, 4); which he calls 'the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest and known to all nations' (Rom. xvi. 25); which, he says, 'we speak' (1 Cor. ii. 7), and of which the apostles were 'stewards' (1 Cor. iv. 1). The same word is used respecting certain particular doctrines of the Gospel, as, for instance, 'the partial and temporary blindness of Israel,' of which mystery 'the apostle would not have Christians' ignorant (Rom. xi. 25), and which he explains (ver. 25-32). He styles the calling of the Gentiles 'a mystery which, in other ages, was not made known unto the sons of men as it is now revealed unto the holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit' (Eph. iii. 4-6; comp. i. 9, 10, &c.). To this class we refer the well-known phrase, 'Behold I show you a mystery (1 Cor. xv. 51), we shall all be changed;' and then follows an explanation of the change (ver. 51-55). Even in the case of a man speaking in an unknown tongue, in the absence of an interpreter, and when, therefore, no man understood him, although 'by the Spirit he was speaking mysteries,' yet the Apostle supposes that the man so doing understood what himself said (1 Cor. xiv. 2-4). And in the prophetic portion of his writings 'concerning the mystery of iniquity' (2 Thess. ii. 7), he speaks of it as being ultimately 'revealed' (ver. 8). Josephus applies nearly the same phrase, μυστήριον κακίας, *a mystery of wickedness*, to Antipater's *crafty conduct* to ensnare and destroy his brother Alexander (*De Bell. Jud.* i. 24. 1); and to complete the proof that the word 'mystery' is used in the sense of *knowable* secrets, we add the words 'Though *I understand all mysteries*' (1 Cor. xiii. 2). The Greeks used the word in the same way. Thus Menander, μυστήριον σου μὴ κατείπῃς τῷ φιλῷ, 'Tell not your secret to a friend' (p. 274, line 671, ed. Clerici). Even when they apply the term to the greater and lesser Eleusinian mysteries, they are still mysteries into which a person might be initiated, when they would, of course, cease to be mysteries to him. The word is used in the same sense throughout the Apocrypha as in the Sept. and New Testament (Tobit xii. 7; Judith ii. 2; Ecclus. xxii. 22; xxvii. 16, 17, 21; 2 Macc. xiii. 21); it is applied to divine or sacred mysteries (Wisd. ii. 22; vi. 23), and to the ceremonies of false religions (Wisd. xiv. 15, 23).

J. F. D.

N.

1. NAAMAH (נַעֲמָה, *pleasant;* Sept. Νοεμά), daughter of Lamech and Zillah, and sister of Tubal-cain (Gen. iv. 22). The family was one of inventors: and as few women are named, the Jewish commentators ascribe suitable inventions to each of them. Naamah is affirmed by them to have invented the spinning of wool and making of cloth. But the book of Genesis does not say this, and they could have no other source of information.

2. NAAMAH, an Ammonitess, one of the wives of Solomon, and mother of Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv. 21).

NAAMAN (נַעֲמָן, *pleasantness;* Sept. Ναιμάν), commander of the armies of Damascene Syria, in the time of Joram, king of Israel. Through his valour and abilities Naaman held a high place in the esteem of his king Benhadad; and although he was afflicted with leprosy, it would seem that this did not, as among the Hebrews, operate as a disqualification for public employment. Nevertheless the condition of a leper could not but have been in his high place both afflicting and painful: and when it was heard that a little Hebrew slave-girl, who waited upon Naaman's wife, had spoken of a prophet in Samaria who could cure her master of his leprosy, the faint and uncertain hope thus offered was eagerly seized; and the general obtained permission to visit the place where this relief was to be sought. Benhadad even furnished him with a letter to his old enemy king Joram; but as this letter merely stated that Naaman had been sent for him to cure, the king of Israel rent his clothes in astonishment and anger, suspecting that a request so impossible to grant, involved a studied insult or an intention to fix a quarrel upon him with a view to future aggressions. When tidings of this affair reached the prophet Elisha, he desired that the stranger might be sent to him. Naaman accordingly went, and his splendid train of chariots, horses, and laden camels filled the street before the prophet's house. As a leper, Naaman could not be admitted into the house; and Elisha did not come out to him as he expected, and as he thought civility required; but he sent out his servant to tell him to go and dip himself seven times in the Jordan, and that his leprosy would then pass from him. He was, however, by this time so much chafed and disgusted by the apparent neglect and incivility with which he had been treated, that if his attendants had not prevailed upon him to obey the directions of the prophet, he would have returned home still a leper. But he went to the Jordan, and having bent himself seven times beneath its waters, rose from them clear from all leprous stain. His gratitude was now proportioned to his previous wrath, and he drove back to vent the feelings of his full heart to the prophet of Israel. He avowed to him his conviction that the God of Israel, through whom this marvellous deed had been wrought, was great beyond all gods; and he declared that henceforth he would worship Him only, and to that end he proposed to take with him two mules' load of the soil of Israel wherewith to set up in Damascus an altar to Jehovah. This shows he had heard that an altar of earth was necessary (Exod. xx. 24); and the imperfect notions which he entertained of the duties which his desire to serve Jehovah involved, were natural in an uninstructed foreigner. He had also heard that Jehovah was a very jealous God, and had forbidden any of his servants to bow themselves down before idols; and therefore he expressed to Elisha a hope that he should be forgiven if, when his public duty required him to attend his king to the temple of Rimmon, he bowed with his master. The grateful Syrian would gladly have pressed upon Elisha gifts of high value, but the holy man resolutely refused to take anything, lest the glory redounding to God from this great act should in any degree be obscured. His servant, Gehazi, was less scrupulous, and hastened with a lie in his mouth to ask in his master's name for a portion of that which Elisha had refused. The illustrious Syrian no sooner saw the man running after his chariot, than he alighted to meet him, and happy to relieve himself in some degree under the sense of overwhelming obligation, he sent him back with more than he had ventured to ask (2 Kings v.). Nothing more is known of Naaman; and what befel Gehazi is related under another head [Gehazi].

The only points of difficulty in this narrative are those connected with the requests made by Naaman to Elisha, and which the prophet seems not to have refused. The request for two mules' load of earth with which to build an altar to Jehovah in Damascus, appears to have arisen from the notion that the soil of the land was proper to the God of the land, whom he proposed henceforth to worship. Jehovah's claim to be the universal God was unknown to, or misunderstood by, the neighbouring nations; and the only question that ever came before them was whether Jehovah, the God whom the Hebrews worshipped, was more or less powerful than the gods they worshipped. That he was infinitely more powerful, was, as we take it, the point at which this man's faith rested. He was convinced not that Jehovah was the universal God, but that 'there was no God in all the earth save only in the land of Israel'—and, therefore, he desired to worship at an altar formed of the soil which was thus eminently honoured. It is not clear whether he intended to say absolutely that there was no God in the world save in the land of Israel, or used the phrase as a strong expression of his belief that the gods of other lands were nought as compared with Him. The explanation applies in either sense. Naaman's other request for permission to bow in the house of Rimmon seems to have amounted to this. He had acknowledged indirectly that Rimmon was no god, or else a god too powerless to be henceforth the object of his worship. Yet, as a great officer of state, his duty required him to attend the king to the temple of this idol, and, as the king leaned upon his arm, to bow when the monarch bowed. To refuse this would bring disgrace upon him, and constrain him to relinquish his high place, if not his country; and for this he was not prepared. Of the views under which Elisha consented to this request, we are less able to judge. But indeed it is not clear that he did consent, or expressed any distinct opinion in the matter. His words of dismissal,

'Go in peace,' do not necessarily convey his approval of all that Naaman had asked, although in tenderness to one so well intentioned, and whom there was no opportunity of instructing further, he may have abstained from urging upon the Syrian those obligations which would have been indispensable to a subject of the Mosaical covenant.

NAAZUZ, or Naatzutz (נַעֲצוּץ), occurs only in two passages of Isaiah, in both of which it is translated 'thorn' in the Authorized Version. Thus (ch. vii. 18, 19), 'Jehovah shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria: and they shall come, and shall rest all of them, in the desolate valleys, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all the *thorns' (naazuzim)*. By some this has been translated *crevices:* but that it is a plant of some kind is evident from ch. lv. 13—'Instead of the *thorn (naazuz)* shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle-tree.' Some have translated it generally, as in the English version, by thorn, shrub, thorny shrub, or small tree. Others have attempted to define it specifically, rendering it bramble, white-thorn, &c. (Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. p. 190); but nothing certain has been determined respecting it. Celsius endeavours to trace it to the same origin as the Arabic word نعض *naaz*, which he states to be the name of a plant, of which the bark is employed in tanning leather. The meaning of the term he continues, in Chaldee, is *infigere, defigere*, 'to stick into' or 'fix,' and it is therefore supposed to refer to a prickly or thorny plant. R. Ben Melech says that commentators explain *naazuz* by the Arabic word *sidr*, which is the name of a well known thorny bush of Eastern countries, a species of Zizyphus. This, Sprengel says, is the *Z. vulgaris*, found in many parts of Palestine, as well as in many of the uncultivated tracts of Eastern countries. Others suppose the species to be the *nabak* of the Arabs, which is the *Zizyphus Lotus*, and considered to be the Lotus of the ancients. But from the context it would appear that the plant, if a zizyphus, must have been a less highly esteemed variety or species. But in a wild state these are very abundant, bushy, prickly, and of little value. Belon says, 'Les hayes, pour la plus part, sont de tamarisques, œnoplia (*i. e.* zizyphi species) et rhamnes.' In Freytag's Arabic Lexicon the above Arabic word *naaz* is said to be the name of a thorny tree, common in the Hedjaz, the bark of which is used in tanning hides, and from whose wood a dentifrice is prepared. This might be a species of acacia, of which many species are well known to be abundant in the dry and barren parts of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt.—J. F. R.

NABAL (נָבָל, *stupid, foolish;* Sept. Ναβάλ), a descendant of Caleb, dwelling at Maon, and having large possessions near Carmel of Judah, in the same neighbourhood. He had abundant wealth, being the possessor of 3000 sheep and 1000 goats, but his churlish and harsh character had not been softened by the prosperity with which he had been favoured. He was holding a great sheep-shearing of his numerous flocks at Carmel—which was a season of great festivity among the sheep-masters of Israel—when David sent some of his young men to request a small supply of provisions, of which his troop was in great need. He was warranted in asking this, as, while Nabal's flocks were out in the desert, the presence of David and his men in the neighbourhood had effectually protected them from the depredations of the Arabs. But Nabal refused this application, with harsh words, reflecting coarsely upon David and his troop as a set of worthless runagates. On learning this, David was highly incensed, and set out with his band to avenge the insult. But his intention was anticipated and averted by Nabal's wife Abigail, who met him on the road with a most acceptable supply of provisions, and by her consummate tact and good sense, mollified his anger, and indeed, caused him in the end to feel thankful that he had been prevented from the bloodshed which would have ensued. When Nabal, after recovering from the drunkenness of the feast, was informed of these circumstances, he was struck with such intense terror at the danger to which he had been exposed, that 'his heart died within him, and he became as a stone;' which seems to have been the exciting cause of a malady that carried him off about ten days after. David, not long after, evinced the favourable impression which the good sense and comeliness of Abigail had made upon him, by making her his wife, B.C. 1061 (1 Sam. xxv.) [Abigail].

NABATHÆANS. [Nebaioth.]

NABOTH (נָבוֹת, *fruit, produce;* Sept. Ναβουθαί), an inhabitant of Jezreel, who was the possessor of a patrimonial vineyard adjoining the garden of the palace which the kings of Israel had there. King Ahab had conceived a desire to add this vineyard to his ground, to make of it 'a garden of herbs,' but found that Naboth could not, on any consideration, be induced to alienate a property which he had derived from his fathers. This gave the king so much concern, that he took to his bed and refused his food; but when his wife, the notorious Jezebel, understood the cause of his trouble, she bade him be of good cheer, for *she* would procure him the vineyard. Some time after Naboth was, at a public feast, accused of blasphemy, by an order from her under the royal seal, and, being condemned through the testimony of false witnesses, was stoned to death, according to the law, outside the town (Lev. xxiv. 16; Num. xv. 30). Coquerel (in the *Biographie Sacrée*) thinks that the children of Naboth perished with him, being perhaps put to death by the creatures of Jezebel; and his reason is, that otherwise the crime would have been useless, as the children would still have been entitled to the father's heritage. But we know not that Naboth had any sons; and if he had sons, and they had been taken off, the estate might not have wanted an heir. It therefore rather seems that a usage had crept in for the property of persons convicted of treason (and blasphemy was treason in Israel) to be escheated to the crown. There are other indications of this usage. If it did not exist, the estate of Naboth could not have lapsed to the crown, even if his children had shared his fate; and if it did exist it was not necessary that the children should be slain to secure the estate to the king.

When Ahab heard of the death of Naboth—and he must have known how that death had been accomplished, or he would not have supposed himself a gainer by the event—he hastened to take possession. But he was speedily taught that this horrid crime had not passed without notice by the all-seeing God, and would not remain unpunished by his justice. The only tribunal to which he remained accountable, pronounced his doom through the prophet Elijah, who met him on the spot, 'In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine' (1 Kings xxi.).

NACHON (נָכוֹן; Sept. Ναχώρ). The floor of Nachon is the name given to the threshing-floor near which Uzzah was slain, for laying his hand upon the ark (2 Sam. vi. 6). It is doubted whether this be a proper name, denoting the owner of the floor, or merely an epithet applied to it, *i. e.* 'the prepared floor,' which in that case it would signify. This floor could not have been far from Jerusalem, and must have nearly adjoined the house of Obed-edom, in which the ark was deposited. In the parallel text (1 Chron. xiii. 9) the place is called the floor of Chidon, כִּידוֹן, showing that the owner or the place had two names, which last is the alternative adopted by the Hebrew writers (*T. Bab.* tit. *Sotah*, iii. fol. 35).

NACHOR. [Nahor.]

1. NADAB (נָדָב, *liberal;* Sept. Ναδάβ), eldest son of Aaron, who, with his brother Abihu, was slain for offering strange fire to the Lord [Abihu].

2. NADAB, son of Jeroboam, and second king of Israel. He ascended the throne upon the death of his father (B.C. 954), whose deep-laid, but criminal and dangerous policy, he followed. He was engaged in the siege of Gibbethon, a city of the Levites (of which the Philistines had obtained possession), when he was slain in the camp in a conspiracy formed against him by Baasha, one of his officers, who mounted the throne in his stead. He reigned two years (1 Kings xiv. 20; xv. 25-28).

NAHALAL (נַהֲלָל; Sept. Ναβαάλ), a town in the tribe of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15), which was assigned to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 35), but of which Zebulun was slow in dispossessing the Canaanites (Judg. i. 30).

NAHALIEL, an encampment of the Israelites in the Wilderness [Wandering].

1. NAHASH (נָחָשׁ, *a serpent;* Sept. Νάας), a person named only in 2 Sam. xvii. 25; and as he is there described as the father of Abigail and Zeruiah, who are elsewhere called the sisters of David, this must have been either another name for Jesse, or, as some suppose, of a former husband of David's mother.

2. NAHASH, king of the Ammonites, noted for the barbarous terms of capitulation which he offered to the town of Jabesh-Gilead, and for his subsequent defeat by Saul [Jabesh]. It was natural that the enemy of Saul should be friendly to David; and we find that he did render to the latter, during his persecutions, some acts of kindness, which the monarch did not forget when he ascended the throne of Israel (1 Sam. x. 2; 1 Chron. xix. 2). These acts are not specified, but he probably offered the fugitive hero an asylum in his dominions.

1. NAHOR (נָחוֹר, *snorting;* Sept. Ναχώρ), or rather Nachor, as in Luke iii. 34, son of Serug, and father of Terah, the father of Abraham (Gen. xi. 22-25).

2. NAHOR, grandson of the preceding, being one of the sons of Terah, and brother of Abraham. Nahor espoused Milcah his niece, daughter of his eldest brother Haran (Gen. xi. 27-29). Nahor did not quit his native place, 'Ur of the Chaldees,' when the rest of the family removed to Haran (Gen. xi. 30); but it would appear that he went thither afterwards, as we eventually find his son Bethuel, and his grandson Laban, established there (Gen. xxvii. 43; xxix. 5).

NAHSHON (נַחְשׁוֹן, *enchanter;* Sept. Ναασσών, from which he is called Naason in the genealogies of Christ in Matt. i. 4; Luke iii. 32), son of Aminadab, and prince or chief of the tribe of Judah, at the time of the exode (Num. i. 7; ii. 3). The chiefs of tribes, of which Nahshon was one, took an important and leading part in the affairs of the Israelites, as described in the article Tribes.

NAIL. There are two Hebrew words thus translated in the Auth. Vers., which it may be well to distinguish.

1. יתד *yathed*, which usually denotes a peg, pin, or nail, as driven into a wall (Ezek. xv. 3; Isa. xxii. 25); and more especially a tent-pin driven into the earth to fasten the tent (Exod. xxvii. 19; xxxv. 18; xxxviii. 31; Judg. iv. 21, 22; Isa. xxxiii. 20; liv. 2). Hence, to drive a pin, or to fasten a nail, presents among the Hebrews an image of a fixed dwelling, a firm and stable abode (Isa. xxii. 23). And this image is still frequent among the Arabs, as shown by several quotations produced by Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus*, under this word. A pin or nail is also, by a further application of the metaphor, applied to a prince, on whom the care and welfare of the state depends (Zech. x. 4), where the term פִּנָּה, *corner stone*, is applied to the same person denoted by the word 'nail.' All these allusions will seem very plain, if we bear in mind the leading sense of the word, as referring to those large nails, or pins, or cramps, used in applications requiring great strength, being driven into walls, or into the ground.

2. מסמרות *mismeroth*, which, with some variations of form, is applied to ordinary and ornamental nails. It always occurs in the plural, and is the word which we find in 1 Chron. xxii. 3; 2 Chron. iii. 9; Isa. xli. 7; Jer. x. 4; Eccles. xii. 11. The last of these texts involves a very significant proverbial application—'The words of the wise are as nails infixed,' &c., that is, 'they sink deep into the heart of man.' The golden nails of the temple are denoted by this word.

NAIN (Ναΐν), a town of Palestine, mentioned only in the New Testament, as the place where Jesus raised the widow's son to life (Luke vii. 11-17). Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v. *Naim*) describe it as not far from Endor. As its name has always been preserved, it was recognised by the crusaders, and has been often noticed by travellers up to the present day. It has now dwindled to a small hamlet called *Nein*, which

is situated about three miles S. by W. from Mount Tabor.

NAIOTH (נָיוֹת; Sept. Ναυάθ), a place in or near Ramah, where Samuel abode with his disciples (1 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 22, 23; xx. 1). Naioth does not appear to have been a distinct town or village; and we are willing to accept the explanation of R. Isaiah and other Jewish commentators, who state that Ramah was the name of a hill, and Naioth of the place upon it. In that case Naioth must be fixed on the same grounds which determine the site of Ramah.

NAKED. The word עָרוֹם *arom*, rendered 'naked' in our Bibles, does not in many places mean absolute nakedness. It has this meaning in such passages as Job i. 21; Eccles. v. 15; Mic. i. 8; Amos ii. 16. But in other places it means one who is ragged or poorly clad (1 John xxi. 7; Isa. lviii. 7), in the same sense as γυμνός in James ii. 15; which does not indeed differ from a familiar application of the word 'naked' among ourselves. A more peculiar and Oriental sense of the word is that in which it is applied to one who has laid aside his loose outer garment, and goes about in his tunic. When, therefore, Saul is described as having lain down 'naked' (1 Sam. xix. 24), we are to understand that he had laid aside his flowing outer robe, by which his rank was most indicated, and was therefore a king 'naked' or undressed; and it was thus that Isaiah went 'naked' and barefoot (Isa. xx. 2; comp. John xxi. 7). The point of the expression may be the better apprehended when we mention that persons in their own houses freely lay aside their outer garment, and appear in their tunic and girdle; but this is undress, and they would count it improper to appear abroad, or to see company in their own house without the outer robe. In fact, our use of the word 'undress' to denote not nakedness, as it would literally imply, but a dress less than that which we consider full and complete, corresponds very exactly to this signification of the word.

The metaphorical uses of the word in Scripture are too obvious to require explanation.

NAMES, PROPER, chiefly of the Old Testament. It is so interesting, as well as useful, to know the original signification of proper names, that a careful investigation of their nature has many advantages. The chief use, however, which accrues from an accurate knowledge of them is, that we are by their means enabled to attain a more lively apprehension of the truth of ancient history. It is to be wished that greater attention may in future be paid to all those sources of historical knowledge which, although they do not, like the written annals, lie on the high road of research, yet for that very reason often shed over many obscurities a more unexpected light, which would be vainly sought for in the chronicles. Among these remoter auxiliaries of historical inquiry proper names also are to be classed: words apparently dead and unalterable, yet which originally have ever sprung from a full life and a clear sense, which therefore undergo quicker or slower changes according to the progress of the national development, and which, at every great revolution of the history of a people, easily assume a perfectly new form. While the use of proper names thus furnishes an evidence of the national customs, views, and tendencies predominating at certain periods, they at the same time, as words of more durable form, preserve many relics of an elder state of the language, which would otherwise disappear from the living tongue.

The Bible itself encourages and authorizes such inquiries. The origin and signification of a name are often expressly interpreted in the Old Testament, from Gen. ii. 19-23, where the name of Adam's wife (אִשָּׁה) is explained, down to the book of Esther, the chief object of which is to account not only for the origin, but also for the name of the Feast of Purim; nor are such explanations of names wanting in the New Testament.* It is well to remark, however, that the narrator who gives most of the explanations of names in the Old Testament does not belong to an earlier date than that one whom I have called 'the fourth narrator of the primitive history.'† It is evident from this that the ancient Hebrews did indeed make, comparatively speaking, a very early attempt at etymological interpretations, but it was, nevertheless, not until after the time of Solomon: at a period, therefore, when what we call literary culture began to flourish amongst them. For Solomon is always justly considered to be the founder of science among this people; and the attention which is directed to the signification of the ancient names, and which often undertakes to give different explanations of them,‡ is with reason traced to an already nascent zeal for wisdom.

Many elder scholars appreciated the importance of a correct understanding of the Biblical proper names; and two very comprehensive works appeared in the last century,§ in which they are collected with tolerable completeness, and are explained with an amount of learning very creditable for that period. These works were at the same time really supplements to the ordinary Biblical Lexicons and Concordances, which excluded proper names, and were so far defective in their representation of the language. Their chief merit, however, consisted merely in the diligence with which the materials had been collected; for, as for the interpretation of the sense of the names, in consequence of the imperfect views of all philology, and of the Hebrew grammar especially, which then still prevailed, it continued to be extremely precarious; and, as it set out from many erroneous assumptions, it also arrived at a large number of mistakes. And yet the latest Hebrew lexicons have not only adopted

* Mark iii. 17; Acts i. 19.

† The reader is referred, for a fuller discussion of this subject, to my *Geschichte des Volks Israel*, i. 22-24, and p. 122, sq.

‡ The name *Isaac* is explained no less than three or four times, and always somewhat differently (Gen. xvii. 17; xviii. 12-15; xxi. 6, 9); but these can only be regarded as different attempts to explain this ancient name. There are also several similar instances in the Old Testament.

§ Matthæi Hilleri *Onomasticon Sacrum*, Tubingæ, 1706, and Jo. Simonis *Onomasticon Sacrum*, Hal. 1741. The former is the larger of the two, but even it is not free from omissions.

these collections of the proper names, but also those very explanations which are wrong in the most important points, as if no single person, for a hundred years, had taken the trouble to investigate this difficult subject. For instance, when the name of the well-known wife of David, Abigail, is still explained to mean 'father of joy,' or, forsooth, 'whose father is joy,' it is evident that those who believe this neither understand Hebrew grammar, nor trouble themselves about the principles of the question; for what woman really ever bore such a senseless name?

Without doubt many parts of this subject are very obscure, as proper names are so often only the scattered and decayed ruins of a distant age. But as soon as we take a more animated view of all the relics that have been preserved to us, and compare them more cautiously with the customs of other nations, we are able to discern their more general and important features at least, with reasonable certainty, and, what is after all the only advantage to be derived from their study, to pluck some rare and noble fruits from these apparent thorns. I, therefore, claim indulgence for entering at some length into a closer examination of this question.

There are two chief classes of proper names, those of men, and those of every thing besides man, as beasts, places, and festivals. Those of the latter class are much more durable in their form, as man alone is always changing; they are also important for history, and it is desirable to ascertain, as far as possible, their original signification. But the proper names of the changeable races of men are in a much higher degree those in which history reflects itself in its vicissitudes; they also constitute the more numerous class. For these reasons, we confine ourselves at present to the proper names of men, as it is beyond our present scope to treat the entire subject.

The first fact that strikes us, on a general view of them all, is, that the ancient Hebrews always retained the greatest simplicity in the use of names. In reality, there is always only one single name which distinguishes a person. Where it is necessary, the name of the father is added; sometimes that of the mother instead, in case she happens to be more celebrated;* or the line of descent is traced farther back, often to the fourth generation, or even farther. Mere epithets, like 'David the king,' 'Isaiah the prophet,' always express the actual and significant dignity of a man. The instances in which a person receives two names alternately, as Jacob-Israel, Gideon-Jerubbaal (Judg. vi.-ix.), are casual and rare, and are not to be ascribed to a general custom of the people. On comparing the mode in which the Arabs use proper names, we discover a striking difference. With them, every man of any importance always receives, besides his proper name and perhaps nickname, a prænomen (*Kunje*), which might be most fittingly called the name of compliment, or domestic name, as it denotes the man under the special relation of father, as *Abu Zaid*, 'father of Zaid;' and, in addition to these, a name of honour for the world—which at least has prevailed generally since the time of the Abbassides, and which usually exalts, in pompous terms, the person in relation to religion (as *Salaheddin*, 'the welfare of religion'), or to the state (as *Saif-eddaula*, 'the sword of the state'). In this the Arabs are absolutely a modern people, and overvalue externals as much as the Europeans of the present day. How much more simple were the Hebrews during the most flourishing period of their history! For, in this respect also, the usage of names is only an evidence of the predominant customs and views of whole periods.

When we, then, consider proper names with reference to the grand distinction of times, we are able to discover in their varying use nearly the same three periods as those which mark the history of this people in all other respects. These are the three periods which are most simply defined by the three different names of the nation which prevailed in each: the *Hebrews*, as they were called in early times, gradually adopted the name of *Israelites* in the middle period, and exchanged this name, in the third, for that of *Jews*. It is a remarkable, but nevertheless true, coincidence that, just as the name of the nation varies in these three periods, the colour of the names of individuals changes in like manner, according to the different tendencies characterizing the times.

I. In the first period, which, for reasons adduced below, we here limit by the commencement of the Mosaic religion, we are able to see the whole process according to which names are formed among this people: the distinct character of the formation of names which was established in this primitive time, continues essentially the same in the succeeding period, while the elements of which names are formed undergo a partial change. For this reason, we may explain the laws of this formation in terms of merely general application.—Now names are either *simple* or *compound* words, or also words which arise from either of these kinds *by derivation*.

1. The *simple* names exist in great abundance; and their signification, as to the mere word itself, is generally evident: as דָּן, 'judge;' יָמִין, the Latin *dexter*, an ancient name, according to Gen. xlvi. 10, 1 Chron. ii. 27; שָׁאוּל, 'desired,' also an ancient name according to Gen. xlvi. 10, cf. xxxvi. 37; גֶּבֶר, 'hero,' 1 Kings iv. 19. Thus most of them express an honourable sense; although examples are not wanting of the direct contrary, as עֵקֶשׁ, 'crooked,' 2 Sam. xxiii. 26. With what ease also feminine words become names for men, is shown by cases like אַיָּה, 'vulture,' 2 Sam. iii. 7, xxi. 8; cf. Gen. xxxvi. 24; יוֹנָה, 'dove;' which are just as applicable to men as the masculine שׁוּעָל, 'fox,' 1 Chron. vii. 36. Diminutives, which are so frequently used as proper names by the Arabs, are rare among the Hebrews; but are by no means wanting, as is proved by זְבוּלוּן or זְבוּלֻן, the name of the son of Jacob, and יְדוּתוּן or יְדִיתוּן, the name of the singer of David. All those names which are formed with a prefixed *jod* are to be considered as especially ancient, because this nominal formation became entirely obsolete in the language, and recurs almost only in proper names,

* The three heroic brothers, Joab, Abishai, and 'Asael, are always called after their mother Zerûja (1 Chron. ii. 16).

as is shown not only by the well-known names, יעקב, יוסף, יהודה, יצחק, but also by a number of less common ones, as יְשׁוּב, Num. xxvi. 24; יָרִיב, 1 Chron. iv. 21; יַמְלֶךְ, iv. 34; יַעְבָּן, v. 13; יִצְהָר, Exod. vi. 18; יִבְחָר, 2 Sam. v. 15; יַפְלֶא, Num. xiii. 6, 1 Chron. vii. 38; יְרֻחָם, 1 Sam. i. 1, 1 Chron. viii. 27; and others. There is an ancient adjective-ending, that in *âm* or *ôm*, which has fixed itself most firmly in proper names, as אֲחֹתָם, 1 Chron. iv. 6; גַּזָּם, Ezra ii. 48; מִרְיָם, the sister of Moses, and גֵּרְשֹׁם, his son; כִּמְהָם, 2 Sam. xix. 38, which not only exists also in the form כִּמְהוֹם, Jer. xlii. 17, but in כִּמְהָן, 2 Sam. xix. 41, according to customary changes. We are anxious not to fatigue the reader by such philological observations, but we can assure him that a deeper investigation into these apparently dead subjects will lead to the discovery of much that illustrates the ancient language and customs of the people.

2. The *compound* names, however, are more important for history, because they express more complete and distinct ideas than the simple names. Some of them are altogether isolated, as פִּינְחָס, properly 'serpent's mouth,' the grandson of Aaron; יִשָּׂשכָר, the son of Jacob; *Oholiab*, Exod. xxxi. 6, 'father's tent,' a name resembling the Greek Patrocles. But most of them bear a general resemblance to each other, and follow in shoals certain dominant opinions and customs; and these last are what we must particularly consider here.

A great number of them owe their origin to the relations of the house, as the sense of the first word of the compound shows. Most of these have the word *abi*, 'father,' for their first member, as *Abiezer*, *Abital*, *Abigail*.* The prevalent opinion among modern scholars † respecting this class is that they are really epithets, which have afterwards, as it were casually, become proper names; that *Abigail*, for example, is literally 'father of joy,' or 'whose father is joy,' that this means *cheerful*, and thus became a proper name; and in proof they appeal to the Arabic language, in which such periphrases with *abi* are common. In reality, however, this assumption is extremely uncertain and erroneous. The Arabic undoubtedly possesses a vast number of such names, as Abul-Ma'âli, 'the father of dignities,' *i. e.* the venerable; Abul-husni, 'the father of beauty,' *i. e.* the peacock; Abul-hussaini, 'the father of the little fortress,' *i. e.* the fox, who lives in holes; Abu-Aijûba, 'the father of Job,' *i. e.* the camel, because it is as patient as Job. But such names, which may be formed *ad libitum*, by hundreds, belong in Arabic rather to the artificial, often to the sportive, and generally also to the later, language, and were not possible until the Arabs had adopted the custom of always using a prænomen, or domestic name—the above-mentioned Kunje—in addition to the chief name. As soon as ever it became customary to give a man a double designation—his real name, and the more familiar, often sportive, domestic name—this custom was gradually transferred to other subjects, and then these in themselves extraordinary circumlocutory names arose.* But such domestic names were never in use among the Hebrews—nay, more, such periphrastic names with *abi* do not even occur in their poetic diction; as the only passage which could be adduced in favour of it (Job xvii. 14) is not, when taken in its true sense, at all an instance in point. To call the camel 'father of Job' is undeniably a kind of sportive name: and are we to assume that this jesting custom prevailed among the primitive Hebrews? Thus we have here another striking example of the danger attending superficial comparisons of Arabic with Hebrew; for this view never could have been formed by those who were intimately acquainted with the treasures of Arabic literature.† I believe, on the contrary, that the first member of such compounds did indeed, in the early times in which they were first formed, really denote nothing but the father of the son who is named in the second member; but that subsequently, for a particular reason, they were employed only to denote a kind of dignity. If we compare the numerous genealogical registers in the books of Chronicles, which, dry as they are, yet contain much that is instructive, we find that a man is often called the *father*, that is, the *lord*, of a town or village, as 'Ashchur the father of Teqoa,' 1 Chron. ii. 29; 'Mesha, the father of Zif,' ver. 42; 'Meon, the father of Beth-zur,' ver. 45; 'Shobal, the father of Qirjathjearim,' ver. 50, &c. In these cases the meaning cannot be doubtful, as the second member always signifies a place; but this is at the same time a genuine Hebrew custom, which will hardly be found among the other Semitic nations. As soon, then, as it had become customary to use the word 'father' to denote a kind of dignity in the family and in the nation, it was easy to prefix this short word, as a mere term of honour, to any name by way of distinguishing the eldest or the favourite son. Several cogent arguments favour this view. First, it can almost always be proved, even from our present scanty documents, that the second member of such compound names was also used, by itself,

* This *abi* was, without doubt, gradually shortened to *ab*, as is proved by אבנר beside אבינר, 1 Sam. xiv. 50, 2 Sam. ii. 8, and by many other examples. The further softening of this *ab* to *eb* is only possible when a *j* follows it, as אֶבְיָתָר, 1 Sam. xxii. 20; אֶבְיָסָף, 1 Chron. vi. 8, 22, beside the older form אֲבִיאָסָף, Exod. vi. 24.

† For instance, Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*.

* See a learned article on the *Kunje*, by Koelgarten, in the *Zeitschrift für das Morgenland*, i. 297, sq.; in which he has only neglected to insist sufficiently on the fact, that *abu* originally denoted the actual father of the son mentioned in the second member.

† We could more easily admit such a metaphorical sense in the compounds with *son*, since בן is really often used in a highly metaphorical sense. Bathshéba' is certainly not the daughter of a man named Shéba', 2 Sam. xi. 3. Such compound names with *son*, however, are, on the whole, rare, and are only found in some frequency in 1 Kings iv. 7, sq.

as a proper name, as *Dân* beside *Abidân*, Num. i. 11; *Ezer*, 1 Chron. vii. 21, Neh. iii. 19, beside *Abiezer; Asaph* beside *Abiasaph* or *Ebjasaph; Nadab*, Exod. vi. 23, beside *Abinadab; Nóam* or *Nóam*, 1 Chron. iv. 15, beside *Abinoam; Jathar* or *Jether*, a very common name, beside *Ebjathar;* nay, they are even found in the same family, as *Abiner* or *Abner*, the son of *Ner*, 1 Sam. xiv. 50, 2 Sam. ii. 8. Moreover, this explains how other words of relationship are prefixed in the same way; the latter member is always a word which was originally a proper name, which is only multiplied by means of these little prefixes, and in which we indeed no longer discern why *father* is the word prefixed in one instance, and *brother* that in another. *Achi*, *i. e.* 'brother,' is often prefixed in this manner; thus, the one was called *Râm*, 1 Chron. ii. 9, xxv. 27, Ruth iv. 19; the other *Abirâm*, Num. xvi. 1; and the third *Achirâm*, Num. xxvi. 38. *Achinoam*, *Achiezer*, and others of this sort, are easily accounted for. *Chamu*, *i. e.* 'brother in law,' is rarely so used; as *Chamutal* or *Chamital*, 2 Kings xxiv. 18, Jer. lii. 1; beside *Abital*, 2 Sam. iii. 4. Under this class we may also include אִישׁ, 'man,' with which several names are compounded. As the Hebrews had a simple name, *Hûd* or *Hôd*, *i. e.* 'splendour,' (cf. *Jehûdah*), 1 Chron. vii. 37, and an *Abihud*, 1 Chron. viii. 3, and *Achihud*, Num. xxxiv. 27, so also they formed an *Ishehôd*, 1 Chron. vii. 18; as they had an *Abitûb* and *Achitob*, so also an *Ishtôb*, 2 Sam. x. 6; and as there was an ancient name *Chûr*, 'free,' who is mentioned in Exod. xvii. 10 as a friend of Moses, so *Ash-chûr* * appears as a relative of the family of *Chûr*, 1 Chron. iv. 5, comp. ver. 1.

Another, but a smaller, class consists of names compounded with עַם, 'people,' resembling the many Greek compositions with λαός and δῆμος; and just as in Greek δῆμος is placed first or last (Demosthenes, Aristodemos), so also עַם is at one time found in the first, and at another in the last place; only that, according to the laws of the Semitic language, the sense of one of these positions is exactly the reverse of the other. It is important, however, to remark here that in this, just as in the former class, one member is generally a word which is used by itself as a proper name; that here, therefore, instead of a reference to the mere family, a wider regard to the whole people prevails, and an individual is considered with relation to his nation. Thus the common name עַמִּינָדָב, Exod. vi. 23, the German *Edelvolk*, *i. e.* one who belongs to the noble people, so that it answers to the Greek Aristodemos; עַמִּיהוּד, *Glanzvolk*, also a favourite name, which would be Phaidrodemos in Greek; on the contrary, יִתְרְעָם, 2 Sam. iii. 5, perhaps the German *Volkhart*, the Greek Demosthenes; רַחַבְעָם, *Volkbreit;* יַרְקָעָם, *Volkgrün*, which occurs in 1 Chron. ii. 44 as the name of a place, but which must originally have been the name of the founder of that place. As all these compounds must be conceived to be in the state construct, so likewise we are probably to take the names יִרְבְעָם, properly 'people's increaser,' a suitable name for a prince, and יִשְׁבְעָם, 'people's turner' or 'leader;' for, as was observed above, the simple names are often formed with a prefixed *jod;* and we actually find יִשּׁוּב as a simple name, in Num. xxvi. 29, 1 Chron. vii. 1.

Most of the compound names, however, rather endeavour to express a religious sense, and therefore often contain the divine name. And here we at the same time find a new law of formation: as these compounds are intended to express a complete thought, such as the religious sentiment requires, a name may consist of an entire proposition with a verb, but of course in as brief a compass as possible; and indeed shorter compounds are made with a verb than with a passive participle, as נְתַנְאֵל (in the New Test. Ναθαναήλ, properly 'God-gave,' *i. e.* whom God gave, given by God, Θεόδοτος or Θεόδωρος) sounds shorter than נְתוּנִיאֵל with the participle, which would certainly express the same sense. But as the finite verb, as also any other predicate, can just as well precede as follow, accordingly a great freedom in the position of the divine name has prevailed in this class; and this peculiarity is preserved, in the same case, in the following period: but indeed the Greeks use Δωροθεός as well as Θεόδωρος. Thus, נְתַנְאֵל, 1 Chron. ii. 14, or אֶלְנָתָן, Jer. xxxvi. 12. The two names are then generally assigned to two different persons; nevertheless, both combinations may form names for the same person, as עַמִּיאֵל, 1 Chron. iii. 5, and אֱלִיעָם, 2 Sam. xi. 3, belong to the same individual. Now, as compound names evidently became very general, it is not surprising that, in the infinite multiplication of names to correspond with the infinite multitude of persons, some proper names were at length formed which solely consist of two names of God himself, expressing, as it were, the ineffably holy name to which the person dedicates himself,* as *Abiel* and *Eliab*, nay, even *Elicl*, 1 Chron. v. 24, viii. 20, 2 Chron.

* There is no doubt that this *ăsh*, as also *ĕsh*, in אֶשְׁבַּעַל, 1 Chron. viii. 33, is an abbreviation of *îsh*. No words are more liable to such gradual shortenings than proper names, especially those of longer compass. Even *Abi*, above explained, has been sometimes shortened to *î*, in consequence of its frequent use, as is shown by comparing אִיעֶזֶר, which occurs twice in Num. xxvi. 30, with the *Abiezer* of Josh. xvii. 2, Judg. vi. 11; and we must explain the few other names of this kind in the same way, such as אִיתָמָר, Exod. vi. 22; אִיזֶבֶל, 1 Kings xvi. 31; and אִיכָבוֹד, 1 Sam. iv. 21. In the last passage there is an allusion to the sense *without*, which אִי considered *per se* may express; but the only conclusion from this is, that this sound had already, in some names, suffered that change constantly.

* Names of this sort are found among all nations. We may briefly mention that there are persons with the Latin name *Salvator*, with the German ones, *Heiland*, *Herrgott*, and that a well known Dutch orientalist was called Louis *de Dieu*. The impious Seleucidæ took the name *Theos* for a different reason.

xxxi. 13. A very important question, however, still remains: what divine names were thus used in the earliest times until Moses? We find that *El* was then the commonest, and *Shaddai* less frequent; the latter is only found in צוּרִישַׁדַּי, 'rock of the Almighty,' Num. i. 6, ii. 12,* and עַמִּישַׁדַּי, 'people of the Almighty,' ver. 12; still more rarely is צוּר, 'rock,' itself used as a divine name, as פְּדָהצוּר, Num. i. 10, which is almost equivalent to פְּדָהאֵל, 'God redeems.' If we now consider that, according to the ancient testimony in Exod. vi. 3, the name Jahve (Jehovah) was not known then, but that the only other name of God which existed, beside the common *El* and *Elohim*, was the rarer and more awful Shaddai, these historical traces which are discovered in proper names, accord most perfectly with that statement, and furnish a very welcome confirmation of it.

On reviewing this whole system of forming compound names, it is evident that they at length became very common, as if their sounding pomp was considered more dignified and attractive; nevertheless, their chief tendency was to express the three great and most comprehensive relations in which a man can stand, namely, Home, People, and God. The original luxuriance of all language again gathered itself together in names, as in a fruitful soil; and accordingly there were times, even within the historical period, in which the primitive energies of all language were so busily active even in this apparently barren province, that (since all possible combinations were attempted in order to make an infinitude of names for the infinite number of persons) such names also were devised as, at first hearing, were surprising, as אֲבִיהוּא, properly 'self-father,' אֱלִיהוּא, 'self-god,' αὐτοθεός, a name which may be old, although it is only now found in the book of Job. And if we compare this Hebrew mode of forming compound names with that of the Greeks and Arabs, as the more familiar examples, we find this remarkable result, although it harmonises with many other phenomena; namely, that it is essentially more like the Greek than the Arab mode; only that the Greeks allude more frequently, in their names, to the *people*, which is characteristic of the whole of Greek life; while the Arabs, who always had families only, but never were a nation, never allude to the people, and do not, in composition, possess so great freedom in the position and juncture of words.

3. Lastly, many proper names have assumed the derivative syllable *-i*, or *ai* (which appears to be only dialectically different from *-i*, and is chiefly frequent in the later periods); and we must certainly consider that, in some cases, this syllable may possibly form mere adjectives, and therewith simple names, as אֲמָתַי, 'trueman,' from אֱמֶת, 'truth,' and *Barzillai* 'Iron,' or 'Ironman,' the name of a celebrated Gileadite family, Ezra ii. 61; 2 Sam. xvii. 27; or that it is derived from a place, as בְּאֵרִי, Hos. i. 1; 1 Chron. vii. 36, 'he of the well,' or, he of a place known as the well. But it undoubtedly very often also expresses a genealogical relation, like the Greek ending *-ιδης*, and presupposes a previous proper name from which it is derived; thus the name חוּרִי, 1 Chron. v. 14, as surely presupposes the above-mentioned *Chûr*, as the Greek Philippides does Philippos, and as *Ketûbai*, 1 Chron. ii. 9, one of the descendants of Judah, is connected with the Ketûb in iv. 11.*

Among the names of women, the oldest as well as the simplest which are found, are actually only suited for women, as *Rachel*, 'Ewe;' *Deborah*, 'Bee;' *Tamar*, 'Palm-tree;' *Hannah*, 'Favour,' the mother of Samuel. Those which express such a delicate and endearing sense as *Qéren Happûk*, 'box of eye-ointment,' Job xlii. 14, and חֶפְצִיבָה, 'my delight is in her,' 2 Kings xxi. 1, betray that they were formed in much later times; for, although the first occurs in the book of Job, which sedulously retains all archaisms, it nevertheless belongs to the same date as the latter. It appears indeed to have been customary, at an early period, to form names for women from those of men, by means of the feminine termination; as חַנִּית, 2 Sam. iii. 4, beside חַגִּי, Num. xxvi. 15; מִיכַלְתִּית, *i. e. Pia*, 2 Kings xxi. 19, beside מִיכָל, *Pius*, 1 Chron. v. 13, viii. 17, and יִשְׁלְמִית, *Friederike*, Num. xxiv. 11, beside יִשְׁלֹמוֹת, *Friederich*. But we must not overlook the fact that all these are instances of simple names;† no single example occurs from a compound man's name. As the same compound names, however, are sometimes used both for men and women, and as even these very names are applied to women, which could not originally have been applicable to any but men, as *Abigail*, *Achinoam*, accordingly, we must assume that the plastic power of the language had already exhausted itself in this remote province, and that, for that reason, the distinction of the feminine was omitted; almost in the same way as Sanscrit and Greek adjectives of the form

* That is, 'who seeks protection in the Almighty,' like Διοκράτης. It is desirable to confine the force of the *-i*, as much as possible, to that of a mere vowel of union, because the uniformity of the other structures of names requires it. There is no doubt, however, that in later times, as this union-vowel became lost to the common language, it was taken as the suffix of the first person, as is shown by the newly-coined poetical name, אֲתִיאֵל, 'With-me-is-God,' Prov. xxx. 1. But this is not the force of it originally.

* It is remarkable that the genealogical relation appears to be sometimes expressed by the mere ה of motion, as יַעְלָה, 1 Chron. iv. 36, which would be equivalently expressed by a German name *Zu-Jacob*; יִשְׂרְאֵלָה, *De Israel*, 1 Chron. xxv. 14, cf. ver. 2; and most distinctly in תֵּישֵׁבְנָה, 'reckoned to Dan,' Neh. vii. 4; cf. יֵישֵׁבְקָשָׁה in 1 Chron. xxv. 4.

† Or of those also in which the guttural has already dropped the second member; for Chanael and Zabdi, as is shown below, are shortened from Chananjah, Zabdijah

εὐδαίμων, εὐτυχής, are not able to distinguish the feminine in form.

II. This is the whole principle which regulates the formation of Hebrew names, both as it manifests itself in the earliest times, and as it extends into the succeeding periods, in which it receives new impulses, and undergoes modifications of colour but not of substance.

For if we inquire what new element the Mosaic period introduced into names, we find that, on the whole, it is only the influence of the new religion which manifests itself in the strongest characters, and causes extraordinary innovations. It is not in the Psalms only and other books that we discover how deeply this religion affected men; we may also infer it from the names which became current in that period. Nay, it is only these words of common life which render it evident to our senses with what a power this religion penetrated all the depths of the national mind, and how zealously every man in Israel endeavoured 'to glory in the name of Jahve,' according to the words of the prophet, Isa. xliv. 5; cf. Ps. cv. 3.

As the whole national life was renovated by so influential a new religion, the mode of giving names returned to its primitive state, since not only were new names created, but entire sentences, of the shortest compass, expressing the mighty thoughts which agitated the times, were also applied as names.* Thus, especially in the times in which the Mosaic religion exercised a more vivid influence, names were formed of entire sentences, in which some of its most affecting truths are expressed, as יוֹשַׁב חֶסֶד, 'mercy-is-recompensed,' 1 Chron. iii. 20; אֶלְיוֹעֵנַי, 'to-Jahve-are-mine-eyes' (as if it were derived from hymns like Ps. cxxiii.), 1 Chron. iv. 36, vii. 8, viii. 20;† Ezra x. 22, 27; Nehem. xii. 41; הוֹדַוְיָה, 'praise-ye-Jah' (from well-known passages of the Psalms), 1 Chron. iii. 24, Ezra ii. 40;‡ as a name of a woman, הַצִּלְלְפּוֹנִי, 'Give-shadow-thou-that-seest-me' (God), 1 Chron. iv. 3. But we seem to have the words of a great prophet distributed in names of several relations, when we find the words—

גִּדַּלְתִּי וְרוֹמַמְתִּי עֻזֶּר
מַלּוֹתִי הוֹתִיר מַחֲזִיאוֹת

i. e. 'I have given great and exalted aid,
Have spoken oracles in abundance'

(which evidently contain a verse such as an ancient prophecy might begin with), applied to the five musical sons of Hêman—*Giddalti* (ezer), *Romamtiezer*, *Mallôti*, *Hothîr*, *Machazioth*, 1 Chron. xxv. 4, cf. ver. 26, 28-31. This is really a remarkable example. We also once find, in Isa. vii., a particular representation of the mode in which such names as *Sheârjashûb* and *Immanuel* arose in real life.

But it was chiefly only the name of God in this religion, Jahve, which was employed in the formation of names (in the same way as the earlier divine names were); and it is shortened, when it constitutes the last member of the name, to *-jáhu*, or, still more, to *-jah*, and, when it is the first member, to *Jehó-*, or *Jo-*. In this usage it occurs with infinite frequency (the older name *Shaddai* becoming obsolete, and *El* alone continuing in use), while the other member of the name often retains the same form as in the primitive times, *e. g.* גֵּרְיָה, like גֵּר, and אֲבִינֵר. The mother of Moses, *Jokébed*, Exod. vi. 20, is, according to all traces, the first whose name bears evidence of the worship of this God (which is an exceedingly important testimony to the truth of the whole history, but we cannot pursue the subject farther here); and it is a beautiful incident that Moses, with his own mouth, changed the name of his most valiant warrior *Hoshéa*, *i. e.* 'Help!' into *Jehoshúa*, *i. e.* 'Godhelp;' as Muhammed, in like manner, gave some of his followers names conformable to his new religion.*

The frequency of such compositions with the name of Jahve may be estimated by the abbreviations which sometimes become customary in such names. Thus מִיכָיָהוּ, or מִיכָיְהוּ (as it is occasionally pointed), is not only shortened to מִיכָיָה, but to מִיכָה, Judg. xvii. 5, 9-13, cf. ver. 1, 4; 2 Chron. xviii. 14, cf. ver. 7-13; in which manner we are also to explain the name of the well-known minor prophet. Thus also the common name for men and women, *Abijáhu* or *Abija*, is once shortened to *Abi*, 2 Kings xviii. 2.† There are, however, two cases which are not to be confounded with these casual and gradual abbreviations. First, namely, we find the rare instance that a name which has been preserved unchanged, is nevertheless occasionally formed by dropping the syllable *Jo-* or *-jah*: as it is evident that נָתָן has been shortened from נְתַנְיָה or יוֹנָתָן; as likewise מַתָּן, 2 Kings xi. 18, from מַתַּנְיָה; and זַכָּר, 1 Chron. viii. 31, from זְכַרְיָה; because names which mean 'gave,' 'gift,' 'memory,' do not by themselves produce a suitable sense, and because they never are found with *Abi-*, *Achi-*, and such additions, nor can be traced back into the primitive times. We are therefore obliged, in this case, to assume that these names have been designedly shortened, in the effort to make as many different names as possible; and, as it is not uncommon for two brothers to receive similar names, this may be the immediate cause for the formation of a name *Nathan* beside *Nethanjah*.‡ Secondly, when-

* Similar instances occurred in England in the seventeenth century.

† In this place we find אליעני, which the Masoretes point *Eliênai;* but this would not produce any sense, and a ו has evidently been omitted. The Sept. reads Ἐλιωναΐ, which is right.

‡ The heavier pronunciation *Hodávjah* seems to be designedly preferred to *Hodújah*, because Hodújah would easily pass over into Hodijjah, which would give a different sense. There is only one other similar example, יוֹשַׁוְיָה, 1 Chron. xi. 46, the meaning of which is obscure.

* Weil, in his *Leben Muhammeds* (Stuttgardt, 1843, p. 344), treats this subject too briefly. Elnavavi discusses it more at length in the preface to his *Tahdsib elasmâi*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 15.

† In like manner, פַּלְטִי, 1 Sam. xxv. 14, is an abbreviation of פַּלְטִיאֵל, 2 Sam. iii. 15.

‡ This case occurs in the same way among

ever a derivative in *-i* is formed, the addition *-jah*, or even *Jo-* at the beginning, disappears; and in this case also we find חֲנָנִי (although it is equivalent to the patronymic *Chananiades*), beside חֲנַנְיָה, as the name of his brother, 1 Chron. xxv. 4, 23, 25.

III. This is the type and fashion of the names as late as the times after the first destruction of Jerusalem. The influence of the dispersion among foreign nations may, indeed, be immediately traced in the new names which allude to the captivity, as the name of *Zerubbabel* himself, which is a contraction of זְרוּ בָבֶל, means 'scattered to Babylon.' Yet this foreign influence is but transient; and in the centuries immediately succeeding the Exile, in which the last books of the Old Testament were written, we find, on the contrary, that the ancient mode of giving names is preserved almost unchanged.

In this respect, however, there is a total difference in the times between the close of the Old and the beginning of the New Testament. For after a purely learned study of the Old Testament had sprung up, and the whole nation only continued to exist in its sacred books, they delighted to give their children the ancient Scriptural names; nay, they sought out such names as had only been common in the times before Moses, and had become obsolete in the long interval: names like *Jacob*, *Joseph*, *Maria*. But while these dead names were revived and zealously sought out, the capability for forming new names became gradually weaker. And, as the love of novelty still operated, and as the people lost their independence more and more, many foreign names became favourites, and were used equally with the old Biblical names. In this manner the form of names had, by the time of the New Testament, reached a state of development which nearly resembles that prevalent among ourselves.

Lastly, with regard to the Biblical names of individuals belonging to the less eminent nations with which the Israelites were surrounded, such as the Edomites, Phœnicians, Damascenes, &c., their formation indeed is generally very like that of the Hebrew names, inasmuch as all these nations spoke a Semitic language; but the materials of which they are formed are so different, that one can almost recognise these foreign nations by their mere names. Thus names like *Hadad*, *Ben-hadad*, *Hadad-ezer*, are quite strange to the Israelites, and refer to the tribes to the East of Palestine, where a god named Hadad was worshipped.—H. v. E.

NAOMI, wife of Elimelech of Bethlehem, and mother-in-law of Ruth, in whose history hers is involved [RUTH].

NAPHTALI (נַפְתָּלִי, *my wrestling*; Sept. Νεφθαλείμ), the sixth son of Jacob, and his second by Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, born B.C. 1747, in Padan-Aram. Nothing of his personal history is recorded. In the testamentary blessing of Jacob Naphtali is described as אַיָּלָה שְׁלוּחָה הַנֹּתֵן אִמְרֵי שָׁפֶר (Gen. xlix. 21), translated in the Auth. Vers. 'a hind let loose, he giveth goodly words.' This sense is certainly that conveyed by the pointed Hebrew text as it now stands, and it is substantially preserved in the Oriental and Latin versions, and in the Targum of Jonathan. Gesenius renders it, 'Naphtali est *cerva* procera, edens *verba* pulchra,' *i. e.* pleasant or persuasive words, referring, he thinks, to some poetic or oratorical talent of this tribe, otherwise unknown. He vindicates this, which is essentially the current version, from the common objection.—How can words be ascribed to a hind?—by observing that the 'giving forth' applies not to the hind but to Naphtali. The Sept. translators, however, must have found the words rendered 'hind' and 'words' different, for they render the verse, Νεφθαλείμ στέλεχος ἀνειμένον ἐπιδιδούς ἐν τῷ γενήματι κάλλος; and as this reading merely requires a difference of points in the two Hebrew words in question, the idea here conveyed has been adopted by the great body of modern interpreters, Bochart's version of it being generally followed:—'Naphtali *terebinthus* patula, edens *ramos* pulchros.' According to this reading the verse might be rendered, 'Naphtali is a goodly tree [terebinth or oak] that puts forth lovely branches.' We certainly incline to this view of the text; the metaphor which it involves being well adapted to the residence of the tribe of Naphtali, which was a beautiful woodland country, extending to Mount Lebanon, and producing fruits of every sort. With this interpretation, better than with the other, agrees the blessing of Moses upon the same tribe: 'O Naphtali, satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the Lord, possess thou the west and the south' (Deut. xxxiii. 23).

When the Israelites quitted Egypt, the tribe of Naphtali numbered 53,400 adult males (Num. i. 43), which made it the sixth in population among the tribes; but at the census taken in the plains of Moab it counted only 45,400 (Num. xxvi. 50), being a decrease of 8000 in one generation, whereby it became the seventh in point of numbers. The limits of the territory assigned to this tribe are stated in Josh. xix. 32-39, which show that it possessed one of the finest and most fertile districts of Upper Galilee, extending from the Lake Gennesareth and the border of Zebulon, on the south, to the sources of the Jordan and the spurs of Lebanon on the north, and from the Jordan, on the east, to the borders of Asher on the west. But it was somewhat slow in acquiring possession of the assigned territory (Judg. i. 33). The chief towns of the tribe were Kedesh, Hazor, Harosheth, and Chinnereth, which last was also the name of the great lake afterwards called Gennesareth. In the Hebrew history Naphtali is distinguished for the alacrity with which it obeyed the call to arms against the oppressors of Israel when many other tribes held back (Judg. iv. 10; v. 18; vi. 35; vii. 23). In the time of David the tribe had on its rolls 37,000 men fit for military service, armed with shields and spears, under a thousand officers (1 Chron. xii. 34).

NARCISSUS (Νάρκισσος), a person of Rome,

the Arabs (of which *Hasan* and *Husain*, the sons of Ali, are the readiest example) as among the Hebrews (cf. *Geschichte des Volks Israel*, i. 321). Instances like *Uzziel* and *Uzzi*, 1 Chron. vii. 7, belong altogether to this rule; as also *Jishvah* and *Jishvi* (with the derivative syllable), Gen. xlvi. 17. Father and son also, for the same reason, bear names of similar sound.

apparently of some consequence, to the believers of whose household St. Paul sent his greetings (Rom. xvi. 11). Many commentators have supposed this person the same Narcissus who was the freedman and favourite of the Emperor Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 28; Tacit. *Annal.* xii. 17).

NATAF (נָטָף) occurs only once in Scripture, and is translated 'stacte' in the Authorized Version (Exod. xxx. 34). 'And the Lord said unto Moses, Take unto thee sweet spices, *stacte* (*nataf*), and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense.' 'Thou shalt make it a perfume after the art of the apothecary' (ver. 35). *Nataf* has been variously translated—*balsam, liquid styrax, benzoin, costus, mastich, bdellium.* Celsius is of opinion that it means the purest kind of myrrh, called *stacte* by the Greeks [Mor], He adduces Pliny as saying of the myrrh-trees, 'Sudant sponte stacten dictam,' and remarks, 'Ebræis נטף *Nathaf* est stillare'—adding, as an argument, that if you do not translate it myrrh in this place, you will exclude myrrh altogether from the sacred perfume. But Rosenmüller says, 'This, however, would not be suited for the preparation of the perfume, and it also has another Hebrew name, for it is called *mor deror*. But the Greeks also called *stakte* a species of Storax gum, which Dioscorides describes as transparent like a tear and resembling myrrh. This agrees well with the Hebrew name.' But Storax does not appear to us to be more satisfactorily proved to be nataf than the former. The Arabs apply the term ناطف to a sweetmeat composed of sugar, flour, and butter, in equal parts, with the addition of aromatics. We have no means of determining the question more accurately.—J. F. R.

NATHAN (נָתָן, *given;* Sept. Ναθάν), a prophet of the time of David. When that monarch conceived the idea of building a temple to Jehovah, the design and motives seemed to Nathan so good that he ventured to approve of it without the Divine authority; but the night following he received the Divine command, which prevented the king from executing this great work (2 Sam. vii. 2, sq.; 1 Chron. xvii.). Nathan does not again appear in the sacred history, till he comes forward in the name of the Lord to reprove David, and to denounce dire punishment for his frightful crime in the matter of Uriah and Bathsheba. This he does by exciting the king's indignation, and leading him to condemn himself, by reciting to him the very striking parable of the traveller and the lamb. Then, changing the voice of a suppliant for that of a judge and a commissioned prophet, he exclaims, '*Thou* art the man!' and proceeds to announce the evils which were to embitter the remainder of his reign (2 Sam. xii. 1, sq.; comp. Ps. li.). The lamentations of the repentant king drew forth some mitigation of punishment; but the troubled history of the remainder of his reign shows how completely God's righteous doom was fulfilled. The child conceived in adultery died; but when Bathsheba's second son was born, the prophet gave him the name of Jedidiah *(beloved of Jehovah)*, although he is better known by that of Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 24, 25). He recognised in this young prince the successor of David; and it was in a great measure through his interposition that the design of Adonijah to seize the crown was unsuccessful (1 Kings i. 8, sq.). Nathan probably died soon after the accession of Solomon, for his name does not again historically occur. It is generally supposed that Solomon was brought up under his care. His sons occupied high places in this king's court (1 Kings iv. 5). He assisted David by his counsels when he re-organized the public worship (2 Chron. xxix. 25); and he composed annals of the times in which he lived (1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29); but these have not been preserved to us. In Zechariah (xii. 12) the name of Nathan occurs as representing the great family of the prophets.

NATHANAEL (נְתַנְאֵל, *given of God;* New Test. Ναθαναήλ), a person of Cana in Galilee, who, when informed by Philip that the Messiah had appeared in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, asked, 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' But he nevertheless accepted Philip's laconic invitation, 'Come and see!' When Jesus saw him coming he said, 'Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.' Astonished to hear this from a man to whom he supposed himself altogether unknown, he asked, 'Whence knowest thou me?' And the answer, 'Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee,' wrought such conviction on his mind that he at once exclaimed, 'Rabbi, thou art the son of God; thou art the king of Israel!' (John i. 45-51). It is clear, from the effect, that Nathanael knew by this that Jesus was supernaturally acquainted with his disposition and character, as the answer had reference to the private acts of devotion, or to the meditations which filled his mind, when under the fig-tree in his garden. It is questioned whether Jesus had actually seen Nathanael or not with his bodily eyes. It matters not to the result; but the form of the words employed seems to suggest that he had actually noticed him when under the fig-tree, and had then cast a look through his inward being. Passages from the rabbinical books might be multiplied to show that the Jews were in the habit of studying the law and meditating on religious subjects under shady trees (comp. Tholuck, *Commentar zum Johan.* i. 49). It is believed that Nathanael is the same as the apostle Bartholomew. All the disciples of John the Baptist named in the first chapter of St. John became apostles; and St. John does not name Bartholomew, nor the other evangelists Nathanael in the lists of the apostles (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 14): besides, the name of Bartholomew always follows that of Philip; and it would appear that Bartholomew (son of Tholmai) is no more than a surname [Bartholomew].

NATIONS, DISPERSION OF. Many obvious reasons incline us to suppose that the small number of mankind which divine mercy spared from the extirpation of the Deluge, eight persons, forming at the utmost five families, would continue to dwell near each other as long as the utmost stretch of convenience would permit them. The undutiful conduct of Ham and his fourth son cannot well be assigned to a point of time earlier than twenty or thirty years after the Flood. So long, at least, family affection and mutual interests would urge the children of Noah not to break up their society. The dread of dangers, known and unknown, and every day's experience

of the benefits derived from mutual aid, would strengthen other motives. It is evident from Gen. xi. 10-16, that about 100 years, according to the Hebrew text, were spent in this state of family propinquity, yet with a considerable degree of proximate diffusion, which necessity would urge: but the dates of the Septuagint, without including the generation of the post-diluvian Cainan [see that article], give 400. The well weighed computation of Professor Robert Wallace, not yet published, makes the period 531 years. The Hebrew period can scarcely be admitted: but even that, much more the others, will afford a sufficient time for such an increase of mankind as would render an extensive outspread highly expedient. A crowded population would be likely to furnish means and incentives to turbulence, on the one hand, and to some form of tyranny on the other. Many of the unoccupied districts would become dangerously unwholesome, by stagnating waters and the accumulation of vegetable and animal putrescence. The products of cultivation, and of other arts, would have been acquired so slowly, as to have retarded human improvement and comfort. Tardy expansion would have failed to reach distant regions, till many hundreds or thousands of years had run out. The noxious animals would have multiplied immoderately. The religious obedience associated, by the Divine command, with the possession and use of the earth, would have been checked and perverted to a greater degree than the world's bitter experience proves that it actually has been. Thus, it may appear with pretty strong evidence, that a dispersion of mankind was highly desirable to be in a more prompt and active style than would have been effected by the impulses of mere convenience and vague inclination.

That this dictate of reasonable conjecture was realized in fact, is determined by the Mosaic writings. Of the elder son of Eber, the narrative says, his 'name was Peleg, because in his days the earth was divided' (Gen. x. 18); and this is repeated, evidently as a literal transcript, in 1 Chron. i. 19. If we might coin a word to imitate the Hebrew, we might show the paronomasia by saying, 'the earth was *pelegged*.' Some are of opinion that the event took place about the time of his birth, and that his birth-name was given to him as a memorial of the transaction. But it was the practice of probably all nations in the early times, that persons assumed to themselves, or imposed upon their children and other connections, new names at different epochs of their lives, derived from coincident events in all the variety of associated ideas. Of that practice many examples occur in the Scriptures. The conjecture is more probable that, in this instance, the name was applied in the individual's maturer age, and *on account of* some personal concern which he had in the commencement or progress of the separation. But the signification usually given is by no means a matter of indubitable certainty. The verb occurs only in the two passages mentioned (strictly but one), and in Ps. lv. 9, 'divide their tongues,' and Job xxxviii. 25, 'who hath divided a channel for the torrent' (produced by a heavy thunder-shower)? Respectable philologists have disputed whether it refers at all to a separation of mankind; and think that the event which singularly marked Peleg's life was an occurrence in physical geography, an earthquake, which produced a vast chasm, separating two considerable parts of the earth, in or near the district inhabited by men. That earthquakes and dislocations of land have taken place in and around that region, at various times before the historical period, the present very different levels, and other results of volcanic agency, afford ample proofs. The *possibility*, therefore, of some geological convulsion cannot be denied; or that it might have been upon a great scale, and followed by important effects upon the condition of mankind.

But neither the affirming nor the rejecting of this interpretation of 'the earth's being divided,' can affect the question upon the primeval separation and migratory distributions of men. The reasons which we have mentioned render it certain, that some such event, and successive events, have taken place: and, without urging the passage of disputed interpretation, it is evident that the chapters of Genesis x. and xi. assume the fact, and may be considered as rather a summary recognition of it than as a detailed account. Two sentences are decisive (ch. ix. 19), 'These are the three sons of Noah, and from these all the earth (נפצה) was *scattered over*.' This is the closest translation we can give. Gesenius assigns to the verb a reflexive signification; and thus it would be well expressed in French by *la terre s'est répandue* or *s'est distribuée*. The other is ch. x. 32, 'These are the families of the sons of Noah, [according] to their generations, in their nations; and from these the nations (נפרדו) were *dispersed* in the earth, after the Flood.' Here another verb is used, often occurring in the Old Testament, and the meaning of which admits of no doubt. We find it also at verse 5—'From these the isles of the nations were *dispersed*, in their lands, each [according] to its language, [according] to their families, in their nations.' We have an idiom perfectly similar in our modern language, when we say, *the field is sown*, for *the seed is sown in the field*.

In the latest composition of Moses is another passage which, in this inquiry, must not be neglected (Deut. xxxii. 8, 9)—'In the Most High's assigning abodes to the nations, in his dispersing the sons of Adam, he fixed boundaries to the peoples according to the number (מספר, more exactly, *numeration*) of the sons of Israel: for the assigned portion of Jehovah is his people; Jacob, the lot of his inheritance.' Of this 8th verse the Septuagint translation is remarkable; and it thus became the source of extraordinary interpretations: 'When the Most High apportioned nations, when he scattered abroad the sons of Adam, he fixed boundaries of nations according to the number of the angels of God.' There might be a reading (*El* or *Elohim*, instead of *Israel*), which would yield that meaning from comparison with Job i. 6; ii. 1; xxxviii. 7. Also the Alexandrine translators might welcome a colourable reason for the rendering, that it might haply serve as a protection from the danger of the Macedonico-Egyptian government, taking up the idea that the Jews claimed a divine right of supremacy over all other nations. This reading, however, gave occasion to the Greek Fathers (Justin Martyr, Origen, Eusebius, &c.), to main-

tain the doctrine of a later Jewish origin, that the grandsons of Noah being seventy, each was the ancestor of a nation; each nation having its own language, derived from the confusion of Babel; and each also its guardian-angel, set over it by the Creator; excepting the nation of Israel, of which Jehovah himself was the Tutelary Deity. In this notion a reader who is versed in the Bible sees the mixture of a little truth with great error. That error of ancient heathen priests and their followers, of the Gnostics in the second and third centuries, and of some modern anti-supernaturalists, involves that the God of Israel, the Jehovah of the Old Testament, was an imaginary being, a part of the national mythological machinery, and not the ALL-PERFECT SUPREME.

The accessory perplexities in this passage are thus satisfactorily unravelled. The only real difficulty lies in its seeming to assert that the nascent population was distributed into groups with the express design of effecting a *numerical* correspondence with the Israelitish family eight hundred years after. The names assigned to the third degree, that is the sons (rather tribes or nations) of Noah's three sons, are, Japhet fourteen, Ham thirty-one, Shem twenty-five, making *seventy;* and the whole family of Jacob, when it came to be domiciliated in Egypt, was *seventy* (Gen. xlvi. 26; Exod. i. 5; Deut. x. 22). Some have also fancied a parallel in the seventy elders (Exod. xxiv. 1, 9; Num. xi. 16, 24, 25; see also *Pictorial Palestine, Civil History*, Index, article *Elders*). These puerilities might have been prevented had men considered that מספר does not signify merely an arithmetical amount, but is used to denote an *exact narration* (Judg. vii. 15). The passage is in the highly poetical style of the magnificent ode in which it occurs, and, reduced to plain terms, might be thus represented: 'The Almighty and Omniscient Jehovah has decreed and disposed all beings and events, in all time and every place, upon a perfect system of mutual relationship, every part of which corresponds to every other: therefore, by his provident wisdom and power, he directed the movements and settlements of all the tribes of men in such a manner as would, after the lapse of a thousand years, combine every agent and instrument for putting the Israelites into possession of the country promised to their ancestors, and thereby demonstrating them to be the peculiarly favoured people of God.'

We now come to the immediate subject of this article, the *Dispersion of Nations.*

Under this or some similar designation, it has been the prevalent opinion that the *outspreading*, which is the entire subject of Genesis, ch. x., and the *scattering* narrated in ch. xi. 1-9, refer to the same event, the latter being included in the former description, and being a statement of the *manner* in which the separation was effected. From this opinion, however, we dissent; and our conviction was formed solely from the perusal of the Scriptural narrative, before we were aware (or in total forgetfulness) that Mr. Jacob Bryant had long ago maintained the same opinion (*Ancient Mythology*, vol. iv., 3rd ed., pp. 23-44, 92). An unbiassed reading of the text appears most plainly to mark the distinctness, in time and character, of the two narratives. The first was universal, regulated, orderly, quiet, and progressive: the second, local, embracing only a part of mankind, sudden, turbulent, and attended with marks of the Divine displeasure.

The former is introduced and entitled in these words:—'Shem, and Ham, and Japheth;—these are the three sons of Noah; and from them was the whole earth overspread.' After the mention of the sons of Japheth, it is added, 'From these the isles of the nations were dispersed, in their lands, each to its language, to their families, in their nations.' A formula somewhat differing is annexed to the descendants of Ham: 'These are the sons of Ham, [according] to their families, to their tongues, in their lands, in their nations.' The same phrase follows the enumeration of the house of Shem: and the whole concludes with, 'These are the families of the sons of Noah, [according] to their generations, in their nations; and from these the nations were dispersed in the earth after the Flood' (Gen. ix. 19; x. 5, 20, 31, 32).

The second relation begins in the manner which often, in the Hebrew Scriptures, introduces a new subject. We shall present it in a literality even servile, that the reader may gain the most prompt apprehension of the meaning. 'And it was [*col-ha-aretz*] all the earth (but with perfect propriety it might be rendered *the whole land, country, region*, or *district*): lip one and words one [*i. e. the same, similar*]. And it was in their going forwards that they discovered a plain in the country Shinar; and they fixed [their abode] there.' Then comes the narrative of their resolving to build a lofty tower which should serve as a signal-point for their rallying and remaining united. The defeating of this purpose is expressed in the anthropomorphism, which is characteristic of the earliest Scriptures, and was adapted to the infantile condition of mankind. 'And Jehovah scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth [or *land*], and they ceased to build the city' (ch. xi. 2-9; ANTHROPOMORPHISM, BABEL, in this work; also J. Pye Smith's *Scripture and Geology*, lect. vii., where this characteristic of primeval style is largely investigated). We shall here quote so much from Mr. Bryant as appears to us supported by direct evidence, or a high degree of probability.

Of Noah—'We may suppose that his sons showed him always great reverence; and, after they were separated, and when he was no more, that they still behaved in conformity to the rules which he established. But there was one family which seems to have acted a contrary part. The sons of Cush would not submit to the Divine dispensation [in the dispersion of the families]: and Nimrod, who first took upon himself regal state, drove Ashur from his demesnes, and forced him to take shelter in the higher parts of Mesopotamia. The sacred historian, after this, mentions another act of a rebellious purpose, which consisted in building a lofty tower with a very evil intent. Most writers have described this and the former event (Nimrod's usurping conduct), as antecedent to the migration of mankind: but it will be my endeavour to show that the general migration was not only prior, but from another part of the world. I think that we may (from Gen. x. and xi.) observe two different occurrences which are generally blended together. First, that there was a formal *migration* of families to the several re-

gions appointed for them, according to the determination of the Almighty: secondly, that there was a *dissipation* of others, who would not acquiesce in the Divine dispensation. It is generally thought that the whole of mankind is included in this description (Gen. xi. 1, 2). But I am not certain that these words afford any proof to this opinion. The passage, when truly translated, does not by any means refer to the whole of mankind. According to the original, it is said indeterminately that, "in the journeying of people from the East, they found a plain in the land of Shinar." The purport of the whole passage amounts only to this, that before there was any alteration in the language of mankind, a body of people came from the East to the place above specified. So that I am far from being satisfied that the whole of mankind was engaged in this expedition from the East. The Scripture does not seem to say so; nor can there be any reason assigned why they should travel so far merely to be dissipated afterwards. We have reason to think that, soon after the descent from the ark, the patriarch found himself in a fine and fruitful country (as described by all the ancient and modern authorities). Here I imagine that the patriarch resided. The sacred writings mention seemingly his taking up his abode for a long time upon the spot. Indeed they do not afford us any reason to infer that he ever departed from it. The very plantation of the vine seems to imply a purpose of residence. Not a word is said of the patriarch's ever quitting the place; nor of any of his sons departing from it till *the general migration*.' When mankind had 'become very numerous, it pleased God to allot to the various families different regions to which they were to retire: and they accordingly, in the days of Peleg, did remove and betake themselves to their different departments. But the sons of Cush would not obey. They went off under the conduct of the arch-rebel Nimrod, and seem to have been for a long time in a roving state; but at last they arrived at the plains of Shinar. These they found occupied by Ashur (ch. x. 11) and his sons; for he had been placed there by divine appointment. But they ejected him, and seized upon his dominions. Their leader is often mentioned by the Gentile writers, who call him Belus' [*Bel, Baal;* 'not a name of any particular person, but a title assumed by many, and of different nations;' *Ane. Mythol.* vol. vi. p. 260]. 'In the beginning of this history it is said that they journeyed from the East when they came to the land of Shinar. This was the latter part of their route; and the reason of their coming in this direction may, I think, be plainly shown. The ark, according to the best accounts, both sacred and profane, rested upon a mountain of Armenia, called Minyas, Baris, Lubar, and Ararat.' [See in this work ARARAT, especially p. 200, and ARK.] 'Many families of the emigrants went probably directly *east* or *west*, in consequence of the situation to which they were appointed. But those who were destined to the southern parts of the great continents which they were to inhabit, could not so easily and uniformly proceed; there being but few outlets to their place of destination. For the high Tauric ridge and the Gordyæan mountains came between and intercepted their due course.' [Mr. Bryant introduces evidence of the next to insurmountable character of those mountains, which must have been far more impassable in those early times than now.] 'I should therefore think that mankind must necessarily, for some ages, have remained near the place of descent, from which they did not depart till the time of the general migration. Armenia is in great measure bounded either by the Pontic Sea or by mountains; and it seems to have been the purpose of Providence to confine the sons of men to this particular region, to prevent their roving too soon. Otherwise they might have gone off in small parties before the great families were constituted. Many families were obliged to travel more or less eastward, who wanted to come down to the remoter parts of Asia. The Cushites [*Cuthites*, Bryant, p. 246], who seem to have been a good while in a roving state, might possibly travel to the Pylæ Caspiæ before they found an outlet. In consequence of this the latter part of their route must have been a "journeying from the East." I was surprised, after I had formed this opinion from the natural history of the country, to find it verified by that ancient historian Berosus.' [The Chaldæan historian, contemporary with Alexander, a writer apparently of fidelity and judgment, considering his circumstances. Of his work a few fragments only are preserved by Josephus, Eusebius, and other ancient writers. See a considerable number of these passages translated by Mr. Bryant, vol. iv. p. 123-137.] 'He mentions the route of his countrymen from Ararat after the Deluge, and says that it was not in a straight line; but the people had been instructed to *take a circuit, and so descend to the regions of Babylonia*. In this manner the sons of Cush came to the plains of Shinar, of which Babylonia was a part; and from hence they ejected Ashur, and afterwards trespassed upon Elam in the region beyond the Tigris' (*Ane. Mythol.* vol. iv. p. 21-31).

Mr. Bryant adduces reasons for believing that the *confusion of speech* was a miraculously-inflicted failure of the physical organs, producing unintelligible pronunciation of one and the same language; that it affected only the house of Cush and their adherents; and that it was temporary, ceasing upon their separation. He proceeds:— 'They seem to have been a very numerous body; and, in consequence of this calamity, they fled away; not to any particular place of destination, but "were scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." They had many associates, probably out of every family; apostates from the truth, who had left the stock of their fathers and the religion of the true God. For when Babel was deserted we find among the Cushites of Chaldæa some of the line of Shem (ch. xi. 28, 31), whom we could scarcely have expected to have met in such a society. And we may well imagine that many of the branches of Ham were associated in the same manner in confederacy with the rebels: and some perhaps of every great division into which mankind was separated' (*Ib.* pp. 38-45).

Having thus removed, as we trust, the obstructions and obscurities, our course will be plain and brief in the consideration of our chief subject, the first and properly so-called DISPERSION of families and tribes destined to form the nations of the earth.

'The most ancient history of the human race, and the oldest composition perhaps in the world, is a work in Hebrew;' of which the initial portions (Gen. i., ii.) are 'a preface to the oldest civil history now extant; we see the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reasoning, and by evidence in part highly probable, and in part certain; but the connection of the Mosaic history with that of the Gospel, by a chain of sublime predictions unquestionably ancient, and apparently fulfilled, must induce us to think the Hebrew narrative more than human in its origin, and consequently true in every substantial part of it; though possibly expressed in figurative language [referring to the accounts of the creation and the fall]. It is no longer probable only, but it is absolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from *Irân* [the proper and native name of Persia and some connected regions], as from a centre, whence they migrated at first in *three great colonies;* and that those three branches grew from a common stock, which had been miraculously preserved in a general convulsion and inundation of this globe' (Sir William Jones, *On the Origin and Families of Nations*, Works, ed. by Lord Teignmouth, 8vo. iii. 191-196).

From the study of this interesting fragment of antiquity, the following observations have presented themselves.

1. The enumeration comprises only nations existing in the age of Moses, and probably of them only the most conspicuous, as more or less connected with the history of the Israelites. Many nations have been formed in subsequent times, and indeed are still forming, by separation and by combination; these can be considered only as included on the ground of long subsequent derivation. Such are the populations of Eastern Asia, Medial and South Africa, America, and Australasia.

2. It cannot be affirmed with certainty that we are here presented with a complete *Table of Nations*, even as existing in the time of Moses. Of each of the sons of Noah, it gives the sons: but of their sons (Noah's great-grandsons) it is manifest that all are not mentioned, and we have no possible means of ascertaining how many are omitted. Thus, of the sons of Japheth, the line is pursued only of Gomer and Javan; Magog, Madai, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras, are dropped without any mention of their issue; yet we have evidence that nations of great importance in the history of mankind have descended from them. Ham had four sons: of three of them the sons, or rather clannish or national descendants, are specified; but to Phut, the fourth, no posterity is assigned. Shem had five sons, but the descendants of only two of them are recorded. It cannot be supposed that those whose sequence is thus cut off, died without children; for, as we shall presently see, nations of great historical interest may be traced up to them.

3. The immediate descendants of Japheth, Ham, and Shem are, except in the instance of Nimrod and a few more, some of which are doubtful, given by names not personal, but designative of tribes or nations, or their countries. Thus, all those terminating in the plural *im*, and those specified by the Gentilitian adjective, the Jebusite, the Hivite, &c.

4. In attaching the names of nations to those here given, there is sometimes a deep uncertainty. Resemblances in orthographical appearance, or in similarity of sound, are not to be relied on alone; there must be accessory and confirmatory evidence. Oriental names possess a distinguished character of unchangeableness; a circumstance of which Dr. Robinson has made important use in his *Biblical Researches in Palestine*. On this ground, inferences are pretty safe. But it is far otherwise with names known to us only through the medium of the Greeks and Romans; for they were in the habit of altering proper names, often with wide licence, to a conformity with their own tongues. For the investigation before us we have an aid, invaluable both for its ample comprehension and its divine authority, in the account of the traffic of Tyre (Ezek. xxvii.).

5. We are not warranted to suppose that the families, or clans, or tribes, or however the groups might have been formed, migrated immediately to their respective seats, by any sort of general breaking up. This would presuppose some kind of compulsory enforcement, which neither the nature of the case, nor any intimation in the narrative, warrants us to assume. We may rather conceive that a diversity of movements took place, excited by general conviction of duty and utility, guided in a great measure by patriarchal directions, and strengthened by circumstances which would inevitably occur; such, on the one hand, as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, local inundations, land-slips, proof of unwholesomeness in marshy districts, the annoyance of winged insects or other noxious animals—urging to depart from disagreeable or dangerous places; and, on the other hand, attractive peculiarities, new and more convenient situations for pasturage, better soils for the various kinds of agriculture, more pleasing sites for dwellings, the formation of towns, and the security of their inhabitants. It is also too probable that there were turbulent men, or those who had perpetrated crimes or occasioned offences, who, with their families and adherents, would quit hastily and travel as rapidly and as far as they could.

6. The acts of separation and journeying would have specific differences of impulse and performance; they would affect one party and another, more or less, as to time, numbers, and rapidity of movement.

7. Did this great measure, so important in its influence upon the whole history of mankind, originate in a DIVINE command, given by miraculous revelation? Or, was it brought to pass solely in the way of God's universal providence, to which nothing is great, nothing is small—operating by natural means upon the judgments, wills, and actions of men as rational agents? We think that we have not decisive reasons for adopting either side of this alternative. In favour of the former may be urged the necessity of a supernatural authority to induce universal obedience, the motive arising from the assurance of Divine guidance and protection, and the analogy of the fact which took place 600 years after (*corrected* chronology, but, according to the present Hebrew text, only 176); 'The Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, unto a land which I will show thee' (Gen. xii. 1). On behalf of the latter supposition it is to be recollected, that all events are equally providential,

that God rules by his unseen and too often unacknowledged influence upon the free actions of his creatures, no less than by any supernatural disclosure of his will; that, in this case, the inspired record is silent upon such a disclosure; that the ordinary plan of the Divine government is fully adequate to all the effects; and that the language upon which we have before commented (Deut. xxxii. 8) is completely applicable to that ordinary course of events by which 'the Most High God ruleth in the kingdom of men,' and 'worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will' (Dan. v. 21; Ephes. i. 11).

We have now only to place the enumeration of nations before our readers, having availed ourselves of the labours of Bochart, J. D. Michaelis, the younger Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Robinson, and Baumgarten.

I. Sons of Japheth, the *Iapetus* of the Greeks.

i. Gomer. This name is traced in the Kimmerii of Homer and Herodotus; the Gomares (Γομαρεῖς, Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 6), whence Kelts, Gauls, Galatians; the Kymry; all the Celtic and Iberian tribes, Welsh, Gaelic, Irish, Breton; the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Crimea.

Sons of Gomer:—

1. Ashkenaz. Axeni, inhabitants of the southern coasts of the Euxine Sea, where we find a country Askania, and a river Askanius, and a large part of Armenia; the Basques in the north of Spain; the Saxons, as the Jews interpret Ashkenaz, in Jer. li. 27, to be Germany.

2. Riphath (Diphath, 1 Chron. i. 6, a permutation of D and R, not unexampled). Rhibii, east of the Euxine; Tobata and other parts of Paphlagonia; Croatia; the Riphæan mountains, a very obscure name in ancient geography (Strabo, Virgil, Pliny, Mela), referring probably to the great chains of mountains from the north of Asia westwards (Hyperboræans, Steph. Byzant.), and therefore including vague knowledge of the Uralian, Hartz, and Alpine regions.

3. Togarmah. Peoples of Armenia and other parts of the Caucasian region. The Armenian traditions assign as their ancestor Haik, the son of Torgom and grandson of Noah.

ii. Magog. In Ezekiel this seems to be used as the name of a country, and Gog that of its chieftain. The Mongoles, Moguls; the great Tartar nation.

iii. Madai. The Medes; people of Iran, to whom the Sanscrit language belonged; primeval inhabitants of Hindustan.

iv. Javan. The Greeks, Asiatic and European. Ionies (Hom. *Il.* xiii. 685).

Sons of Javan:—

1. Elisha. Greeks especially of the Peloponnesus; Hellas; Elis, in which is Alisium (Ἀλείσιον, *Il.* ii. 617).

2. Tarshish. The east coast of Spain, where the Phœnician Canaanites afterwards planted their colony.

3. Kittim. Inhabitants of the isles and many of the coasts of the Mediterranean, particularly the Macedonians and the Romans, and those farther to the west.

4. Dodanim (Rhodanim, 1 Chron. i. 7). Dodona, a colony from which probably settled at the mouths of the Rhone, Rhodanus.

To this Javanian (Ionian) branch is attributed the peopling of 'the isles of the nations' (ver. 5), a frequent Hebrew denomination of the western countries to which the Israelites, Tyrians, Egyptians, &c., had access by sea.

II. Sons of Ham. The word signifies *heat* or *hot*, alluding to the climes which the most of his posterity were to occupy: it was also an indigenous name of Egypt.

i. Cush. The Ethiopians, first on the Arabian side of the Red Sea, then colonizing the African side, and subsequently extending indefinitely to the west, so that *Cushite* (Jer. xiii. 23) became the appellative of a negro.

Sons of Cush:—

1. Seba. Joined with Mizraim and Cush (Isa. xliii. 3), evidently denoting contiguity and affinity. This tribe or class is probably referred to Suba, a native name of Meroe upon the Nile, in the farthest south of Egypt, or the beginning of Ethiopia.

2. Havilah. Of this word vestiges are found in various names of places in Western Arabia, and the adjacent parts of Africa. It is quite distinct from the Havilah (ch. ii. 11) in or near Armenia, and probably from another (ver. 29) in Arabia, unless we suppose a union of tribes, or one succeeded by the other.

3. Sabtah. Sabota or Sabbatha is the name of an ancient trading town of Arabia.

4. Raamah, רַעְמָה, Sept. *Rhegma* (Alex. *Rhegehma*), which, changing ε into η, is the name of a port which the Ægypto-Greek geographer Claudius Ptolemy (who flourished in the earlier part of the second century) places on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. To this place Dr. Baumgarten (Kiel, 1843) refers the name: others take it to be Reama, a town of considerable importance in the south-western part of Arabia the Happy, whose inhabitants are remarkably black; mentioned along with Sheba in Ezek. xxvii. 22, as a place of rich Oriental traffic.

Two sons of this Raamah are mentioned, Sheba and Dedan. We find these in the subsequent Scriptures distinguished for trade and opulence (Ps. lxxii. 10, 15; 1 Kings x. 2; Isa. lx. 6; Ezek. xxvii. 15, 20, 22). They both lie in the western part of Arabia. The queen of Sheba came to the court of Solomon. Dedan is not improbably considered as the origin of Aden, that very ancient sea-port and island at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea, which has very recently risen into new importance.

5. Nimrod, an individual [Nimrod]. He built, besides Babel, his metropolis, three cities or towns in the great plain of Shinar—Erech, Accad, and Calneh. These were probably Aracca or Arecha on the Tigris (some think Edessa); Sacada, near the confluence of the Lycus and the Tigris; and the third (Calne, Isa. x. 9) Chalonitis of the Greeks, afterwards called Ctesiphon: but much obscurity has upon these conjectures.

ii. Mizraim, literally the *two Egypts*, the upper and the lower: each was called *Mizr*, a word even now vernacular in that country. Of his descendants seven are specified under *plural* national names, some of which are well ascertained.

1. Ludim. Lydia, celebrated as soldiers and archers (Isa. lxvi. 19; Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 10; xxx. 5), and in these passages connected with other peoples known to be African.

The Ludim probably lay towards Ethiopia. They must not be confounded with the Lydians of Asia Minor (ver. 22). Mr. William John Hamilton, in his recent very valuable *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, annexes the following paragraph to his account of the few remaining ruins of Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia :—

'It was my intention to have added some observations on the early traditional history of Lydia, and, following the plan of an interesting work by the Abbé Guerin du Rocher, on the fabulous history of Egypt, to show how that of Lydia might also be divested of many of the inconsistent fables with which it has been clothed by Herodotus and other ancient historians. I wished to have shown that Manes, the first king of Lydia, was no other than Noah; that Lydus, the grandson of Manes, was Lud, the grandson of Noah; and, particularly with regard to the much involved question of the Tyrrhenian emigration of the Lydians, that the whole account is a confused and perverted narrative, founded on the real emigration of another Tyrrhenus, *viz.* Abraham the son of Terah, with the account of which, in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of Genesis, the Lydian emigration coincides in every important respect. I have found, however, that the development of this view would extend to a greater length than I had anticipated; and I am therefore compelled to defer the consideration of it to a future opportunity' (vol. ii. p. 383).

2. Ananim. Very uncertain. Bochart supposes them to have been wandering tribes about the temple of Jupiter Ammon, where was an ancient people called Nasamones.

3. Lehabim. Perhaps inhabitants of a coast-district immediately west of Egypt. Probably the Lubim (2 Chron. xii. 3; Nahum iii. 9).

4. Pathrusim. The people of the Thebaid (Pathros) in Upper Egypt.

5. 'Casluhim, out of whom came Philistim.' A people on the north-east coast of Egypt, of whom the Philistines were a colony, probably combined with some of the Caphtorim.

6. Caphtorim. Inhabitants of the island Cyprus.

iii. Phut. This word occurs in two or three passages besides, always in connection with Africa. Josephus and Pliny mention an African river, Phutes. The great modern archæologist geographer, Ritter, says that hordes of peoples have been poured out of Futa, in the interior of Africa.

iv. Canaan. His descendants came out of Arabia, planted colonies in Palestine, and gradually possessed themselves of the whole country.

His children or posterity :—

1. Sidon, his first-born, founded the city of that name.

2. Heth, the ancestor of the Hittites. The remaining *nine* are well known, and are here laid down in the singular of the patronymic, or patrial adjective—the Jebusite, the Emorite (Amorite), the Girgashite, the Hivite, the Arkite, the Sinite, the Arvadite, the Zemarite, and the Hamathite. All are assigned to Palestine, and the boundaries of the country are precisely laid down.

III. Shem, though here introduced last, is declared to be the eldest of the three brothers. The reason of this order evidently is the design of the historian to pursue the line of the favoured people which the Divine Sovereign would raise up in the posterity of Shem, and in which, 'when the fulness of the time should come,' 'all the families of the earth should be blessed.'

Children of Shem :—

i. Elam. The ancestor of the Elamites or Elymæans, who possessed Elymais, a region between Susiana and Media, now called Khusistan. The Japhetian Persians afterwards entered that region and gained the ascendancy, and subsequently they were comprehended under the name of Elam.

ii. Ashur, the ancestor of the Assyrians.

iii. Arphaxad, a personal name in the Abrahamic line. The word, a remarkable compound, probably denotes *Neighbouring to the Chasdim, i. e.* Chaldæans. The name appears in *Arrhapachitis*, a province in Northern Assyria, the primitive seat of the Chasdim, and near to which, or in it, Abraham was born.

Children of Arphaxad :—

These are chiefly personal, and contribute to form the sacred pedigree which leads to the Messiah. In this line are mentioned two grandsons, Peleg, of whom we have treated before, and

Eber. The only circumstance that we can attach to him is the very important one (which seems therefore to imply something extraordinary in his personal history) of being the origin of the name Ebrew, or as it is commonly written, on account of the ע, *Hebrew*, the 'ancient and universal name' of the nation, including Abraham himself (see Ewald's *Hebr. Gramm.*, translated by Dr. Nicholson, p. 2, and our article Heber).

Joktan. Universally acknowledged to be the father of the numerous tribes of Arabs in *Yemen*, Arabia the Happy, so called on account of its spices and other rich products, and to distinguish it from the Rocky and the Desert. Of the founders of those tribes thirteen are specified. The first is evidently *Modad*, with the Arabic article: the second is *Shaleph;* and Ptolemy mentions a people of interior Arabia, the Salapeni. *Hatzarmaveth* is a fruitful district on the south coast, which still bears exactly the same name. That name signifies the *Enclosure*, *Gate*, or *Court of Death*, on account of its insalubrity, arising from the great abundance and mixture of powerful odours. Jerach signifies the *moon;* and on the west of this region is a gold-producing tract, in which are the Mountains of the Moon, which yet must be distinguished from a group in East Africa, very imperfectly known, and called also by Orientals the Backbone of the World. *Hadoram*, the Adramites of Ptolemy and Pliny, on the south coast. *Uzal*, mentioned in Ezek. xxvii. 19, which should be translated 'Vedan and Javan [perhaps Yemen?] from Uzal.' The ancient name of a principal city of Yemen, now Sanaha. *Obal* (Ebal in 1 Chron. i. 22), unknown. *Abimael*, unknown; the meaning is, *my father Mael*, and Bochart adduces the Mali of Theophrastus and the Minæi of Strabo, a tribe or tribes in Arabia, as possibly intended. *Sheba*, probably indicating an invasion of this tribe upon the Cushite Sheba and Dedan, Gen. x. 7, and see xxv. 3. From such mixtures much embarrassment often arises in ethnography. Sheba and Seba (x. 7) are often mentioned in the Old Testament as seats of great riches and traffic. *Ophir*, undoubtedly referring to the sea-port in South Arabia, so celebrated for

its traffic in gold, jewellery, and fine woods. The same name was probably given to places in India and East Africa, to which the mercantile ships of this Arabian Ophir resorted. A part of the south coast of Arabia is called Oman, and in it is a town called *El-Ophir*, with the article. *Havilah:* perhaps the Cushite settlers were invaded by this Joktanite tribe. *Jobab:* Ptolemy mentions a people, *Iobaritæ*, on the east coast of Arabia. The *r* may be a mistake, or a dialectic variety, for *b*.

These thirteen tribes seem to have formed the confederacy of the independent and unconquerable Arabs, whose peninsular, desert, and mountainous country defended them from invasion: Ishmael and his descendants were united with them.

Our text concludes with describing a boundary line for the country of these tribes 'from Mesha to Sephar.' The former is probably the country Maishon or Mesene, at the north-west head of the Persian Gulf; and the latter, on the south-west coast of Arabia, where is found a Mount Sabber.

iv. Lud. From him the Lydians in Asia Minor derived their name.

v. Aram. From him the inhabitants of Syria, Chalonitis, and a considerable part of Mesopotamia.

Children or posterity of Aram:—

1. Uz. In the northern part of Arabia, bordering upon Chaldæa: the land of Job.

2. Hul. The large flat district in the north of Palestine, through which lies the initial course of the Jordan, even now called the Land of Hûleh, and in which is the Lake Hûleh, anciently Merom, amply illustrated by Dr. Robinson, *Researches*, iii. 339-357.

3. Gether. East of Armenia; Carthara was a city on the Tigris.

4. Mash. A mountain region branching eastwards from the great Taurus ridge: the Masian mountains of the Greeks and Romans.

These are the results of our own endeavours in the study of this intricate and frequently obscure subject. But we are bound, in concluding, to state that Sir William Jones, whom all will admit to have been a scholar of the highest order, and more competent than most men to vanquish the difficulties of this investigation, proposed a theory very different, chiefly with respect to the family of Ham. He has himself given a luminous summary of his views, and we cannot do better than transcribe it.

'It seems to follow, that the only human family after the flood established themselves in the northern parts of Irân; that, as they multiplied, they were divided into three distinct branches, each retaining little at first, and losing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing severally on new expressions for new ideas; that the branch of YÁFET was enlarged in many scattered shoots over the north of Europe and Asia, diffusing themselves as far as the western and eastern seas, and at length, in the infancy of navigation, beyond them both; that they cultivated no liberal arts, and had no use of letters, but formed a variety of dialects, as their tribes were variously ramified; that, secondly, the children of HAM, who founded in Irân itself the monarchy of the first Chaldeans, invented letters, observed and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known Indian period of 432,000 years, or 120 repetitions of the *saros*, and contrived the old system of mythology, partly allegorical and partly grounded on idolatrous veneration for their sages and lawgivers; that they were dispersed, at various intervals and in various colonies, over land and ocean; that the tribes of MISR, CUSH, and RAMA settled in Africa and India, while some of them, having improved the art of sailing, passed from Egypt, Phœnice, and Phrygia, into Italy and Greece, which they found thinly peopled by former emigrants [Japhetians?], of whom they supplanted some tribes and united themselves with others; whilst a swarm from the same hive moved, by a northerly course into Scandinavia, and another, by the head of the Oxus and through the passes of the Imaus, into Cashgar and Eighúr, Khatá and Khoten, as far as the territories of Chín and Tancút [an ancient division of China], where letters have been used and arts immemorially cultivated; nor is it unreasonable to believe that some of them found their way from the eastern isles into Mexico and Peru, where traces were discovered of rude literature and mythology analogous to those of Egypt and India;* that, thirdly, the old Chaldean empire being overthrown by the Assyrians under Cayúmers, other migrations took place, especially into India, while the rest of SHEM's progeny, some of whom had before settled on the Red Sea, peopled the whole Arabian peninsula, pressing close on the nations of Syria and Phœnice; that, lastly, from all the three families were detached many bold adventurers of an ardent spirit and a roving disposition, who disdained subordination, and wandered in separate clans till they settled in distant isles or in deserts and mountainous regions: that, on the whole, some colonies might have migrated before the death of their venerable progenitor, but that states and empires could scarce have assumed a regular form till 1500 or 1600 years before the Christian epoch;† and that, for the first thousand years of that period, we have no history unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished, nation descended from Abraham.'—*Discourse on the Origin and Families of Nations;* Works, iii. 201.

Dr. Charles Von Rotteck, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Frieburg, published in 1826, the ninth and last volume of *A General History of the World.* This work has been received in Germany with great favour. It certainly contains proofs of extensive reading and eminent talents; but we think also of a precipitate judgment and dashing boldness, an aiming at pungency which often creates affectation, and a watchful habit, like that of Hume and Voltaire, of aiming a sly stab at revealed religion. Books

* How would Sir William Jones have been delighted, and have felt his argument strengthened, had he known of the massive ruins lately brought to our knowledge, by Mr. Stephens and others, in Central America!

† The recent disclosures of paintings and utensils in the Egyptian tombs and temples require a much higher assignment of established governments, mechanical arts, and great combinations of science and power.

having these qualities, especially if they possess some unquestionable excellences and an attractive style, as Rotteck's do, are sure to find readers and approvers. It is manifest that he is far better acquainted with the Greek and Roman writers, and the affairs to which they depose, than with the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, the doctrines which they teach, and the information which they afford. In one word, he is a disbeliever in any revelation of fact, truth, or duty, positively from God, or in any other way than by the reason and genius of man. He maintains it to be a character of 'the scientific inquirer,' that 'he rejects every theory of the population of the earth, which is confined to the sons of Noah; and he knows that, in the time of those sons, or their nearest descendants, according to Moses's representation, already *nations* and *kingdoms* actually existed in Asia and Africa, which therefore originated not from the posterity of Noah:' and he adds, 'these last may indeed have sent colonies among those nations, perhaps, also, have occasioned the foundation of some new states; but they were not the only founders of them' (*Gen. Hist.* i. 63, Eng. transl.). Further, Von Rotteck intimates more than an inclination to reject the belief of the descent of mankind from any one common ancestor; founding that rejection 'especially upon the striking generic difference of the principal races of our species; and that in particular the attention of the thinker is claimed with perfect justice by the doctrine of three such principal races, viz., 1, the Europæo-Arabian or Caucasian; 2, the Mongolian; 3, the Æthiopian or Negro tribe' (p. 65).

Thus, as is the manner of the infidel school, assuming what he ought to have proved, but of which he brings no proof, this author seeks to fix his insinuated conclusion in the unwary mind.

In the absence therefore of counter-evidence, we adhere to the conclusion, that the whole human population has descended from Noah as a second ancestor, as is plainly affirmed in the pristine records to which we believe ourselves warranted to attribute a divine authority. For the physiological part of the argument, we appeal to the researches of the late venerable Blumenbach, Dr. Prichard in his elaborate volumes on this subject, the notes in J. Pye Smith's *Scripture and Geology*, and a dissertation by Samuel Forrey, M. D., entitled, *The Mosaic Account of the Unity of the Human Race confirmed by the Natural History of the American Aborigines*, in the *American Biblical Repository*, July, 1843.—J. P. S.

NAVIGATION. [Ship.]

NAZARENE, an epithet constituting a part of one of the names given to our Lord. There are two nearly similar Greek words connected with this designation—Ναζαρηνός and Ναζωραῖος—both derived from Ναζαρέθ, Nazareth, the place of the Saviour's childhood and education. These two Greek words occur in the New Testament 19 times; out of these instances two only are rendered Nazarene (Matt. ii. 23; Acts xxiv. 5); the rest are represented by the words 'of Nazareth;' thus, 'Jesus of Nazareth' (Matt. xxi. 11; Luke iv. 34; John xviii. 5; Acts ii. 22). From the number of times that the epithet is employed it appears that it became at the very first an appellation of our Lord, and was hence applied to designate his followers. Considering that the name was derived from the place where Jesus resided during the greater part of his life, we see no reason to think that at first it bore with it, in its application to him or his followers, anything of an offensive nature. Such a designation was in this case natural and proper. In process of time, however, other influences came into operation. Nazareth was in Galilee, a part of Palestine which was held in disesteem for several reasons:—its was a provincial dialect; lying remote from the capital, its inhabitants spoke a strange tongue, which was rough, harsh, and uncouth, having peculiar combinations of words, and words also peculiar to themselves (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud;* Mark xiv. 70); its population was impure, being made up not only of provincial Jews, but also of heathens of several sorts, Egyptians, Arabians, Phœnicians (Strabo, *Geog.* xvi. 523); its people were in an especial manner given to be seditious, which quality of character they not rarely displayed in the capital itself on occasion of the public festivals (Josephus, Wetstein, as cited in Schleusner, *s. v.* Γαλιλαῖος); whence may be seen the point of the accusation made against Paul, as 'ringleader of the sect of Nazarenes' (Acts xxiv. 5). As Galilee was a despised part of Palestine, so was Nazareth a despised part of Galilee, being a small, obscure, if not mean place. Accordingly its inhabitants were held in little consideration by other Galileans, and, of course, by those Jews who dwelt in Judæa. Hence the name Nazarene came to bear with it a bad odour, and was nearly synonymous with a low, ignorant, and uncultured, if not un-Jewish person (Kuinoel, in Matt. ii. 23). It became accordingly a contemptuous designation and a term of reproach (Wetstein, in Matt. ii. 23, 26, 71), and as such, as well as a mere epithet of description, it is used in the New Testament.—J. R. B.

NAZARITE. This word is derived from the Hebrew נָזַר, which signifies to 'separate one's-self;' and as such separation from ordinary life to religious purposes must be by abstinence of some kind, so it denotes 'to refrain from anything.' Hence the import of the term Nazarite—one, that is, who, by certain acts of self-denial, consecrated himself in a peculiar manner to the service, worship, and honour of God.

We are here, it is clear, in the midst of a sphere of ideas totally dissimilar to the genius of the Christian system; a sphere of ideas in which the outward predominates, in which self-mortification is held pleasing to God, and in which man's highest service is not enjoyment with gratitude, but privation with pain.

It may be questioned, if at least so much of this set of notions as supposes the Deity to be gratified and conciliated by the privations of his creatures, is in harmony with the ideas of God which the books of Moses exhibit, or had their origin in the law he promulgated. The manner in which he speaks on the subject (Num. vi. 1-21) would seem to imply that he was not introducing a new law, but regulating an old custom; for his words take for granted, that the subject was generally and well known, and that all that was needed was such directions as should bring existing observances into accordance with the Mosaic ritual. Winer, indeed, sees, in the minuteness and particularity of the Mosaic regulations, a proof that the

Nazarite vow was of home origin in Mosaism; an argument whose force we cannot discern, for a foreign practice, once introduced, must of necessity be conformed to its new abode.

It is not least among the merits of Judaism that in general it is eminently of a practical character. Though admitting a multitude of observances, some of which, being of a very minute kind, and relating to every-day life, must have been troublesome, if not vexatious, yet the ordinary current of existence was allowed to run on unimpeded; energy was not directed from its proper channel; and life was spent in the active discharge of those offices which human wants require, and by which human happiness may be best advanced. There was no Indian self-renunciation; there was no monkish isolation; yet the vow of the Nazarite shows that personal privations were not unknown in the Mosaic polity. This vow we regard as an instance and an exemplification of that asceticism which, wherever human nature is left free to develope itself, will always manifest its tendencies and put forth its effects. No age, no nation, no religion has been without asceticism. Self-mortification is, with some minds, as natural as self-enjoyment with others. The proneness to ascetic practices is a sort of disorder of temperament. It is in part a question of original constitution. As some individuals are inclined to melancholy, to brood over their own states of mind, so they tend to become morbid in their feelings, intensely self-dissatisfied, over-thoughtful, full of personal solicitudes; then gloomy; then still more dissatisfied with themselves, till at length they are led to think that nothing but severe mortifications and self-inflicted penalties can atone for their guilt, and placate a justly offended God. This general tendency of a certain physical temperament may be checked or encouraged by religious opinions or social institutions, as well as by the peculiar hue which the fortune of an age or a country may bear. The disease, however, is eminently contagious; and, if, owing to unknown circumstances, there was in the days of Moses a tendency, whether borrowed from Egypt or merely strengthened by Egyptian practices, which threatened, in its excess, to become in any degree epidemic, it was wise and patriotic in that lawgiver to take the subject into his own remedial hands, and to restrain and limit to individuals that which might otherwise infect large classes, if not reach and so weaken the national mind.

The law of the Nazarite, which may be found in Num vi., is, in effect, as follows:—male and female might assume the vow; on doing so a person was understood to separate himself unto the Lord; this separation consisted in abstinence from wine and all intoxicating liquors, and from everything made therefrom: 'From vinegar of wine, and vinegar of strong drink; neither shall he drink any liquor of grapes, nor eat moist grapes or dried; he was to 'eat nothing of the vine-tree, from the kernels even to the husks.' Nor was a razor to come upon his head all the time of his vow; he was to 'be holy, and let the locks of the hair of his head grow.' With special care was he to avoid touching any dead body whatever. Being holy unto the Lord, he was not to make himself unclean by touching the corpse even of a relative. Should he happen to do so, he was then to shave his head and offer a sin-offering and a burnt-offering; thus making an atonement for himself, 'for that he sinned by the dead.' A lamb also, of the first year, was to be offered as a trespass-offering. The days too that had gone before his defilement were to be lost, not reckoned in the number of those during which his vow was to last. On the termination of the period of the vow the Nazarite himself was brought unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, there to offer a burnt-offering, a sin-offering, a peace-offering, and a meat and a drink-offering. The Nazarite also shaved his head at the door of the tabernacle, and put the hair grown during the time of separation into the fire which was under the sacrifice of the peace-offerings. 'And the priest shall take the sodden shoulder of the ram and one unleavened cake out of the basket, and one unleavened wafer, and shall put them in the hands of the Nazarite after the hair of his separation is shaven; and the priest shall wave them for a wave-offering.' 'After that the Nazarite may drink wine.'

There are not wanting individual instances which serve to illustrate this vow, and to show that the law in the case went into operation. Hannah, Samson's mother, became a Nazarite that she might have a son. Samson himself was a Nazarite from the time of his birth (Judg. xiii.). In his history is found a fact which seems to present the reason why cutting the hair was forbidden to the Nazarite. The hair was considered the source of strength; it is, in fact, often connected with unusual strength of body, for the male has it in greater abundance than the female. Delilah urged Samson to tell her where his strength lay. After a time, 'He told her all his heart, and said unto her, There hath not come a razor upon mine head, for I have been a Nazarite unto God from my mother's womb: if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and be like any other man' (Judg. xvi. 15 sq.). The secret was revealed; Samson was shorn, and accordingly lost his strength and his life.

This conception led to the prohibition in question; for as the Nazarite was separated to the Lord, so was it proper that he should be in full vigour of body (secured by the presence of his hair) and of mind (secured by abstinence from strong drink). As animals offered in sacrifice were to be faultless and spotless, so a man or a woman set apart to God was to be in full possession of their faculties.

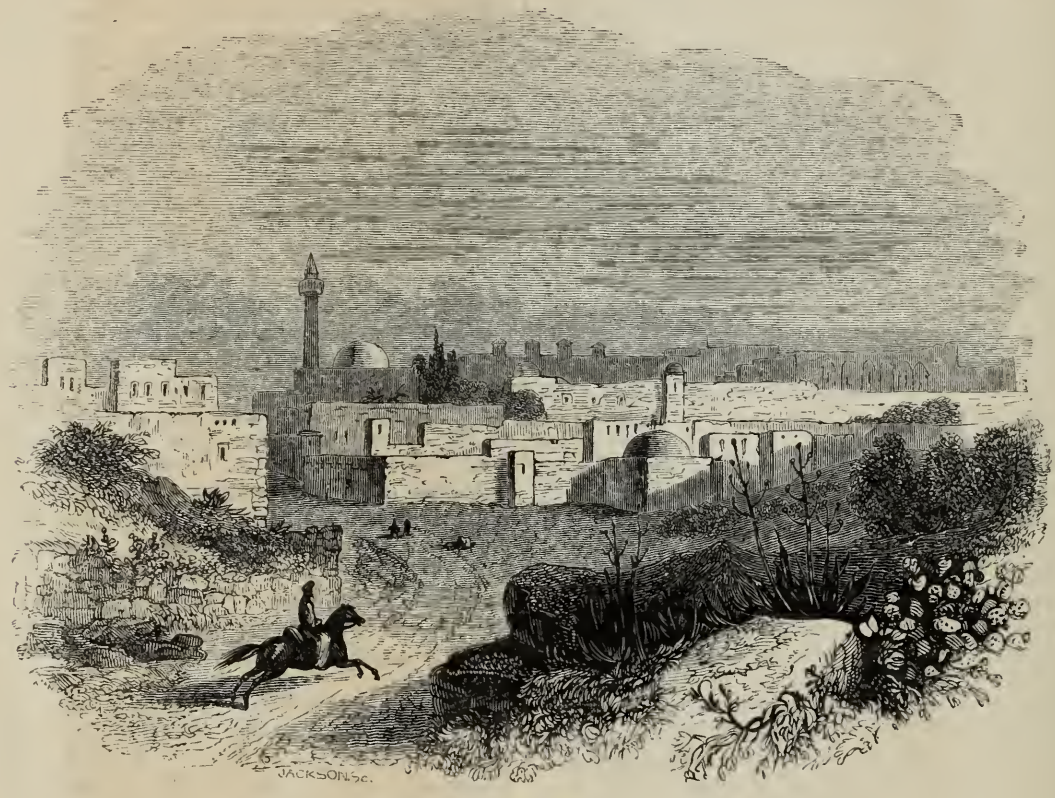
From the language employed by Samson, as well as from the tenor of the law in this case, the retention of the hair seems to have been one essential feature in the vow. It is, therefore, somewhat singular that any case should have been considered as the Nazaritic vow in which the shaving of the head is put forth as the chief particular. St. Paul is supposed to have been under *this* vow, when (Acts xviii. 18) he is said to have 'shorn his head in Cenchrea, for he had a vow' (see also Acts xxi. 24). The head was not shaven till the vow was performed, when a person had *not* a vow.

Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 187 sq. p. 799 sq.; Reland, *Antiq. Sacr.* ii. 10; Maimonid. *De Nazireatu*, Jen., 1676; Zorn, in *Miscell. Lips. Nov.* iv., 426 sq.; Spencer, *De Leg. Heb. Rit.*, iii. 6.

Dongtaei *Analect.*, i. 37; Lucian, *De Dea. Syr.*, c. 60; Mishna, *Nasir.*—J. R. B.

NAZARETH (Ναζαρέθ, Ναζαρέτ), a town in Galilee, in which the parents of Jesus were resident, and where in consequence he lived till the commencement of his ministry. It derives all its historical importance from this circumstance, for it is not even named in the Old Testament or by Josephus: which suffices to show that it could not have been a place of any consideration, and was probably no more than a village. Lightfoot indeed starts the question whether the name may not be recognised in that of the tower of Nozarim in 2 Kings xvii. 9 (*Hor. Hebr.* on Luke i. 26); but there is here nothing to go upon but the faint analogy of name. The expression of Nathanael, 'Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?' (John i. 46) might imply a certain degree of evil notoriety in the place. There appears no reason for this, however; and as the speaker was himself of Galilee, the expression could not have been intended to apply to it merely as a Galilean town; it seems therefore likely that Nathanael's meaning was, 'Is it possible that so great a good should come from so obscure a place as Nazareth, which is never mentioned by the prophets.'

Nazareth is situated about six miles W.N.W. from Mount Tabor, on the western side of a narrow oblong basin, or depressed valley, about a mile long by a quarter of a mile broad. The buildings stand on the lower part of the slope of the western hill, which rises steep and high above them. It is now a small, but more than usually well-built place, containing about three thousand inhabitants, of whom two-thirds are Christians. The flat-roofed houses are built of stone, and are



432. [Nazareth.]

mostly two stories high. The environs are planted with luxuriantly-growing fig-trees, olive-trees, and vines, and the crops of corn are scarcely equalled throughout the length and breadth of Canaan. All the spots which could be supposed to be in any way connected with the history of Christ are, of course, pointed out by the monks and local guides, but on authority too precarious to deserve any credit, and with circumstances too puerile for reverence. It is enough to know that the Lord dwelt here; that for thirty years he trod this spot of earth, and that his eyes were familiar with the objects spread around. In the south-west part of the town is a small Maronite church, under a precipice of the hill, which here breaks off in a perpendicular wall forty or fifty feet in height. Dr. Robinson noticed several such precipices in the western hill around the village, and with very good reason concludes that one of these, probably the one just indicated, may well have been the spot whither the Jews led Jesus, 'unto the brow of the hill whereon the city was built, that they might cast him down headlong' (Luke iv. 28-30); and not the precipice, two miles from the village, overlooking the plain of Esdraelon, which monkish tradition indicates to the traveller as the 'Mount of Precipitation.' He denounces this as the most clumsy of all the local legends of the Holy Land; and indeed its intrinsic unsuitableness is so manifest, that the present monks of Nazareth can only surmount the difficulty by alleging that the ancient Nazareth was nearer than the modern to this mountain, forgetting that this hypothesis destroys the identity and credit of the holy places which they show in the present town. It appears to have been originally selected as a striking object to travellers approaching from the plain of Esdraelon (Robinson's *Researches*, iii. 183-200; comp. Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 337; Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 37; Schubert's *Morgen-*



land, iii. 168; Clarke's *Travels*, iv. vol. i. p. 537; *Narrative of Scottish Deputation*, pp. 305, 306).

NEAPOLIS (Νεάπολις), a maritime city of Macedonia, near the borders of Thrace, now called Napoli. Paul landed here on his first journey into Europe (Acts xvi. 11).

NEBAIOTH, or Nebajoth (נְבָיוֹת), called by the Arabs نبت or نابت, the first-born son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Chron. i. 29), and the prince or *sheikh* (נָשִׂיא, rendered by Jerome φύλαρχος) of one of the twelve Ishmaelitish tribes, which, as well as the territory they occupied, continued to bear his name in after times (Gen. xxv. 16; comp. ch. xvii. 20). One of Esau's wives, Mahalath, otherwise called Bashemath, is expressly designated as 'the sister of Nebaioth' (Gen. xxviii. 9; xxxvi. 3); and by a singular coincidence the land of Esau, or Edom, was ultimately possessed by the posterity of Nebaioth. In common with the other Ishmaelites, they first settled in the wilderness 'before' (*i. e.* to the east of) their brethren, the other descendants of Abraham; by which we are probably to understand the great desert lying to the east and south-east of Palestine (Gen. xxv. 18; xxi. 21; xvi. 12; and see the article Arabia). In Gen. xxv. 16, the English Version speaks of the Ishmaelitish 'towns and castles,' but the former word in the original signifies 'a moveable village of tents' (the *horde* of the Tartars), and the latter seems to denote pens or folds for cattle and sheep. Both expressions thus point to the nomadic life of shepherds, which the tribe of Nebaioth seem to have followed for ages afterwards, inasmuch as in the days of Isaiah the 'rams of Nebaioth' are mentioned (Isa. lx. 7) as among the most precious gifts which the Bedawees, or 'Men of the Desert' would consecrate to the service of Jehovah. Arab writers mention the tribe of *Nabat* as successful cultivators in Babylonian Irak; but the name is written نبط with a *tha*. (D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* under 'Nabat;' Pocock's *Spec. Hist. Arab.* pp. 46, 268).

The successful invasion of Western Asia, first by the Assyrians and afterwards by the Chaldæans, could not but affect the condition of the tribes in Northern Arabia, though we possess no record of the special results. The prophet Isaiah, after his obscure oracle regarding Dumah (ch. xxi. 11, 12), introduces a 'judgment upon Arabia,' *i. e.* Desert Arabia, which some suppose to have been fulfilled by Sennacherib, while others think it refers to the later events that are foretold by Jeremiah (ch. xlix. 28-33) as befalling 'Kedar and the kingdoms of Hazor' in consequence of the ravages of Nebuchadnezzar. Be this as it may, we know that when the latter carried the Jews captive to Babylon, the Edomites made themselves masters of a great part of the south of Palestine [Idumæa], while either then or at a later period they themselves were supplanted in the southern part of their own territory by a people called by Greek writers Ναβαταῖοι, and by the Romans *Nabatæi*—a name clearly traceable to the Nebaioth of the Hebrews. It were an error, however, to suppose that they consisted only of his descendants to the exclusion of other Ishmaelites. The Arabs are frequently described in Scripture as 'a mingled people' (Jer. xxv. 24); and as we find in the days both of Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 27, 28, 36) and Gideon (Judg. viii. 22, 24) the name of 'Ishmaelites' used interchangeably for that of 'Midianites' (the descendants of another son of Abraham); so it cannot be doubted that the Nabathæans included a variety of Arab races who took their common name from the progenitor of the largest or most influential tribe, Nebaioth, the first-born of Ishmael. While the greater number of their countrymen followed the occupation of shepherds, others applied themselves to commerce, which we find them prosecuting so early as the days of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 27, 36). They appear to have originated the transit trade carried on by caravans across the desert towards Palestine and Egypt, and probably their chief motive in at length locating themselves in Idumæa was that they might command the great commercial route from the Red Sea northward through the continuous valley of El-Araba and El-Ghor.

The territory occupied by the Nabathæans is called by Greek writers Ναβατηνή (by Epiphanius Ναβατέα and Ναβαττίς), and by Latin writers *Nabathæa* or *Nabathena*. In its widest sense this included the whole of Northern Arabia from the Euphrates to the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea; but more strictly taken it denoted (at least in later times) only a portion of the southern part of that vast region (Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 12. 4; St. Jerome, *Quæst. on Isa.* xxv. 13: Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 8). We first hear of the Nabathæans in history in the reign of Antigonus, who succeeded Alexander the Great in Babylon, and died in the year B.C. 301. He sent two expeditions against them; the first under Athenæus, who found most of the men absent at a certain emporium or mart, having left their families, says Diodorus Siculus (xix. 95-98) ἐπί τινος Πέτρας, *i. e.* upon a certain rock, or, perhaps, rather 'in a certain place *called* Petra,' thus pointing to their famous metropolis, the Selah or Joktheel of the Hebrews [Petra]. Taking this stronghold by surprise, he found in it a large store of frankincense and myrrh, and five hundred talents of silver, all which he seized and carried off. But the Nabathæans having quickly rallied their forces pursued him and destroyed a great part of his army. Antigonus, after certain deceitful negociations, sent against them another expedition under his son Demetrius; but having had intelligence of his approach, they drove their flocks into the surrounding deserts and deposited their wealth in Petra, to which, says the historian, 'there was but a single approach, and that χειροποίητος,' *i. e.* made by hand—an expression strikingly descriptive of the passage of El Syk at Wady Mûsa. Demetrius, thus baffled, had to retire with his troops. It appears from these accounts that the Nabathæans were as yet essentially a pastoral people, though they were likewise engaged in commerce, which they afterwards prosecuted to a great extent, and thereby acquired great riches and renown. It was in this way that they gradually became more fixed in their habits; and living in towns and villages they were at length united under a regular monarchical government, constituting the kingdom of Arabia, or more strictly, *Arabia Petræa*, the name being derived not, as some suppose, from the rocky nature of the country, but from the chief city, Petra. Accord-

ing to Ptolemy this kingdom was bounded on the east by the desert, on the west by Egypt, on the north by Palestine and part of the Roman province of Syria, and it extended southward to the Elanitic Gulf. It was thus rather limited in extent, not materially exceeding (except on the west) the size of the territory which had been possessed by Edom.

The common name of the kings of Arabia Petræa was either Aretas or Obodas. Even in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (about B.C. 166), we read in 2 Macc. v. 8, of an Aretas, king of the Arabians; and from that period downwards they came frequently into contact both with the Jews and Romans, as may be seen in the books of the Maccabees and the writings of Josephus. When Judas Maccabæus and his brother Jonathan had crossed the Jordan, they reached after a three days' march the country of the Nabathæans, who gave them a very friendly reception (1 Macc. v. 24, 25; Joseph. *Antiq* xii. 8. 3; comp. xiii. 13. 5. 15, and *De Bell. Jud.*, i. 4. 4. 7). Long before the kingdom of Arabia was actually conquered by the Romans, its sovereigns were dependent on the Roman power. An expedition was sent thither by Augustus, under Ælius Gallus, governor of Egypt, and a personal friend of the geographer Strabo, who has left us an account of it. After various obstacles, he at last reached Λευκὴ Κώμη, or Albus Pagus, the emporium of the Nabathæans, and the port of Petra, which was probably at or near Elath (Strabo, xvi. 4, 22, 24; Dion Cassius, liii. 27; Arrian, *Periplus Maris Eryth.*). Another friend of Strabo, the Stoic philosopher Athenodorus, had spent some time in Petra, and related to him with admiration how the inhabitants lived in entire harmony and union under excellent laws. The kingdom was hereditary; or at least the king was always one of the royal family, and had a prime minister or vizier, ἐπίτροπος, who was styled *the king's brother*. Pliny also repeatedly speaks of the Nabathæans (*Hist. Nat.* v. 11; vi. 28; xii. 27); and classes along with them the Cedrei, exactly as Kedar and Nebaioth are placed together in Isa. lx. 7. Another Arabian king of the name of Aretas is the one mentioned by St. Paul (2 Cor. ii. 32; comp. Acts vii. 24, 25; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5. 1). We find that a former Aretas had been invited to assume the sovereignty by the inhabitants of Damascus (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.*, i. 4, 7; *Antiq.* xiii. 15. 1); and now, during the weak reign of Caligula, the same city is seized by another Aretas, and governed through an *ethnarch*, as related by Paul. The kingdom of Arabia Petræa maintained its nominal independence till about A.D. 105, in the reign of the Emperor Trajan, when it was subdued by Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria, and annexed to the vast empire of Rome.

The Nabathæans had, as we have seen, early applied themselves to commerce, especially as carriers of the products of Arabia, India, and the far-distant East, which, as we learn from Strabo, were transported on camels from the above-mentioned Leuke Komé to Petra, and thence to Rhinocoloura (El 'Arish) and elsewhere. 'But under the Roman dominion the trade of these regions appears to have widely extended itself, and to have flourished in still greater prosperity; probably from the circumstance that the lawless rapacity of the adjacent nomadic hordes was now kept in check by the Roman power, and particularly by the garrisons which were every where established for this specific purpose. The country, too, was now rendered more accessible, and the passage of merchants and caravans more practicable, by military ways. From Elath, or Ailah, one great road had its direction northwards to the rich and central Petra; thence it divided and led on one side to Jerusalem, Gaza, and other ports on the Mediterranean; and on the other side to Damascus. Another road appears to have led directly from Ailah along the Ghor to Jerusalem. Traces of these routes are still visible in many parts. These facts are derived not from the testimony of historians, but from the specifications of the celebrated *Tabula Theodosiana*, or *Peutingeriana*, compiled in the fourth century. According to this, a line of small fortresses was drawn along the eastern frontier of Arabia Petræa, towards the desert, some of which became the sites of towns and cities, whose names are still extant. But as the power of Rome fell into decay, the Arabs of the desert would seem again to have acquired the ascendancy. They plundered the cities, but did not destroy them; and hence those regions are still full of uninhabited, yet stately and often splendid ruins, of ancient wealth, and taste, and greatness. Even Petra, the rich and impregnable metropolis, was subjected to the same fate; and now exists, in its almost inaccessible loneliness, only to excite the curiosity of the scholar, and the wonder of the traveller, by the singularity of its site, its ruins, and its fortunes.'

In the course of the fourth century this region came to be included under the general name of 'Palestine;' and it then received the special designation of *Palæstina Tertia*, or *Salutaris*. It became the diocese of a metropolitan, whose seat was at Petra, and who was afterwards placed under the patriarch of Jerusalem. With the Mohammedan conquest in the seventh century its commercial prosperity disappeared. Lying between the three rival empires of Arabia, Egypt, and Syria, it lost its ancient independence; the course of trade was diverted into new channels; its great routes were abandoned; and at length the entire country was quietly yielded up to the Bedawees of the surrounding wilderness, whose descendants still claim it as their domain. During the twelfth century it was partially occupied by the Crusaders, who gave it the name of *Arabia Tertia*, or *Syria Sobal*. From that period it remained unvisited by Europeans, and had almost disappeared from their maps, until it was partially explored, first by Seetzen in 1807, and more fully by Burckhardt in 1812; and now the wonders of the Wady Mûsa are familiarly known to all. (See Reland's *Palæstina Illustr.*; Vincent's *Commerce of the Ancients;* Ritter's *Gesch. d. Petr. Arabiens*, in the 'Trans. of the Berlin Acad.', 1824; Forster's *Mohammedanism Unveiled*, and *Geography of Arabia;* Robinson's *Sketches of Idumæa*, in 'Amer. Bib. Repos.', 1833; and *Bibl. Researches*, vol. ii.)—N. M.

1. NEBO (נְבוֹ; Sept. Ναβώ), a Chaldæan idol mentioned in Isa. xlvi. 1, and supposed to have been the symbol of the planet Mercury, the celestial scribe and interpreter of the gods, answering to the Hermes and Anubis of the Egyptians. He was likewise worshipped by the Sabians in

Arabia (Norberg, *Onomast.* p. 95). Gesenius traces the name in נביא, *prophet*, an interpreter of the Divine will. The divine worship paid to this idol by the Chaldæans and Assyrians is attested by many compound proper names of which it forms part, as *Nebu*chadnezzar, *Nebu*zaradan, *Nebu*hashban; besides others mentioned in classical writers,—*Nabo*nedus, *Nabo*nassar, *Nabu*rianus, *Nabo*nabus, *Nabo*polassar. (See Gesenius and Henderson on Isa. xlvi. 1).

2. NEBO, the name of a mountain on the confines of Moab (Deut. xxxii. 49; xxxiv. 1), and of a town near it (Num. xxxii. 3, 38; Isa. xv. 2). Since the time of Seetzen and Burckhardt, Mount Nebo has been usually identified with Mount Attarus, east of the Dead Sea. Dr. Robinson has weakened this conclusion without substituting any other. He says, 'During the whole time we were on the coast of the Dead Sea, on the Jordan, and in or near the plains of Jericho, we were much interested in looking out among the eastern mountains for Mount Nebo, so celebrated in the history of the great Hebrew legislator, where he was permitted to behold with his eyes the Land of Promise, and then yielded up the ghost. But our search was in vain; for although we passed in such a direction as to see the mountains over against Jericho from every quarter, yet there seems to be none standing so out from the rest, or so marked, as to be recognised as the Nebo of the Scriptures. There is no peak or point perceptibly higher than the rest, but all is apparently one level line of summit, without peaks or gaps. The highest point in all the eastern mountains is Jebel el-Jil'âd, or es-Salt, near the city of that name, rising about 3000 feet above the Ghor; but this is much too far north to be Mount Nebo, to which Moses ascended from the plains of Moab over against Jericho. Possibly, on travelling into these mountains, some isolated point or summit might be found answering to the position and character of Nebo. Indeed, Seetzen, Burckhardt, and also Irby and Mangles, have all found Mount Nebo in Jebel 'Attârûs, a high mountain south of the Turka Ma'în. This, however, as the latter travellers remark, is "far from opposite Jericho," and would be almost as distant, and as little convenient to the plains of Moab, as is Jebel es-Salt. It may perhaps be sufficient to assume, that Moses merely went up from these plains to some high part of the adjacent mountains, from which he would every where have an extensive view over the Jordan valley, and the mountainous tract of Judah and Ephraim *towards* the western sea. The Mediterranean itself could never well be visible from any point east of the Jordan.'

3. NEBO, a town in the tribe of Judah (Ezra ii. 29); or more fully, in order to distinguish it from the preceding, נבו אחר, 'the other Nebo' (Neh. vii. 33). The name may have, as in the preceding instance, been derived from that of the idol Nebo; but more probably from נבה, 'to be high.'

NEBUCHADNEZZAR (נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר, Kings, Chronicles, and Daniel; Jer. xxvii.; xxviii.; xxxiv. 1; xxxix. 1; Ezek. xxvi. 7; and Ezra v. 12; written also נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר, Nebuchadrezzar, generally in Jeremiah, and in Ezek. xxx. 18) was the name of the Chaldæan monarch of Babylon by whom Judah was conquered, and the Jews led into their seventy years' captivity. In the Septuagint version he is called Ναβουχοδονόσορ; by Berosus (ap. Josephum), Ναβουχοδονόσορος; by Abydenus (ap. Eusebium, *Præp. Evang.*), Ναβουδρόσορος; and by Strabo, the only writer among the Greeks by whom he is named (xv. 687) Ναυκοοκοδρόσορος. This name, Nabuchodonosor, has passed from the Septuagint into the Latin Vulgate, and into the authorized English version of the books of Judith and Tobit. Nabu or Nebo (Isa. xlvi. 1) was the name of a Chaldæan deity, supposed to be Mercury, and enters frequently into the composition of Chaldæan proper names, as Nabopolassar (*Can. Ptol.*); Nabuzaradan (2 Kings xxv. 8. &c.); Samgar-nebu and Nebushasban (Jer. xxix. 3. 13). The name Nebuchadnezzar has been commonly explained to signify the *treasure of Nebo*, but, according to Lorsbach (*Archiv. f. Morgenl. Literatur*), it signifies *Nebo, the prince of gods;* Pers. نبو خذان سر; see also Norberg's *Onomasticon Cod. Nasar.* p. 95, sq. and Gesenius *in Isai.* iv. 344, 366.

The only notices which we have of this monarch in the canonical writings are found in the books of Kings, Chronicles, Daniel, and Ezra, and in the allusions of the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

From 2 Kings xxiii. 29, and 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, we gather that in the reign of Josiah (B.C. 610), Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, having approached by sea the coast of Syria, made a friendly application to King Josiah to be allowed a passage through his territories to the dominions of the Assyrian monarch, with whom he was then at war. 'I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war; for God (Elohim) commanded me to make haste,' &c. (2 Chron. xxxv. 20, 21). The design of Pharaoh-Necho was to seize upon Carchemish (Circesium or Cercusium), a strong post on the Euphrates; but Josiah, who was tributary to the Babylonian monarch, opposed his progress at Megiddo, where he was defeated and mortally wounded [JOSIAH]. Necho marched upon Jerusalem, when the Jews became tributary to the king of Egypt. Upon this, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, where this monarch's name is for the first time introduced), invaded Judah, retook Carchemish, with the territory which had been wrested from him by Necho, seized upon Jehoiakim, the vassal of Pharaoh-Necho, and reduced him to submission (B.C. 607). This invasion took place, according to Jer. xxvi. 1; xlvi. 1, in the fourth year of Jehoiachim, but according to Daniel i. 12, in the third. In order to reconcile this apparent contradiction, it has been generally maintained that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar fell partly in the third and partly in the fourth year of Jehoiakim [CAPTIVITIES, DANIEL]. Jehoiachim was at first loaded with chains, in order to be led captive to Babylon, but was eventually restored by Nebuchadnezzar to his throne, on condition of paying an annual tribute. Nebuchadnezzar carried off part of the ornaments of the Temple, together with several hostages of distinguished rank, among whom were the youths Daniel and his three friends Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael (Dan. i.). These were educated at court in the language and sciences of the Chal-

dæans, where they subsequently filled offices of distinction. The sacred vessels were transferred by Nebuchadnezzar to his temple at Babylon (Isa. xxxix.; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7); [Babylon].

After the conquest of Judæa, Nebuchadnezzar turned his attention towards the Egyptians, whom he drove out of Syria, taking possession of all the land between the Euphrates and the *river* (2 Kings xxiv. 7): which some suppose to mean the Nile, but others a small river in the desert, which was reckoned the boundary between Palestine and Egypt (Prideaux's *Connection*).

The fate of Jerusalem was now rapidly approaching its consummation. After three years of fidelity, Jehoiachim renounced his allegiance to Babylon, and renewed his alliance with Necho, when Nebuchadnezzar sent incursions of Ammonites, Moabites and Syrians, together with Chaldæans, to harass him. At length, in the eleventh year of his reign, he was made prisoner, and slain (Jer. xxii.) [Jehoiakim]. He was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, who, after three months' reign, surrendered himself with his family to Nebuchadnezzar, who had come in person to besiege Jerusalem, in the eighth year of his reign (2 Kings xxiv. 10—12) [Jehoiachin]. Upon this occasion all the most distinguished inhabitants, including the artificers, were led captive [Captivities]. Among the captives, who amounted to no less than 50,000, were Ezekiel (Ezek. i. 1) and Mordecai [Esther]. The golden vessels of Solomon were now removed, with the royal treasures, and Mattaniah, the brother of Jehoiachin, placed on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar, who gave him the name of Zedekiah, and bound him by an oath not to enter into an alliance with Egypt. Zedekiah, however, in the ninth year of his reign, formed an alliance with Pharaoh-Hophra, the successor of Necho. Hophra, coming to the assistance of Zedekiah, was driven back into Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, who finally captured Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign (B.C. 588) [Zedekiah]. The Temple, and the whole city, with its towers and walls, were all razed to the ground by Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's lieutenant, and the principal remaining inhabitants put to death by Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. Jeremiah was, however, spared, and Gedaliah appointed governor. He was shortly after murdered by Ishmael, a member of the royal family, who was himself soon obliged to take refuge among the Ammonites. Many of the remaining Jews fled into Egypt, accompanied by Jeremiah; those who remained were soon after expatriated by Nebuchadnezzar, who depopulated the whole country.

He next undertook the siege of Tyre [Tyre], and after its destruction proceeded to Egypt, now distracted by internal commotions, and devastated or made himself master of the whole country from Migdol to Syene (according to the reading of the Seventy, Ezek. xxix. 10; xxx. 6), transferring many of the inhabitants to the territory beyond the Euphrates.

We have referred to the captivity of the prophet Daniel, and have to turn to the book which bears his name for the history of this prophet, who, from an exile, was destined to become the great protector of his nation. In the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel, who was found superior in wisdom to the Chaldæan magi, was enabled not only to interpret, but to reveal a dream of Nebuchadnezzar's, the very subject of which that monarch had forgotten [Dreams]. This was the dream of the statue consisting of four different metals, which Daniel interpreted of four successive monarchies, the last of which was to be the reign of the Messiah. Daniel was elevated to be first minister of state, and his three friends were made governors of provinces. The history of these events (Dan. ii. 4, 8, 9) is written in the Chaldee language, together with the narrative which immediately follows (ch. iii.), of the golden statue erected by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura, for refusing to worship which, Daniel's three friends were thrown into a furnace, but miraculously preserved. The fourth chapter, also written in Chaldee, contains the singular history of the judgment inflicted on Nebuchadnezzar as a punishment for his pride, and which is narrated in the form of a royal proclamation from the monarch himself, giving an account to his people of his affliction and recovery. This affliction had been, by the monarch's account, predicted by Daniel a year before, in the interpretation of his fearful dream of the tree in the midst of the earth. While walking in his palace, and admiring his magnificent works, he uttered, in the plenitude of his pride, the remarkable words recorded in ver. 30, 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?' He had scarce uttered the words, when a voice from heaven proclaimed to him that his kingdom was departed from him; that he should be for seven *times* (generally supposed to mean years, although some reduce the period to fourteen months; Jahn, *Introd.*) driven from the habitations of men to dwell among the beasts of the field, and made to eat grass as an ox, until he learned 'that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.' The sentence was immediately fulfilled, and Nebuchadnezzar continued in this melancholy state during the predicted period, at the end of which he was restored to the use of his understanding (ver. 36). We have no account in Scripture of any of the actions of this monarch's life after the period of his recovery, but the first year of the reign of his successor Evil-merodach is represented as having taken place in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin, answering to B.C. 562 (2 Kings xxv. 27).

We have now to consider the light which profane history has thrown on the events of these times.

The canon of Ptolemy the mathematician, who flourished about the commencement of the Christian era, consists of a catalogue, arranged in chronological order, of the kings of Babylon, commencing with Nabonassar, who reigned B.C. 747, and ending with Nabonned, B.C. 556. According to this catalogue, Nabopolassar (*Ναβουπολάσαρος*), who died B.C. 625, was succeeded by Nabocolassar (*Ναβοκολάσαρος*), B.C. 605. This Nabocolassar is therefore presumed to be the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture (for the canon of Ptolemy, see *Table Chronologique des Règnes*, &c. par l'Abbé Halmy, Paris, 1819). Nabopolassar, the father of Nabocolassar, is supposed to have been the first Chaldæan monarch of Babylon, and to have disunited it from the Assyrian empire, of

which it had hitherto formed a part (Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*). According to a fragment of Alexander Polyhistor, reported by Syncellus in his *Chronographia*, it was this sovereign who destroyed the city of Nineveh, B.C. 612, which, according to Eusebius (*Chron.* p. 46), he effected in conjunction with Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes (see also Tobit xiv. 15, where the latter is named Assuerus). The following extract, preserved by Josephus, from the lost Chaldæan history of Berosus, priest of the temple of Bel (B.C. 268), will be found to throw considerable light on the Scripture narrative: 'When his father Nabuchodonosor heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt and the places about Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia had revolted from him, while he was not himself able any longer to undergo hardships, he committed to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was still but a youth, some parts of his army, and sent them against them. So when Nabuchodonosor had given him battle, and fought with the rebel, he overcame him, and reduced the country from under his subjection and made it a branch of his own kingdom. But about that time it happened that his father Nabuchodonosor fell ill, and ended his life in the city of Babylon, when he had reigned twenty-one years; and when he was made sensible that his father Nabuchodonosor was dead—having settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries, and also those that concerned the captive Jews, and the Phœnicians, Syrians and Egyptians, and having committed the conveyance of them to Babylon to certain of his friends—he hastily crossed the desert, with a few companions, into Babylon. So he took upon him the management of public affairs, and of the kingdom which had been kept for him by one of the chief Chaldæans, and he received the entire dominions of his father, and appointed, that when the captives came, they should be placed in colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia' (*Antiq.* x. 11).

It will be observed that both Nebuchadnezzar (styled by some *the Great*) and his father are here equally named Nabuchodonosor, but, in the citation of the same narrative from Berosus by Josephus (*Cont. Apion.*, i. 19), the father of Nebuchadnezzar is called Nabolassar (Ναβολάσσαρος), corresponding nearly with the Nabopolassar of Ptolemy: which has induced some to suppose the name Nabuchodonosor in the former citation to be an error of transcription. We have already noticed the opinion of those who consider the Nabuchodonosor of Judith to be the same with the Saosduchin of Ptolemy, who was contemporary with Manasseh [JUDITH]. Some foundation has thus been afforded for considering Nebuchadnezzar as a general name for Babylonian sovereigns (Prideaux, *Connect.*); this, however, is considered by Whiston as a groundless mistake (Whiston's *Josephus*, note on ch. xi.). It is by no means improbable that the similarity of the two names may have led to their being sometimes confounded. The conqueror of Nineveh is also called by the name of Nebuchodonosor in Tobit xiv. 15 (in the Greek, for the Latin ends with ver. 14), and is on this account styled by some, *Nebuchadnezzar the First*, a designation first applied to him by Rabbi David Ganz, under the age of the world, 3285. Alber considers (*Inst. Herm. V. T.* vol. ii. ch. xv.) that the Nabuchodonosor of Judith was not one of the legitimate sovereigns who flourished before the Persian domination, but that both he and Arphaxad were governors of provinces, who had rebelled against the Persians, and assumed those names, and that the pretended Nebuchadnezzar, or *Nebuchadnezzar the Third*, was reduced to order upon the failure of his expedition under Holofernes. By this rather hazardous conjecture, whereby he further maintains, in contradiction to Bellarmine (*De Verb. Dei*), that the book of Judith refers to a period posterior to the exile, he endeavours to prove that the history of Judith is historically true, in opposition to Jahn, who regards it as a fiction [JUDITH].

According to Ptolemy's canon, the reign of Nabocolasar is made to commence two years later than that of the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture. Many attempts have been made to reconcile this discrepancy, but the solution generally received assumes that the first capture of Jerusalem (Dan. i. 1) took place during the last years of the reign of Nabopolassar, in the expedition mentioned by Berosus (*ut supra*), and that the canon of Ptolemy dates the commencement of his reign from the death of his father, when he became sole king of Babylon (De Wette's *Introd.* § 253, note).

Although Herodotus does not name Nebuchadnezzar, he is supposed by some to allude to the expedition of Pharaoh-Necho against Babylon, when he observes that 'Necho, after an engagement at Magdolos in Egypt, took Kadytis, a great city of Syria.' It is conjectured that he may have confounded Migdol, in Egypt, with Megiddo, and that Kadytis was the same with Jerusalem (El Kaddosh, 'the holy city'). (Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth.*)

We learn from a continuation of the extract from Berosus already cited, that Nebuchadnezzar almost rebuilt the city of Babylon with the spoils of his expedition, and magnificently adorned the temple of Bel, together with other temples, and built a splendid palace, which he beautified with wooded terraces, and those hanging gardens which were considered one of the wonders of the world [BABYLON]. To him are also attributed those stupendous canals described by Herodotus, who himself visited Babylon about B.C. 130, and whose descriptions are fully corroborated by the statements of Philostratus, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, and Diodorus Siculus, by none of whom, however, is this monarch mentioned. Josephus adds, that Megasthenes, in his fourth book, refers to the same subject, and thereby endeavours to show that he exceeded Hercules, and conquered a great part of Africa and Spain. Strabo adds, that 'Sesostris, king of Egypt, and Tearcon, king of Ethiopia, extended their expedition as far as Europe, but that Navokodrosor, who is venerated by the Chaldæans more than Hercules by the Greeks . . . . . marched through Spain to Greece and Pontus.' According to the canon of Ptolemy (with which Josephus agrees, *c. Apion.* i. 20), Nebuchadnezzar reigned forty-three years, when he was succeeded by Iluaroudaroos, the Evil-Merodach of Scripture.

The difficulties attending the nature of the disease and recovery of Nebuchadnezzar have not escaped the notice of commentators in ancient as well as modern times. The impression made by them on the acute mind of Origen, that father

thus expresses: 'How is it possible to suppose a man metamorphosed into a beast? This sounds well enough in the poets, who speak of the companions of Ulysses and of Diomede as transformed into birds and wolves, fables which existed in the poet's imagination only. But how could a prince like Nebuchadnezzar, reared in delicacy and pleasure, be able to live naked for seven years, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and having no nourishment but grass and wild fruits? How could he resist the violence of wild beasts? Who governed the empire of Chaldæa in his absence? How, at the end of seven years, was he received again by his people, resuming his throne as after the absence of a night? Finally, could an event so singular and so memorable have escaped the notice of profane historians, who relate so many other things regarding the same prince, much less curious, and less worthy of attention than this?' (ap. Hieron. *in Dan.*) It must, however, be borne in mind that Origen's passion for allegorizing frequently led him to overstate the difficulties of Scripture, and his own solution of those which he enumerates, viz., that the account of Nebuchadnezzar's metamorphosis was merely a representation of the fall of Lucifer, is not likely to meet with many supporters. Besides Origen's, there have been no less than five different opinions in reference to this subject. Bodin (in *Demonol.*) maintains that Nebuchadnezzar underwent an actual metamorphosis of soul and body, a similar instance of which is given by Cluvier (*Append. ad Epitom. Hist.*) on the testimony of an eye-witness. Tertullian (*De Pœnit.*) confines the transformation to the body only, but without loss of reason, of which kind of metamorphosis St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 18) reports some instances said to have taken place in Italy, to which he himself attaches little credit; but Gaspard Peucer asserts that the transformation of men into wolves was very common in Livonia. Some Jewish Rabbins have asserted that the soul of Nebuchadnezzar, by a real transmigration, changed places with that of an ox (Medina, *De rectâ in Deum fid.*); while others have supposed not a real, but an apparent or docetic change, of which there is a case recorded in the life of St. Macarius, the parents of a young woman having been persuaded that their daughter had been transformed into a mare. The most generally received opinion, however, is, that Nebuchadnezzar laboured under that species of hypochondriacal monomania which leads the patient to fancy himself changed into an animal or other substance, the habits of which he adopts. Jerome probably leaned to this opinion. 'Who does not see,' he observes, 'that *madmen* live like brute beasts in the fields and woods, and in what is it wonderful that this punishment should be inflicted by God's judgment to show the power of God, and to humble the pride of kings? Greek and Roman histories relate much more incredible things, as of men changed into Scylla, the Chimæra, and the Centaurs, into birds and beasts, flowers, trees, stars, and stones?' (*in Dan.* iv. 4). To this disease of the imagination physicians have given the name of Lycanthropy, Zoanthropy, or Insania Canina [Diseases of the Jews]. In Dan. iv. 15 (iv. 12, according to the Latin) there seems an allusion to some species of insanity in the expression, 'even with a band of iron and brass' (*alligetur vinculo ferreo et æreo*, Vulg.); and the loss and return of reason is very clearly intimated in ver. 34, 'mine understanding returned to me, and I blessed the Most High.' Virgil (*Eclog.* 6) refers to this kind of madness in the case of the daughters of Prœtus, who fancied themselves oxen, and made the plains resound with their bellowings:

Implerunt falsis mugitibus agros.

And a somewhat similar kind of insanity is described by Mr. Drummond Hay (*Western Barbary*, 1844, p. 65) as produced by the use of an intoxicating herb among the Gisowys, or Moorish fanatics. (See Heinroth, *Seelenstor.* i. 65; Ader, *De ægrotis in Evang.* p. 31, &c.; Meade, *Med. Sac.*; and Muller, *De Nebuchadnezz. μεταμορφώσει*).

The idea of an allegory has been revived in modern times, especially by De Wette (*Enleitung*, p. 257), who considers the accounts in Daniel too improbable, if literally understood, although he admits that they may have been founded on historical traditions. He considers the whole of the narrative in Daniel as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes, who he asserts is also signified by Belshazzar. In reference to the subject before us his translator adds, that 'Antiochus Epiphanes was called with perfect propriety *Epimanes*, or, the mad, which may have given the author a hint to represent the old and idealized monarch of his nation as bereft of reason, and reduced to the form and character of a beast. Here the historical fact is idealized, and an exquisite piece of sarcasm on the folly and brutality of Antiochus is produced' (Dan. iv. 14, 22-24, 29, 31, 32, 34). But the truth of this inference, however ingenious the arguments in its favour, depends altogether on the alleged spuriousness of the book of Daniel, whose genuineness is attested by the citations of the New Testament writers, and by the author of the 1st book of Maccabees, who was acquainted with the book of Daniel, even in the version of the Sept. (Macc. i. 54, comp. with Dan. ii. 27; and ii. 59 with Dan. iii. and vi.). [Daniel.] De Wette can only avoid the force of this evidence by denying the authority of the New Testament writers in a case of the kind. He adds that it is a biassed assumption of Hengstenberg to maintain that 1 Macc. was originally written in Greek (*allein dass es ursprünglich griechisch . . . sei, ist eine parteiische Annahme*) not *Hebrew*, as De Wette's English translator has it, and in the time of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 134—105), as according to him (De Wette) it appears from 1 Macc. xvi. 23, 24, to have been written much later [Maccabees].

Some have fancied that there was an allusion to the disease of Nebuchadnezzar in the passage of Berosus quoted by Josephus (*Cont. Apion.* i. 20). *Ναβουχοδονόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τείχους, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀῤῥωστίαν, μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον.* 'Nabuchodonosor, after he had commenced the aforesaid wall, falling into a sickness, died.' There is another remarkable passage respecting him in Abydenus (ap. Eusebium, *Præpar. Evang.* ix. 41), where, having cited the passage from Megasthenes already referred to, he adds, upon the authority of the same writer, a speech of Nabuchodonosor, wherein, having been struck by some god, he foretold the destruction of Babylon by a 'Persian

mule,' assisted by a Mede, the former boast of Assyria, after which he instantly vanished. A reference has been supposed to exist in these words to Nebuchadnezzar's madness and consequent disappearance, but there is at most, as De Wette observes, only a traditional connection between them. Jahn *(Hebrew Commonwealth)* conceives the whole to be a tradition made up from his prophetic dreams, his insanity . . . . and from Daniel's explanation of the well-known handwriting in the banqueting-hall of Belshazzar.

Objections have been made by Sir Thomas Browne and others to the proportions of Nebuchadnezzar's golden statue (Dan. iii.), said to have been 60 cubits, or 90 feet high, and only 6 cubits in breadth; for it is evident that the statue of a man ten times higher than its breadth exceeds all natural symmetry. Jahn *(Introd.)* supposes that this form might have a more august appearance, or have been retained from a rude antiquity. Some consider that the height of 90 feet included the pedestal. Hengstenberg supposes that צֶלֶם may mean an *obelisk*, as well as a statue, in which case the proportions would be symmetrical. Diodorus Siculus (lib. ii.) informs us that one of the images of massy gold found by Xerxes in the Temple of Bel, measured 40 feet in height, which would have been fairly proportioned to a breadth of 6 feet, measured at the shoulders. Prideaux supposes that this may have been the identical statue erected by Nebuchadnezzar, which, however, Jahn conceives was more probably only gilt, as a statue of gold could scarcely have been safe from robbers in the plain of Dura; but this conjecture of Jahn's seems by no means necessary.—W. W.

NEBUSHASBAN (נְבוּשַׁזְבָּן; Sept. *Ναβουσεζβὰν*, Jer. xxxix. 13), a follower of Nebu. Pers. نبوچشبان' the name of one of the Babylonian officers sent by Nebuzar-adan to take Jeremiah out of prison.—W. W.

NEBUZAR-ADAN (נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן; Sept. *Ναβουζαρδάν*, 1 Kings xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 9; xl. 1; lii. 12, &c.). '*Nebu is the Lord*,' according to the Hebrew; or, according to the Persian, 'Nebu is wise' (comp. Pers. دان). The name of the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's guard, by whom the ruin of Jerusalem was completed.—W. W.

NECHO (נְכוֹ; Sept. *Νεχαώ*; Herodotus, *Νεκώς*), an Egyptian king, son and successor (according to Herodotus, ii. 158) of Psammetichus, and contemporary of the Jewish king Josias (B.C. 610). The wars and success of Necho, in Syria, are recorded by sacred as well as profane writers, affording an instance of agreement between them which the historical, and especially the Biblical student, would be glad to find of more frequent occurrence. Studious of military renown, and the furtherance of commerce, Necho, on ascending the throne of Egypt, applied himself to re-organize the army, and to equip a powerful fleet. In order to promote his purposes, he courted the Greeks, to whose troops he gave a post next to his Egyptians. He fitted out a fleet in the Mediterranean, and another in the Red Sea. Having engaged some expert Phœnician sailors, he sent them on a voyage of discovery along the coast of Africa. 'They were ordered (says Herod., iv. 42, 3) to start from the Arabian Gulf, and come round through the pillars of Hercules (the straits of Gibraltar) into the North Sea, and so return to Egypt. Sailing, therefore, down the gulf, they passed into the Southern Ocean, and when autumn arrived, they laid up their ships and sowed the land. Here they remained till harvest time, when, having reaped the corn, they continued their voyage. In this manner they occupied two years, and the third having brought them by the pillars of Hercules to Egypt, they related what to me appears incredible, that they had the sun on their right hand; and by this means was the form of Africa first known.' Similar expeditions round Africa were performed by other people (Herod., *ut supra*; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* ii. 67; Arrian, *Rer. Ind.* ad fin.). The honour, however, of being the first to equip an expedition for the purpose of circumnavigating Africa belongs to Pharaoh-Necho, who thereby ascertained the peninsular form of that continent, twenty-one centuries before the Cape of Good Hope was seen by Diaz, or doubled by Vasco de Gama. The assertion by Herodotus, that the sun (when rising) was on the right hand of these Egyptian navigators, though incredible to him, is satisfactory to his modern readers, who are indebted to his doubts for proof of a fact which might otherwise have been called in question.

Before entering on this voyage of discovery, Necho had commenced re-opening the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, which had been cut many years before by Sesostris or Rameses the Great. The work, however, if we may believe Herodotus, was abandoned, an oracle warning the Egyptian monarch that he was labouring for the barbarian (Herod. ii. 158).

Necho also turned his attention to the Egyptian conquests already made in Asia; and, fearing lest the growing power of the Babylonians should endanger the territories acquired by the arms of his victorious predecessors, he determined to check their progress, and to attack the enemy on his own frontier. With this view he collected a powerful army, and entering Palestine, followed the route along the sea-coast of Judæa, intending to besiege the town of Carchemish on the Euphrates. But Josiah, king of Judah, offended at the passage of the Egyptian army through his territories, resolved to impede, if unable to prevent, their march. Necho sent messengers to induce him to desist, assuring him that he had no hostile intentions against Judæa, 'but against the house wherewith I have war; for God commanded me to make haste.' This conciliatory message was of no avail. Josiah posted himself in the valley of Megiddo, and prepared to oppose the Egyptians. Megiddo was a city in the tribe of Manasseh, between forty and fifty miles to the north of Jerusalem, and within three hours of the coast. It is called by Herodotus Magdolus. In this valley the feeble forces of the Jewish king, having attacked Necho, were routed with great slaughter. Josiah being wounded in the neck with an arrow, ordered his attendants to take him from the field. Escaping from the heavy shower of arrows with which their broken ranks were overwhelmed, they removed him from the chariot in which he had been wounded, and placing him in a 'second one that he had,' they conveyed him to Jerusalem, where

he died (2 Kings xxiii. 29 sq.; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 sq.).

Intent upon his original project, Necho did not stop to revenge himself upon the Jews, but continued his march to the Euphrates. Three months had scarcely elapsed, when, returning from the capture of Carchemish and the defeat of the Chaldæans, he learned that, though Josiah had left an elder son, Jehoahaz had caused himself to be proclaimed king on the death of his father, without soliciting Necho to sanction his taking the crown. Incensed at this, he ordered Jehoahaz to meet him 'at Riblah, in the land of Hamath;' and having deposed him, and condemned the land to pay a heavy tribute, he carried him a prisoner to Jerusalem. On arriving there, Necho made Eliakim, the eldest son, king, changing his name to Jehoiakim; and taking the silver and gold which had been levied upon the Jewish nation, he returned to Egypt with the captive Jehoahaz, who there terminated his short and unfortunate career. Herodotus says that Necho, after having routed the Syrians (the Jews) at Magdolus, took Cadytis, a large city of Syria, in Palestine, which, he adds, is very little less than Sardis (ii. 159, iii. 5). By Cadytis there is scarcely a doubt he meant Jerusalem; the word is only a Greek form of the ancient, as well as the modern, name of that city. It is, however, to be regretted that the mural sculptures of Egypt present no commemoration of these triumphs on the part of Necho; the sole record of him which they give being the name of Necho, found among the hieroglyphics in the great hall of Karnak. His oval also occurs on vases, and some small objects of Egyptian art.

Pleased with his success, the Egyptian monarch dedicated the dress he wore to the Deity who was supposed to have given him the victory. He did not long enjoy the advantages he had obtained. In the fourth year after his expedition, being alarmed at the increasing power of the Babylonians, he again marched into Syria, and advanced to the Euphrates. The Babylonians were prepared for his approach. Nebuchadnezzar completely routed his army, recovered the town of Carchemish, and, pushing his conquests through Palestine, took from Necho all the territory belonging to the Pharaohs, from the Euphrates to the southern extremity of Syria (2 Kings xxiv. 7; Jer. xlvi. 2; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9; 2 Kings xxiv. 8). Nebuchadnezzar deposed Jehoiachin, who had succeeded his father, and carried the warriors and treasures away to Babylon; a short time previous to which Necho died, and was succeeded by Psammetichus II. (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, vol. i. 157 sq.)

According to Manetho (Euseb. *Chron. Armen.*, i. 219), Necho was the sixth king in the twenty-sixth dynasty, successor of Psammetichus, and as there had been another of the same name, he was properly Necho the Second. The period of his reign was, according to Manetho, six, according to Herodotus sixteen, years (Consult Gesenius, *Isaiah*, i. 596).—J. R. B.

NECOTH (נְכֹאת). This word occurs twice in the book of Genesis, and no doubt indicates a product of Syria, for in one case we find it carried into Egypt as an article of commerce, and in another sent as a present into the same country. It occurs in the same passages as *ladanum*, which is translated *myrrh* in the Authorized Version. Many of the same general observations will therefore apply to both [Loth]. Necoth has unfortunately been rendered *spicery*. This it is not likely to have meant, at least in the present sense of the term, for such commodities were not likely to be transported into Egypt from Gilead, though many Eastern products were, no doubt, carried north by caravans into Asia Minor, up the Euphrates, and by Palmyra into Syria. In the present case, however, all the articles mentioned, seem to be products indigenous in Syria. But it is necessary to attend strictly to the original names, for we are apt to be misled by the English translation. Thus, in Gen. xxxvii. 25, we read, 'Behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels, bearing *spiccry (necoth)*, and balm *(tzeri)*, and myrrh *(loth)*, going to carry it down to Egypt.' To these men Joseph was sold by his brethren, when they were feeding their flocks at Dothan, supposed to be a few miles to the north of Sebaste, or Samaria. It is curious that Jacob, when desiring a present to be taken to the ruler of Egypt, enumerates nearly the same articles (Gen. xliii. 11), 'Carry down the man a present, a little balm *(tzeri)*, and a little honey *(debash)*, *spices (necoth)* and myrrh *(loth)*; or, 'Sumite de laudatissimis hujus terræ fructibus in vasis vestris,' as Bochart translates it. (See the several words.)

Bochart *(Hierozoicon*, ii. lib. iv. c. 12) enters into a learned exposition of the meaning of *necoth*, of which Dr. Harris has given an abridged view in his article on spices. Bochart shows that the true import of *necoth* has always been considered uncertain, for it is rendered *wax* by the paraphrast Jonathan, in the Arabic version of Erpenius, and in Beresith Rabba (sect. 91, near the end). Others interpret it very differently. The Septuagint renders it θυμίαμα, *perfume*, Aquila *storax*, the Syrian version *resin*, the Samaritan *balsam*, one Arabic version *khurnoob* or *carob*, another *sumugha* (or gum), Kimchi *a desirable thing*, Rabbi Selomo *a collection of several aromatics*. Bochart himself considers it to mean *storax*, and gives six reasons in support of his opinion, but none of them appears of much weight. Storax, no doubt, was a natural product of Syria, and an indigenous product seems to be implied; and Jerome (Gen. xliii. 11) follows Aquila in rendering it *styrax*. Rosenmüller, in his *Bibl. Bot.* p. 165, Eng. transl., adopts *tragacanth* as the meaning of *necoth*, without expressing any doubt on the subject; stating that 'The Arabic word (نكا or نكعة *neka* or *nekat*) which is analogous to the Hebrew, denotes that gum which is obtained from the tragacanth, or, as it is commonly called, by way of contraction, traganth shrub, and which grows on Mount Lebanon, in the Isle of Candia, and also in southern Europe.' We have not been able to find any word similar to *necoth*, indicating the tragacanth, which, in our own MS. Materia Medica, is given under the Arabic name of *kitad*, sometimes pronounced *kithad;* and, indeed, it may be found under the same name in Avicenna and other Arabic authors. Tragacanth is an exudation from several species of the genus *Astragalus*, and subdivision *tragacantha*, which is produced in Crete, but chiefly in Northern Persia and in Koordistan.

In the latter province, Dr. Dickson, of Tripoli, saw large quantities of it collected from plants, of which he preserved specimens, and gave them to Mr. Brant, British consul at Erzeroum, by whom they were sent to Dr. Lindley. One of these, yielding the best tragacanth, proved to be *A. gummifer* of Labillardière. It was found by him on Mount Lebanon, where he ascertained that tragacanth was collected by the shepherds. It might therefore have been conveyed by Ishmaelites from Gilead to Egypt. It has in its favour, that it is a produce of the remote parts of Syria, is described by ancient authors, as Theophrastus, Dioscorides, &c., and has always been highly esteemed as a gum in Eastern countries: it was, therefore, very likely to be an article of commerce to Egypt in ancient times.

In Richardson's *Arabic Dictionary* we find نَقَاوَة *nakat*, translated as meaning the best part of corn (or dates) when sifted or cleaned; also *nukayet*, the choicest part of anything cleaned, but sometimes also the refuse.—J. F. R.

NEGINIOTH, a word which occurs in the titles of several Psalms [Psalms].

NEHEMIAH (נְחֶמְיָה, *comforted of Jehovah;* Sept. Νεεμίας). Three persons of this name occur in Scripture; one, the son of Azbuk (Neh. iii. 16), respecting whom no more is known than that he was ruler in Beth-zur, and took a prominent part in repairing the wall of Jerusalem [Beth-zur]. Another is mentioned (Ezra ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7) among those who accompanied Zerubbabel on the first return from captivity. Nothing further is known of this man, though some writers (see Carpzov, *Introd. ad Lib. Bib. Vet. Testamenti*, P. i. 340, sq.) hold him, without valid reasons, to be the same with the well-known Jewish patriot,

Nehemiah, whose genealogy is unknown, except that he was the son of Hachaliah (Neh. i. 1), and brother of Hanani (Neh. vii. 2). Some think he was of priestly descent, because his name appears at the head of a list of priests in Neh. x. 1-8; but it is obvious, from Neh. ix. 38, that he stands there as a prince, and not as a priest—that he heads the list because he was head of the nation. The Vulgate, in 2 Macc. i. 21, calls him '*sacerdos* Nehemias;' but this is a false version of the Greek, which has ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱερεῖς Νεεμίας, and not ὁ ἱερεύς, which the Latin would require. The Syriac agrees with the Greek. Others with some probability infer, from his station at the Persian court and the high commission he received, that he was, like Zerubbabel, of the tribe of Judah and of the house of David (Carpzov, *Introductio*, &c., P. i. 339).

While Nehemiah was cupbearer in the royal palace at Shushan, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or 444 years B.C. [Artaxerxes], he learned the mournful and desolate condition of the returned colony in Judæa. This filled him with such deep and prayerful concern for his country, that his sad countenance revealed to the king his 'sorrow of heart;' which induced the monarch to ascertain the cause, and also to vouchsafe the remedy, by sending him, with full powers, to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, and 'to seek the welfare of the children of Israel.' Being furnished with this high commission, and enjoying the protection of a military escort (ch. ii. 9), Nehemiah reached Jerusalem in the year B.C. 444, and remained there till B.C. 432, being actively engaged for twelve years in promoting the public good (ch. v. 14). The principal work which he then accomplished was the rebuilding, or rather the repairing, of the city wall, which was done 'in fifty and two days' (ch. vi. 15), notwithstanding many discouragements and difficulties, caused chiefly by Sanballat, a Moabite of Horonaim, and Tobiah, an Ammonite, who were leading men in the rival and unfriendly colony of Samaria (ch. iv. 1-3). These men, with their allies among the Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites (ch. iv. 7), sought to hinder the re-fortifying of Jerusalem, first by scoffing at the attempt; then by threatening to attack the workmen—which Nehemiah averted by 'setting a watch against them day and night,' and arming the whole people, so that 'every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon' (ch. iv. 7-18); and finally, when scoffs and threats had failed, by using various stratagems to weaken Nehemiah's authority, and even to take his life (ch. vi. 1-14). But in the midst of these dangers from without, our patriot encountered troubles and hinderances from his own people, arising out of the general distress, which was aggravated by the cruel exactions and oppression of their nobles and rulers (ch. v. 1-5). These popular grievances were promptly redressed on the earnest and solemn remonstrance of Nehemiah, who had himself set a striking example of retrenchment and generosity in his high office (ch. v. 6-19). It appears also (ch. vi. 17-19) that some of the chief men in Jerusalem were at that time in conspiracy with Tobiah against Nehemiah. The wall was thus built in 'troublous times' (Dan. ix. 25); and its completion was most joyously celebrated by a solemn dedication under Nehemiah's direction (ch. xii. 27-43).

Having succeeded in fortifying the city, our reformer turned his attention to other measures in order to secure its good government and prosperity. He appointed some necessary officers (ch. vii. 1-3; also ch. xii. 44-47), and excited among the people more interest and zeal in religion by the public reading and exposition of the law (ch. viii. 1-12), by the unequalled celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (ch. viii. 13-18), and by the observance of a national fast, when the sins of the people and the iniquities of their fathers were publicly and most strikingly confessed (ch. ix.), and when also a solemn covenant was made by all ranks and classes 'to walk in God's law,' by avoiding intermarriages with the heathen, by strictly observing the Sabbath, and by contributing to the support of the temple service (ch. x.). But the inhabitants of the city were as yet too few to defend it and to ensure its prosperity; and hence Nehemiah brought one out of every ten in the country to take up his abode in the ancient capital, which then presented so few inducements to the settler, that 'the people blessed all the men that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem' (ch. vii. 4; also ch. xi. 1-19).

In these important public proceedings, which appear all to have happened in the first year of his government, Nehemiah enjoyed the assistance of Ezra, who is named on several occasions as taking a prominent part in conducting affairs (ch. viii. 1, 9, 13; xii. 36). Ezra had gone up to Jerusalem thirteen years before according to some, or thirty-three years according to others;

but on either reckoning, without supposing unusual longevity, he might well have lived to be Nehemiah's fellow-labourer [Ezra]. These contemporaries are alike eminent among the benefactors of the Jewish people—alike patriotic and zealous, though not uniform in character, or the same in operation. In the character of Ezra we find no indication of the self-complacency which forms a marked feature in that of Nehemiah. The former, in accordance with his priestly calling, laboured chiefly in promoting the interests of religion, but the latter had most to do with the general affairs of government; the one was in charge of the temple, the other of the state.

Nehemiah, at the close of his successful administration, 'from the twentieth year even to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes the king' (ch. v. 14), returned to Babylon in the year B.C. 432, and resumed, as some think, his duties as royal cupbearer.

He returned, however, after a while, to Jerusalem, where his services became again requisite, in consequence of abuses that had crept in during his absence. His stay at the court of Artaxerxes was not very long (certainly not above nine years); 'for after certain days he obtained leave of the king and came to Jerusalem' (ch. xiii. 6, 7). The phrase 'after certain days' (לקץ ימים, *at the end of days*) is indeed quite vague, and hence many take it, as in our common biblical chronology, for the space of one year, while others, on the contrary, reckon it a period of about twenty years, and so consider the return to have happened about B.C. 410 (Prideaux, i. 520; Jahn, *Einleitung ins A. Test.* ii. 288; Winer, *Real-wörterbuch*). But the former reckoning appears too short, for it is exceedingly improbable that affairs could fall into such confusion had Nehemiah been absent only one year; and the latter, though it has much in its favour, is too long, for it makes Nehemiah return *after* the death of the very king from whom he obtained leave to depart. Artaxerxes Longimanus died in B.C. 423, having reigned forty-one years; and hence Nehemiah's return to Jerusalem cannot be dated *later* than B.C. 423, which allows only nine years for his stay at Babylon. If, then, we date his return about B.C. 424, we at once bring it within the reign of Artaxerxes, and allow time enough for abuses to creep in during his absence, or at least for the particular abuse which is expressly named (ch. xiii. 4-9) as having actually arisen (Hävernick, *Einleitung ins A. Test.* ii. 324).

After his return to the government of Judæa, Nehemiah enforced the separation of all the mixed multitude from Israel (ch. xiii. 1-3); and accordingly expelled Tobiah the Ammonite from the chamber which the high-priest, Eliashib, had prepared for him in the temple (ch. xiii. 4-9). Better arrangements were also made for the support of the temple service (ch. xiii. 10-14), and for the rigid observance of the Sabbath (ch. xiii. 15-22). One of the last acts of his government was an effort to put an end to mixed marriages, which led him to 'chase' away a son of Joiada the high-priest, because he was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite (ch. xiii. 23-29). The duration of this second administration cannot be determined: only it is evident that Joiada was high-priest during that period. Now Joiada, according to some chronologists, succeeded his father Eliashib in the year B.C. 413; and hence we may gather that Nehemiah's second rule lasted at least ten years, namely, from B.C. 424 to 413. It is not unlikely that he remained at his post till about the year B.C. 405, towards the close of the reign of Darius Nothus, who is mentioned in ch. xii. 22 [Darius]. At this time Nehemiah would be between sixty and seventy years old, if we suppose him (as most do) to have been only between twenty and thirty when he first went to Jerusalem. That he lived to be an old man is thus quite probable from the sacred history; and this is expressly declared by Josephus, who (*Antiq.* xi. 5, 6) states that he died at an advanced age (εἰς γῆρας ἀφικόμενος). Of the place and year of his death nothing is known.

Besides the account in Josephus, there are some notices of Nehemiah in the Apocrypha. The Son of Sirach (ch. xlix. 13) mentions him with great honour as the rebuilder of the city walls; and in 2 Macc. i. 19-36, he is said to have discovered the holy fire that had been concealed by Jeremiah the prophet, at the destruction of the temple, which is clearly a mere legend. In 2 Macc. ii. 13, he is said to have formed a library, and collected the books of the kings and prophets, and of David; and hence some think it probable that he was concerned in forming the canon of Hebrew Scriptures—which is quite credible [Canon].

Two titles are given to Nehemiah, expressive of his office. One is פחה (ch. xii. 26), which is translated 'governor.' It is considered a Persian word, meaning *friend* or *assistant* of a king, and of the same origin as *pasha*, still used for the governor of a Turkish province. The other is התרשתא *tirshatha*, in ch. viii. 9, which might also be translated 'governor,' as it comes probably from a Persian word, meaning *severe* or *stern*, and hence applicable to a ruler. But in Neh. vii. 65, 70, this title denotes not Nehemiah, but Zerubbabel, as is evident from Ezra ii. 63-70.

The Book of Nehemiah, which bears the title דברי נחמיה, *Nehemiah's Words*, was anciently connected with Ezra, as if it formed part of the same work (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, ii. 627). This connection is still indicated by its first word, ויהי, '*And* it came to pass.' It arose, doubtless, from the fact that Nehemiah is a sort of continuation of Ezra [Ezra]. From this circumstance some ancient writers were led to call this book the 2nd book of Ezra, and even to regard that learned scribe as the author of it (Carpzov, *Introductio. &c.* p. 336). There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that it proceeded from Nehemiah, for its style and spirit, except in one portion, are wholly unlike Ezra's. Here we find no Chaldee documents, as in Ezra, though we might expect some from ch. ii. 7, 8, 9, and ch. vi. 5; and here also the writer discovers a species of egotism never manifested by Ezra (Neh. v. 14-19; Eichhorn, *Einleitung ins A. Test.* ii. 619).

The canonical character of Nehemiah's work is established by very ancient testimony. It should be noticed, however, that this book is not expressly named by Melito of Sardis [A.D. 170] in his account of the sacred writings; but this creates no difficulty, since he does mention Ezra, of

which Nehemiah was then considered but a part (Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, ii. 627).

The contents of the book have been specified above in the biography of the author. The work can scarcely be called a history of Nehemiah and his times. It is rather a collection of notices of some important transactions that happened during the first year of his government, with a few scraps from his later history. The contents appear to be arranged in chronological order, with the exception perhaps of ch. xii. 27-43, where the account of the dedication of the wall seems out of its proper place: we might expect it rather after ch. vii. 1-4, where the completion of the wall is mentioned.

As to the date of the book, it is not likely that it came from Nehemiah's hand till near the close of his life. Certainly it could not have been all written before the expulsion of the priest, recorded in ch. xiii. 23-29, which took place about the year B.C. 413.

While the book as a whole is considered to have come from Nehemiah, it consists in part of compilation. He doubtless wrote the greater part himself, but some portions he evidently took from other works. It is allowed by all that he is, in the strictest sense, the author of the narrative from ch. i. to ch. vii. 5 (Hävernick, *Einleitung*, ii. 304). The account in ch. vii. 6-73 is avowedly compiled, for he says in ver. 5, 'I found a register,' &c. This register we actually find also in Ezra ii. 1-70: hence it might be thought that our author borrowed this part from Ezra; but it is more likely that they both copied from public documents, such as 'the book of the chronicles' (דברי הימים), mentioned in Neh. xii. 23. Had Nehemiah taken his list from Ezra, we might expect agreement, if not identity, in the contents; whereas the two registers present an amazing number of palpable discrepancies, which can scarcely be accounted for without supposing that they were taken from public records that were discordant. It is, however, barely possible that the discrepancies arose from the errors of transcribers.

Chapters viii.-x. were probably not written by Nehemiah, since the narrative respecting him is in the third person (ch. viii. 9; x. 1), and not in the first, as usual (ch. ii. 9-20). Hävernick, indeed, (*Einleitung*, ii. 305-308) makes it appear, from the contents and style, that Ezra was the writer of this portion. The remaining chapters (xi.-xiii.) also exhibit some marks of compilation (ch. xii. 26, 47); but there are, on the contrary, clear proofs of Nehemiah's own authorship in ch. xii. 27-43, and in ch. xiii. 6-31; and hence Havernick thinks he wrote the whole except ch. xii. 1-26, which he took from 'the book of the chronicles,' mentioned in ver. 23 (*Einleitung*, ii. 315-319).

The mention of Jaddua as a high-priest, in ch. xii. 11, 22, has occasioned much perplexity. This Jaddua appears to have been in office in B.C. 332, when Alexander the Great came to Jerusalem (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 8): how then could he be named by Nehemiah? The common, and perhaps the readiest, escape from this difficulty is to regard the naming of Jaddua as an addition by a later hand. Yet it is just credible that Nehemiah wrote it, if we bear in mind that he lived to be an old man, so as possibly to see the year B.C. 370; and if we further suppose that Jaddua had at that time entered on his office, so that he filled it for about forty years, *i. e.* till B.C. 332. In support of this conjecture, see especially Hävernick's *Einleitung*, ii. 320-324.

The exegetical helps for the explanation of this book are chiefly, Poli *Synopsis;* Jo. Clerici *Comm. in Lib. Historicos V. T.*, Amst. 1708; Maurer, *Comment. Crit. Grammat. in V. T.*, vol. i. Lips. 1833; Strigelii *Scholia in Nehem.*, Lips. 1575; and Rambach, *Annotationes in Librum Nehemiæ.*—B. D.

NEHILOTH, a word which occurs in the title of the fifth Psalm [PSALMS].

NEHUSHTA (נְחֻשְׁתָּא, *brass;* Sept. Νέσθα), the mother of king Jehoiachin (2 Kings xxiv. 8).

NER (נֵר, *a light;* Sept. Νήρ), grandfather of king Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 50, 51; xxvi. 5; 1 Chron. viii. 33).

NERD or NARD (נֵרְד) is mentioned in three places in the Song of Solomon, and by Mark and John in the New Testament, under the name of νάρδος. Both are translated in the Authorized Version by the word *spikenard*, which indicates a far-famed perfume of the East, that has often engaged the attention of critics, but the plant which yields it has only been ascertained in very recent times. That the *nerd* of Scripture was a



483. [Nardostachys Jatamansi.]

perfume is evident from the passages in which it occurs. Cant. i. 12: 'While the king sitteth at his table, my spikenard [nard] sendeth forth the smell thereof.' So in Cant. iv. 14: 'Spikenard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense, myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices.' Here we find it asso-

tioned along with many of the most valued aromatics which were known to the ancients, and all of which, with the exception perhaps of saffron, must have been obtained by foreign commerce from distant countries, as Persia, the east coast of Africa, Ceylon, the north-west and the south-east of India, and in the present instance even from the remote Himalayan mountains. Such substances must necessarily have been costly when the means of communication were defective, and the gains of the successful merchant proportionally great. That the nard or nardus was of great value we learn from the New Testament (Mark xiv. 3). When our Saviour sat at meat in Bethany, 'there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of (*νάρδου*) spikenard very precious; and she brake the box, and poured it on his head.' So in John xii. 3: 'Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard (*μύρου νάρδου*), very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair; and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.' On this Judas, who afterwards betrayed our Saviour, said (ver. 5), 'Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?'

Before proceeding to identify the plant yielding nard, we may refer to the knowledge which the ancients had of this ointment. Horace, at a period nearly contemporary, 'promises to Virgil a whole cadus (about thirty-six quarts) of wine, for a small onyx-box full of spikenard' (Rosenmüller, p. 168),

—— Nardo vina merebere.
Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum.

The composition of this ointment is given by Dioscorides, in lib. i. c. 77, *περὶ ναρδίνου μύρου*, where it is described as being made with nut oil, and having as ingredients malabathrum, schœnus, costus, amomum, nardus, myrrha, and balsamum; that is, almost all the most valued perfumes of antiquity.



434. [Spikenard from a druggist's in London.]

The nard, *νάρδος*, was known in very early times, and is noticed by Theophrastus, and by Hippocrates. Dioscorides, indeed, describes three kinds of nard. Of the first, called *νάρδος (nardos)* simply, there were two varieties, the one Syrian, the other Indian. The former is so called, not because it is produced in Syria, but because the mountains in which it is produced extend on one side towards Syria, and on the other towards India. This may refer to the Hindoo Khoosh, and to the extensive signification of the name Syria in ancient times, or to so many Indian products finding their way in those ages into Europe across Syria. These were brought there either by the caravan route from north-west India, or up the Persian Gulf and Euphrates. It is evident, from the passages quoted, that nard could not have been a produce of Syria, or its value would not have been so great either among the Romans or the Jews. The other variety is called Gangitis, from the Ganges, being found on a mountain round which it flows. It is described as having many spikes from one root. Hence it, no doubt, came to be called *ναρδόσταχυς*; and from the word *stachys* being rendered by the word *spike*, it has been translated spikenard. The second kind is by Dioscorides, called Celtic Nard (*νάρδος κελτική*), and the third kind mountain nard (*νάρδος ὀρεινή*). If we consult the authors subsequent to Dioscorides, as Galen, Pliny, Oribasius, Ætius, and Paulus Ægineta, we shall easily be able to trace these different kinds to the time of the Arabs. As the author of this article has already said *(v. infra)*, on consulting Avicenna, we are referred from *narden* to *sunbul*, pronounced *sumbul*, and in the Latin translation from *nardum* to *spica*, under which the Roman, the mountain, the Indian, and Syrian kinds are mentioned. So in Persian works on Materia Medica, chiefly translations from the Arabic, we have the different kinds of *sunbul* mentioned; as—1. *Sunbul hindee*. 2. *Sunbul roomie*, called also *sunbul ukletee* and *narden ukletee*, evidently the above Celtic nard, said also to be called *sunbul italion*, that is, the nard which grows in Italy. 3. *Sunbul jibullee*, or mountain nard. The first, however, is the only one with which we are at present concerned. The synonymes given to it in these Persian works are,—Arabic, *sunbul al teeb*, or fragrant nard; Greek, *narden;* Latin, *nardoom;* and Hindee, *balchur* and *jatamansee*.

Sir William Jones (*Asiat. Res.* ii. 416, 8vo.) was the first to ascertain that the above Hindee and Sanscrit synonymes referred to the true spikenard, and that the Arabs described it as being like the tail of an ermine. The next step was of course to attempt to get the plant which produced the drug. This he was not successful in doing, because he had not access to the Himalayan mountains, and a wrong plant was sent him, which is that figured and described by Dr. Roxburgh (*Asiat. Res.* iv. 97, 438). The author of this article, when in charge of the East India Company's botanic garden at Seharunpore, in 30° of N. latitude, about 30 miles from the foot of the Himalayan mountains, being favourably situated for the purpose, made inquiries on the subject. He there learnt that *jatamansi*, better known in India by the name *balchur*, was yearly brought down in considerable quantities, as an article of commerce, to the plains of India, from such mountains as Shalma, Kedar Kanta, and others, at the foot of which flow the Ganges and

Jumna rivers. Having obtained some of the fresh brought down roots, he planted them, both in the botanic garden at Seharunpore and in a nursery at Mussooree, in the Himalaya, attached to the garden. The plants produced are figured in his *Illustrations of Himalayan Botany*, t. 54, and a reduced figure is given in the accompanying wood-cut (No. 433). The plant produced was found to belong to the natural family of *Valerianeæ*, and has been named *nardostachys jatamansi* by De Candolle, and formerly *patrinia jatamansi*, by Mr. Dow, from plants sent home by Dr. Wallich from Gossamtham, a mountain of Nepal (*Penny Cyclopædia*, art. Spikenard; and Royle, *Illust. Himal. Botany*, p. 242).

Hence there can be no doubt that the *jatamansi* of the Hindoos is the *sunbul hindee* of the Arabs, which they compare to the tail of an ermine. This would almost be sufficient to identify the drug: the appearance to which it refers may be seen even in the wood-cut (434, fig. 1), but very conspicuously in the specimens of the drug which the author has deposited in the Museum of Materia Medica in King's College. This is produced in consequence of the woody fibres of the leaf and its footstalk not being decomposed in the cold and comparatively dry climate where they are produced, but remain and form a protection to the plant from the severity of the cold. There can be as little doubt that the Arabs refer to the descriptions of Dioscorides, and both they, and the Christian physicians who assisted them in making translations, had ample opportunities, from their profession and their local situation, of becoming well acquainted with things as well as words. There is as little reason to doubt that the *νάρδος* of Dioscorides is that of the other Greek authors, and this will carry us into ancient times. As many Indian products found their way into Egypt and Palestine, and are mentioned in Scripture, indeed in the very passage with nard we have calamus, cinnamon, and aloes *(ahalim)*, there is no reason why spikenard from the Himalayas could not as easily have been procured. The only difficulty appears to arise from the term *νάρδος* having occasionally been used in a general sense, and therefore there is sometimes confusion between the nard and the sweet cane [Kaneh bosem], another Indian product. Some difference of opinion exists respecting the fragrance of the *jatamansi:* it may be sufficient to state that it continues to be highly esteemed in Eastern countries in the present day, where fragrant essences are still procured from it, as the *unguentum nardinum* was of old.—J. F. R.

NERGAL (נֵרְגַל; Sept. Ἐργέλ), an idol of the Cuthites (2 Kings xvii. 30). The Rabbinical commentators believe that this idol was in the form of a cock; founding their not very happy conjecture apparently upon the fact that in the Talmud the similar word, תרנגול *tarnegol*, means a cock. The more measured researches of Norberg, Gesenius, and other inquirers into the astrolatry of the Assyrians and Chaldæans, lead to the conclusion that נרגל is the same as the Zabian نرجل, which was the name for the planet Mars. This name of the planet, both among the Zabians and Arabians, means *ill-luck, misfortune;* and it was by no means peculiar to the mythology of the West to make it the symbol of bloodshed and war. Among the people first named, the planet Mars was typified under the figure of a man holding in one hand a drawn sword, and in the other a human head just cut off; and his garments were also red, which, as well as the other ideas attached to this idol, were no doubt founded on the reddish hue which the body of the planet presents to the eye. Among the southern Arabs his temple was painted red; and they offered to him garments stained with blood, and also a warrior (probably a prisoner), who was cast into a pool. It is related of the khalif Hakeem that in the last night of his life, as he observed the stars, and saw the planet Mars rise above the horizon, he murmured between his lips, 'Dost thou ascend, thou accursed shedder of blood? then is my hour come;' and at that moment the assassins sprang upon him from their hiding-place' (Mohammed Abu Taleb, ap. Norberg, *Onomast.* p. 105; *Bar-Hebræus*, p. 220). Von Bohlen would rather derive the name from the Sanscrit *Nrigal*, 'man-devourer,' spoken of a fierce warrior, and corresponding to Merodach (Gesenius, *Thesaur.* p. 913, and *Comment. zu Jesa*, ii. p. 344).

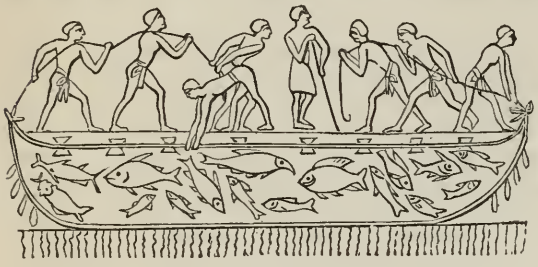
NERGAL-SHAREZER (נֵרְגַל-שַׂרְאֶצֶר; Pers. *Nergal, prince of fire;* Sept. Νεριγλισσάρ). 1. A military chieftain under Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxxix. 3). 2. The chief of the magi (Rab-mag) under the same king, and present in the same expedition (Jer. xxxix. 3, 13).

NESER. [Eagle.]

NET. There are in Scripture several words denoting different kinds of nets, and this, with the frequency of images derived from them, shows that nets were much in use among the Hebrews for fishing, hunting, and fowling. Indeed, for the two latter purposes, nets were formerly used to an extent of which now, since the invention of fire-arms, a notion can scarcely be formed. 1. חרם *cherem*, which denotes a net for either fishing or fowling. It is derived from a word signifying 'to shut up;' and the idea is, therefore, founded on its shutting in the prey. It occurs in Hab. i. 16, 17; Ezek. xxvi. 5, 14; xlvii. 10; Zech. xiv. 11, &c. In Eccles. vii. 26, it is applied by an apt metaphor to female entanglements. 2. מכמר *mikmor* or *machmor*, which occurs only in Ps. cxli. 10, Isa. li. 20, where it denotes a hunter's net; but a longer word, from the same source, מכמרת *mikmoreth*, denotes the net of fishermen in the only passages in which it is found (Isa. xix. 8; Hab. i. 15, 16). In these cases we find, by tracing the words to their source, that the idea is founded upon the plaiting, braiding, or interweaving of the net-work. 3. שבכה *sebaka*, which designates an actual hunting net in Job xviii. 6; but elsewhere it is applied to net-work or lattice-work, especially around the capitals of columns (1 Kings vii. 18, 20, 41, 42; 2 Kings xxvi. 17; 2 Chron. iv. 12, 13; Jer. lii. 22, 23); and also before a window or balcony (2 Kings i. 2). In the New Testament no other net than that for fishing alone is mentioned. The word which describes it (*δίκτυον*) is usually confined to fishing nets by classical writers, although sometimes applied to the nets of hunters. Another word to describe a net, *ἀμφίβληστρον*, occurs in Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16, which, like

cherem above, is founded on the idea of enfolding or shutting in the prey.

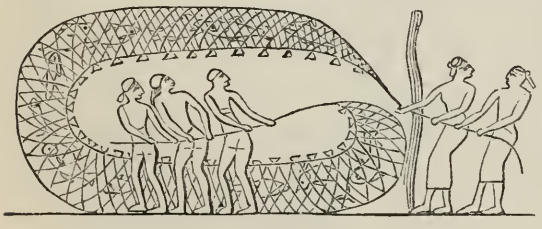
We have no positive information concerning the nets of the Hebrews, and can only suppose that they were not materially different from those of the ancient Egyptians, concerning which we now possess very good information. Indeed, the nets of Egypt, the fishers who used them, and the fish caught by them, are more than once mentioned in Scripture (Isa xix. 8). The usual fishing net among this people was of a long form, like the common drag-net, with wooden floats on the upper, and leads on the lower side. It was sometimes let down from a boat, but those who pulled it usually stood on the shore, and landed the fish on a shelving bank. This mode, however, was more



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adapted to river than to lake fishing; and hence, in all the detailed examples of fishing in the New Testament, the net is cast from and drawn into boats, excepting in one case where, the draft being too great to take into the boat, the fishers dragged the net after their boats to the shore (John xxi. 6, 8). Sometimes use was made of a smaller net for catching fish in shallow water, furnished with a pole on either side, to which it was attached; and the fisherman, holding one of the poles in either hand, thrust it below the surface of the water, and awaited the moment when a shoal of fish passed over it.

It is interesting to observe that the fishermen in the boat, excepting the master (No. 435), are almost



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naked, as are also those who have occasion to wade in the water in hauling the net to the shore (No. 436). Such seems also to have been the practice among his Hebrew fishermen; for Peter, when he left the boat to hasten on shore to his risen Lord, 'girt his fisher's coat unto him, for he was naked' (John xxi. 7); although, in this case, the word 'naked' must be understood with some latitude [Naked].

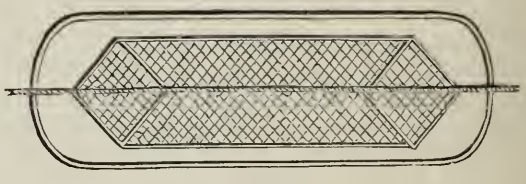
Nets were also used in taking birds, to an extent of which we can scarcely form an adequate conception. A clap net was usually employed. This was of different kinds, that shown in the cut (No. 438), being the most common. It consisted of two sides or frames, over which the network was spread; at one end was a short net, which they fastened to a bush, or a cluster of reeds, and at the other was one of considerable length, which, as soon as the birds were seen feeding in the area within, was pulled by the fowlers, causing the instantaneous collapse of the two sides (No. 437). Sir J. G. Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 45) says the nets are very similar



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to those used in Europe at the present day, but probably larger, and requiring a greater number of persons to manage them, than our own; which, however, may be ascribed to an imperfection in the contrivance for closing them.

In hunting, a space of considerable size was sometimes enclosed with nets, into which the animals were driven by beaters. The spots thus enclosed were usually in the vicinity of the water brooks to which they were in the habit of repairing in the morning and evening; and having awaited



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the time when they went to drink, the hunters disposed their nets, occupied proper positions for observing them unseen, and gradually closed in upon them. The usages of the Egyptians, and, so far as can be ascertained, of other Oriental nations, in this respect, correspond with the intimations of Julius Pollux (*Onomast.* v. 4), who states that two kinds of nets were employed in this mode of hunting. One, a long net, called by the Greeks δίκτυς, was furnished with several ropes, and was supported on forked poles, varying in length to correspond with the inequalities of the ground over which it extended. The others were smaller nets, called ἐνόδια, for stopping gaps. These practices are obviously alluded to in such passages as Job xix. 6; Ps. cxl. 5; Isa. li. 20.

NETER (נֶתֶר; Sept. and Symmachus, νίτρον; Vulg. *nitrum*; English version 'nitre') occurs in Prov. xxv. 20; Jer. ii. 22; where the substance in question is described as effervescing with vinegar, and as being used in washing; neither of which particulars applies to what is now, by a misappropriation of this ancient name, called 'nitre,' and which in modern usage means the saltpetre of commerce, but they both apply to the *natron*, or true *nitrum* of the ancients. The similarity of the names which is observable in this case is considered by Gesenius of great weight in a production of the East, the name of which usually passed with the article itself into Greece. Both Greek and Roman writers describe *natron* by the words given in the Sept. and Vulgate. Jerome, in his note on Prov. xxv. 20, considers this to be

the substance intended. Natron, though found in many parts of the East, has ever been one of the distinguishing natural productions of Egypt. Strabo mentions two places in that country, beyond Memphis, where it was found in great abundance, and says that those districts were in consequence called the nitritic nomes or provinces (*Geog.* xvii. p. 1139, Oxon. 1807), to which Pliny refers by the name Nitritis (*Hist. Nat.* v. 9), and describes the natural and manufactured nitrum of Egypt (xxxi. 10). This substance, according to Herodotus, was used by the Egyptians in the process of embalming (ii. 76, 77). The principal natron lakes now found in Egypt, six in number, are situate in a barren valley about thirty miles westward of the Delta, where it both floats as a whitish scum upon the water, and is found deposited at the bottom in a thick incrustation, after the water is evaporated by the heat of summer. It is a natural mineral alkali, composed of the carbonate, sulphate, and muriate of soda, derived from the soil of that region. Forskal says that it is known by the name اطرون *atrun*, or نطرون *natrun*, that it effervesces with vinegar, and is used as soap in washing linen, and by the bakers as yeast, and in cookery to assist in boiling meat, &c. (*Flora Ægyptiaco-Arabica*, Hauniæ, 1775, pp. 45, 46). Combined with oil it makes a harder and firmer soap than the vegetable alkali [Borith]. The application of the name nitre to saltpetre seems accounted for by the fact that the knowledge of natron, the true nitre, was lost for many centuries in this country, till revived by the Hon. R. Boyle, who says he 'had had some of it brought to him from Egypt' (*Memoirs for a History of Mineral Waters*, Lond. 1684-5, p. 86). See an interesting paper in which this is stated, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, abridged, 1809, vol. xiii. p. 216, &c.; and for a full description of the modern merchandise, uses, &c., of the natron of Egypt, see Sonini's *Travels*, Paris, vol. i. ch. xix.; Andréossi's *Memoire sur la Vallée des Lacs de Natron Decade Egyptienne*, No. iv., vol. ii.; Beckmann's *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen*, th. iv. p. 15, ff.; J. D. Michaelis, *De Nitro Hebræor.* in *Comment. Societ. Regal. Prælect.* pt. i. p. 166; and *Supplem. ad Lex. Hebraic.* p. 1704; Shaw's *Travels*, 2nd ed. p. 479.

J. F. D.

NETHINIM (נְתִינִים; Sept. Ναθινίμ). This name, which means 'the given' or 'the devoted,' was applied to the servants of the temple, or temple slaves, who were under the Levites in the ministry of the tabernacle and temple. Gesenius (*Jewish Antiq.*, p. 289) is wrong in alleging that there is no trace of the name till the time of David. On the contrary, it was attached in the first instance to the Levites themselves. Thus God says, 'I have *given* the Levites as *a gift* (Heb. *nethinim*) to Aaron and to his sons from among the children of Israel, to do the service of the children of Israel in the tabernacle of the congregation' (Num. viii. 19). This, in fact, explains the origin of the name. The term 'Levites,' however, was at first sufficiently distinctive as a title; but when subordinate helpers were eventually *given* to these, the latter took the name of Nethinim. The first servants whom the Levites obtained were the Gibeonites, on whom devolved the very laborious services of fetching water and collecting wood (Josh. ix. 3-27). The number of such servants appears to have been increased by David; and it seems to have been then, when these servants ceased to be wholly Gibeonities, that Nethinim came into use as a proper name for the whole class (Ezra viii. 20). From that time forward, they appear to have been no longer regarded or treated as slaves, but as the lowest order of the servants of the sanctuary; who, although in their origin foreigners and heathen, had doubtless embraced the Jewish religion. These did not all forget their relationship to the sanctuary during the Captivity. Some of them returned to their duties under the decree of Cyrus, and were placed in cities with the Levites (Neh. xi. 3; Ezra ii. 70; 1 Chron. ix. 27. It was not to be expected that many of them would return to this humble station in Palestine, but 220 accompanied Ezra (Ezra viii. 20), and 392 Zerubbabel (ii. 5-8). The voluntary devotedness which was thus manifested by these persons considerably raised the station of the Nethinim, which was thenceforth regarded rather as honourable than degrading. Their number was, however, insufficient for the service of the temple; whence, as Josephus tells us (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 17, 6), a festival, called Ξυλοφορία, Xylophoria, was established, in which the people, to supply the deficiency, were obliged to bring a certain quantity of wood to the temple for the use of the altar of burnt-offering.

NETOPHAH (נְטֹפָה; Sept. Νετωφά), a place not far from Bethlehem in Judæa (Ezra ii. 22; Neh. vii. 26). Hence the Gentile name Netophite (2 Sam. xxiii. 28, 29; 2 Kings xxv. 23).

NETTLE [Thorn].

NETZ. [Hawk.]

NEW MOON [Festivals; Moon].

NEW YEAR [Year].

NIBHAZ (נִבְחַז; Sept. Ἐβλαζέρ), an idol of the Avites (2 Kings xvii. 31). The Jewish interpreters, knowing nothing of this idol, sought to deduce some idea of it from the etymology of the name. Deriving it from נבח, 'to bark,' they have assigned the idol the figure of a dog; although there are no traces of any idol of this figure worshipped in ancient Syria. In the Zabian books the corresponding name, לבא, is that of an evil demon, who sits on a throne upon the earth, while his feet rest on the bottom of Tartarus; but it is doubtful whether this should be identified with the Avite Nibhaz. Iken, *Dissert. de Idola Nibchaz*, 1743; Norberg, *Onomast. Cod. Nasar.*; Gesen. *Thesaur.* in נבחז.

NICODEMUS (Νικόδημος), a Pharisee and member of the Sanhedrim, who was impressed by what he had heard concerning Jesus; but being unwilling, on account of his station, to commit himself without greater surety than he possessed, repaired by night to the house in which Christ dwelt, and held with him that important discourse which occupies the third chapter of John's Gospel. The effect which was then produced upon his mind may be collected from the fact that subsequently, at one of the sittings of the venerable body to which he belonged, he ventured to let fall a few words in favour of Jesus

whose proceedings were then in question (John vii. 50); and that he took part with his colleague, Joseph of Arimathea, in rendering the last honours to the body of the crucified Redeemer (John xix. 39). Nothing further is known of Nicodemus from Scripture. Tradition, however, adds that after he had thus openly declared himself a follower of Jesus, and had been baptised by Peter, he was displaced from his office, and expelled from Jerusalem (Phot. *Cod.* p. 171). It is added that he found refuge in a country house of his cousin Gamaliel, and remained there till his death. Modern writers have been disposed to identify Nicodemus with a rich and pious person of the same name (but also called Bonai), mentioned in the Talmud, whose family eventually sank into great poverty (Otho. *Lex. Rabbin.*, p. 459). All this is, however, very uncertain, and what is stated in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus is unsafe, and in some parts manifestly untrue. Too strong an appreciation of the world's good opinion seems to have been the failing of Nicodemus, although Niemeyer (*Charakt.* i. 113) has lately made a strong effort to clear him from this imputation. We do not lay much stress upon what he ventured to say in the Sanhedrim; for he suffered himself to be easily put down, and did not come forward with any bold avowal of his belief. Winer calls attention to the fact, that although he took part in the sepulchral rites of Jesus, he did not join Joseph in his application to Pilate for the body of his crucified Lord; and justly remarks that such characters usually require a strong external impulse to bring them boldly forward, which impulse was probably in this case supplied by the resurrection of Jesus.

NICOLAITANS (Νικολαϊταί). This word occurs twice in the New Testament (Rev. ii. 6, 15). In the former passage the conduct of the Nicolaitans, τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν, is condemned; in the latter, the angel of the church in Pergamus is censured because certain members of his church held their doctrine, τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν. Irenæus, the earliest Christian author who mentions them, says simply (*Contra Hæres.*, i. 26), 'It very clearly appears, from the Apocalypse, that the Nicolaitans held fornication, and the eating of idol-sacrifices, to be things indifferent, and therefore permitted to Christians.' In short, Irenæus evidently knew nothing of the Nicolaitans, except what he gathered from the text of the Apocalypse; as, indeed, the concluding words of his short notice suggest: 'Quapropter dixit et de iis sermo: Sed hoc habes quod odisti opera Nicolaitarum, quæ et ego odi;' unless it be his statement that Nicolas, one of the seven deacons (Acts v.), was the founder of the sect. The practices of these heretics were the more reprehensible, as being not only opposed to the whole spirit and morality of the Gospel, but a violation of an express decree of the Apostles and Elders, issued in relation to this matter (Acts xv.). As time rolled on, however, the information regarding Nicolas and his proceedings seems continually to have increased, till Epiphanius, at length, furnishes us with a full-blown account of the manner in which the proselyte of Antioch founded the sect which was supposed to bear his name. Nicolas, such is the story of Epiphanius (*Advers. Hæres.* i. 25, p. 76, edit. Petav.), had a beautiful wife, and, following the counsels of perfection, he separated himself from her; but not being able to persevere in his resolution, he returned to her again (as a dog to his vomit, ὡς κύων ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον); and not only so, but justified his conduct by licentious principles, which laid the foundation of the sect of the Nicolaitans.

Against this account (in which Tertullian, Hilary, Gregory of Nyssa, and several other fathers, substantially concur) we may object—(1) That the custom of men putting away their wives for the attainment of a supposed higher sanctity evidently belongs to a later period, when the monastic ideas produced these and similar practices. Such an occurrence was natural enough in the age of Clement of Alexandria and of Tertullian—that is, towards the conclusion of the second century; but we cannot believe it could have happened in the Apostolic age. (2) It is not conceivable that his taking back his wife, even if he had, on those grounds, separated himself from her, would then be regarded as an immorality, much less as an enormous crime, especially considering what St. Paul had said on the subject (1 Cor. vii. 3-6). (3) Epiphanius, after stating that Nicolas lapsed into the greatest enormities, informs us that *all the Gnostics* derived their origin from him; a statement which throws an air of ridicule over all he has told us on this subject, and proves how little his authority in the matter is worth.

Clement of Alexandria has preserved a different version of the story (*Strom.* iii. 4, p. 522, edit. Potter), which Eusebius copies from him (*Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 29), and which is repeated by Augustine and other ancient writers. 'The apostles,' they say, 'reprehended Nicolas for jealousy of his wife, who was beautiful; whereupon Nicolas produced her, and said, Any one might marry her who pleased. In this affair the deacon let fall the expression, ὅτι παραχρήσασθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ, "that we should abuse the flesh;" which, though employed in a good sense by him, was perverted to a bad one by those who would gain to their licentiousness the sanction of a respectable name, and who from hence styled themselves Nicolatains.' Who can believe that a sect should take its rise and its name from a casual expression by a man whose obvious sense and whose conduct were opposed to the peculiarities of the sect? Neither can we think the conjecture of Grotius (*Annot. in Apocalyps.*, ii. 6) at all probable: 'Mihi veterum testimonia conferenti, media placet sententia, quæ hæc est: Nicolaum accusatum ζηλοτυπίας, quod, uxorem pulchram habens, usitata illa inter Christianos utriusque sexûs pacis oscula non satis ferret, in contrarium cucurrisse, et exemplo Laconum ac Catonis uxoris suæ usuram permisisse aliis, plane quasi in eo quod marito et uxore volentibus fieret non peccaretur, &c.' For it is hard to conceive that a custom which was universal could excite any jealousy; and yet more so that a man imbued with the doctrines of the Apostles, as Nicolas was, should seek to turn aside their displeasure by imitating the matrimonial enormities of Spartans or of Cato.

It is evident from the fathers, that the Nicolaitans with whom they were acquainted were Gnostics; since they impute to them the distinctive tenets and practices of the Gnostics. But in the

short allusion in Rev. ii. 6, 15, there is nothing to identify the tenets or conduct alluded to with Gnosticism, even supposing that Gnosticism, properly so called, existed in the Apostolic age, which, to say the least, has not been proved to be the case. So that the conjecture mentioned by Mosheim, and which Tertullian appears to favour, may be regarded as probable, that the Nicolaitans mentioned in Revelation had erroneously been confounded with a party of Gnostics formed at a later period by one Nicolas.

The ingenious conjecture of Michaelis is worthy of consideration, who supposes that by Nicolaitans (Rev. ii. 6, 15) the same class of persons is intended whom St. Peter (2 Ep. ii. 15) describes as ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Βαλαάμ, *followers of the way of Balaam;* and that their name, Nicolaitans, is merely a Greek translation of their Hebrew designation, the noun Νικόλαος (from κικάω and λαός) being a literal version of בלעם, that is, בלע עם. The custom of translating names, which prevailed so extensively in modern Europe, was undoubtedly practised also among the Jews, as the example in Acts ix. 36 (to which others might be added) shows. Accordingly, the Arabic version, published by Erpenius, renders the words τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν, *the works of the Shuaibites*, the Arabic *Shuaib* being apparently the name for Balaam. The only objection which occurs to us against this very ingenious and probable supposition, arises from the circumstance that, in the passage, Rev. ii. 14, 15, both 'they that hold the doctrine of Balaam,' and 'the Nicolaitans,' are specified, and are distinguished from each other: 'So hast thou also,' οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σύ, the Nicolaitans, as well as the Balaamites, mentioned in the previous verse. So that whatever general agreement there might be between those two classes of heretics—and their collocation in the passage before us seems to imply that there was such agreement—it appears equally evident that some distinction also must have separated them the one from the other.—R. L.

NICOLAS (Νικόλαος), a proselyte of Antioch, and one of the seven deacons (Acts vi. 5). Nothing further is known of him; but a large body of unsafe tradition has been connected with his name, under the supposition that he was the founder of the heresy of the Nicolaitans, stigmatised in Rev. ii. 6, 15. (See the preceding article.)

NICOPOLIS (Νικόπολις), a city of Thrace, now Nicopi, on the river Nessus, now Karasou, which was here the boundary between Thrace and Macedonia; and hence the city is sometimes reckoned as belonging to the latter. In Titus iii. 15, Paul expresses an intention to winter at Nicopolis, and invites Titus, then in Crete, to join him there.

NIGER [Simon].

NIGHT. The general division of the night among the Hebrews has been described under Day; and it only remains to indicate a few marked applications of the word. The term of human life is usually called a day in Scripture; but in one passage it is called *night*, to be followed soon by day, 'the day is at hand' (Rom. viii. 12). Being a time of darkness, the image and shadow of death, in which the beasts of prey go forth to devour, it was made a symbol of a season of adversity and trouble, in which men prey upon each other, and the strong tyrannize over the weak (Isa. xxi. 12; Zech. xiv. 6, 7; comp. Rev. xxi. 23; xxii. 5). Hence continued day, or the absence of night, implies a constant state of quiet and happiness, undisturbed by the vicissitudes of peace and war. Night is also put, as in our own language, for a time of ignorance and helplessness (Mic. iii. 6). In John ix. 4 night represents death, a necessary result of the correlative usage which makes life a day.

NIGHTHAWK. [Tachmas.]

NILE [Egypt].

NIMRA [Beth-Nimra].

NIMROD (נמרד; Sept. Νεβρώδ; Josephus Νεβρώδης), a son of Cush, the eldest son of Ham (Gen. x. 8-10). Five sons of Cush are enumerated in verse 7 in the more usual manner of this chapter; but a change of phrase introduces Nimrod. This difference may indicate that while, in relation to the other five, the names have a national and geographical reference, this appellation is exclusively personal. It is strictly an abstract noun, signifying *contempt, rebellion, apostacy, impiety:* but 'it is not to be thought surprising, and it is a thing which, takes place in all languages, that a noun which in respect of its form, is properly an *abstract*, becomes in the use of speech a *concrete;* and conversely' (Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 483). But such concretes usually carry a strengthened idea of the abstract, a kind of impersonation of the quality. Therefore Nimrod denotes intensively, *the extremely impious rebel.* Hence we conceive that it was not his original proper name, but was affixed to him afterwards, perhaps even after his death, as a characteristic appellative.

No other persons connected with this work must be considered as answerable for the opinion which the writer of this article thinks to rest upon probable grounds, that the earlier part of the book of Genesis consists of several independent and complete compositions, of the highest antiquity and authority, marked by some differences of style, and having clear indications of commencement in each instance. If this supposition be admitted, a reason presents itself for the citation of a proverbial phrase in ch. x. 9. The single instance of minute circumstantiality, in so brief a relation, seems to imply that the writer lived near the age of Nimrod, while his history was still a matter of traditional notoriety, and the comparison of any hero with him was a familiar form of speech. It is also supposed that those, not fragments, but complete, though short and separate compositions (of which eight or more are hypothetically enumerated in J. Pye Smith's *Scripture and Geology*, p. 202), were, under Divine authority, prefixed by Moses to his own history. Their series has a continuity generally, but not rigorously exact. If we place ourselves in such a point of time, suppose the age succeeding Nimrod, which might be the third century after the Deluge, we may see how naturally the origination of a common phrase would rise in the writer's mind; and that a motive of usefulness would be suggested with it. But both these ideas involve that of nearness to the time; a period in which the country traditions were yet fresh, and an elucidation of them would be acceptable and consonant to general feeling. An

apparently just reason thus accrues for the insertion of this little and insulated portion of personal history in the midst of a tablet of the descent of nations. A close translation of the whole passage is this: 'And Cush begat Nimrod: he began [החל opened a course of action, led the way] to being a hero in the earth [or in the land]: he was a hero at the chase in the presence of Jehovah; on which account the saying is, Like Nimrod, the hero of the chase, in the presence of Jehovah. And the chief [city] of his dominion was Babel; and [he founded] Ezek and Akkad, and Kalneh, in the land of Shinar.'

The common rendering, 'a mighty hunter,' is doubtless equivalent to this literal translation. The adjunct, 'in the presence of Jehovah,' occurs many times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and it generally conveys the idea of *favour* and *approbation*, as we in our language employ the word *countenance*. Hence some have supposed that here the expression is used in a *good* sense, and denotes that, by the special aid and blessing of God's providence, the bravery and skill of this hero were remarkably successful, in attacking and destroying the ferocious animals which had greatly multiplied. The Jewish commentator Abarbanel, with other Rabbinical writers, 'interpret those words favourably, saying that Nimrod was qualified by a peculiar dexterity and strength for the chace, and that he offered to God [portions] of the prey that he took; and several of the moderns are of opinion that this passage is not to be understood of his tyrannical oppressions, or of hunting of men, but of beasts' (*Ancient Univ. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 276, oct. ed.). Hence they have contended that we have no reason for regarding Nimrod as any other than a benefactor to his country, and, in that view, a man acceptable and well-pleasing to Jehovah.

But the general opinion is, that no moral approbation is implied, but only that, by his extraordinary possession of prowess, the gift of God, as is every natural talent, he became thus distinguished in clearing the country of wild beasts; and that these exploits led him to make aggressions upon men. Interpreters, with scarcely an exception, from the Septuagint and the Targums down to our own times, understand the whole case thus: that Nimrod was a man of vast bodily strength, and eminent for courage and skill in the arts of hunting down and capturing or killing the dangerous animals, which probably were both very numerous, and frequently of enormous size; that, by these recommendations, he made himself the favourite of bold and enterprising young men, who readily joined his hunting-expeditions; that hence he took encouragement to break the patriarchal union of venerable and peaceful subordination, to set himself up as a military chieftain, assailing and subduing men, training his adherents into formidable troops, by their aid subduing the inhabitants of Shinar and its neighbouring districts; and that, for consolidating and retaining his power, now become a despotism, he employed his subjects in building forts, which became towns and cities, that which was afterwards called Babel being the principal. Combining this with the contents of chapter xi., we infer that Nimrod either was an original party in the daring impiety of building the tower, or subsequently joined himself to those who had begun it. The former fact is positively affirmed by Josephus; but it is not probable that he could have any other evidence than that of the general interpretation of his countrymen. The late Mr. Rich, not thirty years ago, in the extensive plain where lie buried the ruins of Babylon, discovered the very remarkable mound with remains of buildings on its summit (of which see the figure in the article Babel, vol. i. p. 267, of this work), which even now bears the name of *Birs Nimrod:* and this may well be regarded as some confirmation of the common opinion. The precise meaning of the word *Birs* is said to be unknown; which seems to be a proof of high antiquity. There is only one other passage of the Old Testament in which Nimrod is mentioned, Micah v. 6, 'the land of Nimrod.' But it is not quite indubitable that these words refer to Babylon, though they may very properly be so construed; for it is possible, and agreeable to frequent usage, to take them as put in apposition with the preceding object of the action, 'the land of Assyria.' The repetition of the demonstrative particle אֵת adds something to the former of the two constructions, yet not decisively.

The two different translations of verse 11 have been stated and explained in the article Assyria, vol. i. p. 246. The translation there preferred, and which Bochart and many other high authorities have sanctioned, is, 'From that land he [Nimrod] went forth to Asshur, and builded Nineveh and Rehoboth city, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah, that the great city.' As of the three last-named places we can find scarcely a vestige, or rather none at all, in the Scriptures or in profane authors, we seem to have here a proof of an antiquity far higher than the age of Moses—thus strengthening the idea of a collection, above mentioned. The annexed clause, 'That [or this] the great city' (we decline supplying the verb *is* or *was*, as we can have no authority for determining the tense) is most evidently, according to the use of the pronoun, to be referred to Resen, and not, as some have supposed, to the remoter object, Nineveh.

The writer of this article must acknowledge that he thinks the other rendering, taking Asshur for the name of the son of Shem (verse 22), is the more probable. His reasons are, (1.) The internal probability as arising from a remark made in the beginning of this article, that the whole chapter carries in itself moral evidence of having been written while many of the facts remained in the traditional memory of tribes and nations: thus this passage would give authentic confirmation to a matter of current belief. (2.) Had Asshur not been the nominative to the verb, but the name of the country, propriety would have required a preposition separate or prefixed, or the ה *directive* or *local* to be subjoined; as we find it in ch. xxv. 18—'in the going [*i. e.* on the road] to Asshur,' *Asshurah* (see ample and elucidatory proof of this usage in Ewald's *Gram.*, Nicholson's transl., § 420, and in Nordheimer's *Gram.* vol. i. § 642). We are aware of the objection, that this *He directive* is sometimes omitted; but, we reply, such omission is uncommon, and an instance cannot be found easily, if at all, of the omission when any importance attaches to the idea of local direction (see abund-

ant examples in Noldius's *Particul. Hebr.* p. 217). (3.) The translation for which we plead is the plain and natural one, the most obvious to both writer and reader; whereas the other is artificial and obscure: which would not therefore be likely to be adopted by a writer, such as this is, of extreme simplicity and straightforwardness. (4.) All the ancient versions, except the Targum of Onkelos (to which unquestionably great deference is due), adopt this construction.

The objections to this are, (1.) That it is out of place, and unnatural, to bring in any mention of another family, and that a circumstance which would have found its proper position in verse 22. To this objection we reply, that there are two links of association which would dictate the anticipative mention, the idea of building towns, which has this only place in the whole enumeration of descents from Noah's sons; and the fact that a son of Shem, having for some reason (probable, though we can only conjecture it), settled with his tribe among the Hamites, was, either by prospects of superior advantage, or by the jealousy and annoyance of Nimrod, induced to colonise another district. (2.) That, thus taken, the proposition comes naturally as the correlate of verse 10; the one laying down the commencement and chief seat of Nimrod's dominion, namely, Babel and its dependencies, and the other subjoining a secondary and subordinate annexation. To this we reply, that it is quite hypothetical, and that the flow of thought and connection is plain and natural upon the other interpretation. (3.) That, in Micah v. 6, Assyria is called 'the land of Nimrod.' The doubtfulness of this interpretation we have already shown. (4.) The learned Mr. Bochart even claims support from the lost writings of Ctesias, as cited by Diodorus the Sicilian; and he might have added Justin's *Epitome of Trogus*. Ctesias lived later than B.C. 400, and wrote histories of Assyria and Persia, of which some fragments, or rather abstracts, are in the collections of Photius. He professed to have derived his materials from ancient authorities in the respective countries; but he is declared by his contemporary Aristotle to be unworthy of any credit, by Plutarch to be frequently a liar, by Aulus Gellius to be a dealer in fables; and he is characterised by Joseph Scaliger as a petty and absurd writer, full of errors and direct falsehoods, and utterly worthless as an historical authority. Yet the utmost that can be derived from Ctesias is, that Ninus was the first king of the Assyrians, that he built Nineveh, calling it after his own name [suppose *Nin Navah*, 'town of Nin'], and that, after his death, his widow, Semiramis, founded, and carried to a great extent of magnificence, the city of Babylon. How precarious these premises are to support the conclusion, the studious reader will judge.

Mr. Bryant has discussed this question at large, and he gives the result thus: 'The chief objection made by these writers [Bochart, and Hyde in his *De Relig. Veterum Persarum*, &c.] to the common acceptation of the passage arises from this, that Asshur, they say, is here mentioned out of his place, which is the most frivolous and ill-grounded allegation that could be thought of. Nothing is more common with the sacred writers, in giving a list of people, than to introduce some little history of particular persons, as they mention them. The person here spoken of is Nimrod, of the line of Ham, who is mentioned as an extraordinary character. As he trespassed upon Asshur, and forced him to leave the land of Shinaar, his history is so blended with that of Asshur, that one could not be mentioned without the other. What is said is so far from being introduced out of its place, that nothing could come in more naturally, or with greater propriety. It was impossible to omit it without rendering the history defective. Nimrod was a bold and powerful man. He seized upon Babylon, and forced Asshur to leave that country; who went out of the land, and built Nineveh and other cities. This is the amount of it: and what can be more natural and proper?' (*Anc. Mythol.* vi. 192).

Concerning the subsequent life of Nimrod, the Scriptures give not the slightest information, nor even ground for conjecture. But, after seventeen or more centuries, a dubious and suppositious narrative got into credit, of which the earliest promoter that we know was Ctesias, but which, variously amplified, has been repeated by many compilers of ancient history down to our own times. Rollin, Shuckford, and Prideaux, seem to have given it a measure of credit. It is briefly to this effect:—Some make Nimrod to be Belus, and consider Nin (for *os* and *us* are only the Greek and Latin grammatical terminations) to have been his son: others identify Nimrod and Ninus. It is further narrated that Ninus, in confederacy with Aric, an Arabian sovereign, in seventeen years, spread his conquests over Mesopotamia, Media, and a large part of Armenia and other countries; that he married Semiramis, a warlike companion and continuatrix of his conquests, and the builder of Babylon; that their son Ninyas succeeded, and was followed by more than thirty sovereigns of the same family, he and all the rest being effeminate voluptuaries; that their indolent and licentious characters transmitted nothing to posterity; that the crown descended in this unworthy line one thousand three hundred and sixty years; that the last king of Assyria was Sardanapalus, proverbial for his luxury and dissipation; that his Median viceroy, Arbaces, with Belesis, a priest of Babylon, rebelled against him, took his capital Nineveh and destroyed it, according to the horrid practice of ancient conquerors, those pests of the earth, while the miserable Sardanapalus perished with his attendants by setting fire to his palace, in the ninth century before the Christian era.

That some portion of true history lies intermingled with error or fable in this legend, especially the concluding part of it, is probable. Mr. Bryant is of opinion that there are a few scattered notices of the Assyrians and their confederates and opponents in Eupolemus and other authors, of whom fragments are preserved by Eusebius; and in an obscure passage of Diodorus. To a part of this series, presenting a previous subjugation of some Canaanitish, of course Hamite nations, to the Assyrians, a revolt, and a reduction to the former vassalage, Mr. Bryant thinks that the very remarkable passage, Gen. xiv. 1-10, refers; and he supports his argument in an able manner by a variety of ethnological coincidences (*Anc. Mythol.*, vol. vi. pp. 195-208). But whatever we know with certainty of an Assyrian

monarchy commences with Pul, about B.C. 760; and we have then the succession in Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon. Under this last it is probable that the Assyrian kingdom was absorbed by the Chaldæo-Babylonian.

As a great part of the ancient mythology and idolatry arose from the histories of chiefs and sages, decorated with allegorical fables, it is by no means improbable that the life and actions of Nimrod gave occasion to stories of this kind. Hence, some have supposed him to have been signified by the Indian Bacchus, deriving that name from *Bar-Chus*, 'son of Cush:' and, it is probable, by the Persian giant *Gibber* (answering to the Hebrew *Gibbor*, 'mighty man,' 'hero,' in Gen. x. 8, 9): and by the Greek *Orion*, whose fame as a 'mighty hunter' is celebrated by Homer, in the *Odyssey*, xi. 571-4. The Persian and the Grecian fables are both represented by the well-known and magnificent constellation.—J. P. S.

NINEVEH, meaning the dwelling of Ninus; a famous city of the ancient world, capital of the great Assyrian empire, which stood on the eastern bank of the river Tigris, opposite to the present Mosul; its actual site being most probably the same with that of Nunia and the tomb of Jonah, about three-fourths of a mile from the river, in the midst of ruins, N. Lat. 36° 20′ 17″; E. L. 43° 10′ 17″. The name in Hebrew is נִינְוֵה; in the Greek of the Septuagint, Νινευΐ, Νινευή; in ordinary Greek, Νῖνος; Latin, *Ninus* (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 6. 4; ix. 11. 3). The Bible makes the city a sort of colony from Babylon or Babel, Shinar [see BABEL], stating (Gen. x. 11), 'out of that land (Babel, &c., in the land of Shinar) went forth Asshur and builded Nineveh.' After this simple statement the sacred record is for a long time entirely silent respecting Nineveh, which, we may therefore presume, remained inconsiderable for many generations. At length, some fifteen hundred years after the first mention of the place, in the days of Jeroboam II., king of Israel (B.C. 825), Nineveh again enters by name on the biblical record, having meanwhile grown into a mighty power. This re-appearance of Nineveh is accidental, and shows that the Bible does not profess to give any orderly and systematic history of the world. Other countries come on the scene and disappear, just as the course of events in the kingdoms of Judah and Israel seems to require or may chance to occasion. Nineveh is described in the book of Jonah as 'that great city,' 'an exceeding great city of three days' journey,' probably in a straight line through the place, as the large cities of Asia stood on a great extent of country, having gardens, and even fields, in the midst of them; and Jonah is said to 'enter into the city a day's journey' (ch. iii. 4) before he began to foretell its overthrow; that is, as is most likely, he penetrated into the heart of the place, as being that which was most suitable for delivering his burden. The magnitude of the place may also be gathered from what is said in the last verse of the book: 'That great city, wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand, and also much cattle' (grazing). The population of a place must have been immense in which there were no fewer than 120,000 children — young children the language employed seems to denote. It also appears from the same book that the state of society was highly complex, organized in divers ranks from the king and the noble to the peasant; and, if we may argue from the exactness with which the number of children is given, we should be justified in asserting that the people were in an advanced stage of civilization, seeing that their social statistics were well attended to and carefully preserved. Civilization, however, had brought luxury, and luxury corruption of morals, for 'their wickedness had gone up before God' (ch. i. 2). Yet was not their iniquity of the lowest kind, for the Ninevites repented at the preaching of Jonah. In contemplating the dim shade of this immense city and powerful empire, and being made sensible that our sole means of acquiring the little we know about it is furnished by a few pages connected with a seer of the insignificant kingdom of Israel, we cannot fail to be surprised, nor to ask how it is that the records of Nineveh itself have perished, and that almost its only memorial is found among a petty and despised people? If the memorials of those great empires of ancient days have perished, and we owe our knowledge of them mainly to the Hebrew race, why did not these Hebrew records perish too? That which preserved them must have been an influence no less potent than peculiar. The sacred writings of the Hebrews were carefully preserved. This answer is not sufficient. What nation, having records, did not keep them with care? A special value must have been attached to the Hebrew memorials, otherwise so special and effectual a care would not have been bestowed on them. But a special value implies a special worth; and we are thus led to recognise the peculiar character of these written documents, namely, that they were true and divine.

A few years later we find the prophet Nahum entrusted with 'the burden of Nineveh.' From this book it would appear that the repentance of the city, if sincere, was not durable. Therefore was the anger of Jehovah about to fall upon it and make it a perpetual waste. Expressions that are employed tend to give a high idea of the size and splendour of the place: it had many strong holds, and many gates with bars, probably of brass; its inhabitants were 'many as the locust;' it had multiplied its merchants above the stars of heaven; its crowned (princes) were as the locusts, and its captains as the great grasshoppers (ch. iii. 12-17). So her wealth was prodigious: 'There is none end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture.' The reason assigned for the destruction of the city shows how great was its wickedness: 'Out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image; I will make thy grave; for thou art vile' (ch. i. 14). 'Woe to the bloody city! It is all full of lies and robbery' (ch. iii. 1). Shortly after (B.C. 713) the delivery of this prophecy Sennacherib, king of Assyria, having invaded Judæa, suffered a signal defeat by the special act of God: 'So Sennacherib departed, and went and returned and dwelt at Nineveh' (2 Kings xix. 36). Very brief, however, was his dwelling there, for as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, Adrammelech and Sharezer, his sons, smote him with the sword; and Esarhaddon, his son, reigned in his stead (2 Kings xix. 37). The predicted punishment of

the city was now approaching. Zephaniah also gave his authority that it would come (ch. ii. 13). See also Isa. xiv. 24, sq.: 'The Lord will stretch out his hand against the north and destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness.' The language which immediately ensues goes to confirm the view which has been given of the commercial greatness (it was the entrepôt for the trade of Eastern and Western Asia), the surpassing opulence, the high culture, the immense population, and the deep criminality of the city of Nineveh. For the account of the destruction of the city we must look beyond the Bible documents; but a description of what the place was before its overthrow, conceived in the finest style of Eastern poetry, and adorned with the most splendid imagery—a description which exhibits in the most striking and interesting manner the greatness of its dominion and the grandeur of its state—may be found in Ezekiel xxxi.

The scattered notices of Nineveh found in profane authors agree substantially with the Scriptural account. The phrase, 'that great city' (Jonah i. 2), which seems in the Bible to be employed as its customary appellation, is found applied to Nineveh (*Νῖνος μεγάλη*) in a poetic fragment preserved by Diodorus Sic. (ii. 23); so that the epithet would appear to be one by which the city was ordinarily and generally characterized. Its greatness was such that it was denominated 'the Great.' What, however, is most important and interesting is the agreement in so minute a particular of the sacred and the profane authorities. From Strabo (xvi. p. 737), the place appears to have been much greater than even Babylon; and from Diodorus Sic. (ii. 3), that it measured 480 stadia in circumference, having very high and broad walls, which, aided by the river, rendered it impregnable. This safety was, however, merely imaginary. Sardanapalus, who had a full share of the vices of his subjects, endured in the eighth century before Christ a siege of three years' duration at the hands of the Medes, under Arbaces, which led to the overthrow of the city (Diod. Sic. ii. 26). But so large and so powerful a capital was not easily destroyed. Nineveh was the seat of an Assyrian kingdom till the year B.C. 625, when it was taken by Nabopolassar of Babylon, and Cyaxares, king of the Medes, which led to the destruction of the Assyrian kingdom (Herod. i. 106). Nineveh flourished no more. Strabo (xvi. p. 737) represents it as lying waste; though in the times of the Roman emperors some remains of it seem to have survived, as a Nineveh on the Tigris is mentioned in Tacitus (*Annal.* xii. 13), and is characterized as a *castellum*, or fort, probably some small fortification raised out of the ruins of the city for predatory purposes. Something of the kind was found there at a later period, for in the thirteenth century Abulfaragius (*Hist. Dynast.* p. 404; Barhebræus, *Chron.* p. 464) makes mention of a *castellum* there.



449. [Nineveh.]

The tradition given by Herodotus (i. 185), that its founder's name was Ninus, disagrees with the Biblical statement, which is that the city was built by Asshur, and may be nothing more than a repetition of the practice so common with the Greeks and Latins, of making founders for cities from the names which the places bear.

The present remains comprise a rampart and fosse, four miles in circuit, with a counterscarped wall about twenty feet in height. The ruins at first sight present a range of hills. From these hills large stones are constantly dug out, from which probably a bridge over the Tigris has been built.

Jonah's connection with the city is still preserved in a tomb which bears his name; but how

far back in antiquity this building runs, it is now impossible to say. The tomb stands on a hill, and is covered by a mosque which is held in great veneration. Bricks, partly whole, partly in fragments, and pieces of gypsum with inscriptions in the arrow-head character, are found from time to time. Landseer, in his *Sabæan Researches*, gives an engraving of cylinders dug up at Nineveh, which he states to be numerous in the East, and supposes to have been employed as signets: they are of jasper, chalcedony, and jade, and bear astronomical emblems, the graving of which, especially considering the hardness of the materials, shows a high state of art.

Mosul, with which Nineveh is commonly identified, stands on the opposite, or western bank of the Tigris, and lies so near the river that its streets are often flooded—a circumstance which calls to mind some of the terms employed by the prophetic writers before referred to. This place, like its great prototype, carries on a trade (though to a small extent) between the East and the West. The climate is stated to be very healthy; the average temperature of summer not exceeding 66° Fahr.; but in spring, during the floods, epidemics are common, though not fatal.

See Niebuhr, *Reiseb.* ii. 353, 368; Ives, *Voyage*, p. 327, seq.; Rosenmüller, *Alterth.* i. 2,116; Bruns, *Erdbeschreibung*, ii. 1, 199, sq.; Mannert, v. 440, sq.; Kinneir's *Persia*, 256-9; Olivier, *Voyage en Turquie*, iv. 265; Ainsworth's *Assyria*, p. 256.—J. R. B.

NISAN (נִיסָן), the first month of the Hebrew civil year. The name, if Semitic, might be traced to נֵץ *netz*, 'a flower,' and would hence mean 'flower-month,' like the Floreal of republican France. As, however, this is a later name, posterior to the Captivity (Neh. ii. 1; Esther iii. 7), of the month which was originally called אָבִיב *Abib*, Gesenius is inclined to follow Benfey in seeking a Persian origin for the word, and finds it in the Zend *Navaçan*, 'new day,' made up of *nav*, 'new,' and *açan*, equivalent to the Sanscrit *ahan*, 'day.' Abib, by which name this month is called in the Pentateuch (Exod. xiii. 4; xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 1), means an ear of grain, a green ear; and hence 'the month Abib,' is 'the month of green ears.' It thus denoted the condition of the barley in the climate of Egypt and Palestine in this month. Nisan, otherwise Abib, began with the new moon of April, or according to the Rabbins, of March [Month].

NISROCH (נִסְרֹךְ; Sept. Μασαράχ), an idol of the Ninevites (2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38). The word is now usually supposed to mean 'great eagle,' from נֶשֶׁר, Arab. نسر, *eagle*, and the syllable *och*, *ach*, which in Persian is intensitive. This bird was held in peculiar veneration by the ancient Persians; and was likewise worshipped by the Arabs before the time of Mohammed. (Jurieu, *Hist. des Dogmes*, iv. 4, ch. 11; Creuzer, *Symbolik*, i. 723; Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 892, where also may be seen several derivations proposed by Bohlen from the Sanscrit and Zend).

NITRE. [Neter.]

NO, or NO-AMMON [Thebes].

NOAH, the second father of the human race, was the son of the second Lamech, the grandson of Methuselah, and the tenth in descent from Adam. Methuselah, who died at the age of 969, was the longest lived of the patriarchs, and probably of all mankind. The genealogy is in the line of Seth, who is distinguished in the history (Gen. iv. 26) by an interposed observation, that in or about his 105th year 'a beginning was made for calling by the name of Jehovah;' or 'a beginning was made for calling upon the name of Jehovah;' or 'profanation was committed for calling the name of Jehovah,' *i. e.* applying the divine name to other objects. This diversity of renderings may seem very extraordinary; but it is to be considered—(1), that the parenthetic character of the sentence and its extreme brevity preclude our receiving aid, except inferentially, from the connection; (2), that the verb חלל appears not merely to diverge from one primary meaning into several significations, differing from each other, yet capable of being derived, in different lines of associated thought, from the primary (which is very much the case in the Hebrew and its allied languages); but that it belongs to the class of words, instances of which are probably to be found in all languages, alike in sound or in spelling, or even in both, but most widely different in meaning, and often in derivation, and therefore each entitled to be considered as a separate verb, having grown from a different radical, probably lost. Dr. Julius Fürst, in his very judicious and philosophical *Lexicography*, incorporated in his edition of Buxtorf's *Concordance* (Leipzig, 1840), makes of חלל four independent verbs, having the several meanings of—to *pierce*, to *turn* an object *from a holy use* to something wicked, to *begin*, and to *whirl round*. The question here lies between the second and the third of these senses. (3) That the frequent Hebrew phrase *to call*, connected by a preposition, especially ל for אל, with the noun for *name*, sometimes signifies *to apply* a name to an object merely, and sometimes to do so as an act of *religious* homage.

Thus the English reader sees the grounds of the difficulty; and so great is that difficulty on every side as to have compelled the illustrious Hebraist John Drusius to say, 'Long has this passage kept me on the rack, and so it does still;' and, after an able investigation, he concludes, yet not confidently, in favour of that sense which we have put the second. The earliest interpretation, that of the Septuagint, seems to have been formed upon a wrong reading, and few or none regard it as entitled to acceptance. The next in antiquity is the Targum (Chaldee Paraphrase) of Onkelos, attributed to the first century of the Christian era; it gives the passage, 'Thus, in his days, the sons of men set aside earnest supplication in the name of Jeja.' The Syriac has, 'Then he began to call upon the name of the Lord.' The Latin of Jerome is the same, both making Enos the agent of the verb. But St. Jerome, in his *Quæstiones in Genesim*, gives this translation and remark: '"Then was the beginning of calling upon the name of the Lord;" yet many of the Hebrews prefer a different meaning—that then first idols were fabricated in the name of the Lord and in his likeness.'

Of these interpretations we own that the first most commends itself to our judgment; yielding the sense that, in consequence of the awful in-

crease of wickedness, the true worshippers of God then began to be distinguished by the appellation *sons of God*. Thus the clause stands in an illustrative connection with its proper sequel, Gen. vi. 1; for ch. v. is an insulated part, which, in the modern way of composition, would be a genealogical table. This was the interpretation of Aquila in the second century; it is intimated in the margin of our common version, and is adopted by Piscator in both his Latin and his German versions; by Diodati in his Italian, by Hackspan, by Leclerc (1696), by Bishop Patrick, by Wells (1724), by Dereser (in Brentano's Bible, 1820), by Romanus Teller (1749), by Boothroyd, by Leander van Ess, and no doubt by many others. Dereser's note deserves to be cited: 'Some pious families began to call themselves *sons* (in the Hebrew idiom equivalent to disciples, learners) *of God*, in order to distinguish themselves from the *sons of men*, those who disregarded the instructions of divine authority, and gave themselves up to wickedness.' Wells's paraphrase is also excellent. Shuckford gives his sanction to this interpretation. Yet the second has great weight of both reason and authority in its favour, and probably the majority of expositors have sanctioned it. None have expressed it better than Bishop Alleigh, in the *Bishops' Bible* (1568): 'Then began men to make invocation in the name of the Lord.' It possesses a strong recommendation in that the most usual signification of *to call upon in the name of the Lord*, in the Old Testament, is to perform a solemn act of worship. 'Moses is presenting to us the piety of one family which worshipped God in purity and holiness when religion was almost universally corrupted and collapsed' (Calvin). 'Religious worship began to be celebrated with greater life and energy, and more publicly, than had before been' (Jas. Cappell, Willett, &c.).

The third interpretation, first found in Onkelos, and apparently implied in the *Antiquities* of Josephus, was maintained by Maimonides, Jarchi, and other Jewish interpreters, and adopted by our illustrious Selden, and by Antony van Dale. But it can scarcely be made to harmonize with the prefix ל before the second verb, which, it is observed by Theodore Hackspan (whose eminence in the niceties of Hebrew and all other Shemitic literature was considered as without a parallel in the former half of the seventeenth century), determines the sense of the antecedent verb to the idea of *beginning*.

The father of Noah must not be confounded with the Lamech who was the fourth in descent from Cain. There is another instance of the same name in each line, Enoch; but the periods of each of the two couples must have been very different, though we cannot exactly compare them, for the history does not give the years of life in the line of Cain. The two Lamechs, however, have one remarkable circumstance in common; to each of them a fragment of inartificial poetry is attached as his own composition. That of the Cainitic Lamech is in Gen. iv. 23, 24. That of the Sethite now comes before us in ch. v. 28, 29:—'Lamech lived 182 years, and then begat a son, and he called his name Noah. saying,

This shall comfort us
From our labour,
And from the sorrowful toils of our hands;
From the ground,
Which Jehovah hath cursed.'

The allusion is undoubtedly to the penal consequences of the fall in earthly toils and sufferings, and to the hope of a Deliverer excited by the promise made to Eve. That this expectation was grounded upon a divine communication we infer from the importance attached to it, and the confidence of its expression. See this subject well argued in Bishop Sherlock's *Use and Intent of Prophecy*, Disc. iv.

That the conduct of Noah corresponded to the faith and hope of his father we have no reason to doubt. The brevity of the history satisfies not human curiosity. He was born six hundred years before the Deluge. We may reasonably suppose that through that period he maintained the character given of him:—'Noah found favour in the eyes of the Lord. Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations. Noah walked with God' (ch. vi. 8, 9). These words declare his piety, sincerity, and integrity, that he maintained habitual communion with the Father of Mercies, by the exercises of devotion, and that he was an inspired instrument of conveying the will of God to mankind. The wickedness of the human race had long called upon the wisdom and justice of God for some signal display of his displeasure, as a measure of righteous government and an example to future ages. For a long time, probably many centuries, the better part of men, the descendants of Seth, had kept themselves from society with the families of the Cainite race. The former class had become designated as 'the sons of God,' faithful and obedient: the latter were called by a term evidently designed to form an appellation of the contrary import, 'daughters of men,' of impious and licentious men. These women possessed beauty and blandishments, by which they won the affections of unwary men, and intermarriages upon a great scale took place. As is usual in such alliances, the worse part gained the ascendancy. The offspring became more depraved than the parents, and a universal corruption of minds and morals took place. Many of them became 'giants, the mighty men of old, men of renown' (נפלים *nephilim*) apostates (as the word implies), heroes, warriors, plunderers, 'filling the earth with violence.' God mercifully afforded a respite of one hundred and twenty years (ch. vi. 3; 1 Pet. iii. 20; 2 Pet. ii. 5), during which Noah sought to work salutary impressions upon their minds, and to bring them to repentance. Thus he was 'a preacher of righteousness,' exercising faith in the testimony of God, moved with holy reverence, obeying the divine commands, and, by the contrast of his conduct, condemning the world (Heb. xi. 7): and probably he had during a long previous period laboured in that benevolent and pious work.

At last the threatening was fulfilled. All human kind perished in the waters, except this eminently favoured and righteous man, with his three sons (born about a hundred years before) and the four wives [Deluge].

At the appointed time this terrible state of the earth ceased, and a new surface was disclosed for the occupation and industry of the delivered

family. In some places that surface would be washed bare to the naked rock, in others sand would be deposited, which would be long uncultivable; but by far the larger portion would be covered with rich soil. With agriculture and its allied arts the antediluvians must have been well acquainted [ADAM]. The four men, in the vigour of their mental faculties and bodily strength, according to the then existing scale of human life, would be at no loss for the profitable application of their powers. Immediately after the desolating judgment the merciful Jehovah gave intimations of his acceptance of the sacrifice and thanksgivings of Noah and his family, and of his gracious purposes revealed in the form of a solemn covenant for the continual benefit of them and their posterity. The beautiful phenomenon of the rainbow was put to a new and significant use. As infallibly certain as is the production of a rainbow under certain conditions of the atmosphere, so certain and sure of fulfilment are the promises of Jehovah. The act of grace is announced in the condescending language which was best adapted to the earliest condition of human thought [ANTHROPOMORPHISM]. 'The Lord smelled a sweet odour; and the Lord said to his heart, I will not add to inflict a malediction further upon the ground on account of man' (Gen. viii. 21). 'That old curse,' says Bishop Sherlock, 'was fully executed and accomplished in the flood. In consequence of which discharge from the curse a NEW blessing is immediately pronounced upon the earth' (*Use and Int.* p. 89). Noah and his children would labour the more assiduously from the consolation and hope thus inspired. Accordingly, in a subsequent part of the narrative, we read, 'And Noah began, a man of the ground' (ch. ix. 20), *i. e.* set diligently to his welcome labour, the sorrow being mitigated, the prospect encouraging, and the assurance of success given by divine promise. The simple phrase comprehends the continuity of action, the formation and prosecution of habit. It is added, 'And he planted a vineyard.' Dr. Dereser thinks that the two members of the sentence should be connected, producing this translation, 'And Noah, in his field-work, commenced the planting of a vineyard.' The narrative makes it evident that the occurrence next mentioned, the invention of wine-making, must have been some years after the cessation of the flood; for not Ham himself, but Canaan his son, is the first and emphatic object of the prophetic curse. We cannot with reason assume less than fifteen or eighteen years. We are thus led to the idea that agricultural processes were improved, and produce augmented in variety and in quality. The vine had existed before the flood, and Noah could not be unacquainted with it; but not till now had grapes been grown of such size, sweetness, and abundance of juice, as to strike out the thought of expressing that juice, and reserving it in a vessel for future use. Noah, we think it probable, knew not that, in a few days, it would ferment and acquire new and surprising properties. Innocently and without suspicion he drank of the alluring beverage, as if it had been water from the spring. The consequence is recorded in the characteristic simplicity of style which affirms neither censure nor apology. We regard that consequence as not a sinful intoxication, both from what was probably the occasional cause, and from the immediate agency of the Spirit of God in communicating prophecy. The latter, indeed, is not an impregnable ground; for bad men might receive gifts of inspiration, as Balaam and Judas; but Noah was eminently a righteous and perfect man, and it is inconceivable that a miraculous influence of God should be granted in immediate contiguity with a sinful action.

That prophetic denunciation is the last recorded fact of the life of Noah, though he lived through the subsequent period of 350 years. It is a prophecy of the most remarkable character, having been delivered in the infancy of mankind; in its undeniable fulfilment reaching through more than 4000 years down to our own time; and being even now in a visible course of fulfilment. It seems more strictly correct in philology, and more in accordance with fact, to render it as a prophecy, than as precatory of malediction and blessing. We give it in the closest version.

'Accursed Canaan!
A slave of slaves he will be to his brethren.
Blessed Jehovah, God of Shem!
And Canaan will be slave to him.
God will make Japheth to spread abroad,
And he will inhabit the tents of Shem,
And Canaan will be slave to him.'

The first part of this prediction implies that, in some way, the conduct of Canaan was more offensive than even that of his father Ham. The English reader will perceive the peculiar allusion or alliteration of the third member, when he is informed that the name Japheth comes from a verb, the radical idea of which is *opening, widening, expansion*. In two ways one might imitate it; by translating both the words, or by coining a verb; thus, 1, God will enlarge the enlarger; or, 2, God will japhethize Japheth. The whole paragraph, short as it is, contains a *germ* which, like the acorn to the oak, comprehends the spirit of the respective histories of the three great branches of mankind. The next chapter presents to us the incipient unfolding of the prophecy. See the article NATIONS, DISPERSION OF.

'God will give to Japheth an abundant posterity, which will spread itself into different regions, and will dwell among the posterity of Shem; and Canaan's posterity will be compelled to be slaves to that of Japheth. The following chapter shows how this prophecy has been fulfilled. The descendants of Japheth peopled Europe, the northern parts of Asia, Asia Minor, Media, Iberia, Armenia, the countries between the Black Sea and the Caspian, Great Tartary, India, China, the European settlements in America, and probably America itself. They also inhabit in part the more southerly parts of Asia, mingling freely with the posterity of Shem, who chiefly peopled those regions. On the other hand, Africa, which was peopled by the descendants of Canaan and [other sons of] Ham, was conquered and brought under the yoke by the Romans, descendants of Japheth.' [This applies only to the Carthaginians and settlers in other districts along the north coast of Africa, which had been peopled by the Phœnicians and other Canaanitish tribes. We have not the shadow of authority for deriving the negro tribes, or any of the nations of Medial and South Africa, from Canaan.] 'Down to our own

times Africa has been to all other nations the source of the supply of slaves' (Dereser, in the Roman Catholic *Germ. Transl.* of the *Bible*, by him, Brentano, and Scholz, 17 vols. Francf. 1820-1833): an excellent version, made from the Hebrew and Greek.

It is an old tradition of the Rabbinical Jews, on which they lay great stress, that at this juncture Noah delivered to his children seven precepts, to be enjoined upon all their descendants. These prohibit, 1, idolatry; 2, irreverence to the Deity; 3, homicide; 4, unchastity; 5, fraud and plundering; the 6th enjoins government and obedience; and the 7th forbids to eat any part of an animal still living. Mr. Selden has largely illustrated these precepts, and regards them as a concise tablet of the Law of Nature (*De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disciplin. Ebræorum*), which excellent work of 900 pages is taken up in commenting upon them. Though we have no positive evidence of their having been formally enjoined by the great patriarch, we can have no great reason for rejecting such an hypothesis.

After this event, we have in the Scriptures no further account of Noah, than that 'all his days were nine hundred and fifty years; and he died.' That he had no more children is evident from the nature of the case, notwithstanding the antediluvian longevity, from the impossibility of his having a second wife without horrid incest, which surely no man of sound mind can impute to him, and from the absence of the constant clause of ch. v., which would naturally have come after the 28th verse of ch. ix., 'and begat sons and daughters.' Mr. Shuckford regards this absence of any mention of Noah, as 'a strong intimation that he neither came with the travellers to Shinaar, nor was settled in Armenia or Mesopotamia, or any of the adjacent countries. He was alive a great while after the confusion of Babel, for he lived 350 years after the flood; and surely, if he had come to Babel, or lived in any of the nations into which mankind were dispersed from thence, a person of such eminence could not at once sink to nothing, and be no more mentioned than if he had not been at all' (*Connect.* i. 99) But it must be confessed that the argument from silence, however strong it may appear in this case, is not decisive. The narratives of the Bible are not to be judged of by the common and just rules of writing history. Those narratives are not, properly speaking, a history, but are a collection of such anecdotes and detached facts as the Spirit of holiness and wisdom determined to be the most practically proper for the religious and moral instruction of all sorts of men. The Bible was written for children and poor peasants, as well as for scholars and philosophers. That learned and judicious author supposes that Noah migrated far into the East, and that the Chinese mean no other than him when their traditions assign Fohi as their first king, having no father, *i. e.* none recorded in their legends; to whom also they attribute several actions and circumstances which appear to be derived by disguisement from the real facts recorded in our sacred book of Genesis. One in particular is in connection with a universal deluge; and this is mentioned also by Sir William Jones, who says, 'the great progenitor of the Chinese is named by them Fohi,' and that 'the earth's being wholly covered with water just preceded the appearance of Fohi on the mountains of Chin' (*Works*, iii. 151-5). It may be very rationally conceived that Noah remained long in the neighbourhood of his descent from the ark; and that, at last, weighty reasons might induce him, with a sufficient number of associates, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who would be born in some 80 or 100 years, to migrate far to the East.

Sir William Jones, also, is evidently inclined to think the seventh Menu of the Hindoos, connected in their ancient books with a universal deluge, to be no other than a legendary representation of Noah. The very name is, indeed, identical, *Me Nuh*, the *M* being a common Oriental prefix, and *Nuh* is Noah without the points.

As the flood affected equally the common ancestry of mankind, all nations that have not sunk into the lowest barbarism would be likely to preserve the memory of the chief person connected with it; and it would be a natural fallacy that every people should attach to itself a principal interest in that catastrophe, and regard that chief person as the founder of their own nation and belonging to their own locality. Hence we can well account for the traditions of so many peoples upon this capital fact of ancient history, and the chief person in it;—the *Xisuthrus* of the Chaldæans, with whom is associated a remarkable number of precise circumstances, corresponding to the Mosaic narrative (Alex. Polyhist. in the *Chronicle of Eusebius*, so happily recovered by Mr. Zohrab, in the Armenian version, and published by him in 1818); the Phrygian *Noë* of the celebrated Apamean medal, which, besides Noah and his wife with an ark, presents a raven, and a dove with an olive-branch in its mouth (figured in Bryant's *Anc. Myth.* vol. iii.); the *Manes* of the Lydians (Mr. W. J. Hamilton's *Asia Min.* iii. 383, [Nations, Dispersion of]; the *Deucalion* of the Syrians and the Greeks, of whose deluge the account given by Lucian is a copy almost exactly circumstantial of that in the book of Genesis (*Dea Syria;* Luciani *Opp.* iii. 457, ed. Reitz; Bryant, iii. 28); the many coincidences in the Greek mythology in respect of Saturn, Janus, and Bacchus; the traditions of the aboriginal Americans, as stated by Clavigero, in his *History of Mexico;* and many others.—J. P. S.

NOB (נֹב; Sept. Νομβᾶ), a city of Benjamin, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, belonging to the priests, and where the tabernacle was stationed in the time of Saul (1 Sam. xxi. 2; xxii. 9, 11, 19; Neh. xi. 32; Isa. x. 32. From the last of these texts it would appear that Jerusalem was visible from Nob, which, therefore, must have been situated somewhere upon the ridge of the Mount of Olives, north-east of the city. Dr. Robinson states that he diligently sought along the ridge for some traces of an ancient site, which might be regarded as that of Nob, but without the slightest success (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 150).

NOBLEMAN. The word so rendered in John iv. 46 is βασιλικός, which is somewhat various in signification. It may mean: 1. *A rege oriundus*, descended from a king. 2. ὑπηρέτης τοῦ βασιλέως, one belonging to the court. 3. στρατιώτης βασιλέως, a soldier of the king, in which latter sense it often occurs in Josephus. The second signification seems, however, to be the prevalent one; and the Greek interpreters are also favourably inclined towards it.

Münter found it likewise in inscriptions. The Syriac has here, 'a royal servant;' the Ethiopic, 'a royal house-servant.' This person was, therefore, probably of the court of Herod Antipas, who reigned over Galilee and Peræa (Tholuck, *Commentar zum Johan.* iv. 46).

NOD (נוֹד; Sept. Ναΐδ), the land to which Cain withdrew, and in which he appears to have settled (Gen. iv. 16). While the site of Paradise itself remains undetermined, it is useless to seek for that of the land of Nod. This land, wherever it was, could not have had a name till Cain went to it; and it was doubtless called Nod (which signifies *flight, wandering*), from the circumstance that Cain fled to it.

NOPH [Memphis].

NOPHECH (נֹפֶךְ), a precious stone, named in Exod. xxviii. 18; xxxix. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 16; xxviii. 13; in all which places it is rendered 'Emerald' in the Authorised Version. The Sept. and Josephus render it by ἄνθραξ, or carbuncle. This name, denoting a live coal, the ancients gave to several glowing red stones resembling live coals (*a similitudine ignium appellati*, Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 25; comp. Theophrast. *De Lapid.* 18), particularly rubies and garnets. The most valued of the carbuncles seems, however, to have been the Oriental garnet, a transparent red stone, with a violet shade, and strong vitreous lustre. It was engraved upon (Theophrast., 31), and was probably not so hard as the ruby, which, indeed, is the most beautiful and costly of the precious stones of a red colour, but is so hard that it cannot easily be subjected to the graving-tool. The Hebrew *nophech*, in the breastplate of the high-priest, was certainly an engraved stone; and there is no evidence that the ancients could engrave the ruby, although this has in modern times been accomplished. Upon the whole, the particular kind of stone denoted by the Hebrew word must be regarded as uncertain (Rosenmüller, *Biblical Mineralogy*, pp. 32, 33; Winer's *Real-wörterbuch*, art. 'Edelsteine;' Braunius, *De Vest. Sacerdot.* p. 523; Bellermann, *Ueber die Urim, u. Thummim*, p. 43).

NORTH (צָפוֹן; Sept. βορρᾶς; Vulg. *Septentrio*, &c.). The Shemite, in speaking of the quarters of the heavens and of the earth, supposes his face turned towards the east, so that the east is before him, the west behind, the south on the right hand, and the north on the left. Hence the words which signify east, west, north, and south, signify also that which is before, behind, on the right hand, and on the left. Thus Aquila renders the words, 'the north and the south' (Ps. lxxxix. 12), βορρᾶν καὶ δεξιάν, the 'north and the right hand.' The Hebrew word, translated north, occurs in the five following senses: 1. It denotes a quarter of the heavens; 2. of the earth; 3. a north aspect or direction; 4. it is the conventional name for certain countries irrespectively of their true geographical situation; and, 5. it indicates the north wind. 1. It denotes a particular quarter of the heavens; thus, 'fair weather cometh out of the north' (Job xxxvii. 22); literally, 'gold cometh,' which Gesenius understands figuratively, as meaning the golden splendour (of the firmament), and compares Zech. iv. 12, 'gold-coloured oil.' The Sept. somewhat favours this idea—ἀπὸ βορρᾶ νέφη χρυσαυγοῦντα, 'the cloud having the lustre of gold,' which perhaps corresponds with the χρυσωπὸς αἰθήρ, the gilded æther, or sky, of an old Greek tragedian, quoted by Grotius. The same Hebrew word seems used poetically for the whole heaven in the following passage: 'He stretcheth out the north (literally the concealed, dark place), (like πρὸς ζόφον, in Homer) over the empty place' (Job xxvi. 7; Sept. ἐπ' οὐδέν). Hence the meaning, probably is, that the north wind clears the sky of clouds; which agrees with the fact in Palestine, to which Solomon thus alludes, 'The north wind driveth away rain' (Prov. xxv. 23). Homer styles it αἰθρηγενέτης, 'producing clear weather' (*Il.* xv. 171; *Od.* v. 296). Josephus calls it αἰθριώτατος, 'that wind which most produces clear weather' (*Antiq.* xv. 9. 6); and Hesychius, ἐπιδέξιος, or 'auspicious'; and see the remarkable rendering of the Sept. in Prov. xxvii. 16. In the words, 'cold weather cometh out of the north' (Job xxxvii. 9), the word rendered 'north' is מְזָרִים *mezarim*, which Gesenius understands to mean literally 'the scattering,' and to be a poetical term for the north winds, which scatter the clouds and bring severe cold. He, therefore, with Cocceius and Schultens, approves of Kimchi's rendering of the phrase by 'venti flantes et dispergentes.' By some a northern star is here understood: the Vulgate has *arcturus;* the Sept. ἀκρωτήρια (perhaps to be read ἀρκτῷα or ἀρκτοῦρος); while others, as Aben-Ezra, and after him Michaelis, regard *Mezarim* in this text as the same with the constellation denoted elsewhere by *mazzaroth* (Job xxxviii. 22), and *mazzaloth* (2 Kings xxiii. 5).

The word צָפוֹן occurs also in the same sense in the following passages: 'the wind turneth about to the north' (Eccles. i. 6); 'a whirlwind out of the north' (Ezek. i. 4). 2. It means a quarter of the earth (Ps. cvii. 3; Isa. xliii. 6; Ezek. xx. 47; xxxii. 30; comp. Luke xiii. 29). 3. It occurs in the sense of a northern aspect or direction, &c.; thus, 'looking north' (1 Kings vii. 25; 1 Chron. ix. 24; Num. xxxiv. 7); on 'the north side' (Ps. xlviii. 2; Ezek. viii. 14; xl. 44; comp. Rev. xxi. 13). 4. It seems used as the conventional name for certain countries, irrespectively of their true geographical situation, namely, Babylonia, Chaldæa, Assyria, and Media, which are constantly represented as being to the north of Judæa, though some of them lay rather to the east of Palestine. Thus Assyria is called the north (Zeph. ii. 13), and Babylonia (Jer. i. 14; xlvi. 6, 10, 20, 24; Ezek. xxvi. 7; Judith xvi. 4). The origin of this use of the word is supposed to be found in the fact that the kings of most of these countries, avoiding the deserts, used to invade Judæa chiefly on the north side, by way of Damascus and Syria. Thus also, the kings of the north that were 'near,' may mean the kings of Syria, and 'those that are afar off,' the Hyrcanians and Bactrians, &c., who are reckoned by Xenophon among the peoples that were subjected or oppressed by the king of Babylon, and perhaps others besides of the neighbouring nations that were compelled to submit to the Babylonish yoke (Jer. xxv. 26). By 'the princes of the north' (Ezek. xxxii. 30), some understand the Tyrians and their allies (ch. xxvi. 16), joined here with the Zidonians, their neighbours. 'The families of the north' (Jer. i. 15) are inferior kings, who were allies or tributaries to the Babylonian empire

(comp. xxxiv. 1; l. 41; li. 27). 'The families of the north' (Jer. xxv. 9) may mean a still inferior class of people, or nations dependent on Babylon. 5. The Hebrew word is applied to the north wind. In Prov. xxvii. 16, the impossibility of concealing the qualities of a contentious wife, is illustrated by comparing it to an attempt to bind the north wind, צפן־רוח. The invocation of Solomon (Cant. iv. 16), 'Awake, oh north, and come, thou south, blow upon my garden that the spices may flow out,' and which has occasioned much perplexity to illustrators, seems well explained by Rosenmüller, as simply alluding to the effect of winds from opposite quarters, in dispersing the fragrance of aromatic shrubs (ver. 13, 14) far and wide, in all directions. A fine description of the effects of the north wind, in winter, occurs in Ecclus. xliii. 20; which truly agrees with the 'horrifer Boreas' of Ovid (*Met.* i. 65), and in which reference is made to the coincident effects of the north wind and of fire (v. 21; comp. v. 3, 4), like the 'Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurit' of Virgil (*Georg.* i. 93); or Milton's description,

—— 'The parching air
Burns fierce, and cold performs the effects of fire.'
Paradise Lost, ii. 595.

Josephus states that the north wind in the neighbourhood of Joppa was called by those who sailed there Μελαμβόρειος, 'the black north wind,' and certainly his description of its effects, on one occasion, off that coast, is appalling (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 9. 3).—J. F. D.

NOSE-JEWEL [Women].

NOVICE, or Neophyte (Νεόφυτος), one newly converted (literally *newly planted*), not yet matured in Christian experience (1 Tim. iii. 6). The ancient Greek interpreters explain it by 'new-baptised,' νεοβάπτιστος, 'proselyte,' προσήλυτος, &c. The word continued to be in use in the early church; but it gradually acquired a meaning somewhat different from that which it bore under the Apostles, when 'newly converted' and 'newly baptised' described, in fact, the same condition, the converted being at once baptised. For when, in subsequent years, the church felt it prudent to put converts under a course of instruction before admitting them to baptism and the full privileges of Christian brotherhood, the term Νεόφυτοι, *Novitii*, Novices, was sometimes applied to them, although more usually distinguished by the general term of Catechumens.

NUMBERS is the appellation given to the fourth book of Moses, which in the Septuagint is called Ἀριθμοί, and in the Hebrew canon במדבר *be-midbar*, 'in the desert.'

Contents.—This book embraces more especially the continuation of the Sinaitic legislation, the march through the wilderness, the rejection of a whole generation, and the commencement of the conquest of Canaan. Thus we see that it treats on very different subjects, and on this account it has frequently been attempted to resolve it into separate fragments and documents, and to represent it as being composed of the most heterogeneous materials. We will endeavour to refute this opinion, by furnishing an accurate survey of its contents, and by describing the internal connection of its component parts, so that the organisation of the book may be clearly understood.

The sum and substance of the law having been stated in the preceding books, that of Numbers commences with the arrangements requisite for preserving good order in the camp of the Israelites. The people are numbered for the express purpose of separating the Levites from those Israelites who had to bear arms, and of thus introducing into practice the law concerning the first-born, for whom the tribe of Levi became a substitute. For this reason the people are not merely numbered, but also classed according to their descent; the order which each tribe should occupy in the camp is defined; and the Levites are introduced into their respective functions (ch. i.-iv.).

The camp, having been consecrated, was to be kept pure according to the law of Levitical cleansings; consequently all persons were excluded from it who were afflicted with leprosy, who had become unclean by a flux, and who had touched a corpse (ch. v. 1-4).

Thus, after civil and sacerdotal life had been brought into a definite form, other laws based upon this form came into force, especially those laws which regulated the authority of the priests in civil affairs (ch. v. 5; vi. 27). These regulations conclude with the beautiful form of benediction which indicates the blessing to be expected from the true observance of the preceding directions. The people are impressed with this fact; the hearts of the Israelites are willing to offer the required gifts, and to entrust them to the Levites.

Jehovah is faithful to his promise, and graciously reveals himself to his people (ch. vii.). Before the Levites enter upon the discharge of their sacred functions, the law concerning the lamps to be lighted in the sanctuary is significantly repeated (ch. viii.). These lamps symbolize the communication of the Holy Spirit, and bring to the recollection of the nation the blessings of theocracy to be derived from setting apart the tribe of Levi, which had recently been separated from the rest of the people.

Then follows a description of the celebration of the Passover, preparatory to the departure of the people from Mount Sinai (ch. ix. 1-14). Some regulations are connected with the celebration of the Passover, and the whole miraculous guidance of the people is described (ch. ix. 15-x.).

Thus the entrance of Israel into the Holy Land seemed to be fully prepared; and it was of great importance to show how they were prevented from entering it. Accurate details are therefore given of the spirit which pervaded the nation; a spirit which, in spite of the forbearance of God, manifested itself in daring rebellions against the divine authority (ch. xi. and xii.).

Now comes the turning point of the history. Everything seems externally prepared for the conquest of the country, when it appears that the nation are not yet internally ripe for the performance of so important an act (ch. xiii., xiv.).

In immediate connection with this are some laws which were given in the desert; the intention of which was to recal to the recollection of the rejected race, which had been justly condemned to suffer severe punishment, that nevertheless they had not ceased to be the people of the covenant, and the depositary of divine revelation (comp. ch. xv. 2, 13-16, 22, 23, 37, sq.). In this respect the facts mentioned in ch. xv. 32-36, and ch. xvi. are also of great importance. They show, on the one hand, the continuance of an evil

disposition in the people, and, on the other, the majesty of God watching over his holy law.

The contents of ch. xv.-xix. are of a similar character. The facts there recorded relate to a period of thirty-eight years. The conciseness with which they are stated significantly indicates the strictly legal and theocratical principles of the Mosaical legislation. The period of Israel's rejection is characterized by the circumstance, that the historian is almost silent respecting it, as being a period not strictly belonging to theocratical history. During this period the striking deeds of God, his miracles and signs, the more prominent operations of his grace, and his peculiar blessings, cease. The rejection of the nation consisted in this suspension of the divine operations. During this period God, as it were, ignored his people. Consequently, the historian also almost ignores the rebellious race. But the period in which the divine promises were to be fulfilled again forms a prominent portion of the history. The termination of the penal period is the commencement of the most important era in the Mosaical history. It brings the legislation to a splendid conclusion. The most glorious facts here follow each other in close succession; facts which were intended clearly to demonstrate that the chosen people entered into the land of promise, not by their own power and might, but that this land was given into their hands by the God of promise.

Miriam was already dead; and the forty years of wandering in the wilderness were accomplished. Israel was again in sight of the Holy Land on the borders of Edom. Then Moses and Aaron also sinned; soon after, Aaron died, and was succeeded by Eleazar. Israel sent ambassadors to the king of Edom to obtain permission to pass through his territory, but was haughtily refused (ch. xx.). Everything seemed to be prepared by preceding events already recorded. The dying off of the real emigrants from Egypt might be expected, after the divine decree that this should come to pass, had been mentioned; the unbelief of Moses arose from the protracted duration of the time of punishment, which at length broke his courage; the spirit of Edom arose in overbearing animosity, because it seemed that Jehovah had forsaken his people. It was appointed that Israel should undergo all this in order that they might grow strong in the Lord. Their strength was soon proved against Arad. They vowed to devote all the cities of the Canaanites to Jehovah, who gave them the victory. They were directed to avoid the boundaries of Edom, and to have Canaan alone in view. The people murmured, and the significant symbol of the serpent was erected before them, reminding them of their ancient sin, and how it had been healed and overcome by Jehovah. In all this Israel is constantly directed to Canaan. They march courageously to the boundaries of the Amorites, singing praises to Jehovah, and, by the power of the Lord, defeat the kings of Heshbon and Bashan (ch. xxi.).

In the plains of Moab still greater glory awaits the chosen people. The pagan prophet of Mesopotamia, being hired by the king of the Moabites, is overpowered by Jehovah, so that he is compelled to bless Israel instead of cursing them; and also directs them to the ancient blessings granted to the patriarchs. The bitterest enemies of the theocracy are here most deeply humbled, being themselves compelled to contribute to the glory of Jehovah (ch. xxii.-xxiv.). Not the God, but the people of Israel, were dishonoured through the devices of Balaam.

The subsequent account concerning the idolatry into which the people were led, forms a striking contrast with the preceding chapters, and evinces the impotence of the Israelites, whose first attack, therefore, was to be directed against their seducers. This was to be the beginning of the conquest of Canaan, which was essentially a combat against idolatry, and the victory of the kingdom of God over paganism. The conquered country was granted to separate tribes, and for this purpose the people were once more numbered, and Joshua appointed their leader.

Jehovah reserves his own rights in the distribution of the country, and Israel is directed not to forget the sacrifices to the Lord, the sabbaths, festivals, and vows; the ordinances concerning which are here briefly repeated, inculcated, and completed.

The people shall certainly gain the victory, but only in strict communion with Jehovah. Thus begins the combat against Midian, according to the directions of the law, and forming as it were a prototype of the later combats of Israel against pagan powers (ch. xxv.-xxxi.).

This was the last external work of Moses. Henceforth his eye is directed only to the internal affairs of his people. An entrance has been effected into the country, and the conquered territory is divided among two tribes and a half-tribe (ch. xxxii.).

Moses reminds the people of Jehovah's guidance in the wilderness, and of the manner in which the whole land was to be conquered. He commands the destruction of the Canaanites and of their idolatry. He appoints to what extent the land is to be conquered, and in what manner it should be divided; also the towns to be granted to the Levites, and the cities of refuge. He establishes also the statute, which was of great importance for the preservation of landed property, that an heiress should marry only within her own tribe (ch. xxxiii.-xxxvi.).

There have frequently been raised strong doubts against the historical credibility of the book of Numbers, although it is impressed with indubitable marks of the age to which it refers, and of perfect authenticity. The numerical statements in ch. i.-iv. are such that they repel every suspicion of forgery. There could apparently be no motive for any fabrication of this description. The numbering of the people is in perfect harmony with Exod. xxxviii. 26. The amount is here stated in round numbers, because a general survey only was required. When requisite, the more exact numbers are also added (ch. iii. 39, 43.) A later *falsarius*, or forger, would certainly have affected to possess the most exact knowledge of those circumstances, and consequently would have given, not round, but particularly definite numbers.

The account of the setting apart of the tribe of Levi has been especially urged as bearing the marks of fiction; but this account is strongly confirmed by the distribution of the cities of the

Levites (Num. xxxv.; Jos. xxi.). This distribution is an undeniable fact, and the existence of these Levitical towns may be appealed to as a document proving that the Levites were really set apart. Our opponents have vainly endeavoured to find contradictions, for instance, in the system of tithing (Num. xviii.), which, they say, is not mentioned in Deuteronomy, where the tithes are applied to different purposes (Deut. xii. 6, 7, 17-19; xiv. 22, seq.; xxvi. 12-15). But there were two sorts of tithes; one appointed for the maintenance of the Levites, and the other to defray the expenses of public banquets, of which the Levites also partook on account of their position in society (comp. Neh. xiii. 10; Tobit i. 7).

It has also been asserted that the book of Numbers contradicts itself in ch. iv. 2, 3, and ch. viii. 24, with respect to the proper age of Levites for doing duty. But the first of these passages speaks about carrying the tabernacle, and the second about performing sacred functions in the tabernacle. To carry the tabernacle was heavier work, and required an age of thirty years. The functions within the tabernacle were comparatively easy, for which an age of twenty-five years was deemed sufficient.

The opinions of those writers who deem that the book of Numbers had a mythical character, are in contradiction with passages like x. 26, sq., where Chobab is requested by Moses to aid the march through the wilderness. Such passages were written by a conscientious reporter, whose object was to state facts, who did not confine himself merely to the relation of miracles, and who does not conceal the natural occurrences which preceded the marvellous events in ch. xi. sq. How are our opponents able to reconcile these facts? Here again they require the aid of a new hypothesis, and speak of fragments loosely connected.

The author of the book of Numbers proves himself to be intimately acquainted with Egypt. The productions mentioned in ch. xi. 5 are, according to the most accurate investigations, really those which in that country chiefly served for food.

In ch. xiii., xxii., we find a notice concerning Zoan (Tanis), which indicates an exact knowledge of Egyptian history, as well in the author as in his readers. In ch. xvii. 2, where the writing of a name on a stick is mentioned, we find an allusion characteristic of Egyptian customs (compare Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, i. p. 388.

The history of the rebellion of the sons of Korah (xvi. 17) has certainly some colouring of the marvellous, but it nevertheless bears the stamp of truth. It is absurd to suppose that a poet who wrote ch. xvii. 6, sq., in order to magnify the priestly dignity, should have represented the Levites themselves as the chief authors of these criminal proceedings. This circumstance is the more important, because the descendants of Korah (Num. xxvi. 11) became afterwards one of the most distinguished Levitical families. In this position we find them as early as the times of David; so that it is inconceivable how any body should have entertained the idea of inventing a crime to be charged upon one of the ancestors of this illustrious family.

Many vestiges of antiquity are found in ch. xxi. The whole chapter, indeed, bears a characteristically antique impress, which manifests itself in all those ancient poems which are here communicated only in fragments, so far as was required for the illustration of the narrative. Even such critical sceptics as De Wette consider these poems to be relics of the Mosaical period. But they are so closely connected with history, as to be unintelligible without a knowledge of the facts to which they refer.

Narratives like the history of Balaam (xxii., xxiv.) furnish also numerous proofs of their high antiquity. These confirmations are of the greatest importance, on account of the many marvellous and enigmatical points of the narrative. Compare, for instance, the geographical statements, which are uncommonly accurate, in ch. xxii. 1, 36, 39; xxiii. 14, 15, 27, 28. See Hengstenberg's *Geschichte Bileam's*, Berlin, 1842, p. 221, sq.

The nations particularly mentioned in Balaam's prophecy, the Amalekites, Edomites, Moabites, and Kenites, belong to the Mosaical period. In ch. xxiv. 7, it is stated that the king of Israel would be greater than Agag; and it can be proved that Agag was a standing title of the Amalekite princes, and that, consequently, there is no necessity to refer this declaration to that king Agag whom Saul vanquished. The Kenites, at a later period, disappeared entirely was from history. A prophet from Mesopotamia likely to make particular mention of Assur (ch. xxiv. 22). There is also a remarkable prediction, that persons sailing from the coast of Chittim should subdue Assur and Eber (ch. xxiv. 23). The inhabitants of the west should vanquish the dwellers in the east. The writers who consider the predictions of Balaam to be *vaticinia post eventum*, bring us down to so late a period as the Grecian age, in which the whole passage could have been inserted only under the supposition of most arbitrary dealings with history. The truth of the biblical narrative here asserts its power. There occur similar accounts, in which it is strikingly evident that they proceeded from the hands of an author contemporary with the events; for instance, ch. xxxii., in which the distribution of the trans-Jordanic territory is recorded, even the account, which has so frequently been attacked, concerning the Havoth-jair, the small towns, or rather tent villages of Jair (xxxii. 41, 42; compare Judg. x. 4, and Deut. iii. 14). Even this account, we say, is fully justified by a closer examination.

The list of stations in ch. xxxiii. is an important document, which could not have originated in a poetical imagination. This list contains a survey of the whole route of the Israelites, and mentions individual places only in case the Israelites abode there for a considerable period. It is not the production of a diligent compiler, but rather the original work of an author well versed in the circumstances of that period. A later author would certainly have avoided the appearance of some contradictions, such as that in Num. xxxiii. 30, 31, comp. with Deut. x. 6. This contradiction may best be removed, by observing that the book of Numbers speaks of the expedition of the Israelites in the second year of their wanderings, and the book of Deuteronomy, of

their expedition in the fortieth year. The list of stations contains also important historical notices; those, for instance, in ch. xxxiii. 4, 9, 14, 38. These notices demonstrate the accurate historical information of the author.

We still dwell for a moment on the consideration of the great fact, which is the basis of the narrative of the whole book—namely, the sojourn of the Israelites during forty years in the wilderness. The manner in which the narrator states this fact, we have mentioned above. A view so strictly theocratical, and a description so purely objective, are most befitting the law-giver himself. Modern criticism has chiefly taken offence at the statement that Jehovah had announced all this as a punishment to be inflicted upon the people. This, they say, is incomprehensible. However, the fact stands firm, that the Israelites really abode forty years in the wilderness. This fact is proved in the Scriptures by many other testimonies. Hence arises the question, how this protracted abode was occasioned, and what induced Moses to postpone or give up the conquest of Canaan. De Wette says that such resignation, in giving up a plan to which one has devoted the full half of a life, is not human. Göthe asserted, that by such a representation the picture of Moses is entirely disfigured. All this renders the problem of our opponents the more difficult. De Wette says, 'Who knows what happened in that long period?' This question would amount to a confession of our entire ignorance concerning what was most important, and what is the real turning point of the history of Israel, and would make an enormous and most striking gap in universal history. It is incredible that no tradition should have been preserved, in which was told to posterity what was here most important, even if it should only have been in a very disfigured form. It is incredible that what was most important should have been passed by, and that there should have been communicated only what was comparatively insignificant. If this were the case, the traditions of Israel would form a perfectly isolated phenomenon. Thus the history of Israel itself would be something incomprehensible. Either the history is inconceivable, or the astounding fact is, indeed, a truth. And so it is. The resignation of Moses, and the sojourn of the people in the wilderness, can be explained only by assuming an extraordinary divine intervention. A merely natural interpretation is here completely futile. The problem can only be solved by assuming that the whole proceeded from the command of God, which is unconditionally obeyed by his servant, and to which even the rebellious people must bow, because they have amply experienced that without God they can do nothing.

For the works relative to Numbers, see the article PENTATEUCH.—H. A. C. H.

NUN (נוּן; in Syr. and Arab., *a fish*), the father of Joshua, who is hence constantly called Joshua ben-Nun, 'Joshua the son of Nun.' Nothing is known of the person who bore this name. The Sept. constantly uses the form it Ναυή, which appears to have arisen from an error of an earlier copyist (ΝΑΥΗ for ΝΑΥΝ). From the forms Ναβή and Ναβί, found in some MSS., it would seem that later transcribers supposed this Ναυή to be the pronunciation of the Hebrew נביא. It is from this error of the Sept. that some of our old versions have 'Joshua the son of Naue.'

O.

OAK [ALLON].

OATH (שְׁבוּעָה and אָלָה), an appeal to God in attestation of the truth of what you say, or in confirmation of what you promise or undertake. The Latin term is *jusjurandum*, or *juramentum*. Cicero (*De Officiis*, iii. 29) correctly terms an oath a religious affirmation; that is, an affirmation with a religious sanction. This appears from the words which he proceeds to employ: 'Quod autem affirmate, quasi Deo teste, promiseris, id tenendum est. Jam enim non ad iram deorum, quæ nulla est, sed ad justitiam et ad fidem pertinet;' which in effect means that an oath is an appeal to God, as the source and the vindicator of justice and fidelity. Hence it appears that there are two essential elements in an oath: first, the human, a declared intention of speaking the truth, or performing the action in a given case; secondly, the divine, an appeal to God, as a Being who knows all things and will punish guilt. According to usage, however, there is a third element in the idea which 'oath' commonly conveys, namely, that the oath is taken only on solemn, or, more specifically, on juridical occasions. The canon law gives all three elements when it represents *judicium*, *veritas*, *justitia*, as entering into the constitution of an oath—*judicium*, judgment or trial on the part of society; *veritas*, truth on the part of the oath-taker; *justitia*, justice on the part of God. An oath is accordingly a religious undertaking either to say (*juramentum assertorium*), or to do (*juramentum promissorium*) something entered into voluntarily with the customary forms. Being a religious undertaking, the appeal will vary according to the religious opinions of the country in which the oath is taken. In some instances it will be an appeal immediately to God; in others, to objects supposed to have divine power; and by a natural declension, when men have left the only true God, they may appeal in their oaths even to stocks and stones. Accordingly the Romans swore, 'per caput suum vel suorum filiorum,' or 'per genium principis;' that is, by their own head or that of their children, or by the genius of the emperor. We shall have by and by to notice similar errors and abuses among the Jews.

The essence of an oath lies obviously in the appeal which is thereby made to God, or to divine knowledge and power. The customary form establishes this, 'So help me God.' The Latin words (known to have been used as early as the sixth century), whence our English form is taken, run thus: 'Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Evangelia;' *so may God and these holy Gospels help me;* that is, 'as I say the truth.' The present custom of kissing a book containing the Gospels has in England taken place of the latter clause in the Latin formula.

If, then, an appeal to God is the essence of an oath, oath-taking is a practice which cannot be justified. Such an appeal is wrong, because it is

a mere act of a creature's will, being unrequired and unsanctioned by God, in a case in which God is made a party to a certain course, which course may or may not be agreeable to his mind (because a wish on the part of the oath-taker for punishment, should he fail in his undertaking, or any part of the same, is an act unbecoming a frail man, unseemly in its very nature, and awful to think of when man's sinfulness and God's power are rightly apprehended; because it relaxes the general bonds of religion, and morality, and truth; (for in establishing an occasion when justice must be done, it authorizes the idea that its observance is not imperative on other occasions); and because it is founded on an essentially false view of religious obligation; for as God sees, knows, and governs all things, and as all things so each thing, so man is bound universally to speak the truth and perform what he undertakes, bound as much in each and in all the actions of his life, as his dependance and God's sovereignty can bind a rational and accountable being; so that it is radically false to suppose that there is or can be any thing special in the obligation of an oath; the tendency of which falsity is not to raise, but to degrade the character, to reduce the general standard of truth and rectitude, to weaken the moral sense, by encouraging the idea that on special occasions, and of course on special occasions *only*, truth is to be spoken and promises performed.

It is one among those numerous small accordances comparatively with the dictates of right reason which will be found to prevail in the Bible the more minutely it is investigated, and which, though now, after a revelation has enlightened the mind, are discoverable by the mind, are yet so far beyond the reach of the mind when left to its own resources, that the practice of antiquity bears in an opposite direction—it is one of those very important accordances with truth, that the Mosaic legislation is not answerable for the practice of taking oaths, which existed before the time of Moses. It is found as early as the days of Abraham, who made the oldest servant of his family swear he would select for Isaac a wife of his own kindred (Gen. xxiv. 2, 3, 37). It is here observable that the oath is a private, not a judicial one; only that the rectoral authority of Abraham, as patriarch, must be taken into account. The form observed is found in these words: 'Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh; and I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven and the God of earth, that,' &c. An oath was sometimes a public and general bond, obliging the parties who took it to a certain course—a case in which it appears to have been spontaneous and voluntary; as when, in Judges xxi., the men of Israel swore, saying, there shall not any of us give his daughter unto Benjamin to wife (comp. ver. 5). From 1 Kings xviii. 10, it appears to have been customary to require on occasions of great concern a public oath, embracing even an entire 'kingdom and nation;' but whether taken individually or by some representative, we have no means of ascertaining. Such a custom, however, implying, as it does, a doubt of the public faith of a people, would hardly be submitted to, unless on the part of an inferior.

Oaths did not take their origin in any divine command. They were a part of that consuetudinary law which Moses found prevalent, and was bound to respect, since no small portion of the force of law lies in custom, and a legislator can neither abrogate nor institute a binding law of his own mere will. Accordingly, Moses made use of the sanction which an oath gave, but in that general manner, and apart from minute directions and express words of approval; which shows that he merely used, without intending to sanction, an instrument that he found in existence and could not safely dispense with. Examples are found in Exod. xxii. 11, where an oath is ordered to be applied in the case of lost property; and here we first meet with what may strictly be called a judicial oath (Lev. vi. 3-5).

The forms of adjuration found in the Scriptures are numerous. Saul sware unto Jonathan, 'As the Lord liveth' (1 Sam. xix. 6). 'A heap and a pillar' were for a witness between Laban and Jacob, with the ensuing for a sanction, 'The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, the God of their father, judge betwixt us. And Jacob sware *by the fear of his father Isaac*' (Gen. xxxi. 52, sq.). A common formula is, 'The Lord do so to me and more also' (Ruth i. 17; 1 Sam. iv. 44), which approaches nearly to our modern form, 'So help me God,' and is obviously elliptical. Reference appears to be had to the ancient custom of slaying some animal in confirmation of a treaty or agreement. The animal thus slain and offered in a burnt offering to God became an image or type, betokening the fate which would attend that one of the two contracting parties who failed in his engagement; and the words just cited were intended to be a voluntary assumption of the liability thus foreshadowed on the side of those who joined in the covenant: subsequently the sacrifice was in ordinary cases omitted, and the form came in itself to have the force of a solemn asseveration.

An oath, making an appeal to the divine justice and power, is a recognition of the divinity of the being to whom the appeal is made. Hence to swear by an idol is to be convicted of idolatry. Such an act is accordingly given in Scripture as a proof of idolatry and a reason for condign punishment. 'How shall I pardon thee for this? Thy children have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no gods' (Jer. v. 7; xii. 16; Amos viii. 14; Zeph. i. 5).

Other beings besides God are sometimes added in the form of an oath: Elijah said to Elisha, 'As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth' (2 Kings ii. 2; 1 Sam. xx. 3). The party addressed is frequently sworn by, especially if a prince: 'As thy soul liveth, my lord, I am the woman,' &c. (1 Sam. i. 26; xvii. 55; xxv. 26; 2 Sam. xi. 11). The Hebrews, as well as the Egyptians, swore also by the head or the life of an absent as well as a present prince: 'By the life of Pharaoh' (Gen. xlii. 15). Hanway says that the most sacred oath among the Persians is 'by the king's head.' Aben Ezra asserts that in his time (A.D. 1170) this oath was common in Egypt under the caliphs: death was the penalty of perjury. Selden, in his *Titles of Honour* (p. 45), ascribes the practice to the custom of applying the name god to princes (Rosenm. *Morgenl.* i. 200, sq.; comp. Strabo, xii. p. 557; Herod. iv. 68; Tertull. *Apol.* c. 52).

The oath-taker swore sometimes by his own

head (Matt. v. 36; see Virg. *Æn.* ix. 300; Ovid, *Trist.* iv. 4. 45; Juven. vi. 17); or by some precious part of his body, as the eyes (Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 3. 13; Tibull. iii. 6. 47); sometimes, but only in the case of the later Jews, by the earth, the heaven, and the sun (Matt. v. 34, 35; Eurip. *Hippol.* 1029; Virg. *Æn.* xii. 176); as well as by angels (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. 4); by the temple (Matt. xxiii. 16; comp. Lightfoot, p. 280); and even by parts of the temple (Matt. xxiii. 16; Wetstein). They also swore by Jerusalem, as the holy city (Matt. v. 35; Lightfoot, p. 281). The Rabbinical writers indulge in much prolixity on the subject of oaths, entering into nice distinctions, and showing themselves exquisite casuists. A brief view of their disquisitions may be seen in Othon. *Lex.* p. 347, sq. Some oaths they declared invalid: 'If any one swear by heaven, earth, the sun, and such things, although there may be in his mind while using these words a reference to Him who created them, yet this is not an oath; or if any one swear by one of the prophets, or by some book of Scripture, having reference to Him who sent the prophet and gave the book, nevertheless this is not an oath' (Maimon. *Hal. Schebhuoth*, c. 12). So the Mishna (*Schebhuoth*, c. 4): 'If any one adjures another by heaven or earth, he is not held bound by this.' It is easy to see that oaths of this nature, with authoritative interpretations and glosses so lax, could hardly fail to loosen moral obligation, and to lead to much practical perjury and impiety. Minute casuistical distinctions undermine the moral sense. When a man may swear and yet not swear, by the same formula appear to bind himself and yet be free, contract with his associates an obligation from which he may be released by religious authorities, the basis of private virtue and the grounds of public confidence are at once endangered. Besides, the practice of unauthorized and spontaneous oath-taking, which seems even in the earlier periods of Jewish history to have been too common, became about the time of our Lord of great frequency, and must have tended to lower the religious, as well as weaken the moral character. Peter's conduct is a striking case in point, who 'began to curse and to swear, saying, I know not the man' (Matt. xxvi. 74). An open falsehood, thus asserted and maintained by oaths and imprecations, shows how little regard there was at that time paid to such means of substantiating truth. The degree of guilt implied in such lamentable practices is not lessened by the emphasis with which the Mosaic law guarded the sanctity of the divine name, and prohibited the crime of perjury and profanation (Lev. xix. 12; Exod. xx. 7; Deut. v. 111; Matt. v. 33).

These remarks, tending to exhibit the state of mind and the manner of conduct prevalent in our Lord's time, show with what propriety he interposed his authority on the point, and not only disallowed the vain distinctions of the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 16), but also forbad swearing entirely (Matt. v. 33). Before, however, we submit his doctrine on this matter to some remarks, there are yet a few words to be added, in order to complete our statement touching the ceremonial observed in connection with an oath.

We have already intimated that it was usual to put the hand under the thigh (Gen. xxiv. 2; xlvii. 29). On this practice Aben Ezra observes: 'It appears probable to me that the meaning of this custom was as if the superior said, with the consent of his slave, If thou art under my power, and therefore prepared to execute my commands, put thy hand, as a token, under my thigh.' Winer, however, thinks that as it was usual to swear by the more important parts of the human frame, so this was a reference to the generative powers of man. But see on this interpretation, as well as on the general question of swearing by parts of the body, Meiner's *Geschichte der Relig.* ii. 286, sq. It is, however, certain that it was usual to touch that by which a person swore:

'Tange precor mensam, tangunt quo more precantes.'

Other instances may be seen in Niedek, *De Populor. Adorat.* p. 213, sq. At p. 218 of this work, with the plate relating to it, an instance may be found which cannot be mentioned, but which goes immediately to confirm the idea advanced by Winer.

The more usual employment of the hand was to raise it towards heaven; designed, probably, to excite attention, to point out the oath-taker, and to give solemnity to the act (Gen. xiv. 22, 23). In the strongly anthropomorphitic language of parts of the Scripture, even God is introduced saying, 'I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever' (Deut. xxxii. 40). It can only be by the employment of a similar licence that the Almighty is represented as in any way coming under the obligation of an oath (Exod. vi. 8; Ezek. xx. 5). Instead of the head, the phylactery was sometimes touched by the Jews on taking an oath (Maimon. *Schebhuoth*, c. xi.). Even the Deity is sometimes introduced as swearing by phylacteries (*Tanch*, fol. vi. 3; Othon. *Lex.* p. 757). In cases where a civil authority adjured a party, that is, put a person to an oath, the answer was given by אַתָּה, σὺ εἶπας, 'thou hast said' (1 Kings xxii. 16; Num. v. 19; Matt. xxvi. 63; *Schebhuoth*, c. i.; *Misch.* ii.). Women and slaves were not permitted to take an oath (Maimon. *Hilch. Schebh.* 9, 10, 11).

The levity of the Jewish nation in regard to oaths, though reproved by some of their doctors (Othon. *Lex.* p. 351; Philo, ii. 194), was notorious; and when we find it entering as an element into popular poetry (Martial, xi. 9), we cannot ascribe the imputation to the known injustice of heathen writers towards the Israelites. This national vice, doubtless, had an influence with the Essenes [Essenes], in placing the prohibition of oaths among the rules of their reformatory order. Certainly, 'the Great Teacher' forbade oaths altogether. The language is most express (Matt. v. 34-37; James v. 12). Equally decided was the interpretation put on this language by the ancient church. Justin, Irenæus, Basil, Chrysostom, Augustine, held oaths to be unchristian (De Wette, *Sittenlehre*, iii. 143). Even modern philosophy has given its vote against the practice (see Bentham's 'Swear not at all'). That no case has been made out by Christian commentators in favour of judicial swearing we do not affirm; but we must be excused if we add that the case is a very weak one, wears a casuistical appearance, and as if necessitated in order to excuse existing usages, and guard against errors imputed to unpopular sects, such as the Quakers and Mennonites. If in-

ferential and merely probable conclusions, such as the case consists of, may be allowed to prevail against the explicit language of Jesus and James, Scripture is robbed of its certainty, and prohibitions the most express lose their force. For instance, it has been alleged that our Lord himself took part in an oath when, being adjured by the high-priest, he answered 'Thou hast said' (Matt. xxvi. 63-4). But what has this to do with his own doctrine on the point? Placed at the bar of judgment, Jesus was a criminal, not a teacher, bound by the laws of his country, which it was a part of his plan never unnecessarily to disregard, to give an answer to the question judicially put to him, and bound equally by a regard to the great interests which he had come into the world to serve. Jesus did not swear, but was sworn. The putting the oath he could not prevent. His sole question was, Should he answer the interrogatory? —a question which depended on considerations of the highest moment, and which he who alone could judge decided in the affirmative. That question in effect was, 'Art thou the Messiah?' His reply was a simple affirmative. The employment of the adjuration was the act of the magistrate: to have objected to which would have brought on Jesus the charge of equivocation, if not of evasion, or even the denial of his 'high calling.'

The general tendency of this article is to show how desirable it is that the practice of oath-taking of all kinds, judicial as well as others, should at least be diminished, till at the proper time it is totally abolished; for whatsoever is more than a simple affirmation cometh from the Evil One, ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ (Matt. v. 37), and equally leadeth to evil.

On the subject of this article the reader may consult: Lydii *Diss. de Juramento;* Nicolai *De Juram. Hebræorum, Græcorum, Romanorum aliorumque populorum;* Seldeni *Diss. de Juramentis;* Molembecii *De Juramento per Genium principis;* Spenceri *Diss. de Juramento per Anchialum;*—all of which may be found in the 26th volume of Ugolino's *Thesaurus Antiq. Sacr.* See also Hansen, *De Jurament. Vett.* in *Græv. Thesaurus.* A more recent authority may be found in Stäudlin, *Geschichte der Vorstell.*, v. Eide; Tyler, *Oaths; their Origin*, &c.—J. R. B.

OBADIAH (עֹבַדְיָהוּ and עֹבַדְיָה, *servant of Jehovah;* Sept. Ἀβδιού), the name of several persons mentioned in Scripture.

1. OBADIAH, the fourth of the minor prophets according to the Hebrew, the fifth according to the Greek, and the eighth according to chronological arrangement, is supposed to have prophesied about the year B.C. 599 (Jahn's *Introd.*). We have, however, but a small fragment of his prophecies, and it is impossible to determine anything with certainty respecting himself or his history. Several persons of this name occur about the same period, one of whom presided at the restoration of the temple in the reign of Josiah, B.C. 624, and is considered by many to have been the author of the prophecy. Another, who was governor of the house of Ahab, was regarded by the ancient Jews as the author of the book: which opinion is followed by Jerome (Hieron. *Comm. in Abdiam;* Sixtus Senens. *Bib. Sanct.*). Others place the author in the reign of Ahaz, B.C. 728-699; while some think him to have been a contemporary of Hosea, who prophesied B.C. 722. But, as is observed by Jahn, Newcome, and others, it is evident from ver. 20 that he prophesied while Jerusalem was subjected to the yoke of the Chaldæans, and after the expatriation of several of the citizens—which refers him to the period after the seventh year of the captivity, B.C. 599. Jahn maintains, from the warnings to the Edomites, ver. 12-14, that Obadiah prophesied before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; while De Wette infers from the mention of the 'captivity of the children of Israel,' and the 'captivity of Jerusalem' in ver. 20, that the composition of the book must be placed after the destruction of that city. From a comparison of Obad. ver. 1-4, with Jer. xlix. 14-16; Obad. ver. 6, with Jer. xlix. 9, 10; and Obad. ver. 8, with Jer. xlix. 7, it is evident that one of these prophets had read the other's work. It is not easy, observes Calmet, to decide which of the two copied from the other; but from the fact that Jeremiah had made use of the writings of other prophets also, it has been generally concluded that Obadiah was the original writer (See Eichhorn's *Introd.* § 512; Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, and Jäger, *Ueb. die Zeit Obadjah*). That Jeremiah was the original writer has been maintained by Bertholdt, Credner, De Wette, and others. De Wette supposes (*Introd.* § 235) that Obadiah made use of Jeremiah from recollection.

His prophecies are directed against the Edomites, and in this respect correspond with Amos i. 11, Jer. xlix. 22, Ezek. xxv. 12-14, and Ps. cxxxvii. 7 (Jahn's *Introd.*). He menaces Edom with destruction for their hostile feeling towards Judah, and their insulting conduct towards the Hebrews when Jerusalem was taken (ver. 11, 12); but consoles the Jews with a promise of restoration from their captivity, when the Hebrews and the Ten Tribes (Jahn's *Introd.*) shall repossess both their land and that of Edom and Philistia—a prophecy which was fulfilled in the time of the Maccabees, under John Hyrcanus, B.C. 125 (Jahn, *l. c.*).

The language of Obadiah is pure; but Jahn and others have observed that he is inferior to the more ancient prophets in its too great addiction to the interrogatory form of expression (see ver. 8). His sentiments are noble, and his figures bold and striking (De Wette's *Introd.*, Eng. transl.). De Wette's translator observes that his hatred towards other nations is not so deep and deadly as that of some of his younger contemporaries.

See Leusden's *Obadiah;* Pfeiffer, *Comm. in Obad.;* Schröer, *Der Prophet Obad.*, &c.; Venema, *Lectt. in Obad.*, with the additions of Verschuir and Lohze; Kohler, *Anmerkk.;* Schnurrer's *Dissert. Philol.;* Hendewerth, *Obadjæ Prophetæ Oraculum in Idumæos.* These are the works referred to in De Wette's *Introduction.*—W. W.

2. OBADIAH, the governor of King Ahab's household, and high in the confidence of his master, notwithstanding his aversion to the idolatries which the court patronized. In the persecution raised by Jezebel, Obadiah hid one hundred of the Lord's prophets in caves, and supplied them secretly with nourishment during the famine. It was this person, when sent out to explore the country in the vain search of pasture unconsumed by the drought, whom Elijah encountered when

about to show himself to Ahab, and who was reluctantly prevailed upon to conduct the prophet to his master (1 Kings xviii. 4-16). B.C. 906.

3. OBADIAH, one of the heroes of the tribe of Gad, who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 9).

4. OBADIAH, one of the nobles whom Jehoshaphat sent to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Chron. xvii. 7).

5. OBADIAH, one of the Levites who presided over the restoration of the temple under Josiah (2 Chron. xxxiv. 12).

6. OBADIAH, the head of a party, consisting of 218 males, with females and children in proportion, who returned with Ezra from Babylon (Ezra viii. 9).

7. OBADIAH, one of the priests, who sealed the written covenant which Nehemiah caused the people to enter into (Neh. x. 5).

Other persons of this name occur in 1 Chron. iii. 21; vii. 3; viii. 38; ix. 16, 44; xxvii. 19.

OBED (עוֹבֵד, *serving;* Sept. Ὼβήδ), son of Boaz and Ruth, and father of Jesse the father of David, according to the apparently incomplete genealogical list (Ruth iv. 17; 1 Chron. ii. 12). The name occurs in the genealogies of Matthew (i. 5) and Luke (iii. 32).

OBED-EDOM (עֹבֵד אֱדֹם, *serving Edom;* Sept. Ἀβεδδαρά), a Levite in whose premises, and under whose care, the ark was deposited, when the death of Uzzah caused David to apprehend danger in taking it farther. It remained here three months, during which the family of Obed-edom so signally prospered, that the king was encouraged to resume his first intention, which he then happily carried into effect (2 Sam. vi. 10-12). We learn from 1 Chron. xvi. 38, that Obed-edom's connection with the ark did not then terminate, he and his brethren having charge of the doors of the sanctuary (1 Chron. xv. 18, 24).

OBIL (אוֹבִיל, *chief of the camels;* Sept. Ἀβίας), an Ishmaelite, or Arab, doubtless of the nomade tribes, who had charge of the royal camels in the time of David—an exceedingly fit employment for an Arab (1 Chron. xxvii. 30). As Obil means in Arabic 'a keeper of camels' Hieron. (ii. 2), reasonably infers that the person had his name from his office, which has always been a very common circumstance in the East.

OBLATION [Offering].

OBOTH, a station of the Israelites [Wandering].

1. ODED (עוֹדֵד, *erecting;* Sept. Ὼδήδ), the prophet who remonstrated against the detention as captives of the persons whom the army of King Pekah had brought prisoners from Judah, and at whose suggestion they were handsomely treated, and conducted back with all tenderness and care to their own country (2 Chron. xxviii. 9).

2. ODED, father of Azariah the prophet, who was commissioned to meet and encourage Asa on his return from defeating the Ethiopians (2 Chron. xv. 1-8). It curiously happens that the address which, at the commencement, is ascribed to Azariah, the son of Oded, is at the end ascribed to Oded himself (xv. 8). But this is supposed to have been a slip of copyists, and the versions read the latter verse like the former.

ODEM (אֹדֶם; Sept. σάρδιον), one of the precious stones in the breastplate of the high-priest (Exod. xxviii. 17; xxxix. 10), and also mentioned in Ezek. xxviii. 13. In all these places it is rendered 'sardius' in the Authorized Version, following the Septuagint and Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.*, v. 5, 7), who, however, in *Antiq.* iii. 7. 6, makes it the sardonyx (σαρδόνυξ). The sardius is the stone now called the carnelian, from its colour (*a carne*), which resembles that of raw flesh. The Hebrew name is derived from a root which signifies being red. The sardius or carnelian is of the flint family, and is a kind of chalcedony. The more vivid the red in this stone, the higher is the estimation in which it is held. It was anciently, as now, more frequently engraved on than any other stone. The ancients called it sardius, because Sardis in Lydia was the place where they first became acquainted with it; but the sardius of Babylon was considered of greater value (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 7). The Hebrews probably obtained the carnelian from Arabia. In Yemen there is found a very fine dark-red carnelian, which is called *el-Akik* (Niebuhr, *Beschreib.*, p. 142). The Arabs wear it on the finger, on the arm above the elbow, and in the belt before the abdomen. It is supposed to stop hemorrhage when laid on a fresh wound.

OFFERING (the general name for which in Hebrew is קָרְבָּן) is anything presented to God as a means of conciliating his favour: which being in the Jewish, as well as in all other religions, considered as the one thing needful, offerings accordingly have always constituted an essential part of public worship and private piety.

Offerings have been divided into three kinds; 1. Impetratoria; 2. Eucharistica; 3. Piacularia: the first denoting those which are designed to procure some favour or benefit; the second, those which are expressive of gratitude for bounties or mercies received; the third, those which are meant to atone for sins and propitiate the Deity. Porphyry also gives three reasons for making offerings to the gods (*Abstinentia*, ii. 24),—in order to do them honour, to acknowledge a favour, or to procure a supply for human needs. Among the Hebrews we find a complex and multiform system of offerings extending through the entire circle of divine worship, and prescribing the minutest details. A leading distinction separates their offerings into unbloody (מִנְחוֹת, προσφοραί, δῶρα) and bloody (זְבָחִים, θυσίαι). Used in its widest sense the term offering, or oblation, indicates in the Hebrew ritual a very great number of things—as the firstlings of the flock, first-fruits, tithes, incense, the shew-bread, the wood for burning in the temple (Neh. x. 34). The objects offered were salt, meal, baked and roasted grain, olive-oil, clean animals, such as oxen, goats, doves, but not fish. The animals were required to be spotless (Lev. xxii. 20; Mal. i. 8), and, with the exception of the doves, not under eight days old (Lev. xxii. 27), younger animals being tasteless and innutritious. The smaller beasts, such as sheep, goats, and calves, were commonly one year old (Exod. xxix. 38; Lev. ix. 3; xii. 6; xiv. 10; Num. xv. 27; xxviii. 9, sq.). Oxen were offered at three years of age; in Judges (vi. 25) one is offered which is seven years old. As to sex, an option was sometimes left to the offerer, as in peace and sin-offerings (Lev. iii. 1, 6; xii. 5, 6); at other times

males were required, as in burnt sacrifices, for, contrary to classical usage, the male was considered the more perfect. In burnt-offerings and in thank-offerings the kind of animal was left to the choice of the worshipper (Lev. i. 3), but in trespass and sin-offerings it was regulated by law (Lev. iv. 5). If the desire of the worshipper was to express his gratitude, he offered a peace or thank-offering; if to obtain forgiveness, he offered a trespass or sin-offering. Burnt-offerings were of a general kind (Num. xv. 3; Deut. xii. 6; Jer. xvii. 26). Hecatombs or large numbers of cattle were sacrificed on special occasions. In 1 Kings viii. 5, 63, Solomon is said to have 'sacrificed sheep and oxen that could not be told or numbered for multitude,' 'two and twenty thousand oxen and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep' (see also 2 Chron. xxix. 32, sq.; xxx. 24; xxxv. 7, sq.; comp. Herod. vii. 43; Xenoph. *Hellen.* vi. 4; Sueton. *Calig.* 14). Offerings were also either public or private, prescribed or free-will. Sometimes they were presented by an individual, sometimes by a family; once, or at regular and periodic intervals (1 Sam. i. 24; Job i. 5; 2 Macc. iii. 32). Foreigners were permitted to make offerings on the national altar (Num. xv. 14; 2 Macc. iii. 35; xiii. 23; Philo, *Legat.* p. 1014; Joseph. *c. Apion.* ii. 5). Offerings were made by Jews for heathen princes (1 Macc. vii. 33; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 2. 5). In the case of bloody-offerings the possessor, after he had sanctified himself (1 Sam. xvi. 5), brought the victim, in case of thank-offerings, with his horns gilded and with garlands, &c. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 2; Winer, *Real-wörterb.* ii. 212, note 5) to the altar (Lev. iii. 1; xii. 4; xiv. 17), where, laying his hand on the head of the animal (Lev. i. 4; iii. 2; iv. 4), he thus, in a clear and pointed way, devoted it to God. Having so done he proceeded to slay the victim himself (Lev. iii. 2; iv. 4); which act might be, and in later times was, done by the priests (2 Chron. xxix. 24), and probably by the Levites (Hottinger, *De Functionibus Sacerdot. circa victimam*, Marb. 1706). The blood was taken, and, according to the kind of offering, sprinkled upon the altar, or brought into the temple and there shed upon the ark of the covenant and smeared upon the horns of the altar of incense, and then the remainder poured forth at the foot of the altar of burnt-offerings. Having slain the animal, the offerer struck off its head (Lev. i. 6), which when not burnt (Lev. iv. 11) belonged either to the priest (Lev. vii. 8), or to the offerer (comp. Mishna, *Zebach.* xii. 2). The victim was then cut into pieces (Lev. i. 6; viii. 20), which were either all, or only the best and most tasty, set on fire on the altar by the priests or the offerer, or must be burnt without the precincts of the holy city. The treatment of doves may be seen in Lev. i. 14, sq.; v. 8 (see Hottinger, *De Sacrificiis Avium*, Marb. 1706). In some sacrifices heaving (תרומה) and waving (תנופה) were usual either before or after the slaying.

The annual expense of offerings, including those made by individuals as well as the nation, must have been considerable. It may, however, be said that the country produced on all sides in great abundance most of the required objects, and that there were numerous forests whence wood for use in sacrifice was procured. At later periods of the nation foreign princes, desirous of conciliating the goodwill of the Jews, made large contributions both of natural objects and of money towards the support of the ceremonial of public worship (Ezra vi. 9; 1 Macc. x. 39; 2 Macc. iii. 3; ix. 16; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3). The place where offerings were exclusively to be presented was the outer court of the national sanctuary, at first the Tabernacle, afterwards the Temple. Every offering made elsewhere was forbidden under penalty of death (Lev. xvii. 4, sq.; Deut. xii. 5, sq.; comp. 1 Kings xii. 27). The precise spot is laid down in Lev. i. 3; iii. 2, 'at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord.' According to the Mishna (*Zebach.* c. 5), offerings were to be slain partly on the north side of the altar, and, if they were inconsiderable, at any part of the outer court. The object of these regulations was to prevent any secret idolatrous rites from taking place under the mask of the national ritual; and a common place of worship must have tended considerably to preserve the unity of the people, whose constant disagreements required precautions of a special kind (1 Kings xii. 27). The oneness, however, of the place of sacrifice was not strictly preserved in the troubled period of the Judges, nor indeed till the time of David (1 Kings iii. 2, 3). Offerings were made in other places besides the door of the Tabernacle (1 Sam. vii. 17; Judg. ii. 5). High places, which had long been used by the Canaanites, retained a certain sanctity, and were honoured with offerings (Judg. vi. 26; xiii. 19). Even the loyal Samuel followed this practice (1 Sam.), and David endured it (1 Kings iii. 2). After Solomon these offerings on high places still continued. In the kingdom of Israel, cut off as its subjects were from the holy city, the national temple was neglected.

Offerings being regarded as an expression of gratitude and piety, and required as a necessary part of ordinary private life, were diligently and abundantly presented, failure in this point being held as a sign of irreligion (Ps. lxvi. 15; cx. 3; Jer. xxxvii. 11; Matt. viii. 4; Acts xxi. 26; Isa. xliii. 23). Offerings were sworn by, as being something in themselves holy, from the purpose to which they were consecrated (Matt. xxiii. 18). And in the glowing pictures of religious happiness and national prosperity which the poets drew, there is found an ideal perfection of this essential element of Israelitish worship (Isa. xix. 21; lvi. 7; lx. 7; Zech. xiv. 21; Jer. xvii. 26; xxxiii. 18); and deprivation of this privilege was among the calamities of the period of exile (Hos. iii. 4).

Under the load and the multiplicity of these outward ordinances, however, the Hebrews forgot the substance, lost the thought in the symbol, the thing signified in the sign; and, failing in those devotional sentiments and that practical obedience which offerings were intended to prefigure and cultivate, sank into the practice of mere dead works. Hereupon began the prophets to utter their admonitory lessons, to which the world is indebted for so many graphic descriptions of the real nature of religion and the only true worship of Almighty God (Isa. i. 11; Jer. vi. 20; vii. 21, sq.; Hos. vi. 6; Amos v. 22; Micah vi. 6, sq.; comp. Ps. xl. 6; li. 17, sq.; Prov. xxi. 3). Thus the failures of one church prepared the way for the higher privileges of another, and the law

proved a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ (Matt. v. 23; Gal. iii. 24). Even before the advent of our Lord pious and reflecting men, like the Essenes, discovered the lamentable abuses of the national ritual, and were led to abstain altogether from the customary forms of a mere outward worship (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 5). The 50th Psalm must have had great influence in preparing the minds of thinking men for a pure and spiritual form of worship, the rather because some of its principles strike at the very root of all offerings of a mere outward kind: thus, 'I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goats out of thy folds; for every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. If I were hungry I would not tell thee; for the world is mine, and the fulness thereof. Will I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving.' Indeed the conception and composition of such a noble piece show what great progress the best cultivated minds had made from the rudimental notions of primitive times, and may serve of themselves to prove that with all the abuses which had ensued, the Mosaic ritual and institutions were admirably fitted to carry forward the education of the mind of the people. Thus was the Hebrew nation, and through them the world, led on so as to be in some measure prepared for receiving the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, in which all outward offerings are done away, the one great offering being made, and all those who are members of the church are required to offer themselves, body, soul and spirit, a holy offering to the Lord (Heb. x.; Rom. xii.). 'By Him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name. But to do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased' (Heb. xiii. 15, 16; Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7; Rom. xv. 16; Phil. ii. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 6).

Lightfoot's work, *De Ministerio Templi*, is especially to be recommended on this subject; see also Outram, *De Sacrif.;* Reland, *Antiq. Sacr.* iii. 1; Bauer, *Gottesd. Verfass.* i. 80, sq.; Rosenmüller, *Excurs.* I. *ad Lev.* The Jewish doctrines on offerings may be found in the treatises *Sebachim*, *Menachoth*, and *Temura;* a selection from which, as well as from the Rabbins, is given in that useful little work, Othon. *Lex. Talmud.* p. 621, sq.; see Ugolin. *Thesaur.* tom. xix.—J. R. B.

OG (עוֹג, *giant;* Sept. Ὤγ), an Amoritish king of Bashan (Num. xxi. 33; xxxii. 33; Deut. iv. 47; xxxi. 4). In form he was a giant, so that his bedstead was preserved as a memorial of his huge stature (Deut. iii. 11; Josh. xiii. 12) [Bed]. He was defeated by the Israelites under Moses (Num. xxi. 33; Deut. i. 4; iii. 3); and his country, which contained many walled cities (Deut. iii. 4-10), was assigned to the tribe of Manasseh (Deut. iii. 13; Josh. xiii. 30) [Amorites; Bashan; Giant].

OIL (שֶׁמֶן; Sept. ἔλαιον) was far more extensively used among the ancient Hebrews than in our northern climate. The use of oil is equally general throughout Western Asia at the present time, as it was in primitive ages. Oil was much used instead of butter and animal fat, at meals and in various preparations of food (see Food, and comp. Ezek. xvi. 13). In such uses oil, when fresh and sweet, is more agreeable than animal fat. The Orientals think so; and Europeans soon acquire the same preference. Oil was also in many cases taken as a meat-offering (Lev. v. 11; Num. v. 15); and it was then mixed with the meal of oblation (Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. ii. 4; vi. 21; vii. 12; Num. vi. 15) [Offering]. The rite of sprinkling with oil, as a libation, does not occur in the law, but seems to be alluded to in Micah vi. 7.

The application of oil to the person has been described in the article Anointing. Whether for luxury or ceremony, the head and beard were the parts usually anointed (Deut. xxviii. 40; 2 Sam. xiv. 2: Ps. xxiii. 5; xcii. 11; civ. 15; Luke vii. 46); and this use of oil became at length proverbially common among the Israelites (Prov. xxi. 17).

The employment of oil for burning has been illustrated in the article Lamps. It is only necessary to add, that for this, and indeed for most other purposes, olive-oil was considered the best, and was therefore used in the lamps of the tabernacle. The custom of anointing the diseased and the dead has been noticed in the article Anointing; and for the use and composition of fragrant oils and ointments, see Perfumes.

The numerous olive-plantations in Palestine made olive-oil one of the chief, and one of the most lucrative products of the country: it supplied an article of extensive and profitable traffic with the Tyrians (Ezek. xxvii. 17; comp. 1 Kings v. 11); and presents of the finer sorts of olive-oil were deemed suitable for kings. There is in fact no other kind of oil distinctly mentioned in Scripture; and the best, middling, and inferior oils appear to have been merely different qualities of olive-oil. The berries of the olive-tree were sometimes plucked, or carefully shaken off by the hand, before they were ripe (Deut. xxiv. 20; Isa. xvii. 6; xxiv. 13). If while they were yet green, instead of being thrown into the press, they were only beaten or squeezed, they yielded the best kind of oil. It was called *Ophacinum*, or the oil of unripe olives, and also 'beaten' or 'fresh oil' (Exod. xxvii. 20). There were presses of a peculiar kind for preparing oil called גַּת שְׁמֶן, *gath-shemen* (whence the name Gethsemane, or 'oil-press,' Matt. xxvi. 36; John xviii. 1), in which the oil was trodden out by the feet (Micah vi. 15). The first expression of the oil was better than the second, and the second than the third. Ripe olives yielded the least valuable kind of oil, but the quantity was more abundant. The best sort of oil was prepared with fragrant spices, and was used in anointing; the inferior sorts were used with food and for lamps.

OLIVE-TREE. [Zayit.]

OLIVES, MOUNT OF, a mountain or ridge now called by the Arabs Jebel et-Tur, lying to the east of Jerusalem, from which it is separated only by the narrow valley of Jehoshaphat. Towards the south it sinks down into a lower ridge, over against the so-called 'well of Nehemiah,' now called by Franks the Mount of Offence, in allusion to the idolatrous worship established by Solomon 'on the hill that is before,' that is, eastward of 'Jerusalem.' In this direction lies the usual road to Bethany, so often trodden by our Saviour. About a mile towards the north is

another summit, nearly or quite as high as the middle one. The ridge between the two bends slightly eastward, leaving room for the valley below to expand somewhat in that part. The view of the Holy City and of the Dead Sea, from the southern summit, is described in the article JERUSALEM; that from the northern summit does not embrace the Dead Sea. The elevation of the central peak of the Mount of Olives is stated by Schubert (*Reise*, ii. 341) at 2556 Paris feet, or 416 Paris feet above the valley of Jehoshaphat; and hence it appears to be 175 Paris feet above the highest part of Mount Zion. Beyond the northern summit the ridge sweeps round towards the west, and spreads out into the high level tract north of the city, which is skirted on the west and south by the upper part of the valley of Jehoshaphat (Robinson's *Researches*, ii. 405-407; Olin's *Travels*, ii. 127). This inconsiderable ridge derives all its importance from its connection with Jerusalem, and from the sacred associations which hence became connected with it. To the mount whose ascent David 'went up, weeping and barefoot,' to which our Saviour ofttimes withdrew with his disciples, over which he often passed, and from which he eventually ascended into heaven, belongs a higher degree of sacred and moral interest than is to be found in mere physical magnitude, or than the record connects even with Lebanon, Tabor, or Ararat.

OLYMPAS (Ὀλυμπᾶς), a Christian at Rome, whom Paul salutes in his Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 15).

OMEGA (Ω), the last letter of the Greek alphabet, proverbially applied to express the end, as Alpha (A), the first letter, the beginning of any thing [ALPHA].

OMER [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES].

OMRI (עָמְרִי, *God-taught;* Sept. Ἀμβρί), sixth king of Israel, who began to reign in B.C. 929, and reigned twelve years. He was raised to the throne by the army, while it was engaged in the siege of Gibbethon, a Levitical city in Dan, of which the Philistines had gained possession, when the news came to the camp of the death of Elah, and the usurpation of Zimri. On this, the army proclaimed their general, Omri, king of Israel. He then lost not a moment, but leaving Gibbethon in the power of the infidels, went and besieged his competitor in Tirzah. But he was no sooner delivered of this rival [ZIMRI], than another appeared in the person of Tibni, whom a part of the people had raised to the throne, probably from unwillingness to submit to military dictation. This occasioned a civil war, which lasted six years, and left Omri undisputed master of the throne, B.C. 925. His reign lasted six years more, and its chief event was the foundation of Samaria, which thenceforth became the capital city of the kingdom of Israel (1 Kings xvi. 15-28). [SAMARIA.]

ON (אוֹן, *strength;* Sept. Ἀύν), a chief of the tribe of Reuben, who was one of the accomplices of Korah in the revolt against the authority of Moses and Aaron. He is mentioned among the leaders of this conspiracy in the first instance (Num. xvi. 17), but does not appear in any of the subsequent transactions, and is not by name included in the final punishment. The Rabbinical tradition is, that the wife of On persuaded her husband to abandon the enterprise.

ON (אוֹן; Sept. Ἡλιούπολις), one of the oldest cities in the world, situated in Lower Egypt, about two hours N.N.E. from Cairo. The Septuagint translates the name On by Heliopolis, which signifies 'city of the sun;' and in Jer. xliii. 13, it bears a name, Beth-shemesh (oppidum solis, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 11), of equivalent import. On is a Coptic and ancient Egyptian word, signifying light and the sun (Ritter, *Erdk.* i. 822). The site is now marked by low mounds, enclosing a space about three quarters of a mile in length by half a mile in breadth, which was once occupied by houses and by the celebrated Temple of the Sun. This area is at present a ploughed field, a garden of herbs; and the solitary obelisk which still rises in the midst of it is the sole remnant of the former splendours of the place. In the days of Edrisi and Abdallatif the place bore the name of Ain Shems; and in the neighbouring village, Matariyeh, is still shown an ancient well bearing the same name. Near by it is a very old sycamore, its trunk straggling and gnarled, under which legendary tradition relates that the holy family once rested (Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, i. 36). Heliopolis was the capital of a district or nomos bearing the same name (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 9; Ptolem. iv. 5).



440.

The place is mentioned in Gen. xli. 45, where it is said that Pharaoh gave to Joseph a wife, Asenath, the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On (ver. 50). From the passage in Jeremiah (*ut supra*), it may be inferred that it was distinguished for idolatrous worship: 'He shall break also the images of Beth-shemesh that is in the land of Egypt, and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire.' The names, 'City of the Sun,' 'Temples of the Sun,' connected with the place, taken in conjunction with the words just cited from the prophet, seem to refer the mind to the purer form of worship which prevailed at a very early period in Egypt, namely,

the worship of the heavenly bodies, and thence to carry the thoughts to the deteriorations which it afterwards underwent in sinking to the adoration of images and animals.

The traces of this city which are found in classic authors correspond with the little of it that we know from the brief intimations of Holy Writ. According to Herodotus (ii. 59), Heliopolis was one of the four great cities that were rendered famous in Egypt by being the centres of solemn religious festivals, which were attended by splendid processions and homage to the gods. In Heliopolis the observance was held in honour of the sun. The majesty of these sacred visits may be best learned now by a careful study of the temples (in their ruins) in which the rites were performed (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*). Heliopolis had its priesthood, a numerous and learned body, celebrated before other Egyptians for their historical and antiquarian lore; it long continued the university of the Egyptians, the chief seat of their science (Kenrick's *Herod.* ii. 3; Wilkinson); the priests dwelt as a holy community in a spacious structure appropriated to their use. In Strabo's time the halls were to be seen in which Eudoxus and Plato had studied under the direction of the priests of Heliopolis. A detailed description of the temple, with its long alleys of sphinxes, obelisks, &c., may be found in Strabo (xvii.; Joseph. *c. Apion.* ii. 2), who says that the mural sculpture in it was very similar to the old Etruscan and Grecian works. In the temple a bullock was fed—a symbol of the god Mnevis. The city suffered heavily by the Persian invasion. From the time of Shaw and Pococke, the place has been described by many travellers. At an early period remains of the famous temple were found. Abdallatif (A.D. 1200) saw many colossal sphinxes, partly prostrate, partly standing. He also saw the gates or propylæa of the temple covered with inscriptions; he describes two immense obelisks whose summits were covered with massive brass, around which were others one-half or one-third the size of the first, placed in so thick a mass that they could scarcely be counted; most of them thrown down. An obelisk which the Emperor Augustus caused to be carried to Rome, and placed in the Campus Martius, is held by Zoega (*De Orig. et Usu Obelisci*) to have been brought from Heliopolis, and to have owed its origin to Sesostris. This city furnished works of art to Augustus for adorning Rome, and to Constantine for adorning Constantinople. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, i. 823) says that the sole remaining obelisk is from 60 to 70 feet high, of a block of red granite, bearing hieroglyphics which remind the beholder of what Strabo terms the Etruscan style. 'The figure of the cross which it bears (*crux ansata*) has attracted the special notice of Christian antiquaries' (Ritter).—J. R. B.

ONAN (אוֹנָן, *strong, stout;* Sept. Αὐνάν), second son of Judah, who, being constrained by the obligations of the ancient Levirate law to espouse Tamar, his elder brother's widow, took means to frustrate the intention of this usage, which was to provide heirs for a brother who had died childless. This crime, rendered without excuse by the allowance of polygamy, and the seriousness of which can scarcely be appreciated but in respect to the usages of the times in which it was committed, was punished by premature death (Gen. xxxviii. 4, sq.).

ONESIMUS (Ὀνήσιμος, *profitable*), a slave belonging to Philemon of Colossæ, who fled from his master, and proceeded to Rome, where he was converted by St. Paul, who sent him back to his master, a friend and convert of the apostle, with an eloquent letter, the purport of which is described in the article PHILEMON. Onesimus, accompanied by Tychicus, left Rome with not only this epistle, but with those to the Ephesians and Colossians (Col. iv. 9). It is believed that Onesimus, anxious to justify the confidence which Paul reposed in him, by appearing speedily before his master, left Tychicus to take the Epistle to the Ephesians; and hastened to Colossæ, where he doubtless received the forgiveness which Paul had so touchingly implored for him as 'a brother beloved' (*Canon. Apost.* 73). An uncertain tradition makes Onesimus to have been bishop of Beræa, where he is said to have suffered martyrdom (*Const. Apostol* vii. 46). The part which Paul took in this difficult and trying case is highly honourable to him; while for Onesimus himself, the highest praise is, that he obtained the friendship and confidence of the apostle.

ONESIPHORUS (Ὀνησίφορος, *profit-bringer*), a believer of Ephesus, who came to Rome during the second captivity of St. Paul in that city; and having found out the apostle, who was in custody of a soldier, to whose arm his own was chained, was 'not ashamed of his chain,' but attended him frequently, and rendered him all the services in his power. This faithful attachment, at a time of calamity and desertion, was fully appreciated and well remembered by the apostle, who, in his Epistle to Timothy, carefully records the circumstance; and, after charging him to salute in his name 'the household of Onesiphorus,' expresses the most earnest and grateful wishes for his spiritual welfare (1 Tim. ii. 16-18). It would appear from this that Onesiphorus had then quitted Rome.

ONION. [BETZAL.]

ONYX. [YAHALOM.]

OPHEL (הָעֹפֶל; Sept. Ὤφάλ), a place or quarter of Jerusalem near the walls (2 Chron. xxvii. 3; xxxiii. 44), on the east side (Neh. iii. 26; xi. 21). Ophel, or, as he calls it, Ophla (Ὀφλά, Ὀφλάς), is often mentioned by Josephus as adjoining the valley of the Kidron and the temple mount (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 6. 1; vi. 6. 3). He explains himself more precisely in v. 4. 2, where he makes the first wall of the city to extend from the tower of the Essenes over Siloam and the pools of Solomon to Ophel. From these intimations Winer collects that Ophel was a high or ascending place, built over (in the ancient city) with houses. This view is confirmed by Dr. Robinson, who identifies it with the low ridge which extends southward from the temple mount to Mount Zion, between the exterior valley of Jehoshaphat and the interior valley of Tyropœon. The top of this ridge is flat, descending rapidly towards the south, sometimes by offsets of rocks; and the ground is now tilled and planted with olive and other fruit trees. This ridge is considerably below the level of Mount Moriah; its length is 1550 feet, and its breadth in the

middle part, from brow to brow, 290 feet (Winer, *s. v.* 'Ophel;' Robinson, ii. 349) [JERUSALEM].

OPHER (עפר; Arabic الغفر *algophro*), in the Song of Solomon (ch. iv. 5), denotes the calf or fawn of a stag (*ail*); it occurs in no other book of Scripture, is unknown in the Syriac and Chaldee, and appears to be only a poetical application of a term more strictly belonging to fawn-like animals; for in the above passage it is applied to couples feeding in a bed of lilies—indications not descriptive of young goats or stags, but quite applicable to the Antilopine groups which are characterized in Griffith's Cuvier, in subgenus X. *Cephalophus*, and XI. *Nectragus;* both furnishing species of exceeding delicacy and graceful diminutive structures, several of which habitually feed in pairs among shrubs and geraniums on the hilly plains of Africa; and as they have always been and still are in request among the wealthy in warm climates for domestication, we may conjecture that a species designated by the name of Opher (עפר, perhaps alluding to אופיר, Ophir, or even Africa), was to be found in the parks or royal gardens of a sovereign so interested in natural history as Solomon was, and from the sovereign's own observation became alluded to in the truly apposite imagery of his poetical diction (Cant. iv. 12). Among the species in question, in which both male and female are exceedingly similar, and which might have reached him by sea or by caravan, we may reckon *Cephalophus Grimmia, C. Perpusilla, C. Philantomba*, all marked by a small black tuft of hair between their very short horns, as also the *Neotragus Pygmea*, or Guevei, the smallest of cloven-footed animals, and the Madoka, with speckled legs; all these species being natives of Central Africa, and from time immemorial brought by caravans from the interior, for sale or presents.—C. H. S.

OPHIR occurs first, as the proper name of one of the thirteen sons of Joktan, the son of Eber, a great-grandson of Shem, in Gen. x. 26-29 (אוֹפִר; Sept. Οὐφείρ; Vulg. *Ophir*). Many Arabian countries are believed to have been peopled by these persons, and to have been called after their respective names, as Sheba, &c., and among others Ophir (Bochart, *Phaleg*, iii. 15). Ophir occurs also as the name of a place, country, or region, famous for its gold, which Solomon's ships visited in company with the Phœnician (אוֹפִיר; Sept. Οὐφίρ; Alex. Οὐφείρ: Σουφίρ, Σουφείρ, Σωφίρ, Σωφιρά; Alex. Σωφαρά and Σωφηρά; Ald. Σαπφείρ; Cam. Ὀπφείρ; Alex. and Cam. Ὤφειρ; Vulg. *Ophir*). The difficulty is to ascertain where Ophir was situated. Some writers, reasoning from the etymology of the word, which is supposed to mean dust, &c., have inferred almost every place where gold dust is procured in abundance. Others have rested their conclusions upon the similarity of the name in Hebrew to that of other countries, as for instance Aphar, a port of Arabia mentioned by Arrian in his *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea;* or upon the similarity of the name in the Sept., Σωφιρά; hence Sofala, &c.: and others, by a transposition of the letters of the Hebrew word, have, among other conjectures, even made out Peru! By such methods of investigation the following countries, among others, have been proposed: Melindah on the coast of Africa, Angola, Carthage, St. Domingo, Mexico, New Guinea, Urphe an island in the Red Sea, and Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Bochart thinks that the Ophir from which David obtained gold (1 Chron. xxix. 4) was the Cassanitis of Ptolemy and Stephanus, on the coast of Arabia; while that visited by the fleet of Solomon was Taprobanê, now called Ceylon (*Geogr. Sacra*, ii. 27). Pegu is the place selected by Maffæi (*Hist. Ind.* lib. i.). Others decide in favour of the peninsula of Malacca, which abounds in precious ores, apes, and peacocks: others prefer Sumatra, for the same reason. Lipenius, relying on the authority of Josephus, Theodoret, and Procopius, who call Ophir 'the golden land,' 'the golden chersonese,' says that the children of Joktan peopled all the countries bounded by the eastern seas, and that Ophir includes not only Sumatra or Malacca, but every coast and island from Ceylon to the Indian Archipelago. We shall now lay before the readers what we conceive to be the exact amount of our information respecting Ophir, and show how far it applies to what appear to us to be the three most probable theories respecting its situation, namely, Arabia, Africa, and India. Ophir is mentioned in the following thirteen passages: Gen. x. 29; 1 Chron. i. 23; 1 Kings ix. 28; 2 Chron. viii. 18; ix. 10; 1 Kings x. 11; xxii. 48; 1 Chron. xxix. 4; Job xxii. 24; xxviii. 16; Ps. xlv. 9; Isa. xiii. 12; Ecclus. vii. 18. Only seven of these passages afford even the slightest clue to its position, and these are reduced to three when the parallel passages and texts in which Ophir is not a local name have been withdrawn. We further think that the situation of Tarshish is not in any way connected with this inquiry. It is indeed said, in reference to the voyage to Ophir, that 'Solomon had at sea a navy of Tarshish, and that once in three years came the navy of Tarshish' (1 Kings x. 22); and that 'Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold' (1 Kings xxii. 48); but the word may denote large merchant ships bound on long voyages, perhaps distinguished by their construction from the common Phœnician ships, even though they were sent to other countries instead of Tarshish (compare the English naval phrase, an Indiaman, and see Isa. xxiii. 1; lx. 9; Ps. xlviii. 7; Isa. ii. 16); and although the Tarshish ships which went to Ophir (1 Kings xxii. 48, &c.) are expressly said by the writer of Chronicles to have gone to Tarshish (2 Chron. ix. 21; xx. 36, 37), yet in the interval between the composition of the books of Kings and that of Chronicles the name was most probably transferred to denote any distant country [TARSHISH]. The utmost that can be said is, that Solomon sent ships to Tarshish as well as to Ophir, but it cannot be proved that the same ships are meant, or that they went to both places in the same voyage. It seems to us most probable that Solomon sent direct to Ophir for gold, wherever it might be; and that, whereas it had been hitherto procured from thence by David, &c. by foreign merchants, Solomon fitted out a fleet to obtain it at first hand. Neither do we think that the time occupied by the voyage to Ophir is precisely determinable from the words 'once in three years came the navy' (1 Kings x. 22). Upon the whole then our information ap-

pears to amount to this, that King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom, and that his Phœnician neighbour and ally, Hiram, king of Tyre, sent in this navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon, and that they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, and brought it to Solomon (1 Kings ix. 26-29), and that they brought in the same voyage algum or almug-trees and precious stones (1 Kings x. 11), silver, ivory, apes, or rather monkeys, and peacocks, or, according to some, pheasants, and to others, parrots; and that gold in great abundance and of the purest quality was procured from Ophir (1 Chron. xxix. 4; Job xxviii. 16), rendered by Symmachus χρυσὸς πρωτεῖος, (Ps. xlv. 9; Isa. xiii. 12); Vulg. *mundo obrizo*, (Ecclus. vii. 18). The first theory which appears to be attended with some degree of evidence not purely fanciful is that Ophir was situate in Arabia. In Gen. x. 29, Ophir stands in the midst of other Arabian countries. Still, as Gesenius observes, it is possibly mentioned in that connection only on account of its being an Arabian colony planted abroad. Though gold is not now found in Arabia (Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, Copenhague, 1773, p. 124), yet the ancients ascribe it to the inhabitants in great plenty (Judg. viii. 24, 26; 2 Chron. i.; 1 Kings x. 1, 2; Ps. lxxii. 15). This gold, Dr. Lee thinks, was no other than the gold of Havilah (Gen. ii. 11), which he supposes to have been situate somewhere in Arabia, and refers to Gen. x. 7, 29; xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7; 1 Chron. i. 9 (*Translation of the Book Job, &c.*, Lond. 1837, p. 55). But Diodorus Siculus ascribes gold mines to Arabia: Μεταλλεύεται δὲ καὶ κατὰ την Ἀραβίαν καὶ ὁ προσαγορεύομενος ἄπυρος χρυσὸς (comp. Gen. ii. 12), οὐχ ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκ ψηγμάτων καθεψομένος, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὀρυττόμενος εὑρίσκεται (ii. 50). He also testifies to the abundance of 'precious stones' in Arabia (ii. 54), especially among the inhabitants of Sabas (iii. 46; comp. Gen. ii. 12; 2 Chron. ix. 1; 1 Kings x. 1, 2). Pliny also speaks of the 'Sabæi ditissimi auri metallis' (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 32). Again, 'Littus Hammæum, ubi auri metalla' (*ib.*). Others suppose that though Ophir was situate somewhere on the coast of Arabia, it was rather an emporium, at which the Hebrews and Tyrians obtained gold, silver, ivory, apes, almug-trees, &c., brought thither from India and Africa by the Arabian merchants, and even from Ethiopia, to which Herodotus (iii. 114) ascribes gold in great quantities, elephants' teeth, and trees and shrubs of every kind. Apes, properly speaking, are also ascribed to it by Pliny (viii. 19); who speaks also of the confluence of merchandize in Arabia: 'Sabæi mirumque dictu, ex innumeris populis pars æqua in commerciis aut latrociniis degit: in universum gentes ditissimæ, ut apud quas maximæ opes Romanorum Parthorumque subsistant, vendentibus quæ e mari aut sylvis capiunt' (*ut supra*). A little before he speaks of the Arabian emporiums: 'Insulæ multæ: emporium eorum Acila, ex quo in Indiam navigatur.' Again: 'Thimaneos...Areni: oppidum in quo omnis negotiatio convenit' (comp. Strabo, xvi.; 2 Chron. ix.; Ezek. xxvii. 21, 22; and Diod. Sic. ii. 54). In behalf of the supposition that Ophir was the Arabian port Aphar, already referred to, it may be remarked that the name has undergone similar changes to that of the Sept. of Ophir; for it is called by Arrian Aphar, by Pliny Saphar, by Ptolemy Sapphera, and by Stephanus Saphirini. Grotius thinks his to be Ophir. The very name El Ophir has been lately pointed out as a city of Oman, in former times the centre of a very active Arabian commerce (Seetzen, in *Zachs. Monatl. Correspond.* xix. 331, ff.). In the article Ophir in the *Encyclopædia Londinensis*, great stress is laid upon the objection that if Ophir had been anywhere in Arabia or Asia, Solomon could have conveyed the commodities he procured from it by caravans: but surely a water-carriage was more convenient, at least for the algum-trees, which he procured from Ophir, and of which he made pillars for the house of the Lord and for the king's house (2 Chron. ix. 10, 11) [Algum], and which it is highly improbable he had the means of conveying by land. In favour of the theory which places Ophir in Africa, it has been suggested that we have the very name in אופיר *afri*, Africa, the Roman termination, Africa terra, and that Tarshish was some city or country in Africa; that the Chald. Targumist on 1 Kings xxii. 48 so understood it, where he renders תרשיש by אפריקה. He probably inferred from 2 Chron. xx. 36, that to go to Ophir and to Tarshish was one and the same thing, and that Tarshish there meant the name of a place. Origen also says, on Job. xxii. 24, that some of the interpreters understood Ophir to be Africa. Michaelis supposes that Solomon's fleet, coming down the Red Sea from Ezion-geber, coasted along the shore of Africa, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and came to Tarshish, which he, with many others, supposes to have been Tartessus in Spain, and thence back again the same way; that this conjecture accounts for their three years' voyage out and home; and that Spain and the coasts of Africa furnished all the commodities which they brought back (*Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Exterœ.* p. 98). Strabo indeed says that Spain abounded in gold, and immensely more so in silver (see 1 Mac. viii. 3). Others have not hesitated to carry Solomon's fleet round from Spain up the Mediterranean to Joppa. The chief support for this supposition is the very remarkable statement of Herodotus, that Necho, king of Egypt, the Pharaoh-Necho of Scripture, whose enterprising disposition appears from his project to unite the Nile and the Red Sea by a canal, 'dispatched some vessels, under the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions to pass by the columns of Hercules, now called the Straits of Gibraltar, and after penetrating the Northern Ocean to return to Egypt; that these Phœnicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean, and on the approach of autumn landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves; that when this was ripe they cut it down and departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the *third* year doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt.' He adds, 'This relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible, for they affirmed that, having sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand.' Thus, he observes, 'was Libya for the first time known' (iv. 42). It seems certain that this

voyage was accomplished, for the mariners would have the sun on their right hand after passing the line, a fact which never could have been imagined in that age, when astronomy was in its infancy; and it has been supposed that this was the voyage made 'once in three years' by Solomon's fleet, under the conduct also of Phœnician mariners. But, assuming this to have been the case, it seems strange that the knowledge and record of it should have been so completely lost in the time of Pharaoh-Necho, only two centuries after Solomon, as that Herodotus, whose information and accuracy appear from this very account, should say that Libya, evidently meaning the circuit of it by the sea, was thus for the first time known. Heeren finds an answer in the desolating ravages of the Babylonian conquerors, and indeed in the protracted siege of Tyre itself by Nebuchadnezzar, which followed shortly after the time of Solomon. It seems likely indeed that Necho had heard of such a passage, and believed that the Phœnicians knew how to find it; and that it was not much frequented during many subsequent ages appears from the notice taken by Pliny of the few who had accomplished it (*Hist. Nat.* ii. 67); and it was, we know, after his time unused and forgotten till recovered by the Spaniards, A.D. 1497. It must be allowed that, if Solomon's fleet actually pursued this course, then Ophir as Africa, and Tartessus in Spain, as Tarshish, seem on many accounts very plausible suppositions. In behalf of the conjecture that Ophir was in India, the following arguments are alleged: that it is most natural to understand from the narrative that all the productions said to have been brought from Ophir came from one and the same country, and that they were all procurable only from India. The Sept. translators also appear to have understood it to be India, from rendering the word Σωφίρ, Σουφίρ, Σωφιρά, which is the Egyptian name for that country. Champollion says that, in the Coptic vocabularies India bears the name *Coϕsp* (*L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, Paris, 1814, tom. i. p. 98; Jablonskii *Opuscula*, Lug. Bat., 1804, tom. i. p. 336, &c.). Josephus also gives to the sons of Joktan the locality from Cophen, an Indian river, and in part of Asia adjoining it (*Antiq.* i. 6. 4). He also expressly and unhesitatingly affirms that the land to which Solomon sent for gold was anciently called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India' (*Antiq.* viii. 6. 4). The Vulgate renders the words 'the gold of Ophir' (Job xxviii. 16) by 'tinctis Indiæ coloribus.' Hesychius thus defines Σουφειρ· χώρα, ἐν οἱ πολύτιμοι λίθοι, καὶ ὁ χρυσός, ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ; and Suidas, Σουφείρ, χώρα ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ; and see Eusebii *Onomast.* p. 146, ed. Clerici. There are several places comprised in that region which was actually known as India to the ancients [INDIA], any of which would have supplied the cargo of Solomon's fleet: for instance, the coast of Malabar, where the natives still call the peacock *togei*, which is supposed to resemble the Hebrew תכיים. Perhaps the most probable of all is Malacca, which is known to be the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients. It is also worthy of remark that the natives of Malacca still call their gold-mines *Ophirs*. De P. Poivre says, 'Les îles malaises produisent beaucoup de bois de teinture surtout du sapan, qui est le même que le bois de Bresil. On y trouve plusieurs mines d'or, qui les habitans de Malaca et de Sumatra nomment *ophirs*, et dont quelques-unes, surtout celles que renferme la côte orientale de Celebes, et les îles adjacentes, sont plus riches que toutes celles du Perou et du Bresil' (*Voyage d'un Philosophe, Œuvres Complettes*, Paris, 1797, p. 123). On the other hand, some writers give a wider extent to the country in question. Heeren observes that 'Ophir, like the name of all other very distant places or regions of antiquity, like Thule, Tartessus, and others, denotes no particular spot, but only a certain region or part of the world, such as the East or West Indies in modern geography. Hence Ophir was the general name for the rich countries of the south lying on the African, Arabian, or Indian coasts, as far as at that time known' (*Historical Researches, translated from the German*, Oxford, 1833, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74). It remains to be observed, that in Jer. x. 9 we have 'the gold from Uphaz,' אוּפָז; and in Dan. x. 5, 'the fine gold of Uphaz;' and see the Heb. of 1 Kings x. 18. In these instances Uphaz is, by a slight change of pronunciation, put for Ophir. The words of Daniel are quoted and paraphrased in Rev. i. 13, in a manner which shows this to be the true explanation of the difference. If the words 'the gold of Parvaim' (פַּרְוַיִם, 2 Chron. iii. 6) be really, as Bochart conjectures, the same with אוֹפִיר, the name had undergone a still wider alteration. It was by taking this for granted, and arguing from the similarity, that the wild conjecture that Ophir was Peru was obtained. The alterations suffered by the Septuagint words are before the reader. Among other works on this controversy not before referred to, see Wahner, *De Regione Ophir;* Tychsen, *De Commerc. Hebr.* in *Commentt. Gott.* xvi. 164, &c.; Huetii *Commentatio de Navigatione Salomonis;* Reland, *Dissertt. Miscell.* i. 172; or in Ugolini *Thesaurus*, vii.—J. F. D.

1. OPHRAH (עָפְרָה; Sept. Ἐφραθά), a town of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 23), seemingly in the north-east of that tribe's domain (1 Sam. xiii. 17). Accordingly it is placed by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v. Aphia) five Roman miles east of Bethel. This corresponds with the position of a place called et-Taiyibeh, which was visited by Dr. Robinson in his excursion to Bethel (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 120-123). It is now a small village, curiously situated upon a conical hill, on the summit of which is an old tower, whence is commanded a splendid view of the valley of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and the eastern mountains.

2. OPHRAH, a town in the tribe of Manasseh, to which Gideon belonged, and where he continued to reside after he had delivered Israel from the Midianites, establishing there his ephod, which became a snare to Israel (Judg. vi. 11-24; viii. 27). Josephus calls the place Ephra (*Antiq.* v. 6. 5). It cannot be positively determined from the narrative, whether this Ophrah was in the territory of Manasseh east or west of the Jordan; and no satisfactory attempt to fix the site has yet been made.

OREB and ZEEB (עֹרֵב וְזְאֵב; Sept. Ὀρὴβ καὶ Ζήβ), the remarkable names (*raven and wolf*) of two emirs of the Midianites, who were made prisoners by the Ephraimites in attempting

to recross the Jordan after the victory of Gideon. They were put to death by the captors, and their heads carried as a trophy to the conqueror, who was then on the other side the Jordan (Judg. vii. 25; viii. 3). The first of these princes met his death near a rock, which thenceforth bore his name (Isa. x. 26); the other seems to have at first sought refuge in one of those excavations in which wines were preserved, and which was thenceforth called the winepress of Zeeb (Judg. vii. 25).

OREB, or Orebim (עֹרֵב or עֲרָבִים), written also Arab and Arabim, occurs in several passages of Scripture, in all of which it is translated *willow* in the Authorized, and most other modern versions. This sense has been inferred from the similarity of the word *arab* to the Arabic ضرب *gharb*, and from the most ancient Greek translators adopting ἰτέα as the synonyme of the Hebrew *arab*. But it is also similar to another Arabic word, *ghurab*, signifying *crows*; whence probably some of the early translators have adopted this as the meaning of the Hebrew word. Thus the Arabic translator has, in Job xl. 17, adopted ضرنان, *corvos*, as the interpretation of *arabim*. So also the Septuagint, in Isa. xv. 7, gives the same interpretation to this word, and has thus been the cause of error and confusion. Moreover, in Lev. xxiii. 40, after ἰτέας it adds without authority ἄγνου κλάδους, *ramulos agni*, and has adopted ἄγνου in Job xl. 17 (Cels. *Hierobot.* i. 304). Ἄγνος is intended, no doubt, for the plant which by botanists is now called *Vitex agnus castus*, and was at one time called *Salix amerina*.

There is, however, little doubt of 'willow' being the correct interpretation, from its suitableness to all the passages. Thus in Job xl. 22, referring to behemoth it is said, 'The shady trees cover him with their shadow; the *willows* (*orabim*) *of the brook* compass him about.' So the Jews when in captivity sing, 'By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down; we hanged our harps upon the willows (*orebim*) in the midst thereof' (Ps. cxxxvii.) And again, in Isa. xliv. 4, 'And they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows (*orebim*) of the water-courses.' The willow is as applicable as any other plant to the other passages, quoted above, in which orebim is mentioned.

The word *gharb* is in the present day applied in many parts of the East to the poplar (which one of the Latin versions gives for the Heb. *oreb*, Cels.; 304), a genus closely allied to the willow, and forming with it the group of Salicineæ in modern botany. The words *arab* and *gharb* do not differ so much in the Arabic as they appear to do in the English dress; for the initial letters are *ain* and *ghain*, between which mutual interchanges frequently take place.

That willows grow in moist situations, and in the neighbourhood of both still and running water, is sufficiently well known. That they are common in Judæa is evident from what Reland says: 'Salices, tamarisci, agnus castus, et cannæ ingentes, quæ usum hastarum præbent, crescunt ad ripam Jordanis, uti referunt αὐτίπται.' So also on the banks of the Nile, to which we may suppose Job alludes when he speaks of the behemoth being covered by the willows of the brook, *saliees torrentis* of the Latin version. In reference to this, Celsius quotes: 'Terram istam Nilus alluit ab oriente ad occidentem, ibique ad ripas ipsius nascuntur arundines Indicæ, arbores Ebeni, atque buxi, الخاز, item salicum et tamarisci, arborumque similium sylvæ latissimæ' (Geog. Nubiensis, *Clim.* i. p. 1). It hardly required to be proved that willows were found in Judæa and on the banks of the Nile, but still less does it require to be shown that the willow is common on the rivers of Babylon, for we have a species which is called *Salix Babylonica*, commonly known by the name of weeping willow, and which Celsius considers to be peculiarly the willow of the brook. Bochart says of the channels of the Euphrates, 'Quorum ripæ tam multis salicibus erant consitæ, ut Babylonia ideo vocetur, vallis salicum.' In all points, therefore, the willow seem well suited to the passages in which *orebim* occurs, though it is probable that this may have been used, like willow, in a generic rather than in a specific sense; but there is another word, which is also supposed to denote one of these willows [Zaphzaphah].—J. F. R.

OREN (אֹרֶן) occurs only once in Scripture, and is variously translated; but from the manner in which it is introduced, it is impossible to determine whether any of the translations are correct. The *oren* is mentioned with other trees, of whose timber idols were made, in Isa. xliv. 14: 'He heweth him down *cedars* (*eres*) and taketh the *cypress* (*tirsah*), and the *oak* (*allon*), which he strengtheneth for himself among the trees of the forest; he planteth an *ash* (*oren*), and the rain doth nourish it.' Though the English version renders it *ash*, others consider *pine-tree* to be the correct translation; but for neither does there appear to be any decisive proof, nor for the rubus or bramble, adopted for *oren* in the fable of the Cedar and Rubus, translated from the Hebrew of R. Berechia Hannakdan, by Celsius (*Hierobot.*, i. 186).

Oren is translated *pine*-tree both in the Greek Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate, and this has been acquiesced in by several of the most learned critics, and among them by Calvin and Bochart. Celsius (*l. c.* p. 191) states, moreover, that some of the Rabbins also consider *oren* to be the same as the Arabic *sunober* (which is no doubt a pine), and that they often join together, *arasim*, *aranim*, and *beroschim*, as trees of the same nature. Luther and the Portuguese version read cedar. Rosenmüller contends that it is not the common wild pine (*pinus sylvestris*) which is intended, but what the ancients called the domestic pine, which was raised in gardens on account of its elegant shape and the pleasant fruit it yields, the Pignole nuts of the Italians (*Pinus pinea* of Linnæus), and quotes Virgil as saying, 'Fraxinus in sylvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis.'

The English version instead of *pine* gives *ash* as the translation of *oren*; in consequence probably of *ornus* having been adopted by several translators, apparently only because the elementary letters of the Hebrew are found also in the Latin word. Celsius objects to this as an insufficient reason for supposing that the ash was intended; and there does not appear to be any other proof. *Ornus europæa*, or manna ash, does, however,

grow in Syria, but being a cultivated plant, it may have been introduced. Celsius quotes from the Arab author, 'Abu l Fadli, the description of a tree called ارن *aran*, which appears well suited to the passage, though it has not yet been ascertained what tree is intended. The *aran* is said to be a tree of Arabia Petræa, of a thorny nature, inhabiting the valleys, but found also in the mountains, where it is however less thorny. The wood is said to be much valued for cleaning the teeth. The fruit is in bunches like small grapes. The berry is noxious while green, and bitter like galls; as it ripens it becomes red, then black and somewhat sweetish, and when eaten is grateful to the stomach, &c., and seems to act as a stimulant medicine. Sprengel supposes this to be the caper plant, *Capparis spinosa* of Linnæus. Faber thought it to be the *Rhamnus siculus pentaphyllus* of Shaw. Link identifies it with *Flacourtia sepiaria* of Roxburgh, a tree, however, which has not been found in Syria. To us it appears to agree in some respects with *Salvadora persica*, but not in all points, and therefore it is preferable to leave it as one of those still requiring investigation by some traveller in Syria conversant both with plants and their oriental names and uses.—J. F. R.

ORION. [Astronomy.]

ORON, or Arar (ערער) occurs in two or three places of Scripture, and has been variously translated, as *myrica*, *tamarisk*; *tamarin*, which is an Indian tree, the tamarind; *retama*, that is, the broom; and also, as in the French and English versions, *bruiere*, *heath*, which is perhaps the most incorrect of all, though Hasselquist mentions finding heath near Jericho, in Syria. As far as the context is concerned, some of these plants, as the *retam* and *tamarisk*, would answer very well; but the Arabic name, عرعر *arar*, is applied to a totally different plant, a species of juniper, as has been clearly shown by Celsius (*Hierobot.* p. ii. p. 195), who states that Arias Montanus is the only one who has so translated the Hebrew *arar* or *oror* (Jer. xvii. 6): 'For he shall be like the *heath* (*oror*) in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh, but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, in a salt land, and not inhabited.' The word *arar*, in all the old Arabic authors, signifies a kind of juniper.

Several species of juniper are no doubt found in Syria and Palestine, as has already been mentioned under the head of Eres. Robinson met with some in proceeding from Hebron to Wady Musa, near the romantic pass of Nemela: 'On the rocks above we found the juniper tree, Arabic *ar'ar*; its berries have the appearance and taste of the common juniper, except that there is more of the aroma of the pine. These trees were ten or fifteen feet in height, and hung upon the rocks even to the summits of the cliffs and needles.' In a note the author says: 'This is doubtless the Hebrew ערוער *aroer* (Jer. xlvii. 6); whence both the English version and Luther read incorrectly *heath*. The juniper of the same translation is the *retem*' (*Bibl. Researches*, i. 506). In proceeding S.E. he states: 'Large trees of the juniper become quite common in the Wadys and on the rocks.' It is mentioned in the same situations by other travellers, and is no doubt common enough, particularly in wild, uncultivated, and often inaccessible situations, and is thus suitable to Jer. xlviii. 6: 'Flee, save your lives, and be like the *heath* (*oror*) in the wilderness.' In this passage, some authors propose reading *orud* instead of *oror* as the translators of the Septuagint seem to have done, for they render *oror* by ὄνος ἀγριος, *wild ass*. 'Be like the wild ass in the wilderness,' which is considered as agreeing well with the flight recommended. Mr. Taylor, in *Scripture Illustrated*, inquires whether the *orud*, wild ass, may not be the subject of both passages? This can only be settled by Hebrew scholars; we have shown that the juniper, from growing in wild and inaccessible places, is also suitable to the sense of both passages.—J. F. R.

OROTH (אורות) occurs in two passages of Scripture, where it is translated *herb* in the Authorised Version: it is generally supposed to indicate such plants as are employed for food. The most ancient translators seem, however, to have been at a loss for its meaning. Thus the Septuagint in one passage (2 Kings iv. 39) has only the Hebrew word in Greek characters, ἀριώθ, and in the other (Isa. xxvi. 19), 'Ίαμα, *sanationem*, v. medicinam, vel herbas medicinales.' The Latin Vulgate, and the Chaldee and Syriac versions, translate *oroth* in the latter passage by *lucem*, in consequence of confounding one Hebrew word with another, according to Celsius (*Hierobot.* vol. i. p. 459). But the Syriac and Arabic translators give the names for *mallows*, the Arabic خبيزا *khabeeza*, in Lower Egypt called *habeeza*.

With respect to the meaning of *oroth*, Rosenmüller says that it occurs in its original and general signification in Isa. xxvi. 19, viz. *green herbs*. The future restoration of the Hebrew people is there announced under the type and figure of a revival of the dead. '*Thy dew is a dew of green herbs*,' says the prophet, *i. e.* as by the dew, green herbs are revived, so shalt thou, being revived by God's strengthening power, flourish again. The passage, however, appears an obscure one, with respect to the meaning of *oroth*. Celsius has, with his usual learning, shown that mallows were much employed as food in ancient times. Of this there can be no doubt, but there is no proof adduced that *oroth* means mallows. It might or it might not, because there are many other plants which were and still are employed as articles of diet in the East, as purslane, goosefoot, chenopodiums, lettuce, endive, &c. Some have translated *oroth* in 2 Kings iv. 39, by the word *eruca*, which is usually applied to a species of brassica.

But it appears to us that *oroth* should be considered only in conjunction with *pakyoth*; for we find in 2 Kings iv. that when Elisha came again to Gilgal, and there was a dearth in the land, he said unto his servant, 'Set on the great pot, and seethe pottage for the sons of the prophets (ver. 39); and one went out into the field to gather *herbs* (*oroth*), and found a wild vine, and gathered thereof *wild gourds* (*pakyoth*) his lap full, and came and shred them into the pot of pottage, for they knew them not.' From this it would appear that *pakyoth* had been mistaken for *oroth*; and as the former is universally acknowledged to

be the *fruit* of one of the gourd tribe, so it is not unreasonable to conclude that *oroth* also was the fruit of some plant, for which the *pakyoth* had been mistaken. This is nothing more than conjecture, but it appears to be justified by the context, and may be admitted, as nothing better than conjecture has been adduced in support of other interpretations, and as there are fruits, such as that of the egg plant, which are used as articles of diet, and for which the fruit of the *pakyoth*, or wild gourd, might have been mistaken by an ignorant person [PAKYOTH].—J. F. R.

ORPAH (עָרְפָּה, *fawn;* Sept. Ὀρφά), daughter-in-law of Naomi, who remained behind among her kindred in Moab, when Ruth returned with Naomi to Bethlehem (Ruth i. 4-14) [RUTH].

OSPRAY. [AZANIAH.]

OSSIFRAGE. [PERES.]

OSTRICH (יַעֲנָה *yaanah*, poetically בת־היענה *bath-ha-yaanah;* also רננים, Job xxxix. 13). In Arabic, *nea-mah, thar-eds jammel, i. e.* 'camel-bird;' the same as the Persian *sutur morgh;* in Western Arabic, *emmim;* and in Greek, στρουθός, and στρουθοκάμηλος; from which the Latin *struthio camelus* is formed.

The ostrich is frequently mentioned in the Bible in terms of great beauty and precision; which commentators, perhaps more conversant with the exploded misstatements of the ancients than with the true physiological history of the bird in question, have not been happy in explaining, sometimes referring it to wrong species, such as the peacock, or mistaking it for the stork, the eagle, or the bustard (Lev. xi. 19; Deut. xiv. 15; Job xxx. 29; xxxix. 13; Isa. xiii. 21; xxxiv. 13; xliii. 20; Jer. L. 39; Lam. iv. 3; Micah i. 8). In several of these passages 'owls' has been used in our version for *yaanah*, now generally admitted to mean 'ostriches;' for the passages where the word occurs relate to the deserts and the presence of serpents—certainly more applicable to the latter than the former; for although the owl and the serpent are found in certain localities in the desert, nevertheless neither of them retires far into the absolute barren waste, as the ostrich constantly is observed to do. Both *joneh* and *rinonim*, as Pococke well observes, appear to be derived from the power of uttering loud-sounding cries; and the third name, *bath-ha-yaanah*, 'the daughter of vociferation,' or 'loud moaning,' is in conformity with the others, and an Oriental figurative mode of expressing the same faculty (which exists not, we think, in the females alone, but in the whole species); for the ostrich has an awful voice, which, when heard on the desert, is sometimes mistaken in the night, even by natives, for the roar of a lion. It is uttered most likely as a warning to the family, and as a threat to some nightly prowler, stealing towards the nest, and coming within ken of their watchful organs.

There are two varieties, if not two species, of the ostrich; one never attaining seven feet in height, and covered chiefly with grey and dingy feathers; the other sometimes growing to more than ten feet, and of a glossy black plumage; the males in both having the great feathers of the wings and tail white, but the females the tail only of that colour. Their dimensions render them both the largest animals of the feathered creation now existing. They appear promiscuously in Asia and Africa, but the troops or coveys of each are always separate; the grey is more common in the south, while the black, which grows largest in Caffraria, predominates to the north of the equator. One of the last mentioned, taken on board a French prize, and wounded in the capture, we remember to have seen in London, where it was able to peck its food from a cross-beam eleven feet from the ground. The enormous bird afterwards shown in Bullock's museum was said to be the same. The common-sized ostrich weighs about eighty pounds; whence it may be judged that the individual here mentioned may have been at least forty pounds heavier.



441.

The head of the ostrich is small, and not composed of strong bones; the bill, in form somewhat like that of a duck, is flat, with a nail at the apex, and broad at the gape; the eyes, hazel-coloured, have a clear and distinct vision of objects to a great distance, although when seen obliquely they have an opalescent appearance; the auditory apparatus is large and open, notwithstanding that in the pairing season ostriches are said to be very deaf; the neck, long and slender, is, together with the head, but scantily clothed with whitish shining hairs, and in the pairing season becomes for a time pink or rosy red; towards the base it assumes the general colour of the plumage, which, with the quill and tail plumes, is entirely composed of loose downy-webbed feathers, only differing in size and colour; the wings, each from three to four feet long, exclusive of feathers, are entirely naked on the inner side, and are supplied towards the end of the pinion bone on each side with two sharp pointed quills resembling those of a porcupine, and no doubt serving for defence; the thighs, nearly bare of plumage, and of a deep flesh-colour, are as full and muscular as those of a strong man, and the tarsi or legs, of corresponding length with the proportions of the neck, are covered with broad horny scales, and terminate in two toes; the inner, being the longest, is armed with a broad strong claw; and that on the outside, only half the length of the other, is without any. The great feathers, so much prized in commerce, are twenty

in each wing, those of the tail being nearly always useless, broken, and worn. The cloven feet, long neck, and vaulted back of these birds are in themselves quite sufficient to suggest to the imagination an animal of the camel kind: but these external appearances are not the only points of resemblance; the stomach is so formed as to appear possessed of a third ventricle, and there are other structural particulars, such as a sternum, not keel-shaped, as in birds, but in the form of a round buckler, to protect the chest, which, with the fact that they are without the muscular conformation to render them capable of flying, altogether approximate these birds to quadrupeds, and particularly to the order of Ruminantia.

Ostriches are gregarious—from families consisting of a male with one or several female birds, and perhaps a brood or two of young, up to troops of near a hundred. They keep aloof from the presence of water in the wild and arid desert, mixing without hesitation among herds of gnu, wild asses, quaggas, and other striped Equidæ, and the larger species of Antilopidæ. From the nature of their food, which consists of seeds and vegetables, although seldom or never in want of drink, it is evident that they must often approach more productive regions, which, by means of the great rapidity of motion they possess, is easily accomplished; and they are consequently known to be very destructive to cultivated fields. As the organ of taste is very obtuse in these birds, they swallow with little or no discrimination all kinds of substances, and among others stones; it is also probable that, like poultry, they devour lizards, snakes, and the young of birds that fall in their way. We have had our own sketch-book snapped out of our hand by an ostrich, attracted to it by the sight of the white paper. It is not yet finally decided whether the two species are polygamous, though concurrent testimony seems to leave no doubt of the fact: there is, however, no uncertainty respecting the nest, which is merely a circular basin scraped out of the soil, with a slight elevation at the border, and sufficiently large to contain a great number of eggs; for from twelve to about sixty have been found in them, exclusive of a certain number, always observed to be outlying, or placed beyond the raised border of the nest, and amounting apparently to nearly one-third of the whole. These are supposed to feed the young brood when first hatched, either in their fresh state, or in a corrupted form, when the substance in them has produced worms. These eggs are of different periods of laying, like those within, and the birds hatched form only a part of the contents of a nest, until the breeding season closes. The eggs are of different sizes, some attaining to seven inches in their longer diameter, and others less, having a dirty white shell, finely speckled with rust colour; and their weight borders on three pounds. Within the tropics they are kept sufficiently warm in the day-time not to require incubation, but beyond these one or more females sit constantly, and the male bird takes that duty himself after the sun is set. It is then that the short roar may be heard during darkness; and at other times different sounds are uttered, likened to the cooing of pigeons, the cry of a hoarse child, and the hissing of a goose; no doubt expressive of different emotions; but that the roar is expressive of the feeling of anger may be inferred from the assertion that jackals and foxes (*Canis Megalotis Caama?*) have been found close to the nests of these birds, kicked to death. This fact is the more credible, as the last mentioned animal is a dexterous purloiner of their eggs; and it may be here added, in proof of the organ of smelling not being quite so obtuse in the ostrich as is asserted, that Caffres and Hottentots, when they daily rob a nest for their own convenience, always withdraw the eggs by means of a stick, in order to prevent the female finding out the larceny by means of the scent which human hands would leave behind; for then they will not continue to lay, but forsake the abode altogether. This circumstance may account for the small number of eggs often found in their nests.

Although possessed of strength sufficient to carry with velocity two adult human beings, and although readily tamed, even when taken in a state of maturity, may easily rendered familiar and docile, and although they are by no means the stupid creatures they have been believed, still their voracity, leading to the destruction of young poultry, and the impracticability of guiding their powers, will ever render them unsafe and unprofitable domestics. Though at first sight useless, we may be assured that Providence has not appointed their abode in the desert in vain; and they still continue to exist, not only in Africa, but in the region of Arabia, east and south of Palestine beyond the Euphrates; but it may be a question whether they extend so far to the eastward as Goa, although that limit is assigned them by late French ornithologists.

The flesh of a young ostrich is said to be not unpalatable; but its being declared unclean in Mosaic legislation may be ascribed to a two-fold cause. The first is sufficiently obvious from its indiscriminate voracity already mentioned, and the other may have been an intention to lay a restriction upon the Israelites in order to wean them from the love of a nomade life, which hunting in the desert would have fostered; for ostriches must be sought on the barren plains, where they are not accessible on foot, except by stratagem. When pursued, they cast stones and gravel behind them with great force; and though it requires long endurance and skill, their natural mode of fleeing in a circular form enables well mounted Arabs to overtake and slay them. It may be questioned whether among the Hebrew names referred to 'ostrich' in our versions, one in particular, נצה *nesseh*, be not the Arabian bustard, *Otis Arabs*, a bird of great size, abundantly clad with feathers, endowed with the habit of half raising its wings, and keeping them in tremulous motion, particularly when preparing to run; for this species always preludes with a rapid course before it can rise on the wing. It occurs in Arabia and the desert of Syria, and we take it to be the species represented by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, where an Egyptian leads by a rope about its neck a bird with three toed feet, which that interesting writer takes, we believe by inadvertence, to be a young ostrich.—C. H. S.

OTHNIEL עתניאל, *Lion of God*; Sept. Γοθονιήλ), first judge of Israel, son of Kenaz, the younger brother of Caleb, whose daughter Achsah he obtained in marriage by his daring valour at

the siege of Debir (Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 13; 1 Chron. iv. 13). Rendered famous among his countrymen by this exploit, and connected by a twofold tie with one of the only two Israelites of the former generation who had not died in the desert, we are prepared for the fact that on him devolved the mission to deliver Israel from the Mesopotamian oppression under which, in punishment for their sins, they fell after the death of Joshua and of the elders who outlived him (Judg. iii. 9). This victory secured to Israel a peace of forty years. For the chronology, &c., of this period see JUDGES.

OWL (כּוֹס *cos*; לִילִית *lilith*). Two other Hebrew names have been likewise assigned in our versions to presumed species of owls; namely, ינשׁוּף *yansuph*, which, although it must be confessed that in common Hebrew it indicates the owl, we have endeavoured to show is applied more particularly to the night-heron, *Ardea nicticorax* [IBIS], and קפוֹז *kiphoz*, either the same or confounded, as it appears, with קפוֹד *kephod*, which has led to much controversy, and caused one or the other to be referred to six or seven animals, all widely different, for they include owl, osprey, bittern, hedgehog or porcupine (קפד), otter (?), and tortoise. Our reasons for applying *kephod* to the bittern will be found in KEPHOD. קפּוֹז *kippoz*, we have already noticed. Bochart, though admitting that it may designate a kind of owl, was inclined to refer the more specific appellation to the *jaculus*, or darting serpent; and it may be asked whether the Arab *kebsch*, the wild mountain sheep, or Arabian *musmon*, deriving its name likewise from darting or plunging down precipices, does not deserve consideration? If these names are in part mistakes, and the admitted not free from objections, several others adopted by translators for owl are proved to be quite wrong, such as Luther's and the Vulgate. אִיִּים *iyim*, which is more applicable to howling quadrupeds [SHUAL]. תחמס *tachmas*, night-hawk or goat-sucker, has been taken for *Strix otus*, or ear-owl; which bird others again find in the ינשׁוּף *yansuph*, one that dwells beneath ruins, and to which is imputed the very questionable habit mentioned by the Arabs of entering open windows at night and tearing the faces of unguarded infants. Be it observed that this unlikely tale is related as occurring in a country where the inhabitants, nearly all the year round, sleep in tents or on the housetops; but as the imputation evidently means to point out an existing species pre-eminently an object of superstitious fear, we would take it to be the לִילִית *lilith*, which name appears again to include both the goat-sucker and the owl. It is not unlikely, in the indefinite form which zoological nomenclature maintained in Scripture, as repeatedly pointed out in preceding articles, that *yansuph* was used more or less generically for night-birds, and thus was often taken for the owl, because the family of *Strigidæ* constituting all, or with few exceptions, 'birds of darkness,' it was most present in the public mind; was connected, as it still is, with superstitious notions, and portended evil to the vulgar.

There are noticed in Egypt and Syria three well-known species of the genus *Strix*, or owl:— *Strix bubo*, 'the great-eared owl;' *Strix flammea*, the common barn owl; and *Strix passerina*, the little owl. In this list *Strix otus*, the long-eared owl, *Strix brachyotus* or *ulula*, the short-eared owl, known nearly over the whole earth, and *Strix orientalis* of Hasselquist, are not included, and several other species of these wandering birds, both of Africa and Asiatic regions, occur in Palestine. כּוֹס *cos* or *chos* (Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 16; Ps. cii. 6), rendered 'little owl' and 'owl of the desert,' is most applicable to the white or barn owl, *Strix flammea*. Bochart referred this name to the pelican, on account of the assumed signification of *cos*, 'cup,' by him fancied to point out the pouch beneath the bill; whereas it is more probably an indication of the disproportionate bulk and flatness of the head compared with the body, of which it measures to the eye full half of the whole bird, when the feathers are raised in their usual appearance. 'Cos' is only a variation of 'cup' and 'cap,' which, with some inflexions, additional or terminal particles, is common to all the great languages of the old continent. The barn owl is still sacred in Northern Asia.



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The eagle-owl, or great-eared owl, *Strix bubo*, we do not find in ornithological works as an inhabitant of Syria, though no doubt it is an occasional winter visitant; and the smaller species, *Bubo Atheniensis* of Gmelin, which may be a rare but permanent resident, probably also visiting Egypt. It is not, however, we believe, that species, but the *Otus ascalaphus* of Cuvier, which is common in Egypt, and which in all probability is the type of the innumerable representations of an eared owl in hieroglyphical inscriptions. This may be the species noticed under the indefinite name of קפּוֹז *kippoz*, for it is fairly applicable to Isa. xxxiv. 15.

Next we have *Strix ulula*, *Strix brachyotus*, or short-eared owl, likewise found in Egypt and Arabia, as well as to the north of Syria, a bold, pugnacious bird, residing in ruined buildings, mistaken by commentators for the screech-owl, *Strix stridula*, and most probably the לִילִית *lilith* of the Bible (Isa. xxxiv. 14). The spectral species, again, confounded with the goat-sucker, is, we believe, *Strix coromanda* [NIGHT-HAWK], and the same as *Strix orientalis* of Hasselquist, who makes it synonymous with *massasa* and with the Syrian *bana*, but apparently only upon the evidence of the vulgar, who believe in the 'spectral lady' appearance of the *lilith* and *bana*, and in its propensity to lacerate infants, of which

this bird, together with the *Strix ulula* and *bubo* of antiquity, is accused. The original version of the story, however, refers, not to an owl or goat-sucker, but to the poetical *Strix* of the ancients, a *Lamia* with breasts, that is, a harpy or a vampire, being a blood-sucking species of the bat family (Ovid, *Fast.*, vi. 139, and the fables of C. Titinius, quoted by Gesner, *De Strige*, p. 738) [Bat].

The little owl of Egypt is not likely to be the Passerine species of Europe, and probably does not occur under a distinct name in Biblical Hebrew; but that the owls which inhabited Palestine were numerous may be inferred with tolerable certainty from the abundance of mice, rats, and other vermin, occasioned by the offal and offerings at the numerous sacrifices, and consequently the number of nocturnal birds of prey that subsisted upon them, and were tolerated for that purpose.—C. H. S.

OX (בָּקָר *bakar*, in a collective sense, 'cattle,' 'neat cattle'). Having already noticed the domestic *beeves* under Bull and Calf (to which we refer), the few words added here will apply to the breeds of Western Asia and the manner of treating them. The earliest pastoral tribes appear to have had domesticated cattle in the herd; and judging from the manners of South Africa, where we find nations still retaining in many respects primeval usages, it is likely that the patriarchal families, or at least their moveables, were transported on the backs of oxen in the manner which the Caffres still practise, as also the Gwallahs and grain-merchants in India, who come down from the interior with whole droves bearing burthens. But as the Hebrews did not castrate their bulls, it is plain some other method of enervation (*bistournure?*) was necessary in order to render their violent and brutal indocility sufficiently tractable to permit the use of a metal ring or twisted rope passed through the nostrils, and to ensure something like safety and command to their owners. In Egypt, emasculation, no doubt, was resorted to, for no ring is observable in the numerous representations of cattle, while many of these indicate even more entire docility in these animals than is now attained.

The breeds of Egypt were various, differing in the length and flexures of the horns. There were some with long horns, others with short, and even none, while a hunched race of Nubia reveals an Indian origin, and indicates that at least one of the nations on the Upper Nile had come from the valleys of the Ganges; for it is to the east of the Indus alone that that species is to be found whose original stock appears to be the mountain yak (*Bos grunniens*). It is born with two teeth in the mouth, has a groaning voice, and is possessed of other distinctive characters. Figures of this species or variety bear the significant lotus flower suspended from the neck, and, as is still practised in India, they are harnessed to the cars of princesses of Nubia. These, as well as the straight-backed cattle of Egypt, are all figured with evident indication of beauty in their form, and they are in general painted white with black, or rufous clouds, or entirely red, speckled, or *grandinated*, that is, black with numerous small white specks; and there are also steeves with white and black occasionally marked in a peculiar manner, seemingly the kind of tokens by which the priesthood pretended to recognise their sacred individuals. The cattle of Egypt continued to be remarkable for beauty for some ages after the Moslem conquest; for Abdollatiph, the historian, extols their bulk and proportions, and in particular mentions the Al-chisiah breed for the abundance of milk it furnished and for the beauty of its curved horns.

The domestic buffalo was unknown to Western Asia and Egypt till after the Arabian conquest: it is now common in the last-mentioned region and far to the south, but not beyond the equator; and from structural differences it may be surmised that there was in early ages a domesticated distinct species of this animal in Africa. In Syria and Egypt the present races of domestic cattle are somewhat less than the large breeds of Europe, and those of Palestine appear to be of at least two forms, both with short horns and both used to the plough, one being tall and lanky, the other more compact; and we possess figures of the present Egyptian cattle with long horns bent down and forwards. From Egyptian pictures it is to be inferred that large droves of fine cattle were imported from Abyssinia, and that in the valley of the Nile they were in general stall-fed, used exclusively for the plough, and treated with humanity. In Palestine the Mosaic law provided with care for the kind treatment of cattle; for in treading out corn—the Oriental mode of separating the grain from the straw—it was enjoined that the ox should not be muzzled (Deut. xxv. 4), and old cattle that had long served in tillage were often suffered to wander at large till their death—a practice still in vogue, though from a different motive, in India. But the Hebrews and other nations of Syria grazed their domestic stock, particularly those tribes which, residing to the east of the Jordan, had fertile districts for that purpose. Here, of course, the droves became shy and wild; and though we are inclined to apply the passage in Ps. xxii. 12, to wild species, yet old bulls, roaming at large in a land where the lion still abounded, no doubt became fierce; and as they would obtain cows from the pastures, there must have been feral breeds in the woods, as fierce and resolute as real wild Uri—which ancient name may be a mere modification of Reem [Reem].—C. H. S.

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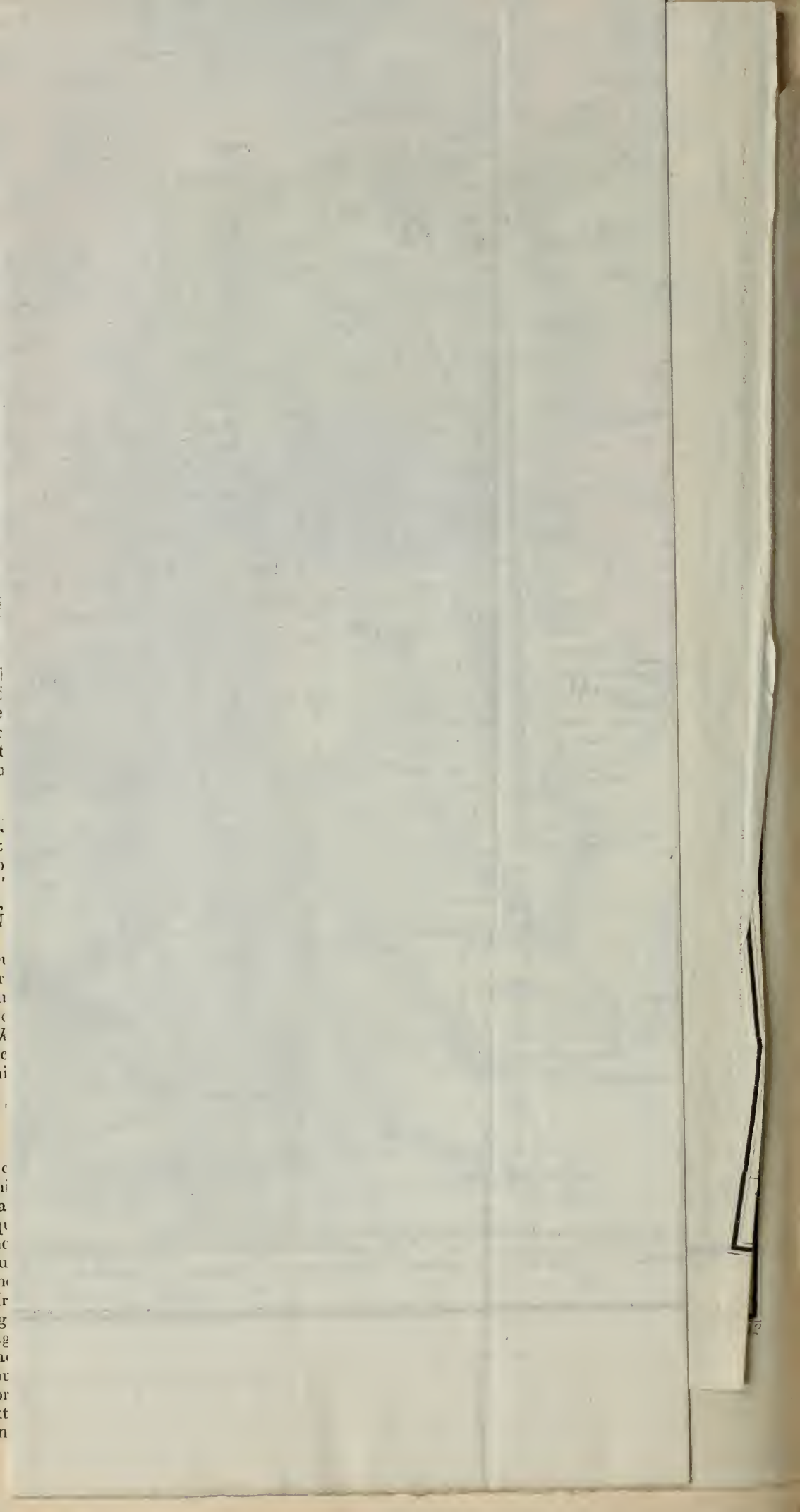
PADAN-ARAM. [Aram.]

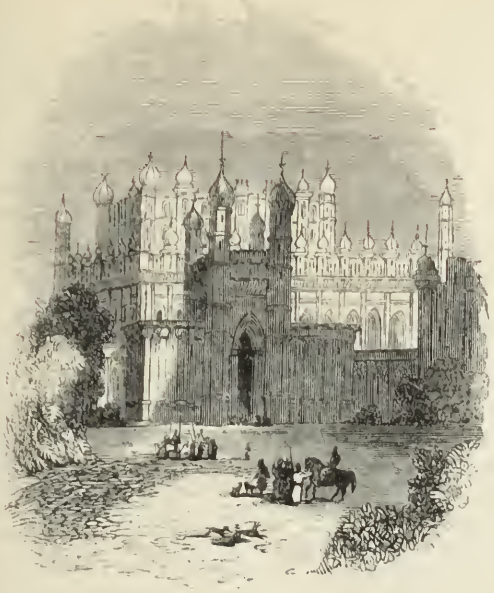
PAKYOTH (פַּקְּעוֹת) and Pekaim (פקעים). It is related in 2 Kings iv. 38-40, that Elisha having come again to Gilgal, when there was a famine in the land, and many sons of the prophets were assembled there, he ordered his servant to prepare for them a dish of vegetables: 'One went out into the field to gather *herbs* (*oroth*), and found a *wild vine*, and gathered thereof *wild gourds* (*pakyoth sadeh*) his lap-full, and came and shred them into the pot of pottage, for they knew them not.' 'So they poured out for the men to eat: but as they were eating of the pottage, they cried out, O thou man of God, there is death in the pot; and they could not eat thereof.'

From this it appears that the servant mistook the fruit of one plant, *pakyoth*, for something else, called *oroth*, and that the former was vine-like, that is, with long, weak, slender stems, and that the fruit had some remarkable taste, by which the mistake was discovered whenever the pottage was tasted. Though a few other plants have been indicated, the *pakyoth* has almost universally been supposed to be one of the family of the gourd or cucumber-like plants, several of which are conspicuous for their bitterness, and a few poisonous, while others, it is well known, are edible. Therefore one of the former may have been mistaken for one of the latter, or the *oroth* may have been some similar-shaped fruit, as, for instance, the egg-plant, used as a vegetable. The reasons why *pakyoth* has been supposed to be one of the gourd tribe, usually the *Colocynth*, are given in detail by Celsius (*Hierobot.* vol. i. p. 393). 1. The name is supposed to be derived from פָּקַע *paka*, 'to crush,' or 'to burst;' and this is the characteristic of the species called the wild cucumber by the ancients. Thus Pliny says: 'Semen exilit, oculorum etiam periculo.' This is the kind called *Spring gurken* by the Germans, and *Squirting cucumber* in England. 2. The form of the fruit appears to have been ovoid, as the *pekaim* of 1 Kings vi. 18 are supposed to be the same fruit as *pakyoth*: 'And the cedar of the house within was carved with *knops* ' (*pekaim*). So in vii. 24: 'And under the brim of it round about there were knops (*pekaim*) compassing it: the knops (*pekaim*) were cast in two rows, when it was cast.' Kimchi distinctly says these were called *pekaim*, 'quia figuram haberent τῶν *pakyoth* agrestium.' That the form of these was ovoid would appear from the more free exposition of the Chaldaic version of Jonathan, to whom the form of the fruit could not have been unknown: 'Et figuræ ovorum subter labium ejus' (*vid.* Cels. *l. c.* p. 397). 3. The seeds of the *pakyoth*, moreover, yielded oil, as appears from the tract *Shabbath* (ii. § 2): 'Non accendunt resina, propter honorem sabbati. At sapientes permittunt omnia olea sequentia: oleum sesamorum, oleum nucum, oleum raphanorum, oleum piscium, oleum *pakyoth*.' So Kimchi: 'Faciunt e seminibus eorum oleum, quod vocant Rabbini nostri piæ mem. oleum *pakyoth*.' The seeds of the different gourd and cucumber-like plants are well known to yield oil, which was employed by the ancients, and still is in the East, both as medicine and in the arts. 4. The bitterness which was probably perceived on eating of the pottage, and which disappeared on the addition of meal, is found in many of the cucumber tribe, and conspicuously in the species which have been usually selected as the *pakyoth*, that is, the Colocynth (*Cucumis Colocynthis*), the Squinting Cucumber (*Momordica Elaterium*), and *Cucumis prophetarum*: all of which are found in Syria, as related by various travellers. The *Coloquintida* is essentially a desert plant. Mr. Kitto says, 'In the desert parts of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and on the banks of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, its tendrils run over vast tracts of ground, offering a prodigious number of gourds, which are crushed under foot by camels, horses, and men. In winter we have seen the extent of many miles covered with the connecting tendrils and dry gourds of the preceding season, the latter exhibiting precisely the same appearance as in our shops, and when crushed, with a crackling noise, beneath the feet, discharging, in the form of a light powder, the valuable drug which it contains.' In the Arabic version, *hunzal* (which is the Colocynth) is used as the synonyme for *pakyoth* in 2 Kings iv. 39. The Globe Cucumber, Mr. Kitto continues, 'derives its specific name (*Cucumis prophetarum*) from the notion that it afforded the gourd which "the sons of the prophets" shred by mistake into their pottage, and which made them declare, when they came to taste it, that there was "death in the pot." This plant is smaller in every part than the common melon, and has a nauseous odour, while its fruit is to the full as bitter as the *Coloquintida*. The fruit has a rather singular appearance, from the manner in which its surface is armed with prickles, which are, however, soft and harmless' (*Pictorial Palestine; Physical Geog.* p. cclxxxix.). But this plant, though it is nauseous and bitter as the *Colocynth*, yet the fruit not being bigger than a cherry, does not appear likely to have been that which was *shred* into the pot. Celsius, however, was of opinion that the *Cucumis agrestis* of the Ancients, and which was found by Belon in descending from Mount Sinai, was the plant. This, he says, is the *Olera asini* of the Hebrews, the *Chate al hemar* of the Arabs, and the *Cucumis asininus* of the druggists of his day. This plant is now called *Momordica elaterium*, or Squirting Cucumber, and is a well known drastic purgative, violent enough in its action to be considered even a poison. Its fruit is ovate, obtuse, and scabrous. But it is not easy to say whether this or the *Colocynth* is most likely to have been the plant mistaken for *oroth*; but the fruit of this species might certainly be mistaken for young gherkins. Both are bitter and poisonous.—J. F. R.

PALACE, in Scripture, denotes what is contained within the outer enclosure of the royal residence, including all the buildings, courts, and gardens (2 Chron. xxxvi. 19; comp. Ps. xlviii. 4; cxxii. 7; cxxii. 7; Prov. ix. 3; xviii. 19; Isa. xxiii. 13; xxv. 2; Jer. xxii. 14; Amos i. 7, 12, 14; Nah. ii. 6). In the New Testament the term palace (αὐλή) is applied to the residence of a man of rank (Matt. xxvi. 3; Mark xiv. 66; Luke xi. 21; John xviii. 15). The specific allusions are to the palace built by Herod, which was afterwards occupied by the Roman governors, and was the prætorium, or hall, which formed the abode of Pilate when Christ was brought before him (Mark xv. 16): the other passages above cited, except Luke xi. 21, refer to the residence of the high-priest.

The particulars which have been given under the head HOUSE, require only to be aggrandized to convey a suitable idea of a palace; for the general arrangements and distribution of parts are the same in the palace as in the house, save that the courts are more numerous, and with more distinct appropriations, the buildings more extensive, and the materials more costly. The palace of the kings of Judah in Jerusalem was that built by Solomon, called 'the house of the forest of Lebanon,' of which some particulars are given in 1 Kings vii. 1-12; and if read along with the description which Josephus gives of the same pile





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(*Antiq.* v. 5), a faint idea may be formed of it, as a magnificent collection of buildings in adjoining courts, connected with and surrounded by galleries and colonnades. The details of the Jewish historian are not to be contemned; for he was necessarily better able than we are to apprehend the particulars in the Scriptural account, on which his own description is based. To him we are also indebted for an account of Herod's palace, his description of which, from personal knowledge, may be found in *De Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 4.

PALESTINE. This name, usually applied to the country formerly inhabited by the Israelites, does not occur in the Hebrew Bible. It is, however, derived from Philistia (פְּלֶשֶׁת), or the country of the Philistines, which comprised the southern part of the coast plain of Canaan along the Mediterranean. The word *Philistia* occurs in Exod. xiii. 17; Ps. lx. 8; lxxxiii. 7; lxxxvii. 4; cviii. 9; Isa. xiv. 29, 31. From this arose the name Palestine (Παλαιστίνη), which was applied by most ancient writers, and even by Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 6. 2; ii. 15. 2; viii. 10. 3), to the whole land of the Israelites (see Reland's *Palæstina*, p. 38, sq.).

Names.—The other names of the country may be given in the order of their occurrence in Scripture.

1. *Canaan* (כְּנַעַן), from Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, from whom the first inhabitants were descended. It is the most ancient name of the country, and is first found as such in Gen. x. 31. This denomination was confined to the country between the Mediterranean and the Jordan; for Exod. xvi. 35 (comp. Josh. v. 11, 12) shows that the Jordan was the eastern boundary of Canaan. This is also seen in Num. xxxiii. 51; xxxiv. 11, 12; comp. Exod. xv. 15. When the name Canaan was thus used with reference to the country west of the Jordan, the region east of that river was called the Land of Gilead (Deut. xxxiv. 1; Josh. xxii. 9, 11). In later times the term Canaan was understood to include Phœnicia (Isa. xxiii. 11; Matt. xv. 21-22), and also the land of the Philistines.

2. *Land of Israel.* This name was given to the whole country as distributed among and occupied by the tribes of Israel. Those recent writers have therefore fallen into error, who imagine that it ever comprehended the utmost extent of dominion promised to the seed of Abraham, or actually possessed by David and Solomon. The designation, Land of Israel, was never applied but to the aggregate possessions of the tribes as defined by the limits laid down when the distribution was made in the time of Joshua (Judg. xix. 29; 1 Sam. xiii. 19; Ezek. vii. 2; Matt. ii. 20, 21, γῆ Ἰσραήλ). In Ezek. xxvii. 17, and other places, the land of Israel is considered as the territory of the ten tribes, forming the separate kingdom of Israel, as distinct from that of Judah.

3. *Land of Promise.* So called as the land which God promised to the patriarchal fathers to bestow on their descendants. This name was applied to it chiefly before the country was actually possessed (Gen. xv. 18; l. 24; Num. xxxii. 1; comp. Heb. xi. 9).

4. *Land of Jehovah.* So called as being in a special and peculiar sense the property of Jehovah, who, as the sovereign proprietor of the soil, granted it to the Hebrews (Lev. xxv. 23; Ps. lxxxv. 1; Isa. viii. 8).

5. *The Holy Land.* This name only occurs in Zech. ii. 12, 'The Lord shall inherit Judah, his portion in the Holy Land.' It was, however, probably without any particular reference to the present text that this became from frequent use a proper name for Palestine. The land is here called 'Holy,' as being the Lord's property, and sanctified by his temple and worship: but Christians, in applying to it the same title, probably regard it more as the scene of the life, the travels, and the sufferings of Christ.

5. *Judah, Judæa.* This name belonged at first to the territory of the tribe of Judah alone. After the separation of the two kingdoms, one of them took the name of Judah, which contained the territories both of that tribe and of Benjamin. After the Captivity, down to and after the time of Christ, Judæa was used in a loose way as a general name for the whole country of Palestine; but in more precise language, and with reference to internal distribution, it denoted nearly the territories of the ancient kingdom, as distinguished from Samaria and Galilee on the west of the Jordan, and Peræa on the east.

Divisions.—The divisions of Palestine were different in different ages.

1. *In the time of the Patriarchs*, the country was divided among the tribes or nations descended from the sons of Canaan. The precise locality of each nation is not, in every case, distinctly known; but our map exhibits the most probable arrangement. Here it is sufficient to mention that the Kenites, the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites lived on the east of the Jordan (Gen. xv. 18-21); and that, on the west of that river, or in Palestine Proper, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, and the Amorites, abode

in the hill country of the south (afterwards belonging to Judah); the Canaanites—properly so called—in the middle, across the country, from the sea-coast to the river Jordan; the Girgashites, along the eastern border of the lake of Gennesareth; and the Hivites in the north, among the southern branches of the Lebanon mountains. The southern part of the coast was occupied by the Philistines, and the northern part by the Phœnicians.

2. *In the time of Moses*, when the Israelites were preparing to enter Canaan, the distribution of the nations on the west of the Jordan had undergone very little change; but, on the east of that river, we find the three principal territories to have been Bashan, in the north,—that is to say, east and north-east of the lake Gennesareth; Gilead, in the middle; and, in the south, on the east of the Dead Sea, the Land of Moab.

3. *After the Conquest*, the land was distributed by lot among the tribes. The particulars of this distribution will be best seen by reference to the map. Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and Dan occupied the south; Ephraim, half of Manasseh, and Issachar, the middle; and Zebulon, Naphtali, and Asher, the north. Reuben, Gad, and the other half of Manasseh were settled beyond the Jordan, in Bashan and Gilead. This distribution was in no way affected by the division of the country into two kingdoms, which took place after the death of Solomon. The boundary line between them was the northern limit of the tribe of Benjamin.

4. *After the Captivity*, we hear very little of the territories of the tribes, for ten of them never returned to occupy their ancient domains.

5. *In the time of Christ*, the country on the west of the Jordan was divided into the provinces of Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa. Galilee is a name which occurs repeatedly in the book of Joshua (xxi. 32); and very often in the later history. It was applied to that part of Palestine north of the plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel. This province was divided into Lower or Southern, and Upper or Northern Galilee. The latter section was also denominated Galilee of the Gentiles (Matt. iv. 15). Samaria occupied nearly the middle of Palestine; but, although it extended across the country, it did not come down to the sea-shore. Judæa, as a province, corresponded to the northern and western parts of the ancient kingdom of that name; but the south-eastern portion formed the territory of Idumæa. On the other side of the Jordan the divisions were, at this time, more numerous and less distinct. The whole country, generally, was called Peræa, and was divided into eight districts or cantons, namely:—1. *Peræa*, in the more limited sense, which was the southernmost canton, extending from the river Arnon to the river Jabbok. 2. *Gilead*, north of the Jabbok, and highly populous. 3. *Decapolis*, or the district of ten cities, which were Scythopolis or Bethshan (on the west side of the Jordan), Hippos, Gadara, Pella, Philadelphia (formerly Rabbath), Dium, Canatha, Gerasa, Rapnana, and, perhaps, Damascus: but there is not much certainty with regard to the ten cities from which the region had its name. 4. *Gaulonitis*, extending to the north-east of the Upper Jordan and of the lake of Gennesareth. 5. *Batanæa*, the ancient Bashan, but less extensive, east of the lake of Gennesareth. 6. *Auranitis*, also called *Ituræa*, and known to this day by the old name of Hauran (Ezek. xlvii. 16-18), to the north of Batanæa and the east of Gaulonitis. 7. *Trachonitis*, extending to the north of Gaulonitis, and east from Paneas (Cæsarea Philippi) and the sources of the Jordan, where it was separated from Galilee (Luke iii. 1). 8. *Abilene*, in the extreme north, among the mountains of Anti-Libanus, between Baalbec and Damascus. The more important of these names have been noticed under their several heads.

Situation and Boundaries.—Syria lies at the easternmost extremity of the Mediterranean Sea, upon a line of coast which, if prolonged northward, might have been conterminous with the eastern extremity of the Black Sea, did not the peninsula of Asia Minor intervene. It forms part of the western coast of Asia, and has Asia Minor and Mesopotamia on the north, Arabia on the east and south-east, Egypt on the south-west, and the Mediterranean on the west. Of this region Palestine is the south-western part, extending from the mountains of Lebanon to the borders of Egypt. It lies about midway between the equator and the polar circle, to which happy position it owes the fine medium climate which it possesses. Its length is embraced between 30° 40′ and 33° 32′ of N. latitude, and between 33° 45′ of E. longitude in the south-west, and 35° 48′ in the north-east. The line of coast from north to south trends westward, which causes the country between the coast and the valley of the Jordan to be much wider in the south than in the north. But where the country was narrowest there were possessions on the east of the river, and where widest, there were none beyond the line of the river, so that the actual breadth of territory was in some degree equalized throughout; and may be taken at an average of sixty-five miles, the *extreme* breadth being about 100 miles. The length, from Mount Hermon in the north, to which the territory of Manasseh beyond the Jordan extended (Josh. xiii. 11), to Kadesh-barnea in the south, to which the territory of Judah reached, was 180 miles. The above measurement is considerably greater than that which is usually given. This is because the usual measurement is founded upon the authority of the popular scriptural phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba.' But that phrase was only used to designate the length of the country west of the river; for it is clear that the territory beyond the line of the Jordan reached far more to the north, even to Mount Hermon (now Jebel-es-Sheikh), while on the south we now know that Kadesh-barnea, on the borders of the great Arabah, or valley south of the Dead Sea, was on a parallel considerably to the south of Beersheba. Even in making the measurement from Dan to Beersheba only, the extent would be greater than has usually been given, seeing that Beersheba is now ascertained to be considerably to the south of the position formerly assigned to it. In fixing the limits as from Dan to Beersheba, it has been forgotten that the popular usage merely described two well-known points towards the opposite extremities of the land, and does not imply that there was no territory northward of Dan or southward of Beersheba. The usage

is the same as that according to which it was formerly customary to describe the length of England by the phrase, from London to York, although there is much country north of York and south of London. Dan was the northernmost and Beersheba the southernmost great and well-known towns of the land. Dan was also near the northern frontier of the western territory; but although in the tract beyond Beersheba southward, there were few inhabited sites, it is not mere desert, as was formerly supposed; but, as some years since conjectured (*Pictorial Bible*, on Josh. xiii.), and since proved by Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Researches*, i. 281-309), consists of good pasture grounds, into which the inhabitants of the settled country sent their flocks to graze.

Under this more extended view, Palestine may be regarded as embracing an area of almost 11,000 square miles, which is somewhat more than is usually given to it. Having arrived at this result, we are enabled to give some suggestive comparisons of its extent, as contrasted with that of other countries, and find that 'this does not give a superficial extent equal to one-fourth of England and Wales, nor more than two-fifths of Scotland, Ireland, or Portugal. Bavaria and Sardinia offer an area about twice as large; that of Denmark is about one-third larger, but according to the estimate we have made, the area of Palestine is nearly double that of Wales, Wirtemberg, or Tuscany. Thus, as to mere extent, the country can only be compared to some of the smaller European states, of which Hanover, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Papal States, appear to offer the nearest approximations. But the real surface is much greater than this estimate and these comparisons would imply; for Palestine being essentially a hilly country, the sides of the mountains and the slopes of the hills enlarge the available surface to an extent which does not admit of calculation' (*Physical Geog.*, p. xxviii., in Kitto's *Pictorial Hist. of Palestine*). Still, with all allowances, Palestine is an exceedingly small country in proportion to the interest which has been concentrated on it; and this fact, as compared with the large claims to attention advanced by and for the ancient inhabitants, has given occasion for ancient unbelievers and modern infidels to blaspheme. Cicero could infer the littleness of the Hebrew god from the smallness of the territory he had given to his people; and the poor blasphemies of such men as Voltaire and Rhegellini are more lamentable, as uttered against the light of history, which shows that the true interest and importance of a country arise, not from its territorial extent, but from the men who form its living soul; from its institutions, bearing the impress of mind and spirit; and from the events which grow out of the character and condition of its inhabitants. It is thus that the histories of such small countries as Phœnicia, Greece, early Rome, Venice, Holland, England, possess an interest and importance to which those of countries of ten times their extent cannot present the slightest claim.

After this general statement, we may examine the lines of boundary with somewhat more attention. The clearest description of them is that contained in Num. xxxiv. In going through that chapter on a former occasion (*Pictorial Bible*), the present writer had an opportunity of stating his views on the subject at greater length than can be afforded in this general summary. Subsequent inquiry has only confirmed the conclusions at which he then arrived, and which may here be summarily stated.

The South Boundary. The text (Num. xxxiv. 3, 5) we read thus: 'Your south border shall be at the wilderness of Zin adjoining to Edom, and your south border shall be at the utmost point of the great sea southward.' There is here a general description of the line, namely, that it extends from the desert of Zin (Wady Arabah), at a point not stated, to the Mediterranean, at a point also not stated. Then in the following verses the writer returns to state the particulars of this same boundary line: 'Your south border shall wind by the ascent of Akrabbim (at the end of the Dead Sea), and pass on (down the Arabah) to Zin; and thence extending (still southward down the Arabah), *to the south of Kadesh-barnea*, it shall go on to Hazar-addar, and pass on to Azmon. And from Azmon the boundary shall wind about to the river of Egypt, and its termination shall be at the sea.' What is here said respecting Hazar-addar and Azmon we do not understand, as the sites have not been determined; but without this, it is clear that the writer, after prolonging the *eastern* boundary line from the end of the Dead Sea down the edge of the Arabah, to a point somewhere south of Kadesh-barnea, then turns off westward to form the southern line, which he extends to the Mediterranean, at a point where 'the river of Egypt' falls into the sea. This river of Egypt is usually, and on very adequate grounds, supposed to be the stream which falls into the sea near El-Arish. In formerly considering this matter, we had to prove the position of Kadesh-barnea by argument; but Dr. Robinson has relieved us from the necessity of reproducing this argument, by having actually identified the site at a point very near to that in which we had placed it. This conclusion obliged us to draw the southern boundary line much to the south of Beersheba (which, it will be observed, is not named in these verses), and thus to assign to Palestine a large and important tract of country which had not formerly been ascribed to Israel. The determination of the site of Kadesh-barnea makes all the rest clear; for it is certain that the boundary was drawn south of that place, which is on a parallel 32 minutes south of that of Beersheba.

The West Border. In the 6th verse of the same chapter (Num. xxxiv.) the western border is stated as defined by the Mediterranean coast. This was the boundary of Palestine; but the Hebrews never possessed the whole of it. The northern part of the coast from Sidon to Akko (Acre) was in the hands of the Phœnicians, and the southern part, from Ashdod to Gaza, was retained by the Philistines, except at intervals, in and after the time of David, when they were subject to the Hebrew sceptre (Philistines); and a central portion, about one-third of the whole, from Mount Carmel to Jabneh (Jamnia) was almost permanently open to the Israelites. The reason for the non-possession of the Phœnician boundary has been stated; and the reason for their not occupying the coast from the border of Sidon to Carmel we take to be this. At the time of the conquest the southernmost Phœnician town was Sidon, to the

very border of which the coast assigned to Israel extended (Josh. xix. 24); but as the Hebrews neglected to appropriate this territory, the Phœnicians did so, and founded thereon Tyre and other settlements. Tyre is admitted to have been 'the daughter of Sidon' (Isa. xxii. 12), and there are no traces of its existence in the time of Joshua. The friendly relations which afterwards grew up prevented the Hebrews from urging their claim to the narrow slip of coast south of Sidon, which the Phœnicians had appropriated, and which indeed the Hebrews, as an agricultural people, did not feel the want of, though it was invaluable to the Phœnicians. This sufficiently accounts for the exception.

The North Border is as difficult to define as the south. The verses in which it is described we read thus: 'This shall be your north boundary; from the great sea ye shall draw a line to the great mountain [Lebanon]; from the great mountain ye shall draw your border to the entering in of Hamath; and the boundary shall pass on to Zedad, and the boundary shall go on to Ziphron, and its termination shall be at Hazarenan' (Num. xxxiv. 7-9). This only refers to the northern boundary of the western territory, or Canaan Proper, and we may therefore extend it in the same direction to Mount Hermon, for the purpose of completing the northern boundary. The Authorized Version of this text has created some confusion by translating הר־ההר *hor ha-hor* by 'Mount Hor;' but the phrase, which literally means 'mountain of the mountain,' that is, 'the great mountain,' obviously denotes Lebanon. We think that we cannot be mistaken in understanding that the line commenced at the sea somewhere not far to the south of Sidon, whence it was extended to Lebanon, and crossing the narrow valley (here called 'the entering in of Hamath'), which leads into the great plain enclosed between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, terminated at Mount Hermon, in the latter range. This arrangement of the northern line of boundary seems to us to meet all the difficulties arising from deficient knowledge, which have hung like a dense mist over the northern boundary of Palestine.

The Eastern Boundary, as respects Canaan Proper, was defined by the Jordan and its lakes; but as respects the whole country, including the portion beyond the Jordan, it is not so easily determined; yet it may be made out with close attention. Salchah was a town on the eastern limits of Bashan, and also, therefore, of the Hebrew territory (Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xii. 5). There is a town in the Hauran of the name of Salkhad, visited by Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 99), who calls it Szalkhat, and which Gesenius is disposed to identify with Salchah. This place is more to the east than the territory usually assigned to the Israelites; and if the identification is to be relied upon, the line drawn to this place from Hermon must have included a considerable breadth of country. From this point, however, the line must have inclined somewhat sharply to the south-west, and it would be best to bring it to the point where the Wady-ed-Deir enters the Zerka, and thence extend it almost due south to the Arnon, which was the southern limit of the eastern territory. The necessity of bringing the eastern boundary line so far west as Wady-ed-Deir, arises from the obligation of excluding the site of Amman, as that city certainly did not belong to the Israelites.

Mineralogy.—Under this head we know not that we can do better than introduce the observations of Professor Schubert in his *Reise nach dem Morgenlande*:—'As regards the mineralogy of the Jerusalem neighbourhood, and, if I may form a judgment from the districts through which I passed, of the Holy Land generally, I should say that the mountains on the west of the Jordan consist chiefly of chalk, on which basalt begins to occur beyond Cana (northward), as is manifestly exhibited in the heights of Hattin, and in the western descent to the lake of Tiberias, in such large quantity and great extent as I have never before observed. That the so-called white limestone, which is met with around Jerusalem and thence to Jericho, which covers the summit and forms the declivities of the Mount of Olives, and which is also found at Mount Tabor and around Nazareth, is a kind of chalk, is obvious to any one but slightly acquainted with mineralogy.' By this we suppose Schubert means that it is a chalk considerably indurated, and approaching to whitish compact limestone, such as may be seen in Normandy, on the high road bordering the Seine, between Havre and Rouen. 'Layers and detached masses of flint,' Schubert continues, 'are very commonly seen in it; and these mountains preserve the character of their formation, as well in their more solid condition, resembling Alpine limestone and Schnürl-limestone, as in their softer organization, which has a likeness to chalk-marl. Besides this indurated chalk, a stone is found in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, chiefly towards the north, as well as towards Safet, and in other parts of the country, which, together with the dolomite formation occasionally met with, I could not but consider to be of what in Germany is called the Jura formation. I am supported in this conclusion by the opinion of a professional gentleman, M. Russegger, the distinguished geologist, who travelled in Palestine at a later period. He also describes the stone of which I am speaking as "a formation which, according to all external and internal marks, is to be classed with the upper Jura formation, the oolite, and the Jura-dolomite." Among the Jura-chalk, containing dolomite, of Jerusalem, Russegger found limestones containing much iron, but no dolomite; and this formation he was disposed to class with the inferior oolites.' After mentioning that an unfortunate accident, which deprived him of the use of the extensive geological collections made by him in Arabia Petræa, &c., prevented him from at present entering into the subject so largely as he wished, he subjoins: 'This one observation on the mineralogy of Palestine may, however be added, that it deserves to be most emphatically called the country of salt, which is produced in vast abundance, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, which deserves to be regarded as one of the great natural salt-works of the world.'

Under this head it may be noted that the fine impalpable desert-sand, which proves so menacing to travellers, and even to inhabitants, is scarcely found in Palestine Proper; but it occurs beyond

Lebanon, near Beirut, and in the neighbourhood of Damascus.

Palestine is eminently a country of caverns, to which there is frequent allusion in Scripture [Caves], and which are hardly so numerous in any country of the same extent. Many of them were enlarged by the inhabitants, and even artificial grottoes were formed by manual labour. In these the inhabitants still like to reside; as in summer they afford protection from the heat, and in winter from cold and rain. Even now, in many places, houses are observed built so near to rocks, that their cavities may be used for rooms or sheds suited to the condition of the seasons. Though the country is not unfrequently visited by earthquakes, they leave behind no such frightful traces as those of Asia Minor; as the vaults of limestone offer more effectual resistance than the sandstone of the latter country. While the great earthquake of January 1, 1837, precipitated many buildings to the ground in and around Nazareth, not one of the grottoes dedicated to devotion was in the slightest degree injured, or their contents disturbed.

We are glad to see so competent a witness as Schubert bear his testimony to the natural resources of the soil, which superficial observers, judging only from present appearance, have so often questioned. He says, 'The ridge of chalk mountains, chiefly those containing marl, is in most places so irrigated by water, and so acted upon by the sun, as to be remarkable for the luxuriant growth of the great variety of plants with which they are adorned. The basalt mountains give birth to numerous springs. No soil could be naturally more fruitful and fit for cultivation than that of Palestine, if man had not destroyed the source of fertility by annihilating the former green covering of the hills and slopes, and thereby destroying the regular circulation of sweet water, which ascends as vapour from the sea to be cooled in the higher regions, and then descends to form the springs and rivers, for it is well known that the vegetable kingdom performs in this circulation the function of capillary tubes. But although the natives, from exasperation against their foreign conquerors and rulers (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xii. 54), and the invaders who have so often overruled this scene of ancient blessings, have greatly reduced its prosperity, still I cannot comprehend how not only scoffers like Voltaire, but early travellers, who doubtless intended to declare the truth, represent Palestine as a natural desert, whose soil never could have been fit for profitable cultivation. Whoever saw the exhaustless abundance of plants on Carmel and the border of the desert, the grassy carpet of Esdraelon, the lawns adjoining the Jordan, and the rich foliage of the forests of Mount Tabor; whoever saw the borders of the lakes of Merom and Gennesareth, wanting only the cultivator to entrust to the soil his seed and plants, may state what other country on earth, devastated by two thousand years of warfare and spoliation, could be more fit for being again taken into cultivation. The bountiful hand of the Most High, which formerly showered abundance upon this renowned land, continues to be still open to those desirous of his blessings.'

There are some very excellent remarks on this subject in Dr. Olin's *Travels* (ii. 235-240), to which we must be content to refer the reader, being prevented by want of room from introducing them in this place.

Levels.—Annexed to the additions to his *Palästina*, which Raumer has lately published, under the title of *Beiträge zur Biblischen Geographie*, 1843, there is an engraved scale of levels in Palestine. This document is curious and valuable, and embodies the observations of Schubert, Rüppell, Russegger, and others, whose scientific observations are more important than the rough guesses of ordinary travellers. We shall copy the results in the subjoined table, and then offer some remarks upon them. The measurements are in Paris feet, *above* and *below* the level of the Dead Sea.

	Above.
Great Hermon	10,000
Mount St. Catherine (in Sinai)	8063
Jebel Monsa (in Sinai)	7033
Jebel et-Tyh (in Sinai)	4300
Jebel er-Ramah	3000
Kanneytra	2850
Hebron	2700
Mount of Olives	2536
Sinjil	2520
Safet	2500
Mount Gerizim	2400
Semua	2225
Damascus	2186
Kidron (brook)	2140
Nabulus	1751
Mount Tabor	1748
Pass of Zephath	1437
Desert of et-Tyh	1400
Nazareth	821
Zerin	515
Plain of Esdraelon	459
	Below.
Lake of Tiberias	84 *
The Arabah at Kadesh	91
Dead Sea	1337*

Some of these results are so extraordinary, that one might occupy whole pages in discussing them. The most important of them will be considered under their proper heads; and it is here only necessary to indicate a few of the more marked results. First, here is the remarkable fact, that the Mount of Olives and the Kidron, and consequently Jerusalem, stand 700 feet higher than the top of Mount Tabor, and about 2500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. More to the south, Hebron stands on still higher ground; and while it is 2700 feet above the sea on the one hand, the Asphaltic Lake lies 4000 feet below it on the other. This fact has no known parallel in any other region, and within so short a distance of the sea: and the extraordinary depression of the lake (1337 feet below the sea level) adequately accounts for the very peculiar climate which its remarkable basin exhibits. The points at Tiberias to the north, and Kadesh to the south of the Dead

* These measurements are in English feet, and give the results of the lines of altitude carried from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea and the Lake of Tiberias, by the British engineers left in Syria to make a military survey of the country, when the fleet was withdrawn from the coast in 1841.

Sea, are both, and nearly equally, below the Mediterranean level, and, taken together, they show the great slope *both* from the north and from *the south* towards the Dead Sea, confirming the discovery of Dr. Robinson, that the water-shed to the south of the Asphaltic Lake is towards its basin, and that, therefore, the Jordan could not at any time, as the country is at present constituted, have flowed on southward to the Elanitic Gulf, as was formerly supposed. On the effects resulting from this great inequality of surface, we cannot do better than cite the observations of Schubert (*Reise*, iii. 104), which are of somewhat general application, although suggested by the extraordinary elevation of the site of Jerusalem. . . 'Apart from the grandeur of this country's history, nature has stamped on its surface such distinguishing and peculiar features as hardly any other portion of the world exhibits. This observation applies in particular to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Without taking into account the girdle of heights in its immediate neighbourhood, the ascent on all sides to this high-seated town is very considerable. It is nearly 2500 feet above the sea, which is an elevation belonging to few cities of the Eastern hemisphere equally near the sea. The ascent is, however, most striking from the east, from the vicinity of the Dead Sea, and the Jordan. Science has in our time made such progress, that the question may be fairly raised :—is there any place on earth where extraordinary elevations and depressions co-exist so near each other as they do here, where in the distance of seven hours' slow travel we find a depression of at least 600 feet, and an elevation of more than four times that amount below and above the level of the sea? The difference of elevation between Jerusalem and the plain of Jericho (near the village so called) is upwards of 3000 feet. Now it is supposed that 100 metres of this difference occasion a difference of climate equal to that which would be produced by a degree of latitude; and consequently the temperature of points so near to each other must be equal to the difference between places so remote in latitude as Rome and London. While the climate in the plain of the Jordan and Dead Sea is similar to that of Southern Arabia and the Delta of the Nile, that of Jerusalem exhibits a temperature similar to that of the isle of Lemnos and the ancient Troy, or that of the vale of Tempe and the middle districts of Sardinia. And if, from the observations of a few weeks only (but made in April when the temperature is nearly at the average of the year), an inference may be drawn, it will probably be near the mark to estimate the average heat of the summer at 84 or 85 degrees of Fahrenheit.

Mountains.—As all the principal mountains of Palestine are noticed in this work under their respective names, a few general observations are all that here seem necessary. Schubert's remarks, given in this article under the heads Mineralogy and Levels, still further limit the scope of the observations to be offered, which will consist of a bird's-eye view over the country from north to south.

To Lebanon, which forms the northern boundary of the land [Lebanon], succeeds the high table-land of Galilee, which extends to the plain of Esdraelon, and the general height of which above the sea may, by a comparison of levels, be estimated at between 900 and 1000 feet. The elevated situation of this region is evinced by the gradual declivity which it exhibits on all sides but the north, —sloping on the East towards the Jordan and its upper lakes, on the west to the plain of the Acre, and on the south to the plain of Esdraelon. Travellers express surprise at the deep descent from the comparatively level plains of Galilee to the lake of Tiberias, which, as we have seen, is 905 Paris feet below the level of Nazareth. This table-land is not without its eminences. The chief of these is Jebel Safet, which is seen to tower conspicuously and isolated, from every point except the north. This is one of the highest summits in Palestine (2500 Paris feet), although being merely a peak of the high table-land from which it rises, it does not seem to exceed elevations rising from lower levels, which are scarcely inferior. Still it is very high, even in apparent altitude. The summit of this lofty and steep mountain is crowned by a castle, and a little below the summit there is a city. This city is supposed to be that which our Saviour had in view, as 'a city set on a hill,' in his sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 4); but it is doubtful if any city existed there so early, although modern ecclesiastical tradition has been disposed to regard this as the Bethulia of Judith [Bethulia]. The mountain itself is not named in Scripture, unless, as is probable, it be the 'mountain of Naphtali,' mentioned in Josh. xx. 9. Among the swells of this table-land are the Khurun Hattin (Horns of Hattin). This is a ridge about a quarter of a mile in length, and thirty or forty feet high, terminating at each end in an elevated peak, which gives the ridge the shape of a saddle. This is alleged to have been the place from which our Lord delivered his famous Sermon on the Mount to the multitude standing in the adjacent plain. The authority for this is very doubtful; and in the neighbourhood, towards Tiberias, there are at least a dozen other eminences which would just as well answer to the circumstances of the history. One of these, nearly three miles south-east of this, is by similarly uncertain tradition alleged to be the spot where the five thousand were fed with five loaves, although that miracle probably took place on the east side of the lake of Tiberias (Matt. xiv. 13-21).

If we consider the difference of elevation between the highland of Galilee and the low plain of Esdraelon, we shall see reason to regard the mountains and ridges of the border between them, and which form as it were the boundaries of the low plain, as merely detached or connected recesses, or peaks of the highland. The mountains of Gilboa and Hermon, which bound the plain of Esdraelon on the East, are certainly no other than portions of this high land, though they become mountains from the lower level of the great plain. Tabor itself seems but as one advanced peak or promontory of the high lands of Galilee [Tabor]. On the west the Great Plain is bounded by Carmel, which may be either regarded as a detached ridge, or as connected with the mountains of Samaria, which rise beyond the plain on the south [Carmel].

Southward of the plain of Esdraelon, throughout to the borders of the southern desert, is an almost unbroken mountainous country, or ridge of

mountains, extending north and south. It offers few conspicuous points, but its general elevation in the centre may be determined by that of Gerizim in the north (2400 Paris feet), of Olivet in the centre (2536 P. feet), and of Hebron in the south (2700 P. feet). The ascent to the higher and central region from the plain of the coast on the west is gradual, by a succession of natural terraces; but eastward, in the direction of the Jordan and Dead Sea, the descents are comparatively abrupt and precipitous.

There is no distinct *natural* boundary between the mountains of Samaria and Judæa. The hills of Samaria exhibit scenery very different from those of Galilee. They are often beautifully wooded, and the region is more populous and better cultivated than any other part of Palestine. Among numerous venerable olive-woods towns and villages are scattered in every direction, and some of the views rival those of Switzerland. The principal mountains of Samaria are those of Ebal and Gerizim, which have been described under the proper heads (Morison, ii. 10; Buckingham, *Palestine*, ch. xcii.; Elliot, ii. 380; Olin, ii. 354).

The mountains of Judæa, although of greater historical celebrity, are now less attractive than those of Samaria, but apparently for no other reason than that their cultivation has been more neglected. The hills are generally separated from each other by valleys and torrents, and are for the most part of moderate height, uneven, and seldom of any regular figure. The rock of which they are composed is easily converted into mould, which, being arrested by terraces when washed down by the rains, renders the hills cultivable, in a series of long narrow gardens, formed by these terraces, from the base upwards. Thus the hills were clad in former time most abundantly, and enriched and beautified with the fig-tree, the olive, and the vine; and it is in this way that the limited cultivation which survives is still carried on. But when the inhabitants were thinned out, and cultivation abandoned, the terraces fell to decay, and the soil which had collected on them was washed down into the valleys, leaving only the arid rock, bare and desolate. This is the general character of the hills of Judæa; but in some parts they are beautifully wooded, and in others the application of the ancient mode of culture suggests to the traveller how productive the country once was, and how fair the aspect which it offered (Kitto's *Palestine*; *Phys. Geog.* p. xxxix.; comp. Mariti, ii. 362; Elliot, ii. 107, 108; Olin, ii.; Raumer, *Palastina*, p. 47, sq.).

The characteristics of desolation which have been indicated, apply with peculiar force to the northern part of Judæa, forming the ancient territory of Benjamin. Its most favourably-situated mountains are wholly uncultivated; and perhaps in no other country is such a mass of rock exhibited without an atom of soil. In the East, towards the plain of Jericho, it takes a naturally stern and grand character, such as no other part of Palestine offers. It is through this wild and melancholy region that the roads from Jerusalem to Jericho, and (by way of Wady Saba) to the Dead Sea lie. It has hence, by the former route, often been passed by travellers in their pilgrimages to the Jordan; and they unite in depicting it in the most gloomy hues. 'The road,' says Dr. Olin, 'runs along the edge of steep precipices and yawning gulfs, and in a few places is overhung with the crags of the mountain. The aspect of the whole region is peculiarly savage and dreary, vying in these respects, though not in overpowering grandeur, with the wilds of Sinai. The mountains seem to have been loosened from their foundations, and rent in pieces by some terrible convulsion, and there left to be scathed by the burning rays of the sun, which scorches the land with consuming heat' (*Travels*, ii. 197). These characteristics became more manifest on approaching the Jordan; and the wild region extending north of the road is believed, with sufficient probability, to form 'the wilderness' where, after his baptism, Jesus 'was led up of the Spirit, to be tempted of the devil,' and where 'he fasted forty days and forty nights' (Matt. iv. 1, 2). The lofty ridge which extends north of the road, and fronts the plain of Jericho, is called Quarantana, with reference to this event, and the particular summit from which Satan is supposed to have displayed to the Saviour 'the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them,' is crowned by a chapel, still occasionally resorted to by the devouter pilgrims, while the eastern face which overhangs the plain is much occupied with grots and cells, once the favourite abode of pious anchorites. The Quarantana forms, apparently, the highest summit of the whole immense pile, and is distinguished for its sere and desolate aspect, even in this gloomy region of savage and dreary sights. It has not, that we know, been measured, but Dr. Olin computes its height at nearly 2000 feet in perpendicular height (*Travels*, ii. 119; Kitto's *Palest.*; *Phys. Geog.* p. xxxix.; Robinson, ii. 289; Hasselquist, p. 128; Maundrell, p. 79; Morison, p. 523; Nau, p. 403).

In the southern region, usually called in Scripture 'the hill country of Judah' (Matt. iii. 1), there are few mountains of a marked character; the peaks of the general ridge being of little apparent elevation, although actually much elevated above the sea-level. The most remarkable of the whole of this wild region seems to have been distinguished as 'the wilderness of Judah' (Luke i. 39, 65), while 'the mountains of Judah,' or 'the hill country of Judæa,' applies to the mountainous region south of Jerusalem towards Hebron (Josh. xi. 21; 2 Chron. xxvii. 4, &c.). To this district belongs the wilderness of Tekoa (2 Chron. xx. 20), and beyond it eastward, 'the wilderness of Engeddi' (1 Sam. xxiv. 2), Maon (1 Sam. xxiii. 24, 25), and Ziph (1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 15), names made familiar to us by the history of David. Here also is the Frank Mountain near Tekoa, which has already been described [BETHLEHEM], as well as the Carmel mentioned in the history of Nabal (Josh. xv. 55; 1 Sam. xxv.). It would seem that the hills of southernmost Judæa were, before the conquest of the country by the Hebrews, called 'the mountains of the Amorites' (Deut. i. 7, 19, 20, 43, 44). This tract has only of late been explored by travellers on the new route from Petra to Hebron, except by Seetzen, at the beginning of the present century. To obtain a clear notion of it, we should view it from the great Arabah, beyond the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, whence it was surveyed by the Israelites, when they contemplated entering the Promised Land from the south-east. The two terraces which, towards the south end of

the Dead Sea on the east side form the descent to its deep basin from the high-lands of Judæa, stretch off to the south-west, and the ascents from the plain to the first, and from the plateau of the first to the top of the second, which forms the general level of Judæa, present to him who approaches from the lower region of the Arabah, high mountain barriers, which he has to ascend by gorges or passes of more or less difficult ascent. After ascending from the great valley the traveller passes over a wild district covered with rocky hills, till he comes to the frontier wall of the first terrace or step, and which was probably pre-eminently '*the* mountain of the Amorites.' There are in this three principal passes; the southernmost being that of Nubeh-es-Sufah, the Zephath of Scripture, called also Hormah, which we know to have been the pass by which the Israelites attempted to enter Palestine from Kadesh, when they were driven back (Deut. i. 44; Num. xiv. 45; Judg. i. 17). The top of this pass is given in the table of Levels, on the authority of Schubert, as 1434 feet above the level of the sea. A particular description of this 'vast inclined plane of rock' may be seen in Robinson's *Researches* (ii. 590). On reaching the top a journey of three hours among hills of chalky limestone brings the traveller to the second great ascent to the general level of the hill country of eastern Judæa. This second ascent is similar to the first, but not more than half as high. This statement will convey some idea of that difficulty of military access to the country in this direction which eventually induced the invading Hebrews to take another and more circuitous route.

In the direct south of Judah the approach is marked by an ascent more gradual, over a succession of less elevated plateaus, from the desert regions of sand and rock to the hills of Judah. Recent discoveries in that quarter, chiefly those of Dr. Robinson, have shown that much of the south border country, which was formerly regarded as desert, is in fact a variegated region affording good pastures, into which the sheep-masters of Judah doubtless sent their flocks of old. On the mountains of Palestine generally, see Raumer's *Palästina*, pp. 29-84; Winer's *Real-worterb.*, art. 'Gebirge;' Kitto's *Palest.*, '*Phys. Geog.*' ch. ii.

Plains and Valleys.—The two preceding sections will have given an idea of the general arrangement of the plains and valleys of Palestine: and it is therefore here only necessary to indicate those which are separately the most important or the most distinguished. These are those of Lebanon, of the Jordan, of Jericho, of Esdraelon, and of the Coast.

The Plain of Lebanon may be described as the valley which is enclosed between the parallel mountain ranges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus. Although the greater part of it must have been within Solomon's dominion, it can scarcely be deemed to belong to Palestine Proper; but its geographical and historical connection with that country requires its introduction. This enclosed plain is the Cœle-Syria of the ancients, and now bears the name of El-Bekka (the Valley). It is about ninety miles in length, from north to south, by eleven miles in breadth, nearly equal throughout, except that it widens at the northern end and narrows at the southern. This plain is, perhaps, the most rich and beautiful part of Syria. The soil is good, and the water abundant from the numerous mountain springs on each side; but the concentration of the sun's rays renders the summer heat excessive. These are the sources of that fertility for which the valley has, in all ages, been renowned; but only a small portion is now cultivated, the rest being left in pasture to the Arab tribes. (La Roque, i. 115-120; Volney, i. 271; Burckhardt, pp. 4-18, 31; Addison, ii. 48-50; *Modern Syrians*, p. 124).

The Plain of the Jordan. By this name we understand the margin of the lakes, as well as the valley watered by the river. Here the heat is still greater than in the valley of Lebanon, and, in consequence, palm-trees and the fruits of more southern climes than Palestine, will grow freely wherever there are soil and water. But the latter is usually wanting, and, therefore, except on the immediate borders of the river, of the lake of Gennesareth, and of the lesser streams, the whole plain is barren and desolate: for the intense heat which causes exuberant fertility wherever there is water, consumes the plain wherever it is wanting.

The Plain of Jericho is but an opening or expansion in the plain of the Jordan, towards the Dead Sea. The whole expansion takes in the plains of Moab on the east side of the river, and the plains of Jericho on the west, the breadth across being from ten to twelve miles. In fact, the plain of the Jordan is in no other part so wide. The large plain of Jericho is partly desert, but, from the abundance of water and the heat of the climate, it might be rendered highly productive; indeed, the fertility of this plain has been celebrated in every age. Josephus describes it as the most fertile tract of Judæa, and calls it a 'divine region.' He speaks also of its beautiful gardens, and its groves of palm-trees; and his description is borne out by Scripture, in which Jericho is described as 'The city of palm-trees' (Deut. xxxiv. 3; Judg. i. 16). This region also produced honey, opobalsam, the cypress-tree (or *el henna*), and myrobalanum, as well as the common fruits of the earth in prolific abundance. The Scripture adds the sycamore-tree to the number of its products (Luke xix. 4). Of all these productions which so distinguished the climate of Jericho, and the greater part of which it enjoyed in common with Egypt, very few now remain. Only one solitary palm tree lingers in the plain; the sycamores have altogether disappeared; the celebrated opobalsam is not known; and the myrobalanum alone appears to thrive, being probably the thorny shrub, growing wild in the plain, to which the name of *zukkum* is given by the present inhabitants—the modern 'Balsam of Jericho' is an oil, extracted from the kernels of the green nut which it bears. (Nau, p. 349; Morison, p. 507; Surius, p. 491; Mariti, ii. 301; Robinson, ii. 281, sqq.; Olin, ii. 226).

The Plain of Esdraelon is often mentioned in sacred history (Judg. iv. 13, 15, 16; v. 19; 2 Kings xxiii. 29; Zech. xii. 11; Judith i. 8), as the great battle-field of the Jewish and other nations, under the names of the *Valley of Megiddo* and the *Valley of Jezreel;* and by Josephus as the *Great Plain.* The convenience of its extent and situation for military action and display has, from the earliest periods of history down to our own day, caused its surface, at certain intervals,

to be moistened with the blood, and covered with the bodies, of conflicting warriors of almost every nation under heaven. This extensive plain, exclusive of three great arms which stretch eastward towards the valley of the Jordan, may be said to be in the form of an acute triangle, having the measure of thirteen or fourteen miles on the north, about eighteen on the east, and above twenty on the south-west. In the western portion it seems perfectly level, with a general declivity towards the Mediterranean; but in the east it is somewhat undulated by slight spurs and swells from the roots of the mountains: from the eastern side three great valleys go off to the valley of the Jordan. These valleys are separated by the ridges of Gilboa and Little Hermon, and the space which lies between these two ridges, is the *proper* valley of Jezreel, which name seems to be sometimes given to the whole plain of Esdraelon. The valley of Jezreel is a deep plain, and about three miles across. Before the verdure of spring and early summer has been parched up by the heat and drought of the late summer and autumn, the view of the Great Plain is, from its fertility and beauty, very delightful. In June, yellow fields of grain, with green patches of millet and cotton interspersed, chequer the landscape like a carpet. The plain itself is almost without villages, but there are several on the slopes of the enclosing hills, especially on the side of Mount Carmel. (Robinson, ii. 160-162; Olin, ii. 376; Schubert, iii. 163; Clarke, iv. 356-360; Jowett, ii. 192; Stephens, ii. 307; Elliot, ii. 360.)

The Plain of the Coast is that tract of land which extends along the coast, between the sea and the mountains. In some places, where the mountains approach the sea, this tract is interrupted by promontories and rising grounds; but, taken generally, the whole coast of Palestine may be described as an extensive plain of various breadth. Sometimes it expands into broad plains, at others it is contracted into narrow valleys. With the exception of some sandy tracts the soil is throughout rich, and exceedingly productive. The climate is everywhere very warm, and is considered rather insalubrious as compared with the upland country. It is not mentioned by any one collective name in Scripture. The part fronting Samaria, and between Mount Carmel and Jaffa, near a rich pasture-ground, was called the *Valley of Sharon;* and the continuation southward, between Jaffa and Gaza, was called *The Plain*, as distinguished from the hill-country of Judah. A minute description of this plain throughout its extent is given in Kitto's *Palestine, Phys. Geog.* p. c.-cv.

Rivers.—The Jordan is the only river of any note in Palestine, and besides it there are only two or three perennial streams. The greater number of the streams which figure in the history, and find a place in the maps, are merely torrents or water-courses, which carry off the waters in the season of rain, or if they have their origin in springs, are spent, in the season of drought, soon after they quit their sources.

The Jordan. We should like to consider this river simply as the stream issuing from the reservoir of the lake Huleh, but custom requires its source to be traced to some one or more of the streams which form that reservoir. The two largest streams, which enter the lake on the north, are each formed by the junction of two others. It is usual to refer the origin of a river to its remotest sources; but in this case the largest and longest, being the most easterly of the two streams, does not appear to have been at any time identified with the Jordan—that honour having for ages been ascribed to the western stream; *this* river has distinct sources, at Banias and at Tel-el-Kâdi. At Banias (anciently *Paneas*, from the worship of Pan) a stream issues from a spacious cavern, under a wall of rock, at the base of the Heish mountains. Directly over the cavern, and in other parts, in the face of the perpendicular rock, niches have been cut to receive statues. Here Herod built a temple in honour of Augustus; and there was a town somewhat below, traces of which still remain. This is, undoubtedly, that place and cavern, at the foot of a mountain, which Josephus describes as the main source of the Jordan (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 10. 3; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 3). Yet, in another place (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 7), this writer refers the source to a remoter quarter. He relates that the Tetrarch Philip cast some chaff into the lake Phiala, and as it came out at the Paneas cavern, the lake was deemed the true source of the river. This lake lay 120 stadia eastward, and was deep and round, like a bowl or cup—whence its name Phiala. Such a lake, about a mile in circumference and perfectly round, was discovered by Captains Irby and Mangles, as they journeyed from Damascus to Banias, not more than twelve miles from the latter place.

A second source of the Jordan, as described by ancient writers, is at the place now called Tel-el-Kâdi, which is about three miles to the west of the cavern at Banias. The *Tell* (hill) is a small elevation in the plain, with a flat space on the top: here are two springs, one of which is very large. The united waters immediately form a stream, twelve or fifteen yards across, which rushes rapidly over a stony bed into a lower plain. After a course of about four miles the stream unites with that from Banias, forming the reputed Jordan, which then continues its course to the lake.

The true Jordan—the stream that *quits* this lake—passes rapidly along the narrow valley, and between well-shaded banks, to the lake of Gennesareth: the distance is about nine miles. Nearly two miles below the lake is a bridge, called Jacob's bridge; and here the river is about eighty feet wide, and four feet deep. It is said that, in passing through, the Jordan does not mingle its waters with those of the lake of Gennesareth: the same thing is reported of other rivers that pass through lakes. It is certain that the course of the river may be traced through the middle of the lake by a line of smoother water.

On leaving the lake of Gennesareth the river enters a very broad valley, or *Ghor*, by which name the natives designate a depressed tract or plain between mountains. This name is applied to the plain of the Jordan, not only between the lake of Gennesareth and the Dead Sea, but quite across the Dead Sea, and to some distance beyond. The valley varies in width from five to ten miles between the mountains on each side. The river does not make its way straight through the midst of the Ghor; it flows first near the western hills,

then near the eastern, but advances to the Dead Sea through the middle of the valley. Within this valley there is a lower one, and within that, in some parts, another still lower, through which the river flows; the inner valley is about half a mile wide, and is generally green and beautiful, covered with trees and bushes, whereas the upper or large valley is, for the most part, sandy or barren. The distance between the two lakes, in a direct line, is about sixty miles. In the first part of its course the stream is clear, but it becomes turbid as it advances to the Dead Sea, probably from passing over beds of sandy clay. The water is very wholesome, always cool, and nearly tasteless. The breadth and depth of the river varies much in different places and at different times of the year. Dr. Shaw calculates the average breadth at thirty yards, and the depth at nine feet. In the season of flood, in April and early in May, the river is full, and sometimes overflows its lower banks, to which fact there are several allusions in Scripture (Josh. iii. 15; 1 Chron. xii. 15; Jer. xii. 5; xlix. 19; l. 44; Ecclus. xxiv. 26). (Nau, p. 272; Shaw, ii. 156; Paxton, p. 158; Stephens, ii. 361-363; Burckhardt, pp. 39-43; 314, 345, 514; Irby and Mangles, pp. 283-290; 304, 326; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, pp. 401-406; *Palestine*, i. 90, 93; Robinson, ii. 255-267; iii. 309-312; 347, 355; Olin, ii. 229-334; Schubert, iii. 80-84; Pococke, ii. 71; Richardson, ii. 425, 445, 446; Lindsay, ii. 65, 91; Elliot, i. 74-77.)

The Kishon, that 'ancient river,' by whose wide and rapid stream the hosts of Sisera were swept away (Judg. iv. 13; v. 21), has been noticed under the proper head [Kishon].

The Belus, now called *Nahr Kardanus*, enters the bay of Acre higher up than the Kishon. It



444. [Ford of the Jordan.]

is a small stream, fordable even at its mouth in summer. It is not mentioned in the Bible, and is chiefly celebrated for the tradition, that the accidental vitrefaction of its sands taught man the art of making glass.

The other streams of note enter the Jordan from the east; these are the Jarmuth, the Jabbok, and the Arnon, of which the last two have been noticed under their proper heads. *The Jarmuth*, called also *Sheriat-el-Mandhour*, anciently *Hieromax*, joins the Jordan five miles below the lake of Gennesareth. Its source is ascribed to a small lake, almost a mile in circumference, at Mezareib, which is thirty miles east of the Jordan. It is a beautiful stream, and yields a considerable body of water to the Jordan [Arnon; Jabbok].

Lakes.—The river Jordan in its course forms three remarkable lakes, in the last of which, called the Dead Sea, it is lost:—

The Lake Merom (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 5, 7), or *Samochonitis* (*Antiq.* v. 5, 1), now called *Huleh*, the first of these, serves as a kind of reservoir to collect the waters which form the Jordan, and again to send them forth in a single stream. In the spring, when the waters are highest, the lake is seven miles long and three and a half broad; but in summer it becomes a mere marsh. In some parts it is sown with rice, and its reeds and rushes afford shelter to wild hogs. (Pococke, ii. 71; Burckhardt, p. 316; Irby and Mangles, p. 290; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, p. 309; Richardson, ii. 450, 451; Robinson, ii. 339-342.)

The Lake of Gennesareth, called also the *Sea of Galilee*, and the *Lake of Tiberias*. After quitting the lake Merom, the river Jordan proceeds for about thirteen miles southward, and then enters the great lake of Gennesareth. This lake lies very deep, among fruitful hills and mountains, from which, in the rainy season, many rivulets descend; its shape will be seen from the map. Its extent has been greatly over-rated: Professor Robinson considers that its length, in a straight line, does not exceed eleven or twelve geographical miles, and that its breadth is from five to six miles. From numerous indications, it is judged that the bed of

this lake was formed by some ancient volcanic eruption, which history has not recorded. Its waters are very clear and sweet, and contain various kinds of excellent fish in great abundance. It will be remembered that several of the apostles were fishermen of this lake, and that it was also the scene of several transactions in the life of Christ: it is thus frequently mentioned in the New Testament, but very rarely in the Old, where it is called the *Sea of Cinnereth*, of which *Gennesareth* is a corruption. The borders of the lake were in the time of Christ well peopled, being covered with numerous towns and villages; but now they are almost desolate, and the fish and water-fowl are but little disturbed. (Robinson, iii. 253, 264, 312, 314; Schubert, iii. 235-243; Olin, ii. 406-408; D'Arvieux, ii. 176, 177; Clarke, iv. 119-225; Burckhardt, p. 332; Buckingham, *Palest.* ch. xxv.; Irby and Mangles, p. 295; Jowett, pp. 172-176; Hardy, pp. 237-241; Elliot, ii. 342-350.)

The Dead Sea, called also the *Salt Sea*, the *Sea of Sodom*, and the *Asphaltic Lake* (*Lacus Asphaltites*), is from its size the most important, and from its history and qualities the most remarkable, of all the lakes of Palestine. It was long assumed that this lake did not exist before the destruction of Sodom and the other 'cities of the plain' (Gen. xix.); and that before that time the present bed of the lake was a fertile plain, in which these cities stood. It was also concluded that the river Jordan then flowed through this plain, and afterwards pursued its course, through the great valley of Arabah, to the eastern arm of the Red Sea. The careful observations of Professor Robinson have now, however, rendered it more probable that a lake which, as now, received the river Jordan, existed here before Sodom was destroyed; but that an encroachment of the waters, southward, then took place, overwhelming a beautiful and well-watered plain which lay on the southern border of the lake, and on which Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar were situated. The promontory, or rather peninsula,* towards the south, which is so distinct a feature of this lake, probably marks the original boundary of the lake in that direction, and shows the point through which the waters broke into the plain beyond.

The Dead Sea is about thirty-nine or forty geographical miles long from north to south, and nine or ten miles wide from east to west; and it lies embedded very deep between lofty cliffs on the western side, which are about 1500 feet high, and mountains on the eastern shore, the highest ridges of which are reckoned to be from 2000 to 2500 feet above the water. The water of the lake is much salter than that of the sea. From the quantity of salt which the water holds in solution it is thick and heavy, and no fish can live, or marine plants grow in it. The old stories about the pestiferous qualities of the Dead Sea and its waters are mere fables or delusions; and actual appearances are the natural and obvious effects of the confined and deep situation, the intense heat, and the uncommon saltness of the waters. Lying in its deep cauldron, surrounded by lofty cliffs of naked limestone rock, exposed for seven or eight months in the year to the unclouded beams of a burning sun, nothing but sterility and solitude can be looked for upon its shores; and nothing else is actually found, except in those parts where there are fountains or streams of fresh water; in all which places there is a fertile soil and abundant vegetation. Birds also abound, and they are observed to fly over and across the sea without being, as old stories tell, injured or killed by its exhalations. Professor Robinson was five days in the vicinity of its shores, without being able to perceive that any noisome smell or noxious vapour arose from the bosom of the lake. Its coasts have always been inhabited, and are so now; and although the inhabitants suffer from fevers in summer, this is not more than might be expected from the concentrated heat of the climate in connection with the marshes. The same effects might be experienced were there no lake, or were the waters fresh instead of salt.

On the borders of this lake is found much sulphur, in pieces as large as walnuts, and even larger. There is also a black shining stone, which will partly burn in the fire, and which then emits a bituminous smell: this is the 'stink-stone' of Burckhardt. At Jerusalem it is made into rosaries and toys, of which great quantities are sold to the pilgrims who visit the sacred places. Another remarkable production found here, from which, indeed, the lake takes one of its names, is *asphaltum*, or bitumen. Josephus says, that 'the sea in many places sends up black masses of asphaltum, which float upon the surface, having the size and shape of headless oxen' (*De Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, 4). From recent information it appears that large masses are rarely found, and then generally after earthquakes. The substance is doubtless produced from the bottom of the sea, in which it coagulates, and rises to the surface; or possibly the coagulation may have been ancient, and the substance adheres to the bottom until detached by earthquakes and other convulsions, when its buoyancy brings it to the surface. We know that 'the vale of Siddim' (Gen. xiv. 10) was anciently 'full of slime-pits' or sources of bitumen; and these, now under the water, probably supply the asphaltum which is found on such occasions (Nau, pp. 577, 578; Morison, ch. xxx.; Shaw, ii. 157, 158; Hasselquist, pp. 130, 131, 284; Irby and Mangles, pp. 351-356, 346-359; Hardy, pp. 201-204; Monro, i. 145-148; Elliott, ii. 479-486; Wilde, ii.; Lindsay, ii. 64-66; Stephens, ii. ch. 15; Paxton, pp. 159-163; Robinson, ii. 204-239; 601-608; 661-677; Schubert, iii. 84-92; Olin, ii. 234-245).

Climate and Seasons.—The variations of sunshine and rain which, with us, extend throughout the year, are in Palestine confined chiefly to the latter part of autumn and the winter. During all the rest of the year the sky is almost uninterruptedly cloudless, and rain very rarely falls.

The autumnal rains usually commence at the latter end of October, or beginning of November, not suddenly, but by degrees; which gives opportunity to the husbandman to sow his wheat and barley. The rains come mostly from the west (Luke xii. 54) and south-west, and continue for two or three days at a time, falling chiefly in the night; the wind then changes to the north or east, and several days of fine weather succeed. During the months of November and December the rains

* See the figure of the Dead Sea in the map.

continue to fall heavily; afterwards they return at longer intervals, and are not so heavy; but at no period during the winter do they entirely cease to occur. Rain continues to fall more or less during the month of March, but is afterwards very rare. Morning mists occur as late as May, but rain almost never. Rain in the time of harvest was as incomprehensible to an ancient Jew as snow in summer (Prov. xxvi. 1; 1 Sam. xii. 17; Amos iv. 7). The 'early' and the 'latter' rains, for which the Jewish husbandmen awaited with longing (Prov. xvi. 15; James v. 7), seem to have been the first showers of autumn, which revived the parched and thirsty soil, and prepared it for the seed; and the later showers of spring, which continued to refresh and forward the ripening crops and the vernal products of the fields.

The cold of winter is not severe, and the ground is never frozen. Snow falls more or less. In the low-lying plains but little falls, and it disappears early in the day; in the higher lands, as at Jerusalem, it often falls, chiefly in January and February, to the depth of a foot or more; but even there it does not lie long on the ground. Thunder and lightning are frequent in the winter.

In the plains and valleys the heat of summer is oppressive, but not in the more elevated tracts, as at Jerusalem, except when the south wind (*Sirocco*) blows (Luke xii. 55). In such high grounds the nights are cool, often with heavy dew. The total absence of rain in summer soon destroys the verdure of the fields, and gives to the general landscape, even in the high country, an aspect of drought and barrenness. No green thing remains but the foliage of the scattered fruit-trees, and occasional vineyards and fields of millet. In autumn the whole land becomes dry and parched; the cisterns are nearly empty, and all nature, animate and inanimate, looks forward with longing for the return of the rainy season.

In the hill-country the season of harvest is later than in the plains of the Jordan and of the sea-coast. The barley-harvest is about a fortnight earlier than that of wheat. In the plain of the Jordan the wheat-harvest is early in May; in the plains of the Coast and of Esdraelon it is towards the latter end of that month; and in the hills, not until June. The general vintage is in September, but the first grapes ripen in July, and from that time the towns are well supplied with this fruit.

In the Biblical narrative only two seasons of the year, summer and winter, are directly mentioned. Among many Oriental nations, as the Hindoos and Arabians, the year has six seasons. The Talmud (*Bava Mezia*, p. 106. 2) exhibits a similar arrangement, which in this case appears to have been founded on Gen. viii. 22, 'While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, shall not cease.' This is the only passage of Scripture which can be construed to have reference to any such division of the seasons, and in this it is not very clear. But if such a distribution of the seasons ever existed, the following would seem to have been its arrangement:

1. זֶרַע, *Seedtime;* 15th October to 15th December.

2. חֹרֶף, *Winter;* 15th December to 15th February.

3. קוֹר, *Cold;* 15th February to 15th April.

4. קָצִיר, *Harvest;* 15th April to 15th June.

5. חֹם, *Heat;* 15th June to 15th August.

6. קַיִץ, *Summer;* 15th August to 15th October.

The climate of Palestine has always been considered healthy, and the inhabitants have for the most part lived to a good old age (Tacit. *Hist.* v. 6). Jerusalem, in particular, from its great elevation, clear sky and invigorating atmosphere, should be a healthy place, and so it is generally esteemed; but the plague frequently appears among its ill-fed and uncleanly population; and bilious fevers, the result of great and sudden vicissitudes of temperature, are more common than might be expected in such a situation. (Schubert, *Morgenland*, iii. 106; Olin, ii. 333; Robinson, ii. 96-100; Kalthoff, *Hebr. Alterthum*, pp. 42-46; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Feb. 1844, pp. 221-224.)

Inhabitants.—Under this head we present the reader with the following observations of Dr. Olin (*Travels*, ii. 438, 439):—'The inhabitants of Palestine are Arabs; that is, they speak the Arabic, though, with slight exceptions, they are probably all descendants of the old inhabitants of Syria. They are a fine, spirited race of men, and have given Mohammed Ali much trouble in subduing them, and still more in retaining them in subjection. They are said to be industrious for Orientals, and to have the right elements for becoming, under better auspices, a civilized intellectual nation. I believe, however, it will be found impracticable to raise any people to a respectable social and moral state under a Turkish or Egyptian, or any other Mohammedan government. The inherent vices of the religious system enter, and, from their unavoidable connections, must enter, so deeply into the political administration, that any reform in government or improvememt in the people, beyond temporary alleviations of evils too pressing to be endured, cannot reasonably be expected. The Turks and Syrians are about at the maximum of the civilization possible to Mohammedans of the present time. The mercantile class is said to be little respected, and generally to lack integrity. Veracity is held very lightly by all classes. The people are commonly temperate and frugal, which may be denominated Oriental virtues. Their situation, with regard to the physical means of comfort and subsistence, is, in many respects, favourable, and under a tolerable government would be almost unequalled. As it is, the Syrian peasant and his family fare much better than the labouring classes of Europe. The mildness of the climate, the abundance of land and its fertility, with the free and luxuriant pasturage that covers the mountains and the plains, render it nearly impossible that the peasant should not be well supplied with bread, fruit, meat, and milk. The people almost always appear well clothed. Their houses, too, though often of a slight construction and mean appearance, must be pronounced commodious when compared with the dark, crowded apartments usually occupied by the corresponding classes in Europe. Agricultural wages vary a good deal in different parts of the country, but I had reason to conclude that the average was not less than three or four piasters per day.' With all these advantages population

is on the decline, arising from polygamy, military conscription, unequal and oppressive taxation, forced labour, general insecurity of property, the discouragement of industry, and the plague.

Natural History.—As all the objects of natural history, mentioned in Scripture, are in the present work examined under the proper heads with unexampled care and completeness, by writers eminent in their several departments, it is unnecessary in this place to go over the ground which has been so advantageously pre-occupied. All that is here wanted is an account of the *actual* natural history of the country. In the *Physical Geography*, attached to the present writer's *Pictorial History of Palestine*, a large body of information on this subject, derived from a great number of travellers, has been brought together. Since then Schubert has published his *Reise in das Morgenland*, Erlangen, 1840; the third volume of which contains several pages (pp. 104-123) devoted to the natural history of Palestine. Schubert was a most competent observer, and one of the very few real naturalists who have visited the country since Hasselquist; and we consider that his account forms the most valuable contribution to the natural history of the country which any single traveller has yet offered. His observations on the mineralogy of Palestine have already been introduced, and we shall further enrich this article with the remainder of his important and interesting notice.

Botany. In the present work, that which is called *Biblical Botany* is largely considered under the names of the several products; and for the actual Flora of the country the most copious account which has hitherto been furnished, will be found in the writer's above-named work on *Palestine*. The ample materials there brought together are not however so well suited to the object of this sketch, as the short account given by Schubert of the principal products. He states that a more detailed account is reserved for another work, and for the present is content to lead his reader along one footpath of the great garden.

In the Koran of Mohammed God is introduced as swearing by the fig and by the olive, which the Moslem commentators say, mean Damascus and Jerusalem. The olive certainly was, and still continues to be, the chief of all the trees of Palestine, which seems to be its natural home. 'Never,' says Schubert, 'have I any where beheld such ancient olive-trees as here. But the plantations might be more extensive, and the produce more profitable, were they tended by such careful and diligent hands as those of Provence. Excellent oil is obtained from the fruit. But although the pre-eminence among the trees of Palestine must be assigned to the olive, *fig-trees* also occur in great numbers, and the plantations sometimes cover large tracts which the eye can scarcely embrace. This sight is most common in the neighbourhood of Jabrut, in the hills between Bir and Sinjil. The fruit has a peculiarly pleasant flavour, and an aromatic sweetness, but is generally smaller than that of Smyrna. As to the *vine*, which is now only found in some districts of Palestine, it is not surpassed by any on earth for the strength of its juice, and—at least in the southern mountains—for the size and abundance of the grapes. In the neighbourhood of Lebanon I drank wine, which seemed to me unequalled by any I had ever tasted for strength and flavour. As the Moslems do not openly drink wine, though they are beginning to relish the forbidden enjoyment, they avail themselves of such of the abundance of grapes which the country yields, as they do not eat, or sell to Christians and Jews, who press them for wine, in preparing raisins, but more in making an unrivalled syrup called *dibs*, which is exported chiefly to Egypt. From the large quantities exported the great abundance of the produce is apparent; and Dr. Shaw states that in his time not less than 2000 cwts. were annually exported from Hebron alone. In the environs of Jerusalem and Hebron the grapes are ripe, and are gathered in September; only in Lebanon do the people trouble themselves to cherish and preserve the wine; but generally drink the produce of the year from one vintage to another.

The first tree whose blossoms appear prior to the period of the latter rains, and open in the very deep valleys before the cold days of February set in, is the *Luz* or *almond-tree*. We found the environs of Hebron, in March, adorned with fruit-trees in blossom, among which were the apricot, the apple, and the pear; in April the purple of the pomegranate flowers combines with the white of the myrtle blossoms; and at the same period the roses of the country, and the variegated ladanes (Cistus); the zukkîm-tree (Elæagnus angustifolius), the storax-tree, whose flowers resemble those of the German jasmine (Philadelphus coronarius), emit their fragrant odours.*

Together with the victorious strength of the country, the palm-tree, the symbol of victory, has been removed from its place; and of the famous palm groves of Jericho very few traces now remain. But how well this excellent tree thrives in the low-lands, we witnessed at Acre, and in the environs of Caipha, under Carmel.

The tall cypress only exists in Palestine, as cultivated by man, in gardens, and in cemeteries, and other open places of towns. But as the spontaneous growth of the country, we find upon the heights and swelling hills the azarole (Cratægus azarolus), the walnut-tree, the strawberry-tree, the laurel-tree, the laurestinus, species of the pistachio and terebinth trees, of evergreen oaks, and of the rhamnus of the size of trees and shrubs, the cedrine juniper-tree, and some sorts of thymelæus; while on the formerly wooded heights various kinds of pine-trees, large and small, still maintain their ground. The sycamore, the carob trees, and the opuntia fig trees, are only found as objects of cultivation in or near towns; and orchards of orange and lemon trees occur chiefly in the neighbourhood of Nabulus (Shechem).

The various kinds of corn grow spontaneously in great plenty in many districts, chiefly in the plains of Jezreel and the heights of Galilee, being the wild progeny of formerly cultivated fields, and bearing testimony by their presence to the fitness of the soil for the production of grain. In addition to wheat and barley, among this wild growth, the common rye was often seen. The present course

* A very full account of the state of the vegetable products of Palestine, from month to month, throughout the year, is given in the *Physical Geography of Palestine* above referred to.

of agriculture, which is but carelessly practised, comprises nearly the same kinds of grain which are grown in Egypt. Fields are seen covered with summer *dhurah* (*dhurah gaydi*), the common *dhurah* (*dhurah sayfeh*), and the autumnal *dhurah* (*dhurah dimiri*), all of which are varieties of the Holcus sorghum. Maize (*kumh*), spelt, and barley (*schayir*), thrive everywhere; and rice (*aruz*) is produced on the Upper Jordan and the marshy borders of the lake Merom. Upon the Jordan, near Jacob's bridge, may be seen fine tall specimens of the papyrus reed. Of pulse the inhabitants grow the *hommos* or chick pea (Cicer arietanum), the *fool* or Egyptian bean (Vicia faba), the *gishrungayga* (Phaseolus Mungo), the *gilban* (Lathyrus sativus), together with the *ads* or lentil, and the *bisilleh* or peas (Pisum arvense). Of esculent vegetables, the produce of the various species of hibiscus are much liked and cultivated, particularly the *bamia towileh* (Hibiscus esculentus), the *bamia beledi*, or *wayka* (Hibiscus præcox). In some places the Christian inhabitants or Franks are endeavouring to introduce the potato which the natives call *kolkas Franschi*. In the garden of the monasteries the *kharschuf* or artichoke is very common, as is also the *khus* or salad: in most districts, as about Nabulus (Shechem) the water-melon (*batikh*) and cucumber (*khiar*) are common. Hemp (*bust*) is more commonly grown in Palestine than flax (*kettan*); and in favourable localities cotton (*kotn*) is cultivated, and also madder (*fuah*, Rubia tinctorum) for dyeing.

'My report,' pursues Schubert, 'would become a volume were I to enumerate the plants and flowers which the season exhibited to our view; for whoever follows the comparatively short course of the Jordan from the Dead Sea northward, along the borders of the lakes of Gennesareth and Merom, and onward to the utmost springs in Anti-Libanus, traverses in a few days climates, zones, and observes varieties of plants which are in other countries separated by hundreds of miles. The blood-immortelle (Gnaphilium sanguineum) is a small plant which the pilgrims commonly gather in the Mount of Olives; while from Carmel and Lebanon they pluck the great Oriental immortelle (Gnaph. orientale) as a memorial of their pilgrimage. The fruits of the mandrake of Palestine (Mandragora autumnalis) are sought in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem by the Oriental Christians, as well as by the Moslems, because they are considered to possess peculiar powers: but the plant is in that quarter very rare, though of frequent occurrence on the south of Hebron, and in Mounts Tabor and Carmel. Whoever desires views really extensive and beautiful of lilies, tulips, hyacinths, and narcissuses, must in the spring season visit the districts through which we passed; where also the garlic assumes a size and beauty which might render it worthy of becoming an ornamental plant in our gardens.'

Animals.—Herds of black cattle are now but rarely seen in Palestine. The ox in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is small and unsightly, and beef or veal is but rarely eaten. But on the Upper Jordan, and in the vicinity of Tabor and Nazareth, and to the east of the Jordan on the way from Jacob's bridge to Damascus, the ox thrives better and is more frequently seen. The buffalo thrives upon the coast, and is there equal in size and strength to the buffalo of Egypt. The rearing of black cattle seems to have been checked by the exactions of the government, from whose notice wealth, in the shape of animals so bulky, could not be easily withdrawn or concealed. The absence of fences also renders it difficult to put them to graze, as they could hardly be prevented from trespassing in the corn-fields, and of treading down ten times more than they would eat. King Solomon required daily for his table ten fattened and twenty grass-fed oxen (1 Kings iv. 23); but were another Solomon now to ascend the throne of Israel, he would have to be contented with the flesh of sheep and goats. These animals are still seen in great numbers in all parts of the country: their flesh and milk serve for daily food, and their wool and hair for clothing. The common sort of sheep in Palestine manifest the tendency to form a fat and large tail. The long-eared Syrian goat is furnished with hair of considerable fineness, but seemingly not so fine as that of the same species of goat in Asia Minor. Of animals of the deer kind, Schubert saw only the female of the fallow-deer, and this was in the same district in which Hasselquist also met with fallow-deer, namely, on Mount Tabor. On another occasion he thought that he discovered animals of the deer kind upon the mountain top; but, on a closer view, deemed it more probable that they were the native brown antelope (*A. hinnuleus*); for of the antelopes several species are met with in the country.

Camels are not reared in Palestine to any extent worth mentioning, at least on the west of the Jordan; but several herds of these animals were noticed near Baalbec, in the great valley between Libanus and Anti-Libanus. Palestine cannot boast of its native breed of horses, although fine animals of beautiful shape, and apparently of high Arabian race, are not unfrequently seen. The ass of the country scarcely takes higher relative rank than the horse; asses and mules are still, however, much used for riding, as they afford a means of locomotion well suited to the difficult mountain paths of the country. Boars (*khanzie*) are very often observed upon Mount Tabor and the Lesser Hermon, as well as on the woody slopes of Mount Carmel; and from these habitats they often descend into the plains of Acre and Esdraelon. Of the *waber* or Hyrax Syriacus, to which, in Arabia Petræa, so much attention has lately been drawn, no trace has been found in Palestine or Syria, although it has been named from the latter country. Our traveller was informed by the guides who conducted his party from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea, and afterwards to Damascus, to the neighbourhood of which they belonged, that the lion was among the most dangerous animals of the country; 'but,' he adds, 'I could not credit them, on account of their general ignorance, which they evinced by naming several animals after which I inquired by the general term *hywan*, *i. e.* "animal;" or at best, *wakesch*, *i. e.* "wild-animal." If the lion should really have been in modern times seen in Palestine, it can scarcely have been indigenous, but must in all probability have wandered from the more eastern region towards the Euphrates, where it certainly exists.' Among indigenous animals of the genus *felis*, we

may however name the common panther (*nimr*) which is found among the mountains of central Palestine; and in the genus *canis* there is the small *Abul Hhosseyn*, or Canis famelicus, and a kind of large fox (Canis Syriacus), which our traveller did not himself see, but supposed to be denoted by the word *taleb*. In addition to these is the jackal (*dibb*), which is very injurious to the flocks. The hyæna (*zabue*) is found chiefly in the valley of the Jordan, and in the mountains around the lake of Tiberias, but is also occasionally seen in other districts of Palestine. Of bears our traveller saw none, but he met with hides cut up and hanging from the saddles of some mules, to whose riders they furnished a comfortable seat. The animals to which the hides belonged were said to have been killed in the Anti-Libanus, not far from Damascus. The hides had more resemblance to that of the common brown bear than to that of the bear described by Ehrenberg under the name of Ursus Syriacus. A hedgehog was procured near Bethlehem, which was found to resemble the common European animal, and not to be the long-eared Egyptian species. The native *arneb* or hare is the same as the Arabian. The porcupine is frequently found in the clefts of the rocks in Palestine, and is called *kanfeds*, though the common people also give it the same name with the hedgehog.

Among the larger birds of prey Schubert often saw the common *cathartes* or vulture (C. percnopterus), and the *hedy* or kite. The native wild dove, called *qimri*, differs not perceptibly from our own species, which is also the case with the shrikes, crows, rollers, and other species found in Palestine.

Schubert had no opportunity of ascertaining whether the large animal called by the Arabs *temsah*, and said to be found in a river or small lake to the west of Shechem, really was the crocodile, as the name implies. The tortoise, observed near Bethlehem and Nazareth, was the Testudo Græca, which is found also in Italy and Greece. Serpents are rare, and none of those which have been observed are poisonous. Our traveller noticed them only in the environs of Nazareth, and on the route from Cana to the lake of Tiberias. For observations on the fresh-water snakes of Palestine, we are referred for information to an intended work of Schubert's fellow-traveller, Dr. Roth, which does not seem to have been yet published. Near Beirut was noticed the Janthina fragilis, which yields the common purple dye. Among the insects the bee is the most conspicuous. Mosquitoes are somewhat troublesome, but not at the time of the year in which Schubert travelled. Beetles are abundant, and of various species, which our traveller does not enumerate, but which are figured and described in Ehrenberg's *Symbolæ Physicæ*.

Of the numerous works on Palestine it is impossible to offer a complete list in this place. A copious list of such works was given in the *Pictorial History of Palestine;* and since then one, not materially different, has also been presented in Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*. A very excellent list is also prefixed to Raumer's *Palästina*. Nearly all the works in these lists are in the writer's possession, or have been examined by him; but his object in drawing up the following summary is simply to supply the titles of the works which, for brevity, are referred to in the preceding article only by the names of the writers, and to indicate such others as appear to him the most trustworthy and useful. Works merely curious or entertaining are purposely omitted. We have adopted a chronological arrangement. The dates are those of publication; but the order is that of travel :—

Eusebii et Hieronymii *Onomasticon Locorum et Urbium*, 1631, 1639; *Itinerarium* B. Antonini Martyris, 1640; Adamnanus, *De Locis Sanctis*, 1619; Benjamin Tudelensis, *Itinerarium*, 1633, Berlin, 1840; Will. Tyrensis, *Historia Belli Sacri*, 1549; Jacobi de Vitriaco, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 1597; Brocardi *Locorum Terræ Sanctæ Descriptio*, 1513; Abulfedæ *Tabula Syriæ* (Arab. and Latin), 1766; Suchem, *Von dem Gelobten Land*, 1477; Gumpenberg, *Meerfarth In das Heilige Land*, 1561; Tucher, *Reyssbeschreibung*, 1482; Breydenbach, *Itiner. Hieros. ac in T. Sanctam*, 1486; Fabri, *Eigentliche Beschreybung der Hin. und Wiederfarth zu dem H. Land*, 1556; La Huen, *La Grant Voyage de Hierusalem*, 1516; Baumgarten, *Peregrinatio*, 1594; Belon, *Observations*, 1553; Furer, *Itinerarium*, 1620; Rauwolf, *Aigenliche Beischreibung, &c.*, 1581, translated in Ray's *Collection*, 1696; Radzivil, *Jerosolymitana Peregrinatio*, 1601; Zuallart, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gierusalemme*, 1587; Cotovicus, *Itinerar. Hierosolymitanum et Syriaeum*, 1619; Rochetta, *Peregrinatione di Terra Santa*, 1630; Sandys' *Travailes*, 1615; Quaresmius, *Historica, theologica, et moralis Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio*, 1639; Castillo, *El Devoto Peregrino y Viage de Tierra Santa*, 1656; Surius, *Le Pieux Pelerin*, 1666; Monconys, *Journal des Voyages, &e*, 1665; Doubdan, *Le Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, 1657; Thevenot, *Voyage au Levant*, 1665; D'Arvieux, *Voyage dans la Palestine*, 1717; Von Troilo, *Orientalische Reisebesehreibung*, 1676; De Bruyn (Le Brun), *Reyzen door den Levant*, 1699; Nau, *Voyage Nouveau de la Terre Sainte*, 1679; De la Roque, *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Leban*, 1722; Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, 1697; Morison, *Relation d'un Voyage au Mont Sinai et à Jerusalem*, 1704; Van Egmond en Heyman, *Reizen door een Gedeelte van Europa . . . Syria, &c.*, 1757, 1758—English, 1759; Shaw, *Travels in Barbary and the Levant*, 1738; Korten, *Reise nach dem Gelobten Lande*, 1741; Pococke, *Description of the East*, 1743-1748; Hasselquist, *Iter Palæstinum*, 1757—English, 1766; Schulz, *Leitungen*, &c., 1771-75; Mariti, *Viaggi per le Soria e Palestine*, 1769-71; Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, 1773; *Reisbeschreibung nach Arabien*, 1774-78—the volume relating to the Holy Land was not published till 1837; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, 1787; Clarke, *Travels*, 1811; Ali Bey, *Travels*, 1816; Seetzen—his valuable observations are scattered through many volumes of Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz;* a small portion was translated and published in 1812 by the 'Palestine Society,' under the title of *A Brief Account of the Countries adjoining the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea*. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822; Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, 1820; Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, 1822; Buckingham, *Travels in Palestine*, 1821; *Travels among the*

Arab Tribes, 1825; Richardson, *Travels along the Mediterranean*, 1822; Joliffe, *Letters from Palestine*, 1819; Irby and Mangles, *Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Syria, &c.*, 1822; Jowett, *Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1825; Rüppell, *Reisen in Nubien, Kordofan, und den Peträischen Arabien*, 1829; Hogg, *Visit to Alexandria, Damascus, and Jerusalem*, 1825; Hardy, *Notices of the Holy Land*, 1835; Monro, *A Summer Ramble in Syria*, 1835; Stephens, *Incidents of Travel*, 1837; Elliot, *Travels*, 1838: Wilde, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 1840; Paxton, *Letters on Palestine and Egypt*, 1839; Lord Lindsay, *Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land*, 1839; Schubert, *Reise nach dem Morgenlande*, 1838-40; Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1841; Bowring, *Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria*, 1840; Olin, *Travels in the East*, 1843; *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland*, 1842: Herschell, *Visit to My Father-Land*, 1844; *Eōthen*, 1844; *Modern Syrians*, 1844; Russegger, *Reisen in Europa, Asien, und Afrika*, 1844, in course of publication.

Extensive as is the above list, it is but a selection from books numerous enough to fill a library. Besides these, there are numerous works on the geography of Palestine, of which the following are the principal: — Adrichomius, *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, 1590; Bochart, *Geographia Sacra*, 1646; Sanson, *Geographia Sacra*, 1665; Fuller, *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, 1650; Dapper, *Syrie en Palastyn of Heilige Lant*, 1677; Wells, *Historical Geography of the New Test.*, 1712; *Historical Geography of the Old Test.*, 1712; Reland, *Palæstina ex Monumentis veteribus Illustrata*, 1714; Bachiene, *Heilige Geographie*, 1758-68; Busching's *Erdbeschreibung*, 1785; Hamelsveldt, *Bibliche Geographie*, 1793; Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, 1799 (*Arabia, Palestine, and Syria*, in vol. vi. pt. 1); Ritter, *Die Erdekunde*, 1818 (*Western Asia* in vol. ii.); Rosenmüller, *Bibliche Geographie*, 1823-1828; Raumer, *Palästina*, 1835 and 1838; *Supplement*, 1843; Kitto's *Pictorial History and Physical Geography of Palestine*, 1841.

PALM. [Weights and Measures.]

PALM-TREE. [Tamar.]

PALSY. [Diseases.]

PAMPHYLIA (Παμφυλία), a province in the southern part of Asia Minor, having the Mediterranean on the south, Cilicia on the east, Pisidia on the north, and Lycia on the west. It was nearly opposite the island of Cyprus; and the sea between the coast and the island is called in Acts the sea of Pamphylia. The chief cities of this province were Perga and Attalia. Christianity was probably first preached in this country by some of the Jewish proselytes who were converted on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 10, 15, 38). It was afterwards visited by Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiii. 13).

PANNAG (פַּנַּג) occurs only once in Scripture, but so much uncertainty exists respecting the meaning of the word, that in many translations, as, for instance, in the Authorized English Version, the original is retained. Thus in the account of the commerce of Tyre, it is stated in Ezek. xxvii. 17, 'Judah and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants; they traded in thy markets wheat of Minnith, and *Pannag*, and oil, and honey, and *balm*' (*tzeri*, translated also *rosin* in the margin of the English Bible). From the context it is evident that wheat, oil, and honey, were conveyed by Judah and Israel, that is, the products of their country as an agricultural people, as articles of traffic to the merchants and manufacturers of Tyre, who, it is certain, must, from their insular position, have obtained their chief articles of diet from the neighbouring land of Syria. It is probable, therefore, that *pannag* and *tzeri*, whatever they may have been, were the produce of Palestine, or at least of Syria. Some have considered *pannag* to indicate *balsam*, others *cassia*, and some again *sweetmeats*. 'Chaldæus *kolija* Græca voce, quam interpretatur Hesychius τρωγάλια, bellaria ex melle.' Some of the Rabbins have also thought that it was a district of Judæa, which, like Minnith, yielded the best wheat; others, as Junius and Tremellius, from the similarity in the name, have thought it might be the original of the name of Phœnicia. But Hiller (*Hierophytica*, ii. p. 51) says, 'Nullus horum, ut opinor, recte divinavit. Nec enim est casia, nam casiæ suum nomen est; neque balsamum, quia in hortis regiis plantatus balsami frutex, nihil plebi ad mercatum reliquerat, et generali nomine צרי opobalsamum notatum; nec bellaria ex melle, merces vulgatissima, quam Tyrii et Græci mercatores domi parare poterant; nec denique Phœniciam Pannag significaverit, quod insciti Ezechiel scriberet Israelitas triticum Phœniciæ in Phœniciam ad nundinas scil. Tyrias attulisse.' He, however, continues, 'Pannag, nisi magnopere fallor, est Panax vel Panaces, vox Græcæ vel Syriacæ originis ad Græcam etymologiam aptata, quo videatur ipso nomine omnium morborum remedia promittere.' The name panax occurs as early as the time of Theophrastus (ix. 10), and several kinds are described by him, as well as by Dioscorides; one kind is called especially Syrian panax. Of one of these plants, now supposed to be species of *Ferula laserpitium* or *Heracleum*, the juice was called opopanax. This was in great repute among the ancients, and still holds its place as a medicine, though not possessed of any remarkable properties; but its name is the origin of our panacea, from πανακεία, 'an universal remedy.' It is curious, however, that the plant yielding the opopanax of commerce is still unknown, as well as the exact locality where it is produced, whether in Syria, or in some part of the Persian empire. By the Arabs it is called *juwasheer*. Lady Calcott has supposed the panax of the ancients to refer to *Panax quinquefolium*, or *ginsing* of the Chinese, which they also suppose to be a universal remedy, though not possessed of any active properties. But the name panax was not applied to this plant until the time of Linnæus, and there is no proof, nor indeed is it probable, that it found its way from China at any such early period: at all events the Israelites were not likely to convey it to Tyre. The Syrian version, however, translates *pannag* by the word *dokhon*, which, we have already seen (vol. i. p. 570), signifies 'millet,' or *Panicum miliaceum*. Bishop Newcome, therefore, translates *pannag* by the word panis, signifying the species of millet which was employed by the ancients as an article of diet, and which still is so by the natives of the East. Dr. Harris quotes

Cæsar, as stating that the Massilienses, when besieged, 'panico vetere omnes alebantur.' From the context it would seem most likely that this *pannag* was a produce of the country, and probably an article of diet. One objection to its being the millet is, that this grain has a name, *dokhon*, which is used by the same prophet in Ezek. iv. 9. Notwithstanding the authority of Hiller, there does not appear sufficient proof in support of his opinion, that the juice of the panax or opopanax was the article intended, and therefore *pannag* must still be considered undetermined.—J. F. R.

PAPER, PAPYRUS. [Writing.]

PAPHOS (Πάφος), a city of Cyprus, at the western extremity of the island, and the seat of the Roman governor. That officer, when Paul visited the place, was named Sergius Paulus, who was converted through the preaching of the apostle and the miracle performed on Elymas (Acts xiii. 6-11). Paphos was celebrated for a temple of Venus, whose infamous rites were still practised here 400 years afterwards, notwithstanding the success of Paul, Barnabas, and others, in preaching the Gospel. Paphos is now a poor and inconsiderable place, but gives its name to a Greek bishopric.

PARABLE. The word parable is derived from παραβολή, which comes from παραβάλλειν, *to compare, to collate.* In the New Testament it is employed by our translators as the rendering of παραβολή; in the Old it answers to מָשָׁל [Proverbs]. 1. It denotes an obscure or enigmatical saying, *e. g.* Ps. xlix. 4,

'I will incline mine ear to a *parable;*
I will open my *dark saying* upon the harp.'

And Ps. lxxviii. 2,

'I will open my mouth in a *parable;*
I will utter *dark sayings* of old.'

2. It denotes a fictitious narrative, invented for the purpose of conveying truth in a less offensive or more engaging form than that of direct assertion. Of this sort is the parable by which Nathan reproved David (2 Sam. xii. 2, 3), that in which Jotham exposed the folly of the Shechemites (Judg. ix. 7-15), and that addressed by Jehoash to Amaziah (2 Kings xiv. 9, 10). To this class also belong the parables of Christ. 3. Any discourse expressed in figurative, poetical, or highly ornamented diction is called a *parable.* Thus it is said, 'Balaam took up his *parable*' (Num. xxiii. 7); and, 'Job continued his parable' (Job xxvii. 1). Under this general and wider signification the two former classes may not improperly be included.

In the New Testament the word seems to have a more restricted signification, being generally employed in the second sense mentioned above, viz., to denote a fictitious narrative, under which is veiled some important truth. It has been supposed, indeed, that some of the parables uttered by our Saviour narrate real and not fictitious events; but whether this was the case or not is a point of no consequence. Each of his parables was *essentially* true; it was true to human nature, and nothing more was necessary. Another meaning which the word occasionally bears in the New Testament is that of a *type* or *emblem*, as in Heb. ix. 9, where παραβολή is rendered in our version *figure.* [According to Macknight, the word in Heb. xi. 19 has the same meaning, but this is probably incorrect.]

Parables or fables are found in the literature of all nations. They were called by the Greeks αἶνοι, and by the Romans *fabulæ.* It has been usual to consider the parable as composed of two parts: viz., the *protasis*, conveying merely the *literal sense;* and the *apodosis*, containing the *mystical* or *figurative* sense. It is not necessary, however, that this second part should be always expressed. It is frequently omitted in the parables of our Lord, when the truth illustrated was such as his disciples were unable at the time fully to comprehend, or when it was his design to reveal to them something which was to be hidden from the unbelieving Jews (comp. Matt. xiii. 11-13).

The excellence of a parable depends on the propriety and force of the comparison on which it is founded; on the general fitness and harmony of its parts; on the obviousness of its main scope or design; on the beauty and conciseness of the style in which it is expressed; and on its adaptation to the circumstances and capacities of the hearers. If the illustration is drawn from an object obscure or little known, it will throw no light on the point to be illustrated. If the resemblance is forced and inobvious, the mind is perplexed and disappointed in seeking for it. We must be careful, however, not to insist on too minute a correspondence of the objects compared. It is not to be expected that the resemblance will hold good in every particular; *non enim res tota rei toti necesse est similis sit*, says Cicero; but it is sufficient if the agreement exists in those points on which the main scope of the parable depends.

The parable of the *Ten Virgins*, for example, is designed to teach the importance and necessity of being always prepared for the coming of the Lord; and therefore no inference can be drawn as to the number of those finally saved, from the circumstance that five of the virgins were wise and five of them were foolish. Nor does the parable of the *Householder* teach that there will be no difference in the rewards of the righteous hereafter, because each of the labourers received a penny. The design of the parable as expressed in the words 'Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?' is to set forth the perfect *sovereignty* of God in the dispensation of his rewards, the truth that all reward is of *grace*, and that it is consistent with the strictest justice for him to treat some *better* than they deserve, since none are treated *worse.*

If we test the parables of the Old Testament by the rules above laid down, we shall not find them wanting in any excellence belonging to this species of composition. What can be more forcible, more persuasive, and more beautiful than the parables of Jotham (Judg. ix. 7-15), of Nathan (2 Sam. xii. 1-14), of Isaiah (v. 1-5), and of Ezekiel (xix. 1-9)?

But the parables uttered by our Saviour claim pre-eminence over all others on account of their number, variety, appositeness, and beauty. Indeed it is impossible to conceive of a mode of instruction better fitted to engage the attention, interest the feelings, and impress the conscience, than that which our Lord adopted. Among its advantages may be mentioned the following:—

1. It secured the attention of multitudes who would not have listened to truth conveyed in the form of abstract propositions. It did so in virtue of two principles of human nature, viz., that outward and sensible objects make a more vivid impression than inward notions or ideas; and that the particular and the concrete affect the mind more than the general and the abstract. Thus a virtue or vice may be held up for abhorrence or admiration far more successfully by exhibiting its effects on the character of an individual than by eulogizing or declaiming against it in the abstract. How could a disquisition have exhibited the contrast between humility and self-confidence so vividly as does the parable of the Pharisee and the publican? Or how could so effectual a sermon have been preached against worldliness as by the parable of the rich man who said to his soul, 'Eat, drink, and be merry.'

2. This mode of teaching was one with which the Jews were familiar, and for which they entertained a preference. They had been accustomed to it in the writings of their prophets, and, like other eastern nations, listened with pleasure to truths thus wrapped in the veil of allegory.

3. Some truths which, if openly stated, would have been opposed by a barrier of prejudice, were in this way insinuated, as it were, into men's minds, and secured their assent unawares. Whenever ancient prejudices stand in the way of the reception of truth, it is important that the teacher should adopt such a circuitous mode of approach as may for a time conceal his design, and secure for his instructions an impartial hearing.

4. The parabolic style was well adapted to conceal Christ's meaning from those who, through obstinacy and perverseness, were indisposed to receive it. This is the meaning of Isaiah in the passage quoted in Matt. xiii. 13. Not that the truth was ever hidden from those who sincerely sought to know it; but it was wrapped in just enough of obscurity to veil it from those who 'had pleasure in unrighteousness,' and who would 'not come to the light lest their deeds should be reproved.' In accordance with strict justice, such were 'given up to strong delusions, that they might believe a lie.' '*With the upright man thou wilt show thyself upright; with the froward thou wilt show thyself froward.*'

The *scope* or *design* of Christ's parables is sometimes to be gathered from his own express declaration, as in Luke xii. 16-20, xiv. 11, xvi. 9. In other cases it must be sought by considering the context, the circumstances in which it was spoken, and the features of the narrative itself, *i. e.* the *literal* sense. For the right understanding of this, an acquaintance with the customs of the people, with the productions of their country, and with the events of their history, is often desirable. Most of our Lord's parables, however, admit of no doubt as to their main scope, and are so simple and perspicuous that 'he who runs may read,' 'if there be first a willing mind.' To those more difficult of comprehension more thought and study should be given, agreeably to the admonition prefixed to some of them by our Lord himself, 'Whoso heareth, let him understand.'—The following are among the principal works on the parables:—Gray, *Delineation of the Parables*, 1777; Bulkley, *Discourses on the Parables*, 1771; Collyer, *Discourses on the Parables*, 1815; Kromm, *Homilien über die Parabeln Jesu*, 1823; Unger, *De Parabolis Jesu*, 1828; Bailey, *Exposition of the Parables*, 1829; Schultze, *De Parabolis Jesu Christi*, 1827; Lisco, *Die Parabeln Jesu*, 1832.—L. P. H.

PARACLETUS (Παράκλητος). This word is applied to Christ in 1 John ii. 1. Indeed, in that famous passage in which Christ promises the Holy Spirit as a paraclete to his sorrowing disciples, he takes the title himself: 'I will send you *another* paraclete' (John xiv. 16), implying that he was himself one, and that on his departure he would send another. The question then is, In what sense does Christ denominate himself and the Spirit sent from him and the Father, παράκλητος, *paraclete?* The answer to this is not to be found without some difficulty, and it becomes the more difficult from the fact that in genuine Greek the verb παρακαλεῖν has a variety of significations:—1. To call to a place; to call to aid. 2. To admonish; to persuade; to incite. 3. To entreat; to pray. To which may be added the Hellenistic signification, 'to console;' 'to soothe;' 'to encourage.' Finally, the Rabbins also in their language use the word פרקליטא, *peraklita;* a circumstance which must also be taken into consideration. In the explanation of the word the leading circumstance to guide us must be to take that signification which is applicable to the different passages in which it occurs. For we may distinguish three explanations:—1. Origen explains it where it is applied to the Holy Spirit by 'Consolator' (παραμυθητής), while in 1 John ii. 1 he adopts the signification of 'Deprecator.' This is the course taken by most of the Greek commentators (Suicer, *Thesaur.* s. v.), and which has been followed by Erasmus, Luther, and others. But to this Tholuck and others object that, not to insist that the signification cannot be grammatically established (for no *admissible* instance can be adduced where the passive παράκλητος is used in an active sense for παρακλήτωρ), it is suitable to but a very few passages only, while to others it is either too circumscribed or altogether inappropriate. 2. Aware of this, others, after the example of Theodore of Mopsuestia, sanctioned by Mede, Ernesti, and others, would translate it *teacher.* But neither does this sense seem adapted to all the passages. It would also be difficult to deduce it from the usages of the language; for—not to mention that in this case also the active signification would be assumed for the passive form—we are pressed with the question, whether the verb παρακαλεῖν can anywhere in the New Testament be found in the sense of 'to teach,' as this hypothesis assumes. It is at least very certain that this sense never was transferred to the Rabbinical פרקליטא; and since the word occurs here also, this must necessarily be taken into account in determining the signification. 3. The considerations which tell against these views incline the balance in favour of a third sense, which is that of 'assistant,' 'helper,' 'advocate' (intercessor). Demosthenes uses it with this force in a judicial sense (see Index, ed. Reiske); and it occurs in the same sense in Philo (see Lœsner, *Observatt.*), and in the Rabbinical dialect. It is supported by Rom. viii. 26, and, which is still more to the purpose, is appropriate to all the passages in the New Testa-

ment where the word occurs. After the example of the early Latin fathers, Calvin, Beza, Lampe, Bengel, Knapp, Kuinoel, Tittmann, and many others, have adopted this sense. Tertullian and Augustine have *advocate*. The Authorized Version renders the word by 'advocate' in 1 John ii. 1, but in other places (John xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7) by 'comforter.' How much better, however, the more extensive term 'helper' (including teacher, monitor, advocate) agrees with these passages than the narrow term 'comforter,' may be shown by a single instance. Jesus says to his disciples, 'I will send you *another* paraclete' (John xiv. 16), implying that he himself had been such to them. But he had not been in any distinguishing sense a 'comforter' or 'consoler,' because, having Him present with them, they had not mourned (Matt. ix. 15). But he had been eminently a helper, in the extensive sense which has been indicated; and such as he had been to them—to teach, to guide, and to uphold—the Holy Spirit would become to them after his removal (see the Commentators above named, particularly Tholuck and Tittmann on John xiv. 16; also Knapp, *De Sp. S. et Christi Paraeletis*, Halle, 1790).

PARADISE, the term which by long and extensive use has been employed to designate the Garden *of Eden*, the first dwelling-place of human beings. Of this word (παράδεισος) the earliest instance that we have is in the *Cyropædia* and other writings of Xenophon, nearly 400 years before Christ; but his use of it has that appearance of ease and familiarity which leads us to suppose that it was current among his countrymen. We find it also used by Plutarch, who lived in the first and second century of our era. It was by those authors evidently employed to signify an extensive plot of ground, enclosed with a strong fence or wall, abounding in trees, shrubs, plants, and garden culture, and in which choice animals were kept in different ways of restraint or freedom, according as they were ferocious or peaceable; thus answering very closely to our English word *park*, with the addition of *gardens*, a *menagerie*, and an *aviary*.

The circumstance which has given to this term its extensive and popular use, is its having been taken by the Greek translators of the Pentateuch, in the third century B.C., and, following them, in the ancient Syriac version, and by Jerome in the Latin Vulgate, as the translation of the *garden* (גַּן *gan*) which the benignant providence of the Creator prepared for the abode of innocent and happy man. Those translators also use it, not only in the twelve places of Gen. ii. and iii., but in eight others, and two in which the feminine form (*gannah*) occurs; whereas, in other instances of those two words, they employ κῆπος, the usual Greek word for a garden or an enclosure of fruit-trees. But there are three places in which the Hebrew text itself has the very word, giving it the form פַּרְדֵּס *pardes*. These are, 'the keeper of the king's *forest*, that he may give me timber' (Neh. ii. 8); '*orchards*' (Eccles. ii. 5); 'an *orchard* of pomegranates' (Song of Solomon, iv. 13). Evidently the word is not proper Hebrew, but is an exotic, imported from a more eastern tongue, probably the Persian, from which source also Xenophon derived it. But the best authorities carry the derivation farther back. 'The word is regarded by most learned men as Persian, of the same signification as the Hebrew *gan*. Certainly it was used by the Persians in this sense, corresponding to their *darehen;* but that it is an Armenian word is shown both from its constant use in that language, and from its formation, it being compounded of two Armenian simple words, *part* and *ses*, meaning *necessary grains* or *edible herbs*. The Armenians apply this word, *pardes*, to denote a garden adjoining to the dwelling, and replenished with the different sorts of grain, herbs, and flowers for use and ornament' (Schœderi *Thesaur. Ling. Armen. Dissert.*, p. 56, Amst. 1711). With this E. F. C. Rosenmüller accords (*Bibl. Alterthumsk.* vol. i., part i., p. 174). 'It corresponds to the Greek παράδεισος, a word appropriated to the pleasure-gardens and parks with wild animals around the palace of the Persian monarchs. The origin of the word, however, is to be sought with neither the Greeks nor the Hebrews, but in the languages of Eastern Asia. We find it in Sanscrit *paradeesha*, a region of surpassing beauty; and the Armenian *pardes*, a park or garden adjoining to the house, planted with trees for use and ornament' (Gesenius and Robinson, combining the Leipzig and the American editions of the *Hebr. Lex.*). 'A *paradise*, *i. e.* an orchard, an arboretum, particularly of pomegranates, a park, a fruit-garden; a name common to several Oriental languages, and especially current among the Persians, as we learn from Xenophon and Julius Pollux. Sanscrit, *pardeesha;* Armenian, *pardez;* Arabic, *firdaus;* Syriac, *fardaiso;* Chaldee of the Targums, *pardeesa*' (Fürst, *Concord. V. T.* p. 920, Leipzig, 1840).

In the apocryphal book of Susanna (a moral tale or little novel, possibly founded on some genuine tradition), the word *paradise* is constantly used for the garden. It occurs also in three passages of the Son of Sirach, the first of which is in the description of Wisdom: 'I came forth as a canal dug from a river, and as a water-pipe into a *paradise*' (ch. xxiv. 30). In the other two, it is the objective term of comparisons: 'kindness is as a *paradise* in blessings, and mercifulness abideth for ever—the fear of the Lord is as a *paradise* of blessing, and it adorns above all pomp' (ch. xl. 17, 27). Josephus calls the gardens of Solomon, in the plural number, 'paradises' (*Antiq.* viii. 7. 3). Berosus (cent. iv. B.C.), quoted by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 20), says that the lofty garden-platforms, erected at Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, were called the *Suspended Paradise*.

The term, having thus become a metaphor for the abstract idea of exquisite delight, was transferred still higher to denote the happiness of the righteous in the future state. The origin of this application must be assigned to the Jews of the middle period between the Old and the New Testament. In the Chaldee Targums, 'the garden of Eden' is put as the exposition of heavenly blessedness (Ps. xc. 17, and other places). The Talmudical writings, cited by the elder Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald. et Talm.*, p. 1802), and John James Wetstein (*N. T. Gr.* vol. i. p. 819), contain frequent references to *Paradise* as the immortal heaven, to which the spirits of the just are admitted immediately upon the liberation from the

body. The book *Sohar* speaks of an earthly and a heavenly *Paradise*, of which the latter excels the former 'as much as darkness does light.' (Schöetgen. *Hor. Hebr.* vol. i. p. 1096).

Hence we see that it was in the acceptation of the current Jewish phraseology that the expression was used by our Lord and the apostles: 'To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise;' 'He was caught up into Paradise;' 'The tree of life, which is in the Paradise of my God' (Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4; Rev. ii. 7).

EDEN is the most ancient and venerable name in geography, the name of the first district of the earth's surface of which human beings could have any knowledge. The word is found in the Arabic as well as in the Hebrew language. It is explained by Firuzabadi, in his celebrated Arabic Lexicon (*Kamús*), as signifying *delight, tenderness, loveliness* (see Morren, in *Edinb. Biblical Cabinet*, vol. xi. pp. 2, 48, 49). Major Wilford and Professor Wilson find its elements in the Sanscrit. The Greek ἡδονή is next to identical with it in both sound and sense. It occurs in three places (Isa. xxxvii. 12; Ezek. xxvii. 23; Amos i. 5) as the name of some eminently pleasant districts, but not the Eden of this article. Of them we have no certain knowledge, except that the latter instance points to the neighbourhood of Damascus. In these cases it is pointed with both syllables short; but, when it is applied to the primitive seat of man, the first syllable is long. Those passages, in addition to Gen. ii. iii. iv. 16, are the few following, of which we transcribe the chief, because they cast light upon the primeval term: 'He will make her wilderness like Eden and her desert like the garden of Jehovah.' 'Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God.' 'All the trees of Eden, that were in the garden of God, envied him.' 'This land which was desolate is become like the garden of Eden' (Isa. li. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 13; xxxi. 9, 16, 18; xxxvi. 35; Joel ii. 3).

All this evidence goes to show that *Eden* was a tract of country; and that in the most eligible part of it was the *Paradise*, the garden of all delights, in which the Creator was pleased to place his new and pre-eminent creature, with the inferior beings for his sustenance and solace.

We now present the passage from the Hebrew Archives to which this disquisition belongs:—

Genesis ii. 8—'And Jehovah Elohim planted a garden in Eden, on the east; and placed there the man whom he had formed. And Jehovah Elohim caused to grow out of the ground there every tree agreeable to the sight, and good for eating; and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And a river proceeded from Eden, for the watering of the garden; and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads. The name of the first, Pishon; it surroundeth the whole country of Havilah, where is the gold, and gold of that land is good; there is the *bedolach* and the stone *shohar*. And the name of the second river, Gihon; it surroundeth the whole country of Cush. And the name of the third river, Hiddekel; it is that which goeth easterly to Assyria. And the fourth river, it is the Phrat.'

Upon this description, we shall offer our sentiments in the shortest manner that we can.

I. It is given in that simple, artless, childlike style which characterizes the whole of the primeval Hebrew Scriptures. This is the style which was alone adapted to the early stages of the human history. Our whole race had to pass through a long succession of trying and training circumstances, which formed truly the collective education of mankind. The communications of knowledge must have been made and recorded in such terms and phrases as the men of the age could at the first *understand;* and which yet should possess a suggestive and attractive character, which would gradually capacitate for higher and more spiritual disclosures. (See the observations on the modes of divine manifestation to the first human beings, in the article ADAM, vol. i. p. 60.) If it were objected, that thus 'the revelation would be clothed in the imagery of gross and sensible objects, with the imperfections and misconceptions under which those objects appeared to men possessing only the rude ideas of a primeval state of society,' and this would of necessity produce a rude and imperfect language [ANTHROPOMORPHISM], we reply, that the spirit of the objection would require 'that the terms and style of the revelation should have been in the most pure and abstract kind of phrase that human diction could afford, the most nearly approaching to the spirituality of the Divine nature and the majesty of eternal things; and this would be equivalent to saying, that it ought to have anticipated by many centuries the progress of man as an intellectual and social being; that it ought to have been written, not in the language of shepherds and herdsmen, but in that of moral philosophers and rhetoricians; not in Hebrew, but in Greek or English. It would also follow, that a revelation so expressed would have been *unintelligible* to the ages and generations of primitive time, and to the generality of mankind in all times' (Pye Smith, *On Scripture and Geology*, p. 242).

Upon this principle we understand the expression, 'the Lord God *planted*,' *caused to grow, placed;* he, the supreme and omnipotent cause, produced those effects, in ways, immediate or mediate, the most worthy of his perfections.

II. The *situation* of Eden: though מִקֶּדֶם is literally *from the east*, it answers to our phrase *on the east* or *eastwards*, precisely as the Latin *ab occasu*. The supposed station-point we cannot suppose to be any other than Palestine. In every country, the region of the rising sun must always be pre-eminent, on account of the beauty and majesty of the sky; and hence it is a natural representative of excellence: and this most interesting of regions, the birthplace of mankind, did lie eastward from the land of the Israelites. Also, the earliest traditions of human and divine knowledge were associated with the splendours of the east.

Upon the question of its exact geographical position dissertations innumerable have been written. Many authors have given descriptive lists of them, with arguments for and against each. The most convenient presentation of their respective outlines has been reduced to a tabulated form, with ample illustrations, by the Rev. N. Morren, annexed to his Translation of the younger Rosenmüller's *Biblical Geography of Central Asia*, pp. 91—98, Edinb. 1836. He reduces them to nine principal theories. But the

fact is that not one of them answers to all the conditions of the problem. We more than doubt the possibility of finding any locality that will do so. That *Phrat* is the Euphrates, and *Hiddekel* the Tigris, is agreed, with scarcely an exception; but in determining the two other rivers, great diversity of opinion exists; and, to our apprehension, satisfaction is and must remain unattainable, from the impossibility of making the evidence to cohere in all its parts. It has been remarked that this difficulty might have been expected, and is obviously probable, from the geological changes that may have taken place, and especially in connection with the deluge. This remark would not be applicable, to the extent that is necessary for the argument, except upon the supposition before mentioned, that the earlier parts of the book of Genesis consist of primeval documents, even antediluvian, and that this is one of them. There is reason to think that *since the deluge* the face of the country cannot have undergone any change approaching to what the hypothesis of a postdiluvian composition would require. But we think it highly probable that the principal of the immediate causes of the deluge, the 'breaking up of the fountains of the great deep,' was a subsidence of a large part or parts of the land between the inhabited tract (which we humbly venture to place in E. long. from Greenwich, 30° to 90°, and N. lat. 25° to 40°) and the sea which lay to the south; or an elevation of the bed of that sea [Deluge]. Either of these occurrences, produced by volcanic causes, or both of them conjointly or successively, would be adequate to the production of the awful deluge, and the return of the waters would be effected by an elevation of some part of the district which had been submerged; and that part could scarcely fail to be charged with animal remains. Now the recent geological researches of Dr. Falconer and Capt. Cautley have brought to light bones, more or less mineralized, of the giraffe (*camelopardalis*,) in the Sewalik range of hills, which seems to be a branch of the Himalaya, westward of the river Jumna. But the giraffe is not an animal that can live in a mountainous region, or even on the skirts of such a region; its subsistence and its safety require 'an open country and broad plains to roam over.' (Falconer and Cautley, in *Proceed. Geol. Soc.*, Nov. 15, 1843). The present position, therefore, of these fossil remains (—'of almost every large pachydermatous genus, such as the elephant, mastodon, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, sus (swine), horse, &c.' *ib.*, also deer and oxen)—lodged in ravines and vales among the peaks, at vast elevations, leads to the supposition of a late elevation of extensive plains.

Thus we seem to have a middle course pointed out between the two extremes; the one, that by the deluge, the ocean and the land were made to exchange places for permanency; the other, that very little alteration was produced in the configuration of the earth's surface. Indeed, such alteration might not be considerable in places very distant from the focus of elevation; but near that central district it could not but be very great. An alteration of level, five hundred times less than that effected by the upthrow of the Himalayas, would change the beds of many rivers, and quite obliterate others.

We therefore decline to enter into disquisitions, interminable and surely disappointing, upon the rivers Pishon and Gihon, and the countries of Havilah and Cush. Etymological similarities afford no safe ground for conclusions; for many names of close resemblance are to be found in the Asiatic languages, but of which the natural history and collateral circumstances are incompatible with other parts of this (as we think) antediluvian fragment of topography. Also Gihon certainly, and probably Pishon, were used in the ancient Oriental languages as appellatives, separate or prefixed, signifying a stream in general; as the old British *Avon*, which has the same meaning, has become the proper name of several rivers in England, Wales, and Scotland.

III. We venture to give a summary of this description. It was a tract of country, the finest imaginable, lying probably between the 33rd and the 37th degree of N. latitude, of such moderate elevation, and so adjusted, with respect to mountain ranges and water-sheds and forests, as to preserve the most agreeable and salubrious conditions of temperature and all atmospheric changes. Its surface must therefore have been constantly diversified by hill and plain. From its hill-sides, between the croppings out of their strata, springs trickled out, whose streamlets, joining in their courses, formed at the bottom small rivers, which again receiving other streams (which had in the same way flowed down from the higher grounds), became, in the bottom of every valley, a more considerable river. These valleys inosculated, as must consequently their contained streams; wider valleys or larger plains appeared; the river of each united itself with that of its next neighbour; others contributed their waters as the augmenting stream proceeded; and finally it quitted the land of Eden, to continue its course to some sea, or to lose its waters by the evaporation of the atmosphere or the absorption of the sandy desert. In the finest part of this land of Eden, the Creator had formed an enclosure, probably by rocks and forests and rivers, and had filled it with every product of nature conducive to use and happiness. Due moisture, of both the ground and the air, was preserved by the streamlets from the nearest hills, and the rivulets from the more distant; and such streamlets and rivulets, collected according to the levels of the surrounding country ('it proceeded from Eden') flowed off afterwards in four larger streams, each of which thus became the source of a great river.

This metaphrase deviates from what is commonly thought to be the meaning of the original, but not, we think, from its true signification and intention.

1. It is a metonymy occurring probably, though not very frequently, in all languages, that a collective noun is sometimes used when the idea is compound and distributive. The usage is recognised in the Hebrew language, by Gesenius in his *Lehrgebaude*, p. 525; Ewald, *Gramm.* § 346; and Nordheimer, *Gramm.* § 738—750. This kind of synthesis would be likely to find place in a primitive and consequently very simple language. The multitude of dreppings and tricklings, rills and streamlets, having one beneficial design, and ever tending to confluence, would, in the mind of a primeval writer, readily coalesce into a singular term, a river. We have

an appropriate example in Ps. lxv. 10, where the aggregate of showers is called 'the river of God, full of water.' The principle applies equally to פלג and נהר. It is therefore no unwarrantable liberty to understand by the 'river' a number of rills and rivulets dispersed throughout the ground, and flowing into one channel about the issue into the external country. If the water entered the garden as a river properly, that is in one body, it could not 'water the garden' without artificial appliances; and it would have divided the garden, making one part inaccessible from the other, without a boat or a bridge.

2. That a river should be 'divided into four heads,' or sources of new rivers, is naturally impossible. If to a running stream, small or large, two or more channels be presented, it will not divide itself distributively, but will pour its whole mass of water into *the deepest* channel: it will ever seek the lowest bottom. We must therefore understand the passage as saying that, from four different collections of rills, which had flowed down different declivities in the same neighbourhood, the sources were formed of four rivers which in their progress became great and celebrated. To controvert this reasoning it would not be sufficient to adduce the division of a great river into branches as it approaches the sea, and meets an extensive swamp or flat shore, as in the deltas of the Rhine (forming, with many inferior streams, the Leck and the Waal), the Po, the Nile, the Ganges, and many others. The soft and almost horizontal level causes the water to cease flowing, or nearly so, and the vast extent of mud or sand permits branches of the stream to take place when some small change of the surface gives occasion. But the rivers of Paradise must have been in high ground, and have had a considerable fall. It is possible, indeed, that rocky obstacles might exist, connected backwards with a mountainous country, presenting their heads against the stream, and thus separating it, as islets are formed in the higher course of the Rhine. But the conditions necessary to derive four great rivers out of one, in this way, are scarcely conceivable as occurring in one place. The origin of two or more rivers from different fountains in the same locality of high ground, but on different levels, and then pursuing different courses, is not an unexampled phenomenon. The Rhine and the Rhone rise but about eight English miles from each other; and, which applies to the case directly before us, the *sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris*, on the eastern frontier of Armenia, so far as they can be followed up, are only *fifteen miles apart*.

Here, then, in the south of Armenia, after the explication we have given, it may seem the most suitable to look for the object of our exploration, the *site of* PARADISE. From this opinion few, we think, will dissent.

But the stringent difficulty is to find any two rivers that will reasonably answer to the predicates of the Pishon and the Gihon; and any countries which can be collocated as Havilah and Cush. The latter name, indeed, was given by the Hebrews and other Orientals to several extensive countries, and those very distant both from Armenia and from each other. As for Havilah, we have the name again in the account of the Dispersion of the Descendants of Noah (ch. x. 29), but whether that was the same as this Havilah, and in what part of Asia it was, we despair of ascertaining. Reland and others, the best writers upon this question, have felt themselves compelled to give to these names a comprehension which destroys all preciseness. So, likewise, the meaning of the two names of natural products can be little more than matter of conjecture; the *bedolach* and the stone *shoham*. The former word occurs only here and in Num. xi. 7. The Septuagint, our oldest and best authority with regard to terms of natural history, renders it, in our passage, by *anthrax*, meaning probably the ruby, or possibly the topaz; and in Numbers by *crystallos*, which the Greeks applied not merely to rock-crystal, but to any finely transparent mineral. Any of the several kinds of odoriferous gum, which many ancient and modern authorities have maintained, is not likely; for it could not be in value comparable to gold. The pearl is possible, but not quite probable; for it is an animal product, and the connection seems rather to confine us to minerals; and pearls, though translucent, are not transparent as good crystal is. Would not the diamond be an admissible conjecture? The *shoham* occurs in ten other places, chiefly in the book of Exodus, and in all those instances our version says onyx; but the Septuagint varies, taking onyx, sardius, sardonyx, beryl, prase-stone, sapphire, and smaragdus, which is a green-tinctured rock-crystal. The preponderance seems to be in favour of onyx, one of the many varieties of banded agate; but the idea of *value* leads us to think that the emerald is the most probable. There are two remarkable inventories of precious stones in Exod. xxxix. 10-13, and Ezek. xxviii. 13; which may be profitably studied, comparing the Septuagint with the Hebrew.

A nearer approach to the solution of our problem, we cannot hope to make.

A gentleman to whom high respect is due, the late Mr. Granville Penn, proposes to sweep away the difficulties by denying the authenticity of the passage, verses 11 to 14 (*Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies*, p. 418). We think the reply sufficient, that the passage cannot be regarded as an interpolation without violating all the principles of just criticism.

The numerous attempts of modern German writers to resolve this part and all the rest of the Mosaic Archæology into what they call a *Mythic Philosopheme* (an allegory made up of tradition and fancy), would require a large space to detail and examine them. They are full of arbitrary assumptions and inconsistencies; their tendency and design are to undermine all the facts of supernatural revelation, to destroy the authority of the Mosaic and the prophetical Scriptures, and consequently of the Christian, and thus eventually to supersede all religion that rests upon any other ground than egotistical reasonings and romantic fancies. They form a great part of a multifarious scheme of infidelity and pantheism, which requires to be met by the proofs of the existence of a personal, intelligent, and efficient God, and the evidences that HE has bestowed upon man a positive manifestation of his authority and his love.

A learned and apparently pious writer, in

the first volume of a *Theological Commentary upon the Old Testament* (Kiel, 1843, the only part yet published), Dr. M. Baumgarten, has proposed to eliminate the perplexities in a new way. Admitting the impossibility of finding any place, in the present condition of the earth, that will answer to the description, yet believing that it was realized at the time, he conceives that it pleased the Author of revelation to combine with the historical fact, a symbolical and prophetical intention. We shall conclude this article by citing a passage from that work:—

'Amidst all this litigation of contending and contradictory opinions, it has been altogether overlooked, that we ought to inquire for *what reason* this remarkably circumstantial description was given: for it is not the manner of the Holy Scriptures to communicate minute particulars for the gratification of useless curiosity. The word of God never loses sight of its chief object; and it puts all its minor parts into connection with that. The question then is, *What connection* does the description of Paradise hold with the rest of the history? That the mention of the river, flowing out of Eden, hath its proper and important place, is plain from the purpose ascribed to it—the *watering of the garden*, the impartation of life and fertility, that it might be sufficiently adapted for the abode of the first human creatures. But what now must be the design of the branches of the river, which are expressly pointed out as not belonging to the garden? It evidently must be the same as in the first case, the watering of some ground; and that ground can be no other than the countries through which those derived streams are declared to flow. Here then we are met with the particulars stated concerning Havilah and the other geographical names. The four branches go out into the country of gold, of precious stones, and of aromatics: they go out into the countries in which men first formed communities and founded mighty kingdoms, the lands of Cush, Assyria, and Babylon. Thus the great river which comes from the east, and has its rise in Eden, and thence immediately waters the garden, is that which pours its waters into the principal countries of the world, as the streams of life to the nations. The number also of both the streams and the countries claims consideration; it is *four*. Bähr (in his work on *Symbols*, vol. i. p. 155-171) has shown that this number was the symbolical sign of *proportion* and *order*; and was consequently regarded as a designation of the world, considered as a work of order and proportional arrangement—the proper idea of the Greek κόσμος. At a later period, we find the Scripture assigning *four* as the number of the great monarchies of the world (Dan. vii.). The description must therefore be understood as directing us far forward into the future, and as giving a prophetic intimation of its own meaning. The life of the human race began in Paradise; but from thence it was to diffuse itself into all other regions, and bring the morning-beam of divine light, which enlightened man in the garden, to be enjoyed over the whole earth. And indeed those countries are the most immediately pointed out, which held ready their fulness and power, and as it were kept in their view the coming of their Lord, in order to do him homage (Matt. ii. 11). But now, with respect to the geographical question, it should not be forgotten that, between the commencement of history and our times, there lies a great revolution, the Deluge. It cannot be supposed that such a mighty shock of the whole terrestrial globe could do otherwise than greatly disfigure the earth's surface. It might indeed be thought that this consideration would justify an entire relinquishment of attempts to collate the description with now existing localities. But, on the other hand, it should be considered that the Deluge did not take away the identity of the earth; and that the special names, as Phrat and Assur, without doubt have their reference to the earth's subsequent condition. The two names Phrat and Hiddekel appear to determine explicitly the tract of country through which they flow; and consequently we may be led to conceive of the whole matter thus: that from the region of Armenia a river flowed, and then divided itself into four branches, of which the two eastern corresponded to the rivers afterwards denominated the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the two western had their course through Arabia; but that country (Arabia), in some following age, was elevated (by volcanic action) above the original river-bed. Prof. Ritter (of the University of Berlin, the father of what may be called a new science, *Comparative Geography*, and which he has happily combined with Ethnography) has remarked that, even within the modern period, the Euphrates has not inconsiderably changed its course. (See his *Geography in relation to Nature and the History of Mankind*, vol. ii. p. 121, 1st. ed.) In the following times of history, we have seen how the river of mankind from the mountains of Armenia poured itself into the plains of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The tribes of men went forth into the regions of the streams of Paradise, acquired power and gathered riches. But of gold they made gods, decked them with jewels, and brought incense to the things which have noses and smell not. Their power rebelled against God and his people, and by the rivers of Babylon the children of Israel sat down and wept. Thus, in the world's history, has the track of the four branch rivers maintained itself, but, by the intrusion of sin, the glorious future of the primeval Paradise has been changed into a mournful present.' *Theolog. Comment. zum A. Testam.* vol. i. p. 39).

We have thought it but fair to put our readers into possession of this interpretation, presenting the passage as, though literally true, yet having an allegorical and prophetic intention. It is ingenious and striking; but what we want is some solid ground of *evidence*.—J. P. S.

PARAN (פָּארָן; Sept. Φαράν), a name which seems to be applied in Scripture to the whole of the desert region extending from the frontiers of Judah to the borders of Sinai. At least, as we find it in the south of this region, bordering Sinai (Num. x. 12), and in the north bordering on Kadesh (Num. xiii. 26, and elsewhere), it seems easier to suppose that Paran was the name of the whole region marked by these limits, than that there were two opposite districts bearing the same name. Under this view the difficulty of rightly appropriating the name is obviated, seeing that all the separate allocations which different writers have sought for it meet in the somewhat

extensive district which we suppose it to have embraced. The name is still preserved in that of Wady *Feiran*, a valley of the lower Sinai, through which lay the road which appears to have been taken by the Israelites in their march to the upper region. In this valley there are ruins of a town, and indeed of more than one, with towers, aqueducts, and sepulchral excavations; and here Rüppell found the remains of a church, which he assigns to the fifth century (*Reise in Nubien*, p. 263; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 616). This was the Pharan or Faran which had a Christian population, and was the seat of a bishopric so early as A.D. 400 (*Oriens Christ.* col. 735; Reland, *Palæst.* pp. 219, 220, 228). The city is described, under the name of Feiran, by the Arabian historian Edrisi, about A.D. 1150, and by Makriri, about A.D. 1400. The description of the latter is copied by Burckhardt. He mentions it as having been a city of the Amalekites; and the history of the Hebrew pilgrimage renders it extremely probable that the Amalekites were actually stationed in this valley, from which they came forth to attack the Israelites, when encamped near it at Rephedim (Exod. xvii. 8). We thus perceive the ground on which Jerome proceeded in stating that the desert of Paran joined on Horeb (*Onomast.* s. v. *Φαράν*, Faran; *Χωρήβ*, Choreb). Wady Feiran does actually join upon Mount Serbal; and hence it might seem that Jerome regarded this as the Horeb of Scripture.

PARCHMENT. [WRITING.]

PARLOUR. [HOUSE.]

PARMENAS (*Παρμενάς*), one of the seven first deacons of the church formed at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 5). Nothing more is known of him; but the Roman martyrologies allege that he suffered martyrdom under Trajan.

PARTHIA (*Παρθία*, Ptol., *Παρθυαία*, Strabo and Arrian), the country of the Parthians (*Πάρθοι*), mentioned in Acts ii. 9, as being with their neighbours, the Medes and Elamites, present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. The persons referred to were Jews from Parthia, and the passage is a strong evidence showing how widely spread were members of the Hebrew family in the first century of our era. The term originally referred to a small mountainous district lying to the north-east of Media. Afterwards it came to be applied to the great Parthian kingdom, into which this province expanded. Parthia Proper, or Ancient Parthia, lying between Aria and Hyrcania, the residence of a rude and poor tribe, and traversed by bare mountains, woods, and sandy steppes, formed a part of the great Persian monarchy, being a dependency on the satrapy of Hyrcania. Its inhabitants were of Scythian origin. They formed a part of the army of Xerxes, and were found in that of the last Darius. In the breaking up of the kingdom of Alexander the Parthians took sides with Eumenes, and became subject to Antigonus and the Seleucidæ. About 256 years before Christ Arsaces rose against the Syro-Macedonian power, and commenced a new dynasty in his own person, designated by the title of Arsacidæ. This was the beginning of the great Parthian empire, which extended itself in the early days of Christianity over all the provinces of what had been the Persian kingdom, having the Euphrates for its western boundary, by which it was separated from the dominions of Rome. It was divided into eighteen provinces. Now at peace, now in bitter hostilities with Rome, now the victor and now the vanquished, the Parthians were never subjugated by the Romans.



445.

At length Artaxerxes founded a new dynasty. Representing himself as a descendant of the ancient Persian kings, and calling upon the Persians to recover their independence, he raised a large army, defeated the Parthians in a great battle, succeeded to all the dominions of the Parthian kings, and founded the new Persian empire, to the rulers of which is commonly given the name of the Sassanidæ. The government of Parthia was monarchical; but as there was no settled and recognised line of succession, rival aspirants were constantly presenting themselves, which weakened the country with internal broils, especially as the Romans saw it to be their interest to foster dissensions and encourage rivalries, and led eventually to the overthrow of the dynasty in the case of the successful aspirant Artaxerxes. During the Syro-Macedonian period the Parthian and Jewish history kept apart in separate spheres, but under the Romans the Parthians defended the party of Antigonus against Hyrcanus, and even took and plundered Jerusalem (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 13. 3; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 13). The geography of Parthia may be studied, besides the ancient authorities, in Cellar. *Notit.* ii. 700; Mannert, v. 102.—J. R. B.

PARTRIDGE (קרא, *kra*, *kora*, *koria;* 1 Sam. xxvi. 20; Jer. xvii. 11; Sept. *πέρδιξ*; Vulg. *perdix*, Ecclus. xi. 31). Late commentators state that there are four species of the *tetrao* (grouse) of Linnæus abundant in Palestine; the francolin (*T. francolinus*), the katta (*T. alchata*), the red-legged or Barbary partridge (*T. petrosus*), and the Greek partridge (*T. saxatilis*). In this now obsolete classification there are included not less than three genera, according to the more correct systems of recent writers, and not one strictly a grouse occurs in the number, though the real *T. Urogallus*, or cock of the woods, is reported to frequent Asia Minor in winter, and in that case is probably no stranger in Libanus. There is, however, the genus *Pterocles*, of which the *P. alchata* is the katta, ganga, cata, and pin-tailed grouse of authors, a species very common in Palestine, and innumerable in Arabia; but it is not the only one, for the sand-grouse of Latham (*P. arenarius*) occurs in France, Spain, Barbary, Arabia, Persia, and on the north side of the Mediterranean, or all round Palestine. *P. Arabicus*, and probably *P.*

exustus, or the Arabian and singed gangas, occur equally in the open districts of the south, peopling the desert along with the ostrich. All are distinguished from other genera of *Tetraonidæ* by their long and powerful wings, enabling them to reach water, which they delight to drink in abundance; and by this propensity they often indicate to the thirsty caravan in what direction to find relief. They feed more on insects, larvæ, and worms than on seeds, and none of the species having a perfect hind toe that reaches the ground, they run fast: these characteristics are of some importance in determining whether they were held to be really clean birds, and consequently could be the *selav* of the Israelites, which our versions have rendered 'quail' [Quail; Unclean Birds].

The Francolin forms a second genus, whereof *F. vulgaris*, or the common tree-partridge, is the Syrian species best known, though most likely not the only one of that country. It is larger than the ganga; the male is always provided with one pair of spurs (though others of the genus have two), and has the tail longer than true partridges. This species is valued for the table, is of handsome plumage, and common from Spain and France, on both sides of the Mediterranean, eastward to Bengal.



446. [Partridge of Syria. Francolinus Vulgaris.]

The partridge is a third genus, reckoning in Syria the two species before named, both red-legged and furnished with orange and black crescents on the sides; but the other markings differ,



447. [The Katta. Pterocles Alchata.]

and the Barbary species is smaller than the Greek. They are inferior in delicacy to the common partridge, and it is probable that *Perdix rufa*, and the Caspian partridge, both resembling the former in many particulars, are no strangers in Syria.

The expostulation of David with Saul, where he says, 'The king of Israel is come out to seek a flea, as when one doth hunt a partridge on the mountains,' is perfectly natural; for the red-legged partridges are partial to upland brushwood, which is not an uncommon character of the hills and mountains of Palestine; and the koria sitting on her eggs and not hatching them (Jerem. xvii. 11), we take to allude to the liability of the nest being trodden under foot, or robbed by carnivorous animals, notwithstanding all the care and interesting manœuvres of the parent birds to save it or the brood; for this genus is monogamous, nestles on the ground, and both male and female sit and anxiously watch over the safety of their young. This explanation renders it unnecessary to advert to exploded notions drawn from the ancients. The little regard paid to specific and generic identity by the Rabbinical and Arabian writers is exposed in Bochart's comment, and is manifested constantly in the colloquial terminology of the East, where cognate languages express very different objects by words really or apparently the same.

קרח *kore*, is, we think, derived from the voice of a bird, and more than one species of bustard is thereby indicated in various tongues to the extremity of Africa and of India; among which *Otis cory* and *Otis Arabs* are so called at this day, although the first mentioned resides on the plains of Western India, the second in Arabia. We take both these, however, to be the same species. 'Cory' is likewise applied in Caffraria to a bustard, which from an indigenous word has been converted by the Dutch into knorhaan. Notwithstanding the pretended etymology of the word, by which it is made to indicate a long beak, none of the genus, not even *Otis Denhami* (a large bird of Northern Africa), has it long, it being, in fact, middle-sized in all. Thus it would appear that the type of the name belongs to Otis, and it might be maintained that species of that genus were known to the Hebrews, by their name קרא *kora* or *koria*, were it not for the fact that birds bearing this name were hunted by the Hebrews, which could not well have been the case had they not included other genera; for bustards, being without a hind toe, were considered unclean, while partridges, having it, were clean. The ganga or katta, being provided with a small incomplete one, may have offered an instance where the judgment of the priesthood must have decided. We give figures of both *Francolinus vulgaris* and *Pterocles alchata*.—C. H. S.

PARVAIM (פַּרְוַיִם: Sept. Φαρουήμ), a region producing the finest gold (2 Chron. iii. 6). There is very strong reason to conclude, with Bochart, that it is the same with Ophir. Castell, however, identifies it with Barbatia on the Tigris, which is named by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 32); and Gesenius, seeking the root of the name in the Sanskrit *pûrva*, 'before,' *i. e.* 'eastern,' concludes it to be a general term, corresponding to our Levant, meaning east country; so that 'gold of Parvaim' means Eastern gold.

1. PASHUR (פַּשְׁחוּר; Sept. Φασσούρ, Φασσουβ), son of Immer, a priest, and chief overseer of the Temple, who smote Jeremiah and put him in the stocks for his prophecies of captivity and

ruin; on which the prophet was commissioned to declare that he should be one of those to go into exile, and that he and all his friends should die in Babylon, and be buried there (Jer. xx. 1-6).

2. PASHUR, son of Melchiah, a high officer of king Zedekiah, and one of those at whose instance Jeremiah was cast into prison (Jer. xxi. 1; xxxviii. 1-6). A descendant of his is mentioned among the new colonists of Jerusalem after the captivity (Neh. xi. 12).

PASSOVER (פסח; πάσχα; pascha, a *passing over*, *sparing*, or *protection*). The Passover, like the sabbath and other institutions, had a two-fold reference—historical and typical. As a commemorative institution it was designed to preserve amongst the Hebrews a grateful sense of their redemption from Egyptian bondage, and of the protection granted to their first-born on the night when all the first-born of the Egyptians were destroyed (Exod. xii. 27); as a typical institute its object was to shadow forth the great facts and consequences of the Christian Sacrifice (1 Cor. v. 7). That the ancient Jews understood this institution to prefigure the sufferings of the Christ is evident, not only from the New Testament, but from the Mishna, where, among the five things said to be contained in the *great Hallel* (a hymn composed of several psalms, and sung after the paschal supper), one is, the sufferings of Messiah, for which they refer to Ps. cxvi. (*Pesachim*, f. 119).

The word Passover has three general acceptations in Scripture. 1st. It denotes the yearly solemnity celebrated on the 14th day of Nisan or Abib, which was strictly the *Passover of the Lamb*, for on that day the Israelites were commanded to roast the lamb and eat it in their own houses; 2nd. It signifies that yearly festivity, celebrated on the 15th of Nisan, which may be called the *Feast of the Passover* (Deut. xvi. 2; Num. xxviii. 16, 17); 3rd. It denotes the whole solemnity, commencing on the 14th, and ending on the 21st day of Nisan (Luke xxii. 1), though, in strictness of speech, the Passover and the חג המצות, *feast of unfermented things*, are distinct institutions. The Passover was to be kept on the eve of the 14th of the first month (Abib), in which, although unfermented things were enjoined to be eaten with the lamb, yet the feast of unleavened bread did not commence until the following morning, continuing seven days, of which the first and last only were sabbaths (Lev. xxiii. 5-8), the first probably in commemoration of the commencement of their march out of Egypt, the last of their passage through the Red Sea [Festivals]. The paschal lamb, in the age following the first institution of the Passover in Egypt, and after the settlement of the Hebrews in Palestine, could only be killed by the priests in the court of the temple (Deut. xvi. 5-7; 2 Chron. xxxv. 1-11; Lev. xvii. 3-6), whence the owner of the lamb received it from the priests, and 'brought it to his house *in Jerusalem*, and roasted it, and ate it in the evening' (Maimonides, *Corban Pesach*, c. i. § 6); and it was thus that Christ kept the Passover, eating it in a chamber within Jerusalem (Luke xxii. 7-11); but the feast of *unfermented things* (מצות, Exod. xii. 15) the Jews thought themselves bound to keep in every place in which they might dwell, if they could not visit Jerusalem; 'the eating of it,' says Maimonides, 'depended not upon the Passover, for it was a commandment by itself' (*Chometz Vematzah*, § 6). As, however, from the evening of the 14th to the 21st day of Abib or Nisan (April), all ferment was banished from the habitations of the Hebrews, both institutions thus received a common name (1 Cor. v. 5, 7, 8, 13).* Hence the 14th of Abib may with propriety, as it is in some passages, be called the *first* day of unfermented things, since the ferment was removed on the 14th before evening. Thus, while Deut. xvi. 8 mentions only *six* days of unfermented bread, Josephus once assigns eight (*Antiq.* ii. 15. 1), and in other places seven (*Antiq.* iii. 10. 5; ix. 13. 3). Comp. Num. xxviii. 16-18; Matt. xxvi. 17.

On the 10th of the month Abib, the master of a family separated a ram or a goat of a year old, without blemish (Exod. xii. 1-6; 1 Pet. i. 19), which was slain on the 14th day, *between the two evenings*, בין ערבים, before the altar (Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6).† Originally the blood was sprinkled

* The Rabbins enumerate four degrees of preparation for the feast of unfermented things. (1.) *Expurgatio fermenti*, the cleansing of all their household utensils, lest any taint of ferment might be attached to them, which process of purification was effected two or three days before the Passover. (2.) *Inquisitio fermenti*, the searching after ferment or leaven throughout all their houses, even to the mouse-holes, the Mishna expressly enjoining the cellar to be searched. This search was made with a wax candle on the night preceding the Passover. (3.) *Conflagratio fermenti*, or burning of the ferment, which took place about noon. (4.) Then followed the last degree, *Execratio fermenti*, בטול חמין, the cursing or annulling of the ferment in this form: 'All manner of ferment, or whatsoever fermented thing is in my possession, whether seen of me or not seen, cleansed of me or not cleansed, let it all be scattered, annulled, and accounted as the dust of the earth' (Vide *Chometz Vematzah*, ii. 2; Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* p. 12; Scaliger, *De Emend. Temp.*; *Prolegom.*; Fagius, *in Exod.* xii.).

† The Jewish day had twelve hours (John xi. 9), counting from sunrise, about six of the clock of our time. The ninth hour (or three in the afternoon) was the hour of prayer, when they went into the temple, at the daily evening sacrifice (Acts iii. 1). This was the ordinary time for the Passover, as appears from the Babylonian Talmud. 'The daily evening sacrifice was killed at the eighth hour and a-half, and it was offered up at the ninth hour and a-half. In the evening of the Passover it was killed at the seventh hour and a-half, and offered at the eighth hour and a-half' (*Pesachim*, c. 5). The reason of this obviously is, because the priests had first to kill the daily sacrifice, and then to slay the Passover and eat it; and also to rest on the evening prior to the sabbath. Thus in the evening of times (Heb. i. 2; 1 Pet. i. 19-20), or *last days*, about the same hour of the day when the paschal lamb was offered in the temple, did Christ die on Calvary, so that the substance and the shadow corresponded (Mark xv. 25-33). Calmet, in a very elaborate dissertation, contends, with many of the ancients,

on the posts of the door (Exod. xii. 7), but afterwards the priests sprinkled the blood upon the bottom of the altar (comp. Deut. vi. 9; 1 Pet. i. 2; Heb. viii. 10; ix. 13, 14). The ram or kid was roasted in an oven (כירים) whole, with two spits made of pomegranate wood thrust through it, the one lengthwise, the other transversely (crossing the longitudinal one near the fore-legs), thus forming a cross (*Pesachim*, c. 3). This mode of roasting is expressed in Arabic by the verb صلب, 'to crucify' (Jahn's *Bib. Antiq.* § 142). Thus roasted with fire, as an emblem of purification, it was served up with a bitter salad [Merorim] unpickled, indicative of the bitterness of their bondage in Egypt, and with the flesh of the other sacrifices (Deut. xvi. 2-6). What of the flesh remained uneaten was to be consumed with fire, lest it should see corruption (comp. Exod. xii. 10; Ps. xvi. 10; Acts ii. 27). Not fewer than ten, nor more than twenty persons, were admitted to this sacred solemnity. At its first observance the Hebrews ate the Passover with loins girt about, sandals on their feet, staves in their hands, and in haste, like travellers equipped and prepared for immediate departure (Exod. xii. 11); but subsequently the usual mode of reclining was adopted, in token of rest and security (John xiii. 23). Several of these rites are therefore omitted by Moses in repeating the laws of the Passover (Lev. xxiii. 5-8; Num. ix. 2-11; xxviii. 16, 17; Deut. xvi.). The Rabbins enumerate the following particulars as peculiar to its original observance:—1. The eating of it in their houses dispersed in Egypt; 2. The taking up of the paschal lamb from the tenth day; 3. The charge to strike the blood on the door-posts; 4. The eating of it in haste (Bab. Talmud, *Pesachim*, c. 9; Maim. *Corban Pesach.* c. 10, § 15). But the command not to break a bone of the offering was always observed (John xix. 36).

Considering the condition of the Hebrews in Egypt, and that the country was not celebrated for its wines, though it had its vineyards (Ps. lxxviii. 47; cv. 33; Gen. xl. 11), it seems probable that *water* was the general drink at the original institution, though some of the more wealthy might have wine. In this case, we apprehend, it would be such as Pharaoh is represented as drinking (Gen. xl. 11), which is called by Herodotus (ii. 37) *οἶνος ἀμπέλινος*, and which, in Exod. xxii. 29; xxix. 40, under the names of דמע, *tears*, and יין, *wine*, is appointed amongst the offerings. As wine, then, afterwards formed part of their oblations, and was consumed in their sacred feasts, it would thus naturally become introduced into that of the Passover. The wine used would of course be unfermented, but it is not certain that it was always the fresh expressed juice or 'pure blood of the grape' (Deut. xxxii. 14); for the Mishna states that the Jews were in the habit of using *boiled wine*. 'They do not boil the wine of the heave-offering, *because it diminishes it*,' and consequently thickens it, thus rendering the mingling of water with it when drunk necessary; but it is immediately added, 'Rabbi Yehudah permits this, *because it improves it*' (*Teroomoth Perek*, c. xi.). Independent of this, however, we may consider it certain, that on the special occasion of the Passover, when all fermented things were so cautiously banished, this practice of boiling the wine would be often resorted to as a well-known means of destroying the fermenting principle, and securing the purity of the wine [Wine]. Though the Rabbins have made many burdensome and unauthorized additions to the simple laws of the Bible, their writings still illustrate our subject to a very great extent, and, with reference to some of the chief ceremonies of the Passover, demonstrate that our Lord's practice corresponded with theirs.* One of the ordinances of the *Hilchoth Chometz* (whereby are typified the four blessings expressed in Exod. vi. 6, 7) is, that 'all persons, whether *men or women*, are bound on this night to drink four cups of wine, and this number is not to be diminished' (c. vii.). Besides these four cups, wine was also drunk during the supper. Such a quantity of wine of the modern kind (about two and a half pints English), exclusive of water, drunk by each person present, would have transformed this sacred festival into a sad scene of revelry and drunkenness, which, considering the grave and temperate habits of the ancient Jews, is a supposition we are not warranted to make. Fermented wine was in fact excluded by a *general law* [Leaven], which appears to have been well understood. This is evident from many facts. The Mishna enumerates three species of drink, the use of which would violate the Passover: *viz.* 'the *cutach* of Babylon, the *shekar* of the Medes, and the *chometz* of Idumæa' (*Pes.* c. iii.). Maimonides and Bartenora, in their comments, say that water and *the juices of fruits* were allowed to be drunk at the Passover by the ancient Jews, who held an hypothesis that the water of fruits did not ferment! The former says, 'The juice of fruits does not leaven, but putrefies: and *the liquor of fruits are wine*, and milk, and honey, and oil-olive, and the juice of apples and pomegranates, and such like. But if any water be mixed with them they do ferment' (*Chometz Vematzah*, c. v. § 1). Again: 'Paste that is kneaded in the liquor of fruits, if they boil it in the liquor of fruits, or fry it in a pan in oil, it is lawful, for the liquor of fruits ferments not' (*ibid.*). These statements serve to prove that, in the judgment of the ancient Jews, both the letter and spirit of the law extended to the prohibition of *everything known* to be fermented. The later Jews, as well as some of the earlier, may have held erroneous chemical hypotheses on this subject, but one thing is certain, that *our Lord*, in observing the law, did not err in its application. He employed the 'fruit of the vine,' פרי הגפן, *γενήμα τῆς ἀμπέλου*. The oral law, however, clearly indicates the kind of wine used by the Jews on this occasion: 'Whosoever has not got wine transgresses an injunction of the Rabbins,

that our Saviour did not celebrate the Passover the last year of his life, or, at least, that the Jews celebrated it on Friday, the day of Christ's death.

* The Jewish writings of course vary much in value, according as they approach to, or recede from, the primitive ages. The Mishnical doctors must be distinguished from their more modern commentators, the Gemarists, who, like annotators in general, often obscure a subject, as well as sometimes explain one.

for they have said that there is to be no diminution from the four cups. And, if necessary, he must sell what he has, in order to keep the injunction of the wise men. He is not to depend upon the bread, for if he fulfil the command concerning one cup, he has not fulfilled that concerning the three. Therefore let him sell what he has, and furnish the expense, until he procure (יין או צמוקים) WINE OR RAISINS' (*Arbah Turim. Orach Chayim*, p. 483). This accords with the practice of the modern Jews. 'They are forbidden to drink any liquor made from grain' (clearly because such drinks are always fermented), 'or that has passed through the process of fermentation. Their drink is either pure water, or *raisin-wine* prepared by themselves' (Allen's *Modern Judaism*, p. 394, 1830). Hyam Isaacs says, 'Their drink during the time of the feast is either fair water or *raisin-wine* prepared by themselves, but no kind of leaven must be mixed' (*Ceremonies, &c. of the Jews*, p. 98).*

The CEREMONIES practised at the eating of the Paschal Supper, as described in the Jewish ritual ספר הגדה על פסח, and other books, will illustrate many circumstances alluded to by the Evangelists in their account of the last Passover kept by the Saviour. Since the destruction of Jerusalem the Jews can sacrifice no paschal lamb, and only observe the parts of the feast which relate to the bread, herbs, and wine. Assuming that the Mishna pretty correctly details the customs of the Hebrews in the days of Christ, the following summary will exhibit such parts of the ceremonies observed by the ancient Jews as appear to throw light upon the Gospel narratives.

* Professor Moses Stuart has the following interesting remarks on the subject of the Passover-wine: 'Perhaps, however, the usage which was carried so far by the Jews, arose mainly from strict regard to the supposed real meaning of the command in Exod. xii. 15; xiii. 3, 7, al., which is not expressed by *bread* (לחם חמיץ), but by declaring that they should not eat חמיץ, *i. e. anything fermented.* Now as the word אכל, translated *eating*, is, in cases without number, employed to include a partaking of all refreshments at a meal, that is, of the drinks as well as the food, the Rabbins, it would seem, interpreted the command just cited as extending to the *wine*, as well as the *bread*, of the Passover.' 'The Rabbins, therefore, in order to exclude every kind of fermentation from the Passover, taught the Jews to make a wine from raisins or dried grapes expressly for that occasion, and this was to be drunk before it had time to ferment.' '*When* the Jewish custom began of excluding fermented wine from the Passover-feast is not known. That the custom is very ancient, that it is even now almost universal, and that it has been so for time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, I take to be facts that cannot be fairly controverted.' 'I cannot doubt that חמיץ, in its widest sense, was excluded from the Jewish Passover, when the Lord's Supper was first instituted; for I am not able to find evidence to make me doubt that the custom among the Jews of excluding fermented wine as well as bread is older than the Christian era' (Dr. Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 507, 508, New York, 1843).

After the Paschal Supper had been prepared, and the washings or purifications usual at feasts performed, the master of the family (or most eminent guest) proceeded to the giving of thanks. Sitting down with the company, he took a cupful of wine in his right hand, with which he began the consecration, saying, 'Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, the King of the universe, who hast created *the fruit of the vine*' (פרי הגפן). He then drank the first cup of wine, and his example was followed by each person present. This thanksgiving was called ברכת היין, *the blessing of the wine* (Luke xxii. 17). He then blessed for the washing of hands, and washed. A table was next brought in furnished, having upon it bitter herbs, unleavened bread, and the sauce called חרוסת *charoseth* (or rather a sort of wine or fruit cake composed of raisins, dates, figs, &c., stamped or *pressed* together, a species of מצות, so as to resemble clay, the Rabbins deeming it a memorial of the Jews having wrought therein), also the body of the paschal lamb, and the flesh of the *chagigah*, or feast-offering, which is for the 14th day of Nisan (Deut. xvi. 2). Then he began to bless God who created the *fruit of the earth*, taking an herb and first dipping it in the sauce or paste, eating it, with all who lay at the table around him, none eating less than the size of an olive. The table was now removed from before *him only* who made the declaration הגדה *haggadah*, or showing forth (1 Cor. xi. 26) of their deliverance out of Egypt, as commanded in Exod. xii. 17; xiii. 8. Then the second cup of wine was filled, and the son or other young person asked, according to Exod. xii. 26, 'What mean ye by this service?' He who presided would then respond, according to a prescribed form or liturgy, 'How different is this night from all other nights! For all other nights we wash but once, but this night twice. All other nights we eat leavened bread, or unleavened, but these nights unfermented only. All other nights we eat flesh, roasted, baked, or boiled, but this night roasted only. All other nights we eat of any other herbs, but this night only bitter herbs. All other nights we eat either sitting or lying, but this night lying only.' Then the table was again placed before him, and he said, 'This Passover which we eat is in respect that the Lord passed over the houses of our fathers in Egypt.' Then, holding up the bitter herbs, he would say, 'These bitter herbs that we eat are in respect that the Egyptians made the lives of our fathers bitter in Egypt.' Then, holding up the unleavened bread in his hand, he saith, 'This unleavened bread which we eat is in respect that the dough of our fathers had not time to be leavened, when the Lord appeared unto them and redeemed them out of the hand of the enemy; and they baked unleavened cakes of the dough which they brought out of Egypt' (Exod. xii. 39). Then he said, 'Therefore are we bound to confess, to praise, to laud, to glorify, to honour, to extol, to magnify, and to ascribe victory to Him who did unto our fathers and unto us all these signs, and who brought us forth from servitude to freedom, from sorrow to joy, from darkness to marvellous light, and we say before Him, *Halleluyah!* &c.' Psalms cxiii. and cxiv. were then repeated. Then they blessed the Lord who had redeemed them and their fathers out of Egypt, and preserved them

unto that night, to eat unleavened bread and bitter herbs. The second cup of wine, after the usual blessing, was then drunk. He next blessed for the washing of hands, and washed a second time (John xiii. 4, 5, 12). Then he took two cakes, and he 'brake' one of them, using both hands, and pronouncing the consecration in these words, 'Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, the King of the universe, who bringest forth food out of the earth' (Psalm civ. 14). This was called ברכה הלחם, *the blessing of the bread*, and he who pronounced the blessing הביצע, *the breaker* (Luke xxii. 19). He then distributed a piece of the bread to each person around him, blessing God who commanded to eat unleavened bread and bitter herbs, and saying, '*This* is the bread of affliction which our fathers did eat in the land of Egypt.' [This form of speech was followed by the Saviour (Luke xxii. 19), when he gave to the bread a new reference, saying, '*This* is my body,' *i. e.* a *sign* of it.] Then all ate, such of them as chose dipping their portion into the *charoseth* (John xiii. 26). The master next blessed God who commanded the eating of the sacrifice, and he ate of the flesh of the feast-offering: then he blessed God who commanded the eating of the Passover, and he ate of the body of the paschal lamb. After this the company sat long at supper, each person eating and drinking as much as he required, religious discourse being generally carried on during the meal. Afterwards they ate of the flesh of the Passover, if only a piece the size of an olive, but tasted no other food afterwards, so that it might be the end of their supper, and the taste of it remain in the mouth. After this, he lifted up his hands, and blessed the *third cup* of wine in the usual form, and the wine was drunk, each person, in these ceremonies, repeating the words of the master, and following his example in eating and drinking. This cup was properly *the cup of benediction*, כוס הברכה (Matt. xxvi. 27; 1 Cor. x. 16), with which the Saviour commended the mysteries of his blood to his disciples. After this third cup was drunk, thanksgiving was continued for the food of which they had partaken, for the deliverance of their fathers from Egyptian servitude, for the covenant of circumcision, and for the law given to Moses. Hence the propriety of the Saviour selecting *this* cup as the sign of 'the *new covenant* in his blood' (Luke xxii. 20). A fourth cup was then filled, the praise of the song pronounced, which is, '*All thy works praise thee, O Lord*, &c.' (Psalm cxlv. 10), and the usual blessing on the wine. After the fourth cup the Jews tasted nothing that night, save water, unless they chose to fill a fifth cup, for which they must say the *Great Hallel* (Psalm cxxxvi.), '*O confess ye to the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever*,' and other hymns. No fourth cup seems to have been drunk by our Lord or his disciples, though hymns were sung at the close of the repast (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26).—P. R. L.

PASTURAGE. In the first period of their history the Hebrews led an unsettled pastoral life, such as we still find among many Oriental tribes. One great object of the Mosaical polity was to turn them from this condition into that of fixed cultivators of the soil. Pastorage was, however, only discouraged as a *condition of life* unfriendly to settled habits and institutions, and not as a pursuit connected with agriculture. Hence, although in later times the principal attention of the Hebrews was given to agriculture, the tending of sheep and cattle was not at any time neglected.

The shepherds who move about with their flocks from one pasture-ground to another, according to the demands of the season, the state of the herbage, and the supply of water, are called *nomads*—that is, not merely *shepherds*, but *wandering shepherds*. They feed their flocks on the 'commons,' or the deserts and wildernesses, which no settled or cultivating people have appropriated. At first, no pastoral tribe can have any particular property in such tracts of ground in preference to another tribe; but, in the end, a particular tract becomes appropriated to some one tribe, or section of a tribe, either from long occupation, or from digging wells therein. According to the ideas of the East, the digging of a well is so meritorious an act, that he who performs it acquires a property in the waste-lands around. In the time of the patriarchs, Palestine was but thinly peopled by the Canaanites, and offered many such tracts of unappropriated grounds fit for pasturage. In these they fed their flocks, without establishing any exclusive claims to the soil, until they proceeded to dig wells, which, being considered as an act of appropriation, was opposed by some of the inhabitants (Gen. xxi. 25, 26). After the conquest of Canaan, those Israelites who possessed large flocks and herds sent them out, under the care of shepherds, into the 'wilderness,' or commons, of the east and south, where there are rich and juicy pasturages during the moist seasons of the year (1 Sam. xvii. 28; xxv. 4-15; 1 Chron. xxvii. 29-31; Isa. lxv. 10; Jer. l. 39). The nomads occupy, successively, the same stations in the deserts every year. In summer, when the plains are parched with drought, and every green herb is dried up, they proceed northwards, or into the mountains, or to the banks of rivers; and in winter and spring, when the rains have re-clothed the plains with verdure, and filled the watercourses, they return. When these pastures remove, they strike their tents, pack them up, and convey them on camels to the next station. Nearly all the pastoral usages were the same, anciently, as now. The sheep were constantly kept in the open air, and guarded by hired servants and by the sons and daughters of the owners. Even the daughters of emirs, or chiefs, did not disdain to tend the sheep (Gen. xxix. 17-20; xxix. 9; Exod. ii. 16). The principal shepherd was responsible for the sheep intrusted to his care, and if any were lost he had to make them good, except in certain cases (Gen. xxxi. 39; Exod. xxii. 13; Amos iii. 12). Their services were often paid by a certain proportion of the young of the flock (Gen. xxx. 20). On the more dangerous stations, towers were erected, from which the approach of enemies might be discovered. These were called the Towers of the Flock (Gen. xxv. 21; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; Micah iv. 8.)

PATARA (*Πάταρα*), a port of Lycia in Asia Minor, where Paul, on his voyage to Jerusalem, changed his ship for one bound to Phœnicia (Acts xxi. 1, 2). Patara was at the mouth of the river Xanthus, and had a famous temple and oracle of

Apollo (Strabo, xiv. 665; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 28; Mela, i. 15; Herod. i. 182).

PATHROS, a name given to Egypt, particularly Upper Egypt, by the prophet Ezekiel (ch. xxix. 14; xxx. 14) [EGYPT].

PATMOS (Πάτμος), a rocky and bare island of the Ægean Sea, about fifteen miles in circumference, and reckoned as one of the Sporades (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 23; Strabo, x. 480). On account of its stern and desolate character, the island was used, under the Roman empire, as a place of banishment, which accounts for the exile of John thither 'for the testimony of Jesus' (Rev. i. 9) [JOHN]. He was here favoured with those visions which are contained in the Apocalypse, and to which the place owes its Scriptural interest. The external aspect of the island, as ewed from the sea, and the associations connected with it, are neatly indicated by the Scottish Deputation (*Narrative*, p. 326):—'We saw the peaks of its two prominent hills, but our course did not lie very near it. Still it was intensely interesting to get even a glance of that memorable spot where the beloved disciple saw the visions of God; the spot, too, where the Saviour was seen, and his voice heard, for the last time till he comes again. John's eye often rested on the mountains and the islands among which we were passing, and on the shores and waves of this great sea; and often, after the vision was passed, these natural features of his place of exile would refresh his spirit, recalling to his mind how 'he stood on the sand of the sea' (Rev. xiii. 1), and how he had seen that 'every island fled away, and the mountains were not found' (Rev. xvi. 29).



448. [Patmos.]

On approaching the island the coast is found to be high, and to consist of a succession of capes, which form so many ports, some of which are excellent. The only one in use is, however, a deep bay, sheltered by high mountains on every side but one, where it is protected by a projecting cape. The town attached to this port is situated upon a high rocky mountain, rising immediately from the sea; and this, with the Scala below upon the shore, consisting of some shops and houses, forms the only inhabited site of the island. The best and most recent account of this island is that of Schubert in his *Reise nach Morgenland*, iii. 424-442.

Patmos is deficient of trees, but abounds in flowering plants and shrubs. Walnuts and other fruit trees are grown in the orchards; and the wine of Patmos is the strongest and best flavoured of any in the Greek islands. Maize and barley are cultivated, but not in a quantity sufficient for the use of the inhabitants, and for the supply of their own vessels and others which often put in at the great harbour for provisions. The island now bears the names of Patino and Palmosa, and the inhabitants do not exceed 4000 or 5000, many of whom are emigrants from the neighbouring continent. About half way on which, whereon the town is built, is shown a natural grotto in the rock, where St. John is supposed to have seen his visions, and to have written the Revelation. In and around it is a small church, connected with which is a school or college, where the ancient Greek literature is said to be well taught and understood. On the top of the mountain, and consequently in the middle of the town, is a monastery, which, from its situation, has a very majestic appearance. It was built by Alexius Comnenus, and in the library are a great many printed books and manuscripts. The latter have been examined and described by Dr. Clarke and Professor Carlisle. See also Turner, *Journal of a Tour*, iii.


Adriatic Sea
Tyrrhene Sea
G. of Tarentum
Adriatic Sea
Sea of Sidra
MEDITERRANEAN
ROME
Melita
Malta
Syracuse
Messana
Rhegium, Reggio
Hipponium, Mte Leone
Sybaris
Brundusium
Brindisi
Tarentum
Taranto
Pestum
Capua
Naples
Pompeii
Herculaneum
Sipontum
Garganum Pr.
Canusium
Canosa
Melita
Epidaurus
Dalmatia
Sea
Lipari Is.
Æolian Isles
Panormus
Palermo
M. Ætna
Catana
Agrigentum
Pachynus Pr.
Gozo
Gaulus
Crotona
Petelinum Pr.
Iter Tabernæ (3 Taverns)
Appii Forum
Puzzuoli
Puteoli
Cumæ
Sicily
Italy
Asia Minor
Cilicia
Syria
Judæa
Galilee
Phœnicia
Arabia
Antioch
Jerusalem
Damascus
Tripolis
Emesa
Heliopolis
Philadelphia
Petra
Hierapolis
Aleppo
Doliche
Samosata
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Jordan R.
Dead Sea
L. Asphaltites
Sea of Galilee
Gaza
Ascalon
Joppa
Sidon
Tyre
Ptolemais
Cæsarea
Apamea
Chalcis
Berœa
Bostra
Busrah
Gerasa
Jerash
Amman
Ammonitis
Arabia Petræa
Wady Musa
Bithynia
Pontus
Cappadocia
Galatia
Lycaonia
Lycia
Pamphylia
Cilicia
Mesopotamia
Osrhoene
Commagene
Comana
Cyrrhus
Zeugma
Birtha
Thapsacus
Nicæa
Nicomedia
Prusa
Sebaste
Halys R.
Iris R.
Lycus R.
Taurus Mts
Amanus Mts
Lebanon Mts
Anti-Lebanon
Hermon
Carmel
Libanus
Baalbec
Damascus
Zedad
Sudud
Hums
Hamath
Apamea
Famieh
Chalcis
Berœa
Aleppo
Doliche
Zeugma
Birtha
Bir
Samosata
Comana
Bostan
Cyrrhus
Marash
Zaitah
Iconium
Konieh
Antioch
Seleucia
Pisidia
Isauria
Cilicia
Tarsus
Adana
Issus
Alexandretta
Gulf of Issus
Amanian Gates
Pyramus R.
Cydnus R.
Sarus R.
Pinarus R.
Orontes R.
Euphrates
Tigris
Jordan
Dead Sea
Sea of Galilee
Jerusalem
Gaza
Ascalon
Joppa
Sidon
Tyre
Ptolemais
Cæsarea
Philippi
Paneas
Dan
Jordan
Abila
Gadara
Pella
Scythopolis
Beisan
Jezreel
Nazareth
Samaria
Sebaste
Shechem
Neapolis
Nablous
Ebal
Gerizim
Ephraim
Bethel
Ai
Jericho
Bethany
Bethlehem
Hebron
Beersheba
Arad
Engedi
Masada
Idumea
Philistia
Ashdod
Ekron
Gath
Ashkelon
Gaza
Rhinocolura
Raphia
Pelusium
Mt Casius
Lake Sirbonis
Serbonian Bog
Mt Hor
Petra
Wady Musa
Wady Arabah
Red Sea
Gulf of Akabah
Ezion-geber
Elath
Kadesh-barnea
Wilderness of Paran
Wilderness of Zin
Wilderness of Shur
Wilderness of Sin
Wilderness of Sinai
Mt Sinai
Horeb
Rephidim
Marah
Elim
Wilderness of Etham
Succoth
Rameses
Goshen
Heliopolis
Memphis
Pyramids
Nile R.
Delta
Alexandria
Canopic Mouth
Bolbitine Mouth
Sebennytic Mouth
Tanitic Mouth
Pelusiac Mouth
Damietta Mouth
Rosetta Mouth
Lake Mareotis
Lake Menzaleh
Lake Bardawil
Lake Timsah
Bitter Lakes
Suez
Gulf of Suez
Arabian Gulf
Red Sea
Nubia
Upper Egypt
Lower Egypt
Libya
Cyrenaica
Marmarica
Egypt
Arabia
Nubia
Abyssinia
Ethiopia
Sahara
Desert
Oasis
Ammon
Siwah
Augila
Fezzan
Garamantes
Nasamones
Gindanes
Lotophagi
Troglodytes
Ethiopians
Blemmyes
Meroe
Napata
Nile
Atbara R.
Blue Nile
White Nile
Sobat R.
Gazelle R.
Astapus R.
Astaboras R.
Nubian Desert
Libyan Desert
Arabian Desert
Sahara
Cataracts
Thebes
Abydos
Memphis
Heliopolis
Pyramids
Alexandria
Canopus
Rosetta
Damietta
Pelusium
Suez
Gulf of Suez
Red Sea
Arabian Gulf
Gulf of Akabah
Ezion-geber
Elath
Petra
Wady Musa
Wady Arabah
Dead Sea
Jordan
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Hebron
Beersheba
Gaza
Ascalon
Joppa
Ashdod
Ekron
Gath
Ashkelon
Rhinocolura
Raphia
Lake Sirbonis
Serbonian Bog
Mt Casius
Mt Hor

98-101, and Schubert, *Reise ins Morgenland*, iii. 424-434.

PAVEMENT. [Gabbatha.]

PAVILION. [Tent.]

PAUL (Παῦλος), originally *Saul* (שָׁאוּל, Σαῦλος, *asked for*), was a native of Tarsus, a city of Cilicia (Acts xxii. 3, &c.), and was of Jewish descent, of the tribe of Benjamin (Phil. iii. 5). From his father he inherited the rights of Roman citizenship, which had probably been earned by some of his ancestry through services rendered to the Roman state (Lardner, *Works*, i. 228, ed. 1788, 8vo; Grotius, *ad Act.* xxii. 28). The supposition that he enjoyed them in virtue of being a native of Tarsus is not well founded; for though that city had been created by Augustus an *urbs libera* (Dion. Chrysost. ii. 36, ed. Reiske; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 27), it does not follow from this that all its natives enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizenship; and besides, from Acts xxi. 39, compared with xxii. 24, 27, it may be inferred that, as the chief captain knew Paul to be a native of Tarsus and yet was not aware of his Roman citizenship, the latter of these was not necessarily associated with the former. From his receiving the name *Saul* it has been supposed that he was the first-born son of his parents, and that they had long desired and often asked for such a favour from God; that he was not their only child, however, appears from the mention made (Acts xxiii. 16) of his 'sister's son.' Whether Andronicus, Junia, and Herodion, whom he terms, in the Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 7, 11), *συγγενεῖς μου*, were of the number of his blood relations, or only belonged to the same tribe with him, is a question on which learned men have taken different sides (comp. Lardner, *Works*, vi. 235; Estius, *Comm. in loc.*).

At that time Tarsus was the rival of Athens and Alexandria as a place of learning and philosophical research (Strabo, xiv. 5); but to what extent the future 'Apostle of the Gentiles' enjoyed the advantage of its schools we have no means of accurately determining. Attempts have been made to show from his writings that he was familiar with Greek literature, and Dr. Bentley has not hesitated to affirm that 'as Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, so it is manifest from this chapter alone (Acts xxvii.), if nothing else had been now extant, that St. Paul was a great master in all the learning of the Greeks' (*Boyle Lectures*, Serm. iii. *sub. init.*). An authority like that of Bentley in a question of Greek literature is not to be lightly set aside; yet on referring to the evidence which has been furnished both by himself and others in support of the opinion to which he has lent his sanction, it will not be found, we think, such as to justify the strong and decided language he has employed. This evidence consists, (1) of a few supposed references, in the discourse alluded to by Dr. Bentley, to certain dogmas of the Greek philosophers; but even supposing the Apostle to have had these in his eye, it will not follow that he must have studied the writings in which these dogmas were unfolded and defended, because he might have learned enough of them to guide him to such references, as by the supposition he makes in that discourse, from those controversial encounters with 'the philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics,' which we are told he had in the market-place of Athens, previous to the delivering of his oration on the Areopagus; (2) of three quotations made by him from Greek poets, one from the Phænomena (ver. 5) of his countryman Aratus (Acts xvii. 28), one from a lost play of Menander (1 Cor. xv. 33), and one from Epimenides (Tit. i. 12), all of which, however, bear the general character of gnomes or proverbs, and might consequently find their way to the Apostle merely as part of the current coin of popular conversation, without his having once visited the treasury whence they were originally drawn; and (3) of certain similarities of idea and expression between some passages of the Apostle and some that are found in classic authors (Horne's *Introduction*, iv. 343); but none of which are of such a nature as to necessitate the conclusion that the coincidence is more than purely accidental. It must be allowed, however, that the mere circumstance of having spent his early years in such a city as Tarsus could not but exert a very powerful influence on the mind of such a man as Paul, in the way of sharpening his faculties, refining his tastes, and enlarging the circle of his sympathies and affections. 'If, even to the meanest citizen,' as Eichhorn remarks, 'such a circumstance affords—unless he be by nature utterly unobservant—much information which otherwise he could not have obtained, and in consequence of this a certain activity of mind, how much greater may not its effect be supposed to have been on a great mind like that of Paul. To his birth and early residence in Tarsus may be traced the urbanity which the Apostle at no time laid aside, and of which he was frequently a perfect model, many insinuating turns which he gives to his epistles, and a more skilful use of the Greek tongue than a Jew born and educated in Palestine could well have attained' (*Einleit. ins N. T.* iii. 5).

But whatever uncertainty may hang over the early studies of the Apostle in the department of Greek learning, there can be no doubt that, being the son of a Pharisee, and destined, in all probability, from his infancy to the pursuits of a doctor of Jewish law, he would be carefully instructed from his earliest years in the elements of Rabbinical lore. It is probable also that at this time he acquired his skill in that handicraft trade by which in later years he frequently supported himself (Acts xvii. 3; 1 Cor. iv. 12, &c.); for it was a maxim among the Jews, that 'he who does not teach his son a trade, teaches him to steal.' This trade is described by Luke as that of a *σκηνοποιός*, a word regarding the meaning of which there has been no small difference of opinion. Luther makes it 'carpet-maker;' Morus (*in Act.* xviii. 3) and others, 'maker of mats or mattresses;' Michaelis (*Einl. ins N. T.* § 216) and Haenlein (*Einl. ins N. T.* iii. 301), 'tool-maker;' Chrysostom and others, 'worker in leather' (= *σκυτοτόμος*); Hug (*Introd.* p. 505, Fosdick's Trans.) and Eichhorn (*Einl. ins N. T.* iii. 8), 'maker of tent-cloth;' but most critics agree with our translators in rendering it 'tent-maker' (comp. Kuinoel, Dindorf, Rosenmüller, Olshausen, *in loc.*; Winer, *Realwörterb.* Art. 'Paulus;' Schleusner, *in voc.*).

At the proper age (supposed to be after he was fourteen years old), the Apostle proceeded to Jerusalem, to prosecute his studies in the learning of the Jews. Here he became a student under

Gamaliel, a distinguished teacher of the law, and who is supposed to be the person of that name who is celebrated in the writings of the Talmudists as one of the seven teachers to whom the title 'Rabban' was given (Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr. in Act.* v. 34; Neander, *Apostol. Zeitalter*, u. s. w. s. 62; Otho, *Lex. Rabbinico-Phil.* s.v. 'Rabbi'). Besides acquaintance with the Jewish law, and a sincere conviction of the supreme excellence of Judaism, Gamaliel appears to have possessed a singularly calm and judicious mind, and to have exercised a freedom of thought as well as pursued a range of study very unlike what was common among the party to which he belonged (Acts v. 34—39; comp. Neander, *loc. cit.*). How much the instructions and the example of such a teacher may have influenced the mind of Paul in a direction favourable to the course he was subsequently called to pursue, it is easy for us to imagine, though from the absence of all testimony on the subject it is not competent for us to affirm.

We now approach the period in Paul's history when he becomes a prominent figure on the page of the sacred historian, and when, consequently, the facts of his life can be more confidently narrated. The points about which differences of opinion chiefly exist relate to the chronology of the events recorded concerning him. On such questions our limited space forbids us to enter, and therefore, contenting ourselves with a general reference to the article Acts of the Apostles, in this work, where the reader will find the dates assigned to each event of prominent importance in the Apostle's life, by Ussher, Pearson, Michaelis, Hug, Haenlein, Greswell, and Anger, respectively, we shall proceed to narrate briefly the Apostle's history, without any attempt to ascertain the year either of his own life or of the Christian era when each event occurred.

He is introduced to our notice by the sacred historian for the first time in connection with the martyrdom of Stephen, in which transaction he was, if not an assistant, something more than a mere spectator. He is described as at this time 'a young man' (*νεανίας*); but this term was employed with so much latitude by the Greeks, that it is impossible from the mere use of it, to determine whether the party to whom it was applied, was under thirty, or between that and forty. The probability is, that Paul must have reached the age of thirty at least; for, otherwise, it is not likely that he would have shared the counsels of the chief priests, or been intrusted by them with the entire responsibility of executing their designs against the followers of Jesus, as we know was the case (Acts xxvi. 10, 12). For such a task he showed a painful aptitude, and discharged it with a zeal which spared neither age nor sex (Acts viii. 1-3; xxvi. 10, 11). But whilst thus, in his ignorance and unbelief, he was seeking to be 'injurious' to the cause of Christ, the great Author of Christianity was about to make him a distinguished trophy of its power, and one of the most devoted and successful of its advocates. Whilst journeying to Damascus, with a commission from the high priest, to arrest and bring back as prisoners to Jerusalem the Christians who had escaped thither from the fury of their persecutors, and when he had almost completed his journey, he was suddenly arrested by a miraculous vision of Christ, who addressing him from heaven, demanded the reason of his furious zeal, in the remarkable words, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' Struck to the ground by the suddenness and overwhelming splendour of the vision, and able only to ask by whom it was he was thus addressed, he received for answer, 'I am Jesus of Nazareth whom thou persecutest; but arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what to do.' This command the confounded and now humble zealot immediately rose to obey, but as the brilliancy of the light which had shone around him had dazzled him to blindness, he had to be led into the city by his attendants. Here he remained for three days and nights in a state of deep mental conflict and dejection, tasting neither meat nor drink, until a person of the name of Ananias appeared at the command of Christ to relieve his distress, and to admit him into the Christian fraternity by baptizing him into the name of the Lord (Acts ix. 1-18).

Respecting the character of this transaction different opinions have been entertained; some regarding the whole narrative as a mere myth; others maintaining that the events may be explained on natural principles (such as a severe storm of thunder and lightning, by which Saul was blinded and terrified, and which he, 'according to the faith of the ancients, viewed as an omen whereby he was warned to desist from the persecuting design with which he had commenced his journey to Damascus' (Eichhorn, *Einleit.* iii. 12); whilst others regard the whole as having been a mere vision which passed before 'the inner consciousness' of Saul. Such suppositions, however, are utterly irreconcilable with the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles, and with the references to this period of his life by the Apostle himself in his Epistles (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 8; ix. 1; Gal. i. 1; Neander, *Apostol. Zeitalter.* s. 111 ff.; Olshausen, *on Acts* ix. 1-19; Lyttleton's *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul*).

Immediately on his conversion to Christianity Saul seems to have gone into Arabia, where he remained three years (Gal. i. 11-17); and where he, in all probability, was chiefly occupied, by meditation and study, in preparing himself for the great work to which he had been called. Here also we may venture to suppose he received that Gospel which afterwards he preached 'by revelation' from Christ (Gal. i. 12). Neander (*l. c.* s. 121) and Anger (*De Tempp. in Actis App. Ratione*, p. 123) have endeavoured to show that Paul went into Arabia to preach the Gospel; but the reasons they adduce have little weight, (comp. Olshausen, *on Acts* ix. 20-25).

Returning from Arabia to Damascus the Apostle commenced his public efforts in the service of Christ, by boldly advocating in the synagogues of the Jews the claims of Jesus to be venerated as the Son of God. At first astonished, the Jews were afterwards furiously incensed at this change in the opinions and conduct of Saul, and in consequence of their attempts upon his liberty and life, he was obliged to make his escape from Damascus. This he effected with difficulty by the aid of the Christians, some of whom let him down in a basket from the window of a dwelling erected upon the outer wall of the city (Acts ix. 21, &c.; 2 Cor. xi. 32). After this he went up to Jerusalem (for the *first* time after

his conversion), where, on the testimony of Barnabas, he was acknowledged as a Christian brother, and admitted by the Apostles to that place in their fraternity which had been assigned to him by Christ. From Jerusalem he was soon driven by the hostility of the Jews; when, after visiting Cæsarea, he went to his native town Tarsus, where he abode several years (Acts ix. 26-30). From this retreat he was summoned by Barnabas, who, having been appointed by the Apostles at Jerusalem to visit the church at Antioch, where accessions had been made to the number of the followers of Jesus from among the Gentiles as well as the Jews, and finding the need of counsel and co-operation in his work, went to Tarsus to procure the assistance of Saul (Acts xi. 22-25). After residing and labouring for a year in Antioch, these two distinguished servants of Christ were sent up to Jerusalem with certain contributions which had been made among the Christians at Antioch, on behalf of their brethren in Judea, who were suffering from the effects of a dearth (Acts xi. 27-30). This, as commonly received, was the Apostle's *second* visit to Jerusalem after his conversion.

Having discharged this commission they returned to Antioch, accompanied by John Mark, the nephew of Barnabas, and were shortly afterwards despatched by that church, in obedience to an injunction from heaven, on a general missionary tour. In the course of this tour, during the earlier part only of which they were accompanied by Mark, in consequence of his shrinking from the toils and dangers of the journey and returning to Jerusalem, they visited Seleucia, Cyprus, Perga in Pamphylia, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia (in the former of which the fickle populace, though at first they had with difficulty been prevented from offering them divine honours, were almost immediately afterwards, at the instigation of the Jews, led to stone the Apostle until he was left for dead); and then they returned by way of Attalia, a city of Pamphylia, by sea to Antioch, where they rehearsed to the church all that God had done by them (Acts xiii.-xiv.). This formed the Apostle's *first* great missionary tour.

In the narrative of this journey, given by Luke, the historian, without assigning any reason for so doing, drops the name Saul and adopts that of Paul, in designating the Apostle. It is probable from this, that it was during this journey that the Apostle's change of name actually took place. What led to that change we can only conjecture; and of conjectures on this point there has been no lack. Jerome and Augustine, whom, among recent writers, Olshausen follows, ascribe the change to the conversion of Sergius Paulus, whose name the Apostle assumed in commemoration of so important an event. Chrysostom, followed by Theophylact and Theodoret, imputes it to the Apostle's determination that, as Peter had two names, he would not, even in this respect, 'be behind the chiefest of the apostles.' Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 37) thinks he received the name as a sort of nickname from the Romans, on account of his diminutive stature; *Paulus*, quasi *Pusillus*. Lightfoot, Hammond, and others, suppose that from his birth the Apostle had the two names, the one in virtue of his Hebrew descent, the other in virtue of his Roman citizenship, and that he used the one among the Jews, but adopted the other when he came to labour chiefly among Gentiles. But the most probable opinion is that of Beza, Grotius, Doddridge, Kuinoel, &c., that as the Romans and Greeks were in the habit of softening the Hebrew names in pronunciation, and accommodating their form to that of the Latin or Greek (comp. Jason for Jesus, Silvanus for Silas, Pollio for Hillel, &c.), they substituted Paulus for שָׁאוּל, and the Apostle henceforward adopted the substituted name as his usual designation.

Not long after Paul and Barnabas had returned to Antioch, they were deputed by the church there again to visit Jerusalem, to consult the Apostles and elders upon the question, which certain members of the church at Jerusalem had raised in that at Antioch, whether converts from heathenism required to be circumcised, and so become Jews before they could be saved? The Apostle on this occasion visited Jerusalem for the *third* time after his conversion; and after the question had been settled by the parties in that city with whom the power to do so lay, he and his companion returned to Antioch. After restoring peace to the church there Paul proposed to Barnabas to undertake another missionary tour, to which the latter cordially assented; but, unhappily, on the very eve of their departure, a contention arose between them, in consequence of Barnabas being determined to take with them his nephew John Mark, and Paul being equally determined that one, who had on a former occasion ingloriously deserted them, should not again be employed in the work. Unable to come to an agreement on this point they separated, and Paul, accompanied by Silas, commenced his second missionary journey, in the course of which, after passing through Syria and Cilicia, he revisited Lystra and Derbe. At the former of these places he found Timothy, whom he associated with Silas, as the companion of his further travels, after he had been ordained by the Apostle and the presbytery of the church of which he was a member (1 Tim. iv. 14). Paul then passed through the regions of Phrygia and Galatia, and, avoiding Asia strictly so called, and Bithynia, he came with his companions by way of Mysia to Troas, on the borders of the Hellespont. Hence they crossed to Samothracia, and thence to Neapolis, and so to Philippi, whither he had been summoned in a vision by a man of Macedonia saying, 'Come over and help us.' After some time spent in this city they passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, cities of Macedonia, and came to Thessalonica, where, though they abode only a short time, they preached the Gospel with no small success. Driven from that city by the malice of the Jews, they came by night to Berea, another city of Macedonia, where at first they were favourably received by the Jews, until a party from Thessalonica, which had followed them, incited the Bereans against them. Paul, as especially obnoxious to the Jews, deemed it prudent to leave the place, and accordingly retired to Athens, where he determined to await the arrival of Silas and Timothy. Whilst residing in this city, and observing the manners and religious customs of its inhabitants, his spirit was stirred within him, when he saw how entirely they

were immersed in idolatry; and unable to refrain, he commenced in the synagogues of the Jews, and in the market-place, to hold discussions with all whom he encountered. This led to his being taken to the Areopagus, where, surrounded by perhaps the shrewdest, most polished, most acute, most witty, and most scornful assemblage that ever surrounded a preacher of Christianity, he, with exquisite tact and ability, exposed the folly of their superstitions, and unfolded the character and claims of the living and true God. For the purpose of more effectually arresting the attention of his audience, he commenced by referring to an altar in their city, on which he had read the inscription ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, *to an unknown God;* and, applying this to Jehovah, he proposed to declare to them that Deity, whom thus, without knowing him (ἀγνοοῦντες), they were worshipping. Considerable difficulty has been found by many interpreters to reconcile this with the fact, that no mention is made by the classic authors of any altar in Athens bearing this inscription, whilst we are informed by Pausanias (*Attic.* i. 4; *Eliac.* v. 14) and Philostratus (*Vit. Apollonii Tyan.*, vi. 3), that there were several altars inscribed ἀγνώστοις θεοῖς, in the plural; and different suppositions have been made to account for the Apostle's language (Kuinoel, *in Act.* xvii. 23). But why should we not receive the Apostle's own testimony on this subject, as reported by the inspired historian? It is certain that no one is in circumstances to affirm that no altar existed in Athens bearing such an inscription at the time Paul visited that city; and when, therefore, Paul, publicly addressing the Athenians, says he saw such an altar, why should we hesitate for a moment to take his words for what they literally mean? Besides, there is nothing in what Pausanias and Philostratus affirm that appears incompatible with Paul's assertion. It is to be observed that neither of them says there were altars, *on each of which* the inscription was in the plural number, but only there were 'altars of gods called unknown' (βωμοὶ θεῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων); so that for aught that appears to the contrary, each altar might bear the inscription which Paul says he saw upon one.

On being rejoined by Timothy (1 Thess. iii. 1), and perhaps also by Silas (comp. Greswell's *Dissertations*, ii. pp. 31, 32), the Apostle sent them both back to Macedonia, and went alone to visit Corinth, whither they soon after followed him (Acts xviii. 5). Here he abode for a year and a half preaching the Gospel, and supporting himself by his trade as a tent-maker, in which he was joined by a converted Jew of the name of Aquila, who, with his wife Priscilla, had been expelled from Rome by an edict of the emperor, forbidding Jews to remain in that city. Driven from Corinth by the enmity of the Jews, he, along with Aquila and Priscilla, betook himself to Ephesus, whence, after a residence of only a few days, he went up to Jerusalem, being commanded by God to visit that city, at the time of the approaching passover. His visit on this occasion—the *fourth* since his conversion—was very brief; and at the close of it he went down to Antioch, thereby completing his *second* great apostolic tour.

At Antioch he abode for some time, and then, accompanied, as is supposed, by Titus, he commenced another extensive tour, in the course of which, after passing through Phrygia and Galatia, he visited Ephesus. The importance of this city, in relation to the region of Hither Asia, determined him to remain in it for a considerable time; and he accordingly continued preaching the Gospel there for three years, with occasional brief periods of absence, for the purpose of visiting places in the vicinity. With such success were his efforts crowned, that the gains of those who were interested in supporting the worship of Diana, the tutelar goddess of the city, began to be seriously affected; and at the instigation of one of these, by name Demetrius, a silversmith, who had enjoyed a lucrative traffic by the manufacture of what appear to have been miniature representations of the famous temple of Diana (ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος, comp. Kuinoel, *in Act.* xix. 24; Neander, *Apost. Zeit.* s. 350), a popular tumult was excited against the Apostle, from the fury of which he was with difficulty rescued by the sagacity and tact of the town-clerk, aided by others of the chief men of the place, who appear to have been friendly towards Paul. By this occurrence the Apostle's removal from Ephesus, on which, however, he had already determined (Acts xix. 21), was in all probability expedited; and, accordingly, he very soon after the tumult went by way of Troas to Philippi, where he appears to have resided some time, and from which, as his head-quarters, he made extensive excursions into the surrounding districts, penetrating even to Illyricum, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic (Rom. xv. 19). From Philippi he went to Corinth, where he resided three months, and then returned to Philippi, having been frustrated in his design of proceeding through Syria to Jerusalem by the malice of the Jews. Sailing from Philippi, he came to Troas, where he abode seven days; thence he journeyed on foot to Assos; thence he proceeded by sea to Miletus, where he had an affecting interview with the elders of the church at Ephesus (Acts xx. 17, ff.); thence he sailed for Syria, and, after visiting several intermediate ports, landed at Tyre; and thence, after a residence of seven days, he travelled by way of Ptolemais and Cæsarea to Jerusalem. This constituted his *fifth* visit to that city after his conversion.

On his arrival at Jerusalem he had the mortification to find that, whilst the malice of his enemies the Jews was unabated, the minds of many of his brother Christians were alienated from him on account of what they deemed his too lax and liberal notions of the obligations of the Mosaic ritual. To obviate these feelings on their part, he, at the suggestion of the Apostle James, joined himself to four persons who had taken on them the vows of a Nazarite, and engaged to pay the cost of the sacrifices by which the Mosaic ritual required that such should be absolved from their vows. With what success this somewhat questionable act of the Apostle was attended, as respects the minds of his brethren, we are not informed, but it had no effect whatever in securing for him any mitigation of the hatred with which he was regarded by the unconverted Jews; on the contrary, his appearance in the temple so much exasperated them, that, before his vow was accomplished, they seized him, and would have put him to death had not Lysias, the commander of the Roman cohort in the adjoining citadel,

brought soldiers to his rescue. Under the protection of Lysias, the Apostle addressed the angry mob, setting forth the main circumstances of his life, and especially his conversion to Christianity, and his appointment to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. Up to this point they heard him patiently; but no sooner had he insinuated that the Gentiles were viewed by him as placed on a par with the Jews, than all their feelings of national bigotry burst forth in a tempest of execration and fury against the Apostle. Lysias, ignorant of what Paul had been saying, from his having addressed the people in Hebrew, and suspecting from these vehement demonstrations of the detestation in which he was held by the Jews that something flagrantly vicious must have been committed by him, gave orders that he should be examined, and forced by scourging to confess his crime. From this indignity Paul delivered himself by asserting his privileges as a Roman citizen, whom it was not lawful to bind or scourge. Next day, in the presence of the Sanhedrim, he entered into a defence of his conduct, in the course of which, having avowed himself a believer in the doctrine of a bodily resurrection, he awakened so fierce a controversy on this point between the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the council, that Lysias, fearing he might be torn to pieces among them, gave orders to remove him into the fort. From a conspiracy into which above forty of the Jews had entered to assassinate him he was delivered by the timely interposition of his nephew, who, having acquired intelligence of the plot, intimated it first to Paul, and then to Lysias. Alarmed at the serious appearance which the matter was assuming, Lysias determined to send Paul to Cæsarea, where Felix the procurator was residing, and to leave the affair to his decision. At Cæsarea Paul and his accusers were heard by Felix; but though the Apostle's defence was unanswerable, the procurator, fearful of giving the Jews offence, declined pronouncing any decision, and still retained Paul in bonds. Some time after he was again summoned to appear before Felix, who, along with his wife Drusilla, expressed a desire to hear him 'concerning the faith in Christ;' and on this occasion the faithful and fearless Apostle discoursed so pointedly on certain branches of good morals, in which the parties he was addressing were notoriously deficient, that Felix trembled, and hastily sent him from his presence. Shortly after this Felix was succeeded in his government by Porcius Festus, before whom the Jews again brought their charges against Paul; and who, when the cause came to be heard, showed so much of a disposition to favour the Jews, that the Apostle felt himself constrained to appeal to Cæsar. To gratify King Agrippa and his wife Bernice, who had come to Cæsarea to visit Festus, and whose curiosity was excited by what they had heard of Paul, he was again called before the governor and 'permitted to speak for himself.' On this occasion he recapitulated the leading points of his history, and gave such an account of his views and designs, that a deep impression was made on the mind of Agrippa favourable to Christianity and to the Apostle; so much so that, but for his having appealed to Cæsar, it is probable he would have been set at liberty. His cause, however, having by that appeal been placed in the hands of the emperor, it was necessary that he should go to Rome, and thither accordingly Festus sent him. His voyage was long and disastrous. Leaving Cæsarea when the season was already considerably advanced, they coasted along Syria as far as Sidon, and then crossed to Myra, a port of Lycia; thence they sailed slowly to Cnidus; and thence, in consequence of unfavourable winds, they struck across to Crete, and with difficulty reached a port on the southern part of that island called 'The Fair Haven,' near the town of Lasea. There Paul urged the centurion, under whose charge he and his fellow-prisoners had been placed, to winter; but the place not being very suitable for this purpose, and the weather promising favourably, this advice was not followed, and they again set sail, intending to reach Phœnice, a port in the same island, and there to winter. Scarcely had they set sail, however, when a tempest arose, at the mercy of which they were driven for fourteen days in a westerly direction, until they were cast upon the coast of Malta, where they suffered shipwreck, but without any loss of life. Hospitably received by the natives, they abode there three months, during which time Paul had a favourable opportunity of preaching the Gospel, and of showing the power with which he was endued for the authentication of his message by performing many miracles for the advantage of the people. On the approach of spring they availed themselves of a ship of Alexandria which had wintered in the island, and set sail for Syracuse, where they remained three days; thence they crossed to Rhegium, in Italy; and thence to Puteoli, from which place Paul and his companions journeyed to Rome. Here he was delivered by the centurion to the captain of the guard, who permitted him to dwell in his own hired house under the surveillance of a soldier. And thus he continued for two years, 'receiving all that came to him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him' (Acts xxi. 17; xxviii. 31).

At this point the evangelist abruptly closes his narrative, leaving us to glean our information regarding the subsequent history of the Apostle from less certain sources. Tradition stedfastly affirms that he suffered martyrdom at Rome, and that the manner of his death was by beheading (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, i. p. 324); but whether this took place at the close of the imprisonment mentioned by Luke, or after a second imprisonment incurred subsequent to an intervening period of freedom and active exertion in the cause of Christianity, has been much discussed by modern writers. The latter hypothesis rests chiefly on some statements in Paul's second Epistle to Timothy, which it is deemed impossible to reconcile with the former hypothesis. The consideration of these belongs properly to the literary history of that Epistle [Second Epistle to Timothy], and we shall not therefore enter upon them here. Suffice it to remark that, though the whole subject is involved in much obscurity, the preponderance of evidence seems to be in favour of the supposition of a second imprisonment of the Apostle. The testimonies of some of the later fathers in support of this supposition cannot, however, be allowed much weight, for they all rest upon Eusebius, and he rests upon a mere 'rumour' (his words are λόγος ἔχει, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 22),

and upon the Apostle's expressions in the second Epistle to Timothy. More weight is due to the testimony of Clemens Romanus, because of his proximity in time to the Apostle, and of his residence at Rome; but all the information he furnishes bearing on this question is that Paul, 'after having proclaimed the Gospel both in the east and in the west . . . . . and taught righteousness to the whole world, and having come to the boundary of the west (*τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*), and having testified before the rulers (or having suffered martyrdom by order of the rulers, *μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων*), thus left the world and went to the holy place' (Ep. i. ad Cor. c. 5). By 'the boundary of the west' it is affirmed, on the part of the advocates of a second imprisonment of the Apostle, that Clement means Spain, or perhaps the extreme west part of Spain; and as Paul never visited this during the portion of his life of which we have record in the New Testament, it is inferred that he must have done so at a subsequent period after being liberated from imprisonment. But this is not very cogent reasoning; for it is still open to question whether by *τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* Clement really intended to designate Spain. We may give up at once the opinion of Hemsen, that the place referred to is Illyricum, as fanciful and untenable; nor do we feel inclined to contend strenuously for Rome as the place intended, though this is not altogether improbable; but it is not so easy to get over the suggestion that Clement means nothing more by the phrase than simply the western part of the Roman empire, without intending to specify any one place in particular. It is to be observed that his language is, through the whole sentence, vague and exaggerated, as when, for instance, he affirms that Paul 'had taught righteousness to the whole world;' and, in such a case, it is attributing too much to his assertion to insist upon understanding it of some definite locality. Besides, the use of *ἐλθων* by Clement would seem to intimate that he was himself residing at the place or in the region which was present to his mind while writing as the *terminus ad quem* of the Apostle's journeyings; and, moreover, if by the succeeding clause we understand him as alluding to Paul's having suffered martyrdom by order of the emperor (which is the rendering usually given by those who adduce the passage as favouring the hypothesis of a second imprisonment), does it not appear to follow that the *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* was the place where that occurred? Both these suggestions are in favour of Rome, or of the West generally, as the place referred to by Clement; and adopting this interpretation of his words, the inferential evidence they have been supposed to yield in favour of the hypothesis that the Apostle enjoyed a period of labour, and suffered a second imprisonment subsequent to that mentioned by Luke, is of course destroyed.

If, on the evidence furnished by the allusions in the Second Epistle to Timothy, we adopt the supposition above stated, it will follow that Paul, during the interval between his first and second imprisonments, undertook an extensive apostolic tour, in the course of which he visited his former scenes of labour in Asia and Greece, and perhaps also fulfilled his purpose of going into Spain (Rom. xv. 24-28). He probably also visited Crete and Dalmatia (comp. Greswell, vol. ii. pp. 78-100).

In the apostle's own writings one or two incidents of his life are alluded to of which no notice has been taken in the preceding sketch of his history, in consequence of the obscurity in which they are involved, in some cases as to the time when they occurred, and in others as to the nature of the event itself. These are his visit to Jerusalem, mentioned Gal. ii. 1; his rapture into the third heavens (2 Cor. xii. 1-4); the thorn in the flesh with which he was afflicted after that event (ver. 7); and his fighting with wild beasts at Ephesus, mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. 32. As to the first of these it does not readily synchronize with any visit of the apostle to Jerusalem noticed by Luke. That it was anterior to the visit mentioned in Acts xv. is evidenced by the entire discrepancy of the two narratives (comp. Tate's *Continuous History of St. Paul*, p. 141); and that it was the same as the visit mentioned in Acts xi. 30, is rendered doubtful by the circumstance that on the occasion referred to by the apostle, Titus accompanied him and Barnabas to Jerusalem, whereas it would appear from the narrative of Luke as if Paul and Barnabas were without any companion when they went up with the alms for the poor saints (comp. Acts xi. 30, and xii. 25). We are strongly inclined, therefore, to suppose that during the interval which elapsed between what are commonly reckoned as the apostle's *second* and *third* visits to Jerusalem (an interval of about *five* years), a short visit was paid by him and Barnabas, along with Titus, of a private nature, and probably with a view of consulting the apostles resident at Jerusalem, as to the proper treatment of Gentile converts (Gal. ii. 2-10).

As respects the rapture into the third heavens, one thing appears very certain, viz., that those are mistaken who attempt to identify this with the vision on the road to Damascus which led to the apostle's conversion. The design, character, and consequences of the one are so different from those of the other, that it is surprising any should have imagined the two events were the same (Neander, *Apostol. Zeitalter*, i. 115). It is not improbable that the *ὀπτασία* of which Paul writes to the Corinthians was the same as the *ἔκστασις* referred to by him in the recapitulation of the events of his life in his address to the Jews as recorded in Acts xxii. 17. When in an ecstasy or trance an individual might be well described as *ἁρπάγεις*, for all outward perception was suspended, and the whole mind was wrapt in contemplation of the objects presented in the vision. The date, moreover, which the apostle assigns to the event, mentioned in the Epistle to the Corinthians, agrees very closely with that of the event mentioned in the Acts. The latter, Paul says, occurred when he was in Jerusalem for the first time after his conversion: the former, he says, took place 'about fourteen years' before the time of his writing the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Now, according to almost all the chronologers, a space of fourteen years intervened between the apostle's first visit to Jerusalem and his writing that epistle; so that it is highly probable that the vision referred to in the two narratives is the same.

What 'the thorn in the flesh' was with which the apostle was visited after his vision, has proved indeed a *quæstio vexata* to interpreters (Cf. Poli *Synops. Crit. in loc.*). The conclusion to which

Neander has come on this subject appears to us much the most judicious. 'We must regard it as something entirely personal, affecting him not as an apostle, but as Paul; though, in the absence of any information as to its characteristics, it would be foolish to decide more precisely *what* it was' (*Apostol. Zeit.* i. 228).

Respecting the apostle's fighting with wild beasts at Ephesus, the question is whether this should be understood *literally* of an actual exposure in the theatre to the assault of savage beasts, or *figuratively* of dangers to which he was exposed from the attacks of savage men. It is no objection to the literal interpretation that Luke has not noticed any such event in his narrative; for from Rom. xvi. 4, we find that the apostle must have encountered many deadly perils at Ephesus of which no notice is taken by Luke. As little force is there in the objection that Paul, as a Roman citizen, could not legally be subjected to such a punishment; for however his privileges in this respect may have availed him on some occasions, we know that they did not on all, else he would not have endured the indignity of being scourged, as he was at Philippi (Acts xvi. 23), and, according to his own testimony, often besides (2 Cor. xi. 24, 25). Tradition is in favour of the literal interpretation (Nicephori *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 6. 25); and no exegesis of the whole clause seems better than that of Theodoret: κατὰ ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν θηρίων ἐγενόμην βορά, ἀλλὰ παραδόξως ἐσώθην; for it is far from improbable that the furious mob might have raised the cry '*Ad leones*' against the apostle, and that some unexpected interposition had saved him from the fearful doom. To interpret this statement of his treatment at the hands of Demetrius, is absurdly to make him refer to an event which at the time he was writing had not occurred.

On the writings of the apostle Paul, see the articles in this work under the titles of his different epistles.

Pearson, *Annales Paulini*, 4to. Lond. 1688, translated by J. M. Williams, 12mo. Cambridge, 1826; J. Lange, *Comment. Hist. Hermeneut. de Vita et Epistolis Ap. Pauli*, 4to. Halæ, 1718; Macknight, *Translation of the Apostolical Epistles*, vol. vi. 8vo., vol. iv. 4to.; Lardner, *Works*, vol. vi. 8vo., vol. iii. 4to; More, *Essay on St. Paul*, 2 vols.; Tate, *Continuous History of St. Paul* (prefixed to a new edition of Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*), 8vo. Lond. 1840; Schrader, *Der Ap. Paulus*, 3 th. 8vo. Leip. 1830; Hemsen, *Der Ap. Paulus*, 8vo. Gött. 1830; Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, bd. ii. (translated in the *Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet*, vol. xxviii.).—W. L. A.

PEACOCK. It is a question, perhaps, more of geographical and historical than of Biblical interest to decide whether תכיים *thūkyim* (1 Kings x. 22) and תוכיים *thūkyim* (2 Chron. ix. 21) denote peacocks strictly so called, or some other species of animal or bird; for on the solution of the question in the affirmative depends the real direction of Solomon's fleet; that is, whether, after passing the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, it proceeded along the east coast of Africa towards Sofala, or whether it turned eastward, ranging along the Arabian and Persian shores to the Peninsula of India, and perhaps went onwards to Ceylon, and penetrated to the great Australian, or even to the Spice Islands. Bochart, unable to discover a Hebrew root in *Thukyim*, rather arbitrarily proposes a transposition of letters by which he converts the word into *Cuthyim*, denoting, as he supposes, the country of the *Cuthei*, which, in an extended sense, is applied, in conformity with various writers of antiquity, to Media and Persia; and Greek authorities are cited to show that peacocks abounded in Babylonia, &c. This mode of proceeding to determine the species and the native country of the bird is altogether inadmissible, since Greek writers speak of Persian peacocks at a much later period than the age of Solomon; and it is well known that they were successively carried westward till they passed from the Greek islands into Europe, and that, as Juno's birds, the Romans gradually spread them to Gaul and Spain, where, however, they were not common until after the tenth century. But even if peacocks had been numerous in Media and northern Persia at the time in question, how were they to be furnished to a fleet which was navigating the Indian Ocean, many degrees to the south of the colder region of High Asia? and as for the land of the Cuthei, or of Cush, when it serves their purpose, writers remove it to Africa along with the migrations of the Cushites. The *Thukyim* have been presumed to derive their appellation from an exotic word implying 'tufted' or 'crested,' which, though true of the peacock, is not so obvious a character as that afforded by its splendid tail; and therefore a crested parrot has been supposed to be meant. Parrots, though many species are indigenous in Africa, do not appear on the monuments of Egypt; they were unknown till the time of Alexander, and then both Greeks and Romans were acquainted only with species from Ceylon, destitute of crests, such as *Psittacus Alexandri;* and the Romans for a long time received these only by way of Alexandria, though in the time of Pliny others became known. Again, the pheasant has been proposed as the bird intended; but *Phas. Colchicus*, the only species known in antiquity, is likewise without a prominent crest, and is a bird of the colder regions of the central range of Asiatic mountains. Following a line of latitude, it gradually reached westward to High Armenia and Colchis, whence it was first brought to Europe by Greek merchants, who frequented the early emporium on the Phasis. The centre of existence of the genus, rich in splendid species, is in the woody region beneath the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, reaching also eastward to northern China, where the common pheasant is abundant; but not, we believe, any where naturally in a low latitude. Thus it appears that pheasants were not the birds intended by the Hebrew *Thukyim*, although all versions and comments agree that after the *Ebi*, or apes (probably *Cercopithecus Entellus*, one of the sacred species of India), some kind of remarkable bird is meant; and none are more obviously entitled to the application of the name than the peacock, since it is abundant in the jungles of India, and would be met with, both wild and domesticated, by navigators to the coasts from Camboge to Ceylon, and would better than any of the others bear a long sea voyage in the crowded ships of antiquity. Moreover, we find it still denominated *Togei* in the Malabaric dialects of the country, which may be the source of *Thuki*, as well as of the Arabic *Tawas*, and Armenian *Taus*.

With regard to the objection, that the long ocellated feathers of the rump, and not those of the tail, as is commonly believed, are the most conspicuous object offered by this bird, it may be answered, that if the name *Togei* be the original, it may not refer to a tuft, or may express both the erectile feathers on the head of a bird and those about the rump or the tail; and that those of the peacock have at all times been sought to form artificial crests for human ornaments. One other point remains to be considered; namely, whether the fleet went to the East, or proceeded southward along the African shore? No doubt, had the Phœnician trade guided the Hebrews in the last mentioned direction, gold and apes might have been obtained on the east coast of Africa, and even some kinds of spices in the ports of Abyssinia; for all that region, as far as the Strait of Madagascar, was at that early period in a state of comparative affluence and civilization. But in that case a great part of the commercial produce would have been obtained within the borders of the Red Sea, and beyond the Straits; the distance to be traversed, therefore, being but partially affected by the monsoons, never could have required a period of three years for its accomplishment; and a prolonged voyage round the Cape to the Guinea and Gold Coast is an assumption so wild, that it does not merit serious consideration; but intending to proceed to India, the fleet had to reach the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb in time to take advantage of the western monsoon; be in port, perhaps at or near Bombay, before the change; and after the storms accompanying the change, it had to proceed during the eastern monsoon under the lee of the land to Coodramalli, or the port of Palesimundus in Taprobana, on the east coast of Ceylon; thence to the Coromandel shore, perhaps to the site of the present ruins of Mahabalipuram; while the return voyage would again occupy one year and a half. The ports of India and Ceylon could furnish gold, precious stones, eastern spices, and even Chinese wares; for the last fact is fully established by discoveries in very ancient Egyptian tombs. Silks, which are first mentioned in Proverbs xxxi. 22, could not have come from Africa, and many articles of advanced and refined social life, not the produce of Egypt, could alone have been derived from India [Ophir].

Though in this short abstract of the arguments respecting the direction of Solomon's fleet, there may be errors, none, we believe, are of sufficient weight to impugn the general conclusion, which supports the usual rendering of *Thukyim* by 'peacocks;' although the increase of species in the west does not appear to have been remarkable till some ages after the reign of the great Hebrew monarch, when the bird was dedicated to Juno, and reared at first in her temple at Samos. There are only two species of true peacocks, viz., that under consideration, which is the *Pavo cristatus* of Linn.; and another, *Pavo Muticus*, more recently discovered, which differs in some particulars, and originally belongs to Japan and China. Peacocks bear the cold of the Himalayas: they run with great swiftness, and where they are, serpents do not abound, as they devour the young with great avidity, and, it is said, attack with spirit even the *Cobra di Capello* when grown to considerable size, arresting its progress and confusing it by the rapidity and variety of their evolutions around it, till exhausted with fatigue it is struck on the head and dispatched.

A detailed description of a species so well known, we deem superfluous.—C. H. S.

PEARLS. It is doubtful that pearls are mentioned in the Old Testament. The word גביש, *gabish*, rendered 'pearl' in Job xxviii. 18, appears to mean crystal; and the word פנינים, *peninim*, which our version translates by 'rubies,' is now supposed to mean coral [Coral]. But in the New Testament the pearls (μαργαρίτης) are repeatedly mentioned. In Matt. xiii. 45, 46, a merchant (travelling jeweller) seeking goodly *pearls*, finds one pearl of great price, and to be able to purchase it, sells all that he has—all the jewels he had previously secured. In 1 Tim. ii. 9, and Rev. xvii. 4, pearls are mentioned as the ornaments of females; in Rev. xviii. 12-16, among costly merchandize; and Rev. xxi. 12, the twelve gates of the heavenly Jerusalem are 'twelve pearls.' These intimations seem to indicate that pearls were in more common use among the Jews after than before the captivity, while they evince the estimation in which they were in later times held (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* ix. 54; xii. 41; Ælian, *Anim.* x. 13; comp. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ii. 164). The island of Tylos (Bahrein) was especially renowned for its fishery of pearls (Plin. vi. 32; comp. Strabo, xvi. p. 767; Athen. iii. 93); the Indian ocean was also known to produce pearls (Arrian, *Indica*, p. 194; Plin. ix. 54; xxxiv. 48; Strabo, xv. p. 717). Heeren feels assured that this indication must be understood to refer to the strait between Taprobana, or Ceylon, and the southernmost point of the mainland of India, Cape Comorin, whence Europeans, even at present, derive their principal supplies of these costly natural productions. This writer adds, 'Pearls have at all times been esteemed one of the most valuable commodities of the East. Their modest splendour and simple beauty appear to have captivated the Orientals, even more than the dazzling brilliancy of the diamond, and have made them at all times the favourite ornament of despotic princes. In the West, the passion for this elegant luxury was at its height about the period of the extinction of Roman freedom, and they were valued in Rome and Alexandria as highly as precious stones. In Asia this taste was of more ancient date, and may be traced to a period anterior to the Persian dynasty; nor has it ever declined. A string of pearls of the largest size is an indispensable part of the decorations of an Eastern monarch. It was thus that Tippoo was adorned when he fell before the gates of his capital; and it is thus that the present ruler of the Persians is usually decorated (*Ideen*, i. 2. 224).

PEGANON (πηγάνον). The word *rue* occurs only in Luke xi. 42. 'But woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment,' &c. In the parallel passage, Matt. xxiii. 23, *dill* (ἄνηθον), translated *anise* in the English Version, is mentioned instead of rue. Both dill and rue were cultivated in the gardens of Eastern countries in ancient times as they are at the present day. Dioscorides describes two kinds, πήγανον ὀρεινόν, *Ruta montana*, and πήγανον κηπευτόν, *Ruta hortensis*. 'Ex hortensi autem esui magis idonea, quæ juxta

ficos provenit.' These are considered by botanists to be distinct species, and are called respectively, the first, *Ruta montana*, which is common in the south of Europe and the north of Africa; the other is usually called *Ruta graveolens*, and by some *R. hortensis*, which is found in the south of Europe, and is the kind commonly cultivated in gardens. Rue was highly esteemed as a medicine, even as early as the time of Hippocrates. Pliny says, 'Rue is an herbe as medicinable as the best. That of the garden hath a broader leafe, and brauncheth more than the wild, which is more hotte, vehement, and rigorous in all operations; also that is it sowed usually in Februarie, when the western wind, Favonius, bloweth. Certes we find, that in old time rue was in some great account, and especiall reckoning above other hearbs: for I read in auncient histories, That Cornelius Cethegus, at what time as he was chosen Consull with Quintius Flaminius, presently upon the said election, gave a largesse to the people of new wine, aromatized with rue. The fig-tree and rue are in a great league and amitie, insomuch as this herb, sow and set it where you will, in no place prospereth better than under that tree; for planted it may be of a slip in spring' (Holland's Pliny, xix. c. viii.). That it was employed as an ingredient in diet, and as a condiment, is abundantly evident from Apicius, as noticed by Celsius, and is not more extraordinary than the fondness of some Eastern nations were of assafœtida as a seasoning to food. That one kind was cultivated by the Israelites, is evident from its being mentioned as one of the articles of which the Pharisees paid their tithes, though they neglected the weightier matters of the law. Rosenmüller states that in the Talmud (*Tract Shebüth*, cap. ix., § 1) the rue is indeed mentioned amongst kitchen herbs (*asparagus portulacæ et coriandro*); but, at the same time, it is there expressly stated, that it is tithe free, it being one of those herbs which are not cultivated in gardens, according to the general rule established in the Talmud.' Celsius long previously observed with reference to this fact: 'Cum autem dicunt ibidem, rutam a decimatione immunem esse, ostendunt, quantum recesserint a consuetudine majorum, quos decimas ex ruta separasse, ipsum affirmat os veritatis' (*Hierobot.* ii. p. 253). —

J. F. R.

PEKAH (פֶּקַח, *open-eyed;* Sept. Φακέε), the officer who slew Pekahiah and mounted the throne in his stead (B.C. 758), becoming the eighteenth king of Israel. He reigned twenty years. Towards the close of his life (but not before the seventeenth year of his reign) he entered into a league with Rezin, king of Damascene-Syria, against Judah; and the success which attended their operations induced Ahaz to tender to Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, his homage and tribute, as the price of his aid and protection. The result was that the kings of Syria and Israel were soon obliged to abandon their designs against Judah in order to attend to their own dominions, of which considerable parts were seized and retained by the Assyrians. Israel lost all the territory east of the Jordan, and the two and a half tribes which inhabited it were sent into exile. These disasters seem to have created such popular discontent as to give the sanction of public opinion to the conspiracy headed by Hoshea, in which the king lost his life (2 Kings xv. 25, sq.; xvi. 5, sq.; Isa. vii.; viii. 1-9; xvii. 1-11).

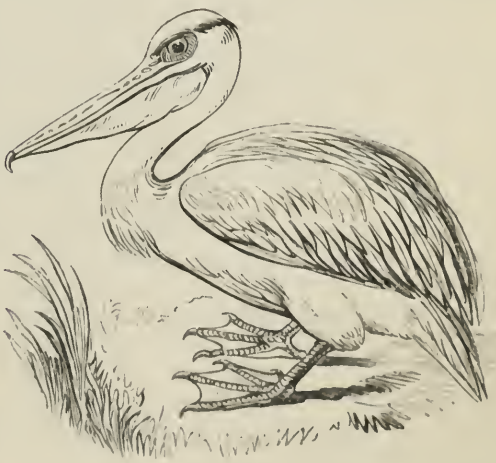
PEKAHIAH (פְּקַחְיָה, *Jehovah has opened his eyes;* Sept. Φακεσίας, Φακείας), son and successor of Menahem, king of Israel, who began to reign in B.C. 760. He patronized and supported the idolatry of the golden calves; and after an undistinguished reign of two years, Pekah, one of his generals, conspired against him, and with the aid of Argob and Arish, and fifty Gileadites, slew him in the haram of his own palace (2 Kings xv. 22-25).

PELEG, son of Eber, and fourth in descent from Shem. His name, פֶּלֶג, means *division*, and is said to have been given him 'because in his days the earth was divided' (Gen. x. 25; xi. 16); concerning which see NATIONS, DISPERSION OF.

PELICAN. קָאַת *kaath;* Syriac, *kaka;* Arabic and Talmuds, *kuk* and *kik*.

The name *kaath* is supposed to be derived from the action of throwing up food, which the bird really effects when discharging the contents of the bag beneath its bill. But it may be suggested, as not unlikely, that all the above names are imitative of the voice of the pelican, which, although seldom heard in captivity, is uttered frequently at the periods of migration, and is compared to the braying of an ass. It may be likewise that this characteristic has influenced several translators of the Hebrew text in substituting on some, or on all occasions, where *kaath* occurs, bittern for pelican, but we think without sufficient reason [KEPHOD; BITTERN]. *Kaath* is found in Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 17; Ps. cii. 6; Isa. xxxiv. 11; Zeph. ii. 14.

Pelicans are chiefly tropical birds, equal or superior in bulk to the common swan: they have powerful wings; fly at a great elevation; are partially gregarious; and though some always remain in their favourite subsolar regions, most of them migrate in our hemisphere with the northern spring, occupy Syria, the lakes and rivers of temperate Asia, and extend westward into Europe up the



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Danube into Hungary, and northward to some rivers of southern Russia. They likewise frequent salt-water marshes, and the shallows of harbours, but seldom alight on the open sea, though they are said to dart down upon fish from a considerable height.

The face of the pelican is naked; the bill long,

broad, and flat, is terminated by a strong crooked and crimson-coloured nail, which, when fish is pressed out of the pouch, and the bird is at rest, is seen reposing upon the crop, and then may be fancied to represent an ensanguined spot. This may have occasioned the fabulous tale which represents the bird as wounding her own bared breast to revive its young brood; for that part of the bag which is visible then appears like a naked breast, all the feathers of the body being white or slightly tinged with rose colour, except the great quills, which are black. The feet have all the toes united by broad membranes, and are of a nearly orange colour. *Pelicanus onocrotalus*, the species here noticed, is the most widely-spread of the genus, being supposed to be identical at the Cape of Good Hope and in India, as well as in western Asia. It is very distinctly represented in ancient Egyptian paintings, where the birds are seen in numbers congregated among reeds, and the natives collecting basketfuls of their eggs. They still frequent the marshes of the Delta of the Nile, and the islands of the river high up the country, and resort to the lakes of Palestine, excepting the Dead Sea. With regard to the words 'of the wilderness or desert,' often added to the pelican's name in consequence of their occurrence in Ps. cii. 6, there is not sufficient ground to infer from them any peculiar capability in the genus to occupy remote solitudes; for they live on fish, and generally nestle in reedy abodes; and man, in all regions, equally desirous to possess food, water, and verdure, occupies the same localities for the same reasons. We think the Psalmist refers to one isolated by circumstances from the usual haunts of these birds, and casually nestling among rocks, where water, and consequently food, begins to fail in the dry season, as is commonly the case eastward of the Jordan—such a supposition offering an image of misery and desolation forcibly applicable to the context.—C. H. S.

PELITHITES. [Cherethites and Pelithites.]

PEN. [Writing.]

PENIEL (פְּנִיאֵל, *face of God;* Sept. Εἶδος Θεοῦ), or Penuel, a place beyond the Jordan, where Jacob wrestled with the angel, and 'called the name of the place Peniel; for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved' (Gen. xxxii. 30). There was in after-times a fortified town in this place, the inhabitants of which exposed themselves to the resentment of Gideon, for refusing succour to his troops when pursuing the Midianites (Judg. viii. 8). The site is not known; but it must have been at some point on or not far from the north bank of the Jabbok. Men of this name occur in 1 Chron. iv. 4; viii. 25.

PENINNAH (פְּנִנָּה, *coral;* Sept. Φεννάνα), one of the two wives of Elkanah, the father of Samuel (1 Sam. i. 2).

PENNY. [Drachma; Denarius.]

PENTATEUCH is the title given to the five books of Moses. The Jews usually call the Pentateuch התורה, *the law;* or, more fully, חמשה חומשי התורה, *the five-fifths of the law.* This title again has been abbreviated into חמשין, for the whole, and חומש, for a single book of the Pentateuch. In Greek its usual appellations are ὁ νόμος, and πεντάτευχος. The word τεῦχος occurs in the later Alexandrian writers in the signification of *volumen.* The division into five books is alluded to in the works of Josephus and Philo. It seems that this division was first made by the Alexandrian critics. In Jewish writers are found statements indicating that the Pentateuch was formerly divided into seven portions (comp. Jarchi, *ad Proverb.* ix. 1; *ibique* Breithaupt).

In the Jewish canon the Pentateuch is kept somewhat distinct from the other sacred books of the Old Testament, because, considered with reference to its contents, it is the book of books of the ancient covenant. It is the basis of the religion of the Old Testament, and of the whole theocratical life. The term law characterizes the principal substance of the Pentateuch, but its real kernel and central point is the foundation of the Jewish theocracy, the historical demonstration of that peculiar communion into which the God of heaven and earth entered with one chosen people, through the instrumentality of Moses; the preparation for, and the development of, that communion; the covenant relation of Jehovah and Israel, from its first rise down to its complete termination. In considering the Pentateuch, the first question which arises is—Who was its author? It is of great importance to hear first, what the book itself says on this subject. The Pentateuch does not present itself as an anonymous production. It is manifestly intended and destined to be a public muniment for the whole people, and it does not veil its origin in a mysterious obscurity; on the contrary the book speaks most clearly on this subject.

According to Exod. xvii. 14, Moses was commanded by God to write the victory over the Amalekites *in the book* (בספר). This passage shows that the account to be inserted was intended to form a portion of a more extensive work, with which the reader is supposed to be acquainted. It also proves that Moses, at an early period of his public career, was filled with the idea of leaving to his people a written memorial of the Divine guidance, and that he fully understood the close and necessary connection of an authoritative law with a written code, or זכרון. It is, therefore, by no means surprising that the observation repeatedly occurs, that Moses wrote down the account of certain events (Exod. xxiv. 4, 7; xxxiv. 27, 28; Num. xxxiii. 2). Especially important are the statements in Deut. i. 5; xxviii. 58. In Deut. xxxi. 9, 24 (30) the whole work is expressly ascribed to Moses as the author, including the poem in Deut. xxxii. It may be made a question whether the hand of a later writer, who finished the Pentateuch, is perceptible from ch. xxxi. 24 (comp. xxxiii. 1, and xxxiv.), or whether the words in xxxi. 24-30 are still the words of Moses. In the former case we have two witnesses, viz. Moses himself, and the continuator of the Pentateuch; in the latter case, which seems to us the more likely, we have the testimony of Moses alone.

Modern criticism has raised many objections against these statements of the Pentateuch relative to its own origin. Many critics suppose that they can discover in the Pentateuch indications that the author intended to make himself known as a person different from Moses. The

most important objection is the following: that the Pentateuch, speaking of Moses, always uses the third person, bestows praise upon him, and uses concerning him expressions of respect. The Pentateuch even exhibits Moses quite objectively in the blessing recorded in Deut. xxxiii. 4, 5.

To this objection we reply, that the use of the third person proves nothing. The later Hebrew writers also speak of themselves in the third person. We might adduce similar instances from the classical authors, as Cæsar, Xenophon, and others. The use of the third person, instead of the first, prevails also among Oriental authors. In addition to this we should observe, that the nature of the book itself demands the use of the third person, in reference to Moses, throughout the Pentateuch. This usage entirely corresponds with the character both of the history and of the law contained in the Pentateuch. By the use of the word I, the objective character of this history would have been destroyed, and the law of Jehovah would have been brought down to the sphere of human subjectivity and option. If we consider that the Pentateuch was destined to be a book of divine revelation, in which God exhibited to his people the exemplification of his providential guidance, we cannot expect that Moses, by whom the Lord had communicated his latest revelations, should be spoken of otherwise than in the third person. In the poetry contained in Deut. xxxiii. 4, Moses speaks in the name of the people, which he personifies and introduces as speaking. The expressions in Exod. xi. 3, and Num. xii. 3 and 7, belong entirely to the context of history, and to its faithful and complete relation; consequently it is by no means vain boasting that is there expressed, but admiration of the divine mercy glorified in the people of God. In considering these passages we must also bear in mind the far greater number of other passages which speak of the feebleness and the sins of Moses.

It is certain that the author of the Pentateuch asserts himself to be Moses. The question then arises, whether it is POSSIBLE to consider this assertion to be true—whether Moses CAN be admitted to be the author? In this question is contained another, viz. whether the Pentateuch forms such a continuous whole that it is possible to ascribe it to one author? This question has been principally discussed in modern criticism. In various manners it has been tried to destroy the unity of the Pentateuch, and to resolve its constituent parts into a number of documents and fragments (comp. here especially the article GENESIS). Eichhorn and his followers assert that GENESIS only is composed of several ancient documents. This assertion is still reconcileable with the Mosaical origin of the Pentateuch. But Vater and others allege that the whole Pentateuch is composed of fragments; from which it necessarily follows that Moses was not the author of the whole. Modern critics are, however, by no means unanimous in their opinions. The latest writer on this subject, Ewald, in his history of the people of Israel (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. Göttingen, 1843), asserts that there were seven different authors concerned in the Pentateuch. On the other hand, the internal unity of the Pentateuch has been demonstrated in many able essays. The attempts at division are especially supported by an appeal to the prevailing use of the different names of God in various portions of the work; but the arguments derived from this circumstance have been found insufficient to prove that the Pentateuch was written by different authors (comp. the articles GENESIS, EXODUS, LEVITICUS, NUMBERS, and DEUTERONOMY).

The inquiry concerning the unity of the Pentateuch is intimately connected with its HISTORICAL CHARACTER. If there are in the Pentateuch decided contradictions, or different contradictory statements of one and the same fact, not only its unity but also its historical truth would be negatived. On the other hand, if the work is to be considered as written by Moses, the whole style and internal veracity of the Pentateuch must correspond with the character of Moses. Considerate critics, who are not under the sway of dogmatic prejudices, find that the passages which are produced in order to prove that the Pentateuch was written after the time of Moses, by no means support such a conclusion, and that a more accurate examination of the contents of the separate portions discovers many vestiges demonstrating that the work originated in the age of Moses (compare here again the articles on the separate books).

The general arguments for and against the authenticity of the Pentateuch, which are here still to be considered separately, are the following:—

The history of the art of writing among the Hebrews has often been appealed to in order to disprove the authenticity of the Pentateuch. It is true that in our days no critic of good repute for learning, ventures any longer to assert that the art of writing was invented subsequent to the Mosaical age (Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 64, sq.); but it is questioned whether the Hebrews were acquainted with that art. Such a doubt proceeds from erroneous ideas concerning the condition of this people, and concerning the civilization necessarily imparted to them in Egypt. The reality of this civilization is proved by indubitable testimony. It is said that a work of such extent as the Pentateuch was beyond the means of the primitive modes of writing then existing. But various testimonies, not merely in the Pentateuch itself, but also derived from other sources, from the period immediately subsequent to that of Moses, prove that a knowledge of the art of writing was widely diffused among the Hebrews (comp. Judges viii. 14). And if there was any knowledge of this art, its application would entirely depend upon the particular circumstances of a given period. Some writers seem to entertain the opinion that the materials for writing were yet, in the days of Moses, too clumsy for the execution of larger works. This opinion is refuted by the fact, that the Hebrews became acquainted, just in the Mosaical period, with the use of very good materials for writing, such as papyrus, byssus, parchment, &c. (comp. Herodotus, v. 58). There are, indeed, mentioned in the Pentateuch some more solid materials for writing, such as tables of stone (Exod. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 1, &c.); but this does not prove that in those days nothing was written except upon stone. Stone was employed, on account of its durability, for specific purposes.

The language of the Pentateuch has also been the subject of many discussions. It has frequently been urged that it differs less from that of the later books of the Old Testament than might have been

expected if this work proceeded from Moses. In this objection the characteristic stability of the Oriental languages has been overlooked. The Oriental languages are not, in the same degree as the Occidental, in a state of development and constant change. It is also overlooked that the Pentateuch itself, by its high authority, exerted a constant influence upon the whole subsequent religious literature of the Hebrews. And we do not know any other literature of the ancient Hebrews except the religious. In addition to this we must observe that, nevertheless, the style of the Pentateuch has its distinctive features of antiquity.

The Pentateuch contains a number of characteristic GRAMMATICAL FORMATIONS; such are, for instance, the use of the pronoun הוא as a feminine also, the form האל for אלה; נחנו; the forms of the imperatives in Gen. iv. 23, Exod. ii. 20, the word נער as a feminine for נערה.

The Pentateuch contains also WORDS which do not occur in the other parts of the Old Testament, such as מין, *species;* קבב, *to curse*, for נקב; כשׂב, *lamb*, for כבש; רכש and רכוש in the signification of *property*.

There occur also characteristic PHRASES, as, *their shade* (צלם) *is departed from them;* i.e. *they are defenceless* (Num. xiv. 9); *he was gathered to his people*, עמיו; *the agreeable odour, or sweet savour*, of the sacrifice, ריח הניחח; *to cover the eye of the earth*, עין הארץ (Exod. x. 5, 15; Num. xxii. 5, 11, &c.).

Others have vainly endeavoured to find in the Pentateuch, and especially in Deuteronomy, vestiges of a later style. The instances produced by the opponents of the Mosaical origin of the Pentateuch do not stand examination, and are, therefore, unable to counterbalance the weight of argument deducible from the antique expressions in the Mosaical writings.

Lastly, the historical contents of the Pentateuch are of very great importance in our present inquiry, because they constantly bear testimony in favour of its age and authenticity, and lead to the following important results. We find, in later times, no period which we could deem capable of producing the Pentateuch as a whole: for this reason, the opponents of its authenticity are obliged to ascribe the different portions of the work to widely different periods. If we allow that the apostles were such persons as they assert themselves to be, we must admit also that the very frequent apostolical allusions to the Pentateuch are a high sanction to the work; and we cannot overlook the fact, that every opinion which, with greater or less decision, finds in the Pentateuch a work of fraud, enters into an unavoidable conflict with the New Testament itself.

In the remote times of Jewish and Christian antiquity, we find no vestiges of doubt as to the genuineness of the Mosaical books. The Gnostics, indeed, opposed the Pentateuch, but attacked it merely on account of their dogmatical opinions concerning the Law, and Judaism in general; consequently they did not impugn the authenticity, but merely the divine authority, of the Law. Heathen authors alone, as Celsus and Julian, represented the contents of the Pentateuch as being mythological, and paralleled them with Pagan mythology.

In the middle ages, but not earlier, we find some very concealed critical doubts in the works of some Jews—as Isaac Ben Jasos, who lived in the eleventh century, and Aben Ezra. After the reformation, it was sometimes attempted to demonstrate the later origin of the Pentateuch. Such attempts were made by Spinoza, Richard Simon, Le Clerc, and Van Dale; but these critics were not unanimous in their results. Against them wrote Heidegger (*Exercitationes Biblicæ*, i. 246, sq.); Witsius (*Miscellanea Sacra*, i. 103, sq.); and Carpzov (*Introductio*, i. 38, sq.).

In the period of English, French, and German deism, the Pentateuch was attacked rather by jests than by arguments. Attacks of a more scientific nature were made about the end of the eighteenth century. But these were met by such critics as John David Michaelis and Eichhorn, who energetically and effectually defended the genuineness of the Pentateuch. These critics, however, on account of their own false position, did as much harm as good to the cause of the Pentateuch.

A new epoch of criticism commences about the year 1805. This was produced by Vater's *Commentary* and De Wette's *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das alte Testament*. Vater embodied all the arguments which had been adduced against the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and applied to the criticism of the sacred books the principles which Wolf had employed with reference to the Homeric poems. He divided the Pentateuch into fragments, to each of which he assigned its own period, but referred the whole generally to the age of the Assyrian or Babylonian exile. Since the days of Vater, a series of the most different hypotheses has been produced by German critics about the age of the Pentateuch, and that of its constituent sections. No one critic seems fully to agree with any other; and frequently it is quite evident that the opinions advanced are destitute of any sure foundation—that they are quite arbitrary, and produced by merely subjective motives. We will illustrate this by a few examples relative to the Pentateuch as a whole.

Schumann makes Ezra the author of the law. According to A. T. Hartmann the separate portions of the law sprang up gradually, some of them as late as the exile; but he does not show by what circumstances they were combined into a whole. According to Dr. Ammon, the Pentateuch was planned by Moses; was gradually continued down to the times of Solomon; was entirely forgotten during the period of idolatry; was rediscovered under the reign of Josiah; and was then retouched, and edited under the name of Moses. Von Bohlen urges the fact mentioned in the second Book of Kings (ch. xxii.), as if it were explanatory of the origin of Deuteronony; but he considers some portions to be of a much later origin. He asserts that the Pentateuch was partly written after the exile, that it was gradually developed, and was brought to a conclusion in the age of Christ. According to the latest statements of De Wette, in his *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, § 157, sq., the ELOHIM portions were written in the age of Samuel and Saul, the JEHOVAH portions nearly about the same period, but Deuteronomy much later, under Josiah. Ewald assigns seven authors to the Pentateuch, who, how-

ever, wrote in very different periods. The first, he supposes, wrote in the days of Samson; the second in the reign of Solomon; the third in the reign of Elijah, &c.

The critical doubts respecting the authenticity of the Pentateuch have produced in modern times several works in defence of its genuineness; such as Kanne's *Biblischer Untersuchungen*, 2 vols., 1820; the observations by Jahn, Rosenmüller, and Bleek; Ranke's *Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, 2 vols.; Hengstenberg's *Beiträge zur Einleitung*, vols. 2 and 3; Hävernick's *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, vol. 1; Drechsler, *Ueber die Einheit und Authentie der Genesis*; König's *Alt-testamentliche Studien*, 2d number; Sack's *Apologetik*, &c.

The most important commentaries and exegetical aids for the explanation of the whole Pentateuch, and its constituent parts, are the following:—Calvini Bonfrerii *Pentateuchus Commentario Illustratus*, 1625; Marckii *Commentarius in præcipuas quasdam Pentateuchi partes*, 1721; Clerici *Commentarius*, 1710; Gerhardi *Commentarius in Genesin*, 1693; Merceri *Commentarius in Genesin*, 1593; Vater, *Commentar über den Pentateuch*, 1802, sq., 3 vols.; Rosenmulleri *Scholia*, 3d ed., 1821, sq.: Schumann, *Pentateuchus Hebraice et Graece*, tom. 1, 1829; Von Bohlen, *Die Genesis übersetzt und erklärt*, Königsberg, 1825; Tiele, *Das erste Buch Mosis, &c.*, 1st vol., 1836; Tuch, *Commentar über die Genesis*, 1838, &c. The following are the principal English works on the Pentateuch:—Ainsworth, *Annotations on the Five Books of Moses*, 1699; Kidder, *Commentary on the Five Books of Moses*, 1713; Parker, *Bibliotheca Biblica*, 1720, 1735; Jamieson, *Critical and Practical Exposition of the Pentateuch*, 1748; Robertson, *Clavis Pentateuchi*, 1770; Graves, *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, 1815.

—H. A. C. H.

PENTECOST (Πεντηκοστή), the name (signifying fiftieth) given in the New Testament to the Feast of Weeks, or of Ingathering, which was celebrated on the *fiftieth* day from the festival of unleavened bread, or the Passover; or seven weeks from the 16th day of Nisan. It was a festival of thanks for the harvest, and commenced immediately after the Passover [Festivals]. It was one of the three great yearly festivals, in which all the males were required to appear before God at the place of his sanctuary. Josephus states that in his time great numbers of Jews resorted from every quarter to Jerusalem to keep this festival (*Antiq.* xiv. 13, 4; xvii. 10, 2; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 3, 1). This testimony affords interesting corroboration of Acts ii. 1, 9-11; xx. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 8, in which the same fact appears. The commencement of the Christian church on the day of Pentecost, preceded as it was by our Lord's ascension, attached a peculiar interest to this season, and eventually led to its being set apart for the commemoration of these great events. It was not, however, established as one of the great festivals until the fourth century. The combination of two events (the Ascension and the descent of the Holy Ghost) in one festival has a parallel in the original Jewish feast, which is held to have included the feast of first-fruits, and of the delivering of the law (Exod. xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 14-21; Num. xxviii. 26). Indeed, this festival in some respects bears a close analogy to the Jewish one; and is evidently little more than a modification of it. The converts of that day, on which the Holy Ghost descended, were the *first fruits* of the Spirit. Jerome (*Ad Tabiol*, § 7) elegantly contrasts this with the giving of the law on Mount Sinai: 'Utraque facta est quinquagessimo die, a Paschate; illo, in Sina; hæc, in Sion. Ibi terræ motu contremuit mons; hic, domus apostolorum. Ibi, inter flammas ignium et micantia fulgura, turbo ventorum, et fragor tonitruorum personuit; hic, cum igneārum visione linguarum sonitus pariter de cœlo, tanquam spiritus vehementis adversit. Ibi, clangor buccinæ, legis verba perstrepuit; hic, tuba evangelica apostolorum ore intonuit.' This festival became one of the three baptismal seasons (Tertull. *De Baptis.* c. 19; Hieron., *in Zaeh.* xiv. 8); and it derives its name of Whitsunday, or white-Sunday, from so many being clad in white on this the day of their baptism.

1. PEOR (פְּעוֹר; Sept. Φογώρ), a mountain in the land of Moab (Num. xxiii. 28). Eusebius places it between Livias and Esbus, over against Jericho; which shows that it was not supposed to be east of the Dead Sea, as usually stated (*Onomast.* s. v. Ἀραβώθ Μωάβ). It has not in modern times been recognised.

2. PEOR, an idol [Baal-Peor].

PERES (פֶּרֶס, in our versions 'ossifrage' Lev. xi. 13; Deut. xiv. 12). Although *Neser* is unquestionably the Hebrew name of the eagle, a genus so conspicuous, and to this moment so common in Palestine, probably possessed more than one designation in the national dialects of the country, and under the term ossifrage it would indicate the great sea eagle. But *Peres* is by other translators referred to a hawk, which they denominate *Accipiter*, although before scientific ornithology had defined it to mark a particular species, it had, as in antiquity, been generalized and understood to mean any predaceous bird. Ælian notices *Accipitres* equal in size to eagles, and these included both the ospray and ossifrage. But these names have received specific determinations only since ornithologists have more strictly distinguished genera and species; for originally they were identical; our ospray being derived from the French *Orfrai*, which is itself a mere euphonious pronunciation of *ossifrage*, introduced during the polishing of Gallo-Frankish into the modern idiom. Their scientific application, however, has been referred to two birds; osprey being the *Pandion Haliaëtus*, 'the fishing hawk,' and ossifrage the *Aquila Ossifraga* of Brisson, or 'great sea eagle' of Pennant; authors having even pretended that fragments of bones have been found in the stomach of the last mentioned. If this fact were proved, it would justify the denomination of ossifrage, or 'bone-breaker;' but the dispensation of faculties in nature always indicates a purpose, which in the case of the *Pandion*, living as it does exclusively upon fish, appears inapplicable; for theirs are not the bones understood by the name, and such as the bird accidentally swallows are small and without nutriment. With regard to the sea eagle, which subsists mostly on the same diet, or on carrion, and only by chance on birds, whose bones in all genera are very hard, destitute of marrow, and likewise without nutritious matter, the

case is nearly the same. Finally, breaking the bones must be effected by the beak, which is strong indeed, but only formed to strike, tear, or hold, not to masticate; and if the bones are broken for that purpose, where are they to be found? in the crop, the succentorial ventricle, or in the gizzard?—organs in birds of prey far from vigorous, or so well defined as they are in other orders of the class, particularly in Gallinaceæ. Thus, there is in nature no such bird as one that breaks the bones of warm-blooded animals in order to swallow them; consequently, no identification can be made with any of the sea eagles. But when we place together *Peres*, a name derived from a root denoting 'to crush' or 'break,' and find that by the Greek name φήνη (*Phene*), the Hellenic nations called the Lämmer Geyer of the Swiss, which Savigny (*Oiseaux d'Egypte et de Syrie*) has proved to be the ossifrage of the Romans; then it becomes an immediate question, why such a denomination should have been bestowed. The answer is, we think, satisfactory; for constituting the largest flying bird of the old continent, and being a tenant of the highest ranges of mountains in Europe, western Asia, and Africa, though sometimes feeding on carrion, and not appearing to take up prey like eagles in the talons, it pursues the chamois, young ibex, mountain deer, or marmot, among precipices, until it drives, or by a rush of its wings, forces the game over the brink, to be dashed to pieces below, and thus deservedly obtained the name of bone-breaker.

The species in Europe is little if at all inferior in size to the *Condor* of South America, measuring from the point of the bill to the end of the tail four feet two or three inches, and sometimes ten feet in the expanse of wing; the head and neck are not, like those of vultures, naked, but covered with whitish narrow feathers; and there is a beard of bristly hair under the lower mandible: the rest of the plumage is nearly black and brown, with



450. [Gypaetos Barbatus.]

some whitish streaks on the shoulders, and an abundance of pale rust colour on the back of the neck, the thighs, vent, and legs; the toes are short, and bluish, and the claws strong. In the young the head and neck are black, and the species or variety of Abyssinia appears to be rusty and yellowish on the neck and stomach. It is the griffon of Cuvier, *Gypaëtos barbatus* of nomenclators, and γρύψ of the Seventy. The Arabs, according to Bruce, use the names Abou-Duch'n and Nisser-Werk, which is a proof that they consider it a kind of eagle, and perhaps confound this species with the great sea eagle, which has likewise a few bristles under the throat; and commentators, who have often represented *Peres* to be the black vulture, or a great vulture, were only viewing the *Gypaëtos* as forming one of the order *Accipitres*, according to the Linnæan arrangement, where *Vultur barbatus* (*Syst. Nat.*) is the last of that genus, although in the 13th edition (by Gmelin), we find the name changed to *Falco barbatus*, and located immediately before *F. Albicilla*, or the sea eagle, showing that until a still more accurate classification placed the species in a separate genus, ornithologists had no determined idea of the true place it should occupy, and consequently by what generical appellation it was to be distinguished.—C. H. S.

PEREZ-UZZAH, a place in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which obtained this name (meaning 'breach of Uzzah') from the judgment inflicted upon Uzzah for rashly handling the ark (2 Sam. vi. 8; 1 Chron. xiii. 11).

PERFUMES. In the article Anointing we have noticed the use of perfumes in Eastern countries; and in the botanical articles all the aromatic substances mentioned in Scripture are carefully examined. Here, therefore, we have only to add a few remarks, which the scope of those articles does not embrace.

The practice of producing an agreeable odour by fumigation, or burning incense, as well as that of anointing the person with odoriferous oils and ointments, and of sprinkling the dress with fragrant waters, originated in, and is confined to, warm climates. In such climates perspiration is profuse, and much care is needful to prevent the effects of it from being offensive. It is in this necessity we may find the reason for the use of perfumes, particularly at weddings and feasts, and on visits to persons of rank; and in fact on most of the occasions which bring people together with the intention of being agreeable to one another.

The ointments and oils used by the Israelites were rarely simple, but were compound of various ingredients (Job xli. 22; comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxix. 8). Olive oil, the valued product of Palestine (Deut. xxviii. 40; Mic. vi. 15), was combined with sundry aromatics, chiefly foreign (1 Kings x. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 22), particularly bosem, myrrh, and nard [see these words]. Such ointments were for the most part costly (Amos vi. 6), and formed a much-coveted luxury. The ingredients, and often the prepared oils and resins in a state fit for use, were obtained chiefly in traffic from the Phœnicians, who imported them in small alabaster boxes [Alabaster], in which the delicious aroma was best preserved. A description of the more costly unguents is given by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xiii. 2). The preparation of these required peculiar skill, and therefore formed a particular profession. The רקחים *rokechim* of Exod. xxx. 25, 35; Neh. iii. 8; Eccles. x. 1, called 'Apothecary' in the Auth. Vers., was no other than a maker of perfumes. So strong were the better kinds of ointments, and so perfectly were the different component substances amalgamated, that they have

been known to retain their scent several hundred years. One of the alabaster vases in the museum at Alnwick Castle contains some of the ancient Egyptian ointment, between two and three thousand years old, and yet its odour remains (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, ii. 314).

The 'holy anointing oil,' employed in the sacerdotal unction, was composed of two parts 'myrrh' [Mur], two parts 'cassia' [Kiddah], one part 'cinnamon' [Kinnamon], one part 'sweet calamus' [Kaneh Bosem], compounded 'according to the art of the perfumer,' with a sufficient quantity of the purest olive oil to give it the proper consistence (Exod. xxx. 23, 25). It was strictly forbidden that any perfume like this, that is, composed of the same ingredients, should be used for common purposes, or indeed made at all (xxx. 32, 33); and we cannot but admire the course adopted in order to secure the object contemplated by the law. The composition was not preserved as a secret, but was publicly declared and described, with a plain prohibition to make any like it. Maimonides says that doubtless the cause of this prohibition was, that there might be no such perfume found elsewhere, and consequently that a greater attachment might be induced to the sanctuary; and also, to prevent the great evils which might arise from men esteeming themselves more excellent than others, if allowed to anoint themselves with a similar oil (*More Nevochim*, ch. xx.). The reasons for attaching such distinction to objects consecrated by their holy appropriations, are too obvious to need much elucidation.

The prodigious quantity of this holy ointment made on the occasion which the text describes, being no less than 750 ounces of solids compounded with five quarts of oil, may give some idea of the profuse use of perfumes among the Hebrews. We are, indeed, told by the Psalmist (cxxxiii. 2), that when the holy anointing oil was poured upon the head of Aaron, it flowed down over his beard and dress, even to the skirts of his garments. This circumstance may give some interest to the following anecdote, which we translate from Chardin (*Voyages*, iv. 43, edit. Langles). After remarking how prodigal the eastern females are of perfumes, he gives this instance: 'I remember that, at the solemnization of the nuptials of the three princesses royal of Golconda, whom the king, their father, who had no other children, married in one day, in the year 1679, perfumes were lavished on every invited guest as he arrived. They sprinkled them upon those who were clad in white; but gave them into the hands of those who wore coloured raiment, because their garments would have been spoiled by throwing it over them, which was done in the following manner. They threw over the body a bottle of rose-water, containing about half a pint, and then a larger bottle of water tinted with saffron, in such a manner that the clothes would have been stained with it. After this, they rubbed the arms and the body with a liquid perfume of ladanum and ambergris, and they put round the throat a thick cord of jasmine. I was thus perfumed with saffron in many great houses of this country, and in other places. This attention and honour is a universal custom among the women who have the means of obtaining this luxury.'

PERGA (Πέργη), a town of Pamphylia, in Asia Minor, situated upon the river Cestrus, sixty stades from its estuary. On a hill near the town stood a celebrated temple of Artemis, at which the inhabitants of the surrounding country held a yearly festival in honour of the goddess. Perga was originally the capital of Pamphylia; but when that province was divided into two, Side became the chief town of the first, and Perga of the second Pamphylia (Strabo, xiv. p. 667; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 26; Pomp. Mela, i. 14; Cic. *Verr.* i. 30). The apostle Paul was twice at this place (Acts xiii. 13; xiv. 25). In the first instance he seems to have *landed* at Perga, and the Cestrus was then, in fact, navigable to the town, although the entrance to the river is now impassable, having long been closed by a bar. The site has been established by Col. Leake, as that where extensive remains of vaulted and ruined buildings were observed by General Köhler on the Cestrus, west of Stavros. It is called by the Turks Eski-kalesi.

PERGAMOS (Πέργαμος), or Pergamum, a town of the Great Mysia, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, and afterwards of the Roman province of Asia Propria. The river Caicus, which is formed by the union of two branches meeting thirty or forty miles above its mouth, waters an extensive valley not exceeded in natural beauty and fertility by any in the world. In this valley, in N. lat. 39° 4′, E. long. 27° 12′, stood Pergamos, at the distance of about twenty miles from the sea. It lay on the north bank of the Caicus, at the base and on the declivity of two high and steep mountains, on one of which now stands a dilapidated castle. About two centuries before the Christian era, Pergamos became the residence of the celebrated kings of the family of Attalus, and a seat of literature and the arts. King Eumenes, the second of the name, greatly beautified the town, and increased the library of Pergamos so considerably that the number of volumes amounted to 200,000. As the papyrus shrub had not yet begun to be exported from Egypt, sheep and goat skins, cleaned and prepared for the purpose, were used for manuscripts; and as the art of preparing them was brought to perfection at Pergamos, they, from that circumstance, obtained the name of pergamena, or parchment. The library remained at Pergamos after the kingdom of the Attali had lost its independence, until Antony removed it to Egypt, and presented it to Queen Cleopatra. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 2; Plutarch, *Anton.*). The valuable tapestries, called in Latin aulæa, from having adorned the hall of King Attalus, were also wrought in this town. The last king of Pergamos bequeathed his treasures to the Romans, who took possession of the kingdom also, and erected it into a province under the name of Asia Propria (Martial, *Epig.* ix. 17). Pergamos retained under the Romans that authority over the cities of Asia, which it had acquired under the successors of Attalus, and it still preserves many vestiges of its ancient magnificence. Remains of the Asclepium and of some other temples, of the theatre, stadium, amphitheatre, and several other buildings, are still to be seen. Even now, Pergamos, under the name of Bergamo, is a place of considerable importance, containing a

population estimated at 14,000, of whom about 3000 are Greeks, 300 Armenians, and the rest Turks (Macfarlane's *Visit*). The writer just cited says, 'The approach to this ancient and decayed city was as impressive as well might be. After crossing the Caicus, I saw, looking over three vast tumuli, or sepulchral barrows, similar to those of the plains of Troy, the Turkish city of Pergamos, with its tall minarets and taller cypresses, situated on the lower declivities and at the foot of the Acropolis, whose bold gray brow was crowned by the rugged walls of a barbarous castle, the usurper of the site of a magnificent Greek temple.' The town consists for the most part of small and mean wooden houses, among which appear the remains of early Christian churches, showing 'like vast fortresses amid vast barracks of wood.' None of these churches have any Scriptural or Apocalyptic interest connected with them, having been erected 'several centuries after the ministry of the apostles, and when Christianity was not a humble and despised creed, but the adopted religion of a vast empire.' The Pagan temples have fared worse that these Christian churches. 'The fanes of Jupiter and Diana, of Æsculapius and Venus, are prostrate in the dust; and where they have not been carried away by the Turks, to cut up into tombstones or to pound into mortar, the Corinthian and Ionic columns, the splendid capitals, the cornices and pediments, all in the highest ornament, are thrown into unsightly heaps.'



451. [Pergamos.]

In Pergamos was one of 'the seven churches of Asia,' to which the Apocalypse is addressed. This church is commended for its fidelity and firmness in the midst of persecutions, and in a city so eminently addicted to idolatry. 'I know,' it is said, 'thy works, and *where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is*' (Rev. ii. 13). Now there was at Pergamos a celebrated and much frequented temple of Æsculapius, who probably there, as in other places, was worshipped in the form of a living serpent, fed in the temple, and considered as its divinity. Hence Æsculapius was called the god of Pergamos, and on the coins struck by the town, Æsculapius appears with a rod encircled by a serpent (Berger, *Thesaur.*, i. 492). As the sacred writer mentions (Rev. xii. 9) the great dragon and the old serpent, there is reason to conclude that when he says in the above passage, that the church of Pergamos dwelt 'where Satan's seat is,' he alludes to the worship of the serpent, which was there practised (Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geog.* iii. 13-17; Macfarlane, *Visit to the Seven Apocalyptic Churches*, 1832: Arundell's *Asia Minor*, ii. 302-7; Leake's *Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 265, 266; Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 488, sq.; Schubert, *Reise ins Morgenland; Missionary Herald* for 1839, pp. 228-30).

PERIZZITE (פְּרִזִּי; Sept. Φερεζαῖος), a Canaanitish tribe inhabiting the mountainous region which they eventually yielded to Ephraim and Judah (Josh. xi. 3; xvii. 15; Judg. i. 4, 5). They were kindred to the Canaanites strictly so called (Exod. xxiii. 23; Judg. i. 45): sometimes Canaanites and Perizzites are put for all the other tribes of Canaan (Gen. xiii. 7; xxxiv. 30); while in other places the Perizzites are enumerated with various other tribes of the same stock (Gen. xv. 20; Exod. iii. 8, 17; Deut. vii. 1, &c.). A residue of the Perizzites still remained in the time of Solomon, and were by him subjected to bond-service (1 Kings ix. 20).

PERSIANS, the name of a people and nation which occurs only in the later periods of the biblical history, and then for the most part in conjunction with the Medes [Medes]—a con-

junction which tends to confirm the truth of the sacred records, since the most respectable historical authorities have found reason to conclude that the Medes and Persians were in truth but one nation, only that at an earlier period the Medes, at a later period the Persians, gained the upper hand and bore sway. This ascendancy, in the case of the Persians, as generally in the ancient Asiatic governments, was owing to the corrupting and enervating influence of supreme and despotic power on the one side, and on the other to the retention on the part of mountaineers, or of tribes seated remotely from the centre of the empire, of primitive simplicity,—in laborious lives, hard fare, and constant exposure, which create patient endurance, athletic strength, manly courage, independence: qualities which in their turn refuse or throw off a yoke, and convert a subject into a conquering and ruling nation. At what precise time this great change was brought about in regard to the Medes and Persians, we are not in a condition to determine historically. With Cyrus the elder, however, begins (B.C. 558) the domination of the Persian dynasty which held rule over Media as well as Persia. Whether Cyrus came to the throne by inheritance, as the son-in-law of Cambyses II., according to Xenophon, or whether he won the throne by vanquishing Astyages, the last Median king, agreeably to the statements of Herodotus, is one of those many points connected with early eastern history, which, for want of documents, and in the midst of historical discrepancies, must remain probably for ever uncertain. Meanwhile the existence of Cyrus and the great tenor of his influence remain the same, though on this and on other points historians give irreconcilable statements;—a remark which we make the rather because a certain school of modern theology has attempted to destroy the general historical credibility of the Gospels, on the ground that the several narrators are found to disagree.

The most interesting event to the theologian in the history of Cyrus, is the permission which he gave (B.C. 536) to the captive Jews to return to their native land. After a prosperous reign of the unusual length in Asiatic monarchies of thirty years, Cyrus was gathered to his fathers (B.C. 529). He was succeeded by Cambyses (B.C. 529), who, according to Herodotus, reigned seven years and five months. Then came (B.C. 522) Smerdis, nominally brother of Cambyses, but in reality a Magian; and as the Magi were of Median blood, this circumstance shows that, though the Medes had lost the sovereignty, they were not without great power. Smerdis being assassinated (B.C. 521), Darius Hystaspis was elected king. He favoured the Jews, and permitted them to resume and complete the building of their temple, which had been broken off by reason of jealousy on the part of the heterogeneous populations of Samaria (Ezra iv. 2; 2 Kings xvii. 24), and the influence which they exerted at the Persian court (Ezra iv. 11). The last monarch had for successor Xerxes (B.C. 485), who is probably the Ahasuerus of Esther and Mordecai. After a reign of twenty years, Xerxes was murdered by Artabanus, who, however, enjoyed his booty only for the short period of seven months. The next in order was Artaxerxes (I.) Longimanus (B.C. 465), who enjoyed his power for the surprisingly long period of forty years, and then quietly handed the sceptre over to his son Xerxes II. (B.C. 424), who reigned but two months. He was followed by his step-brother Sogdianus (B.C. 424), whose rule came to an end in seven months; thus making way for Darius Nothus, whose reign lasted nineteen years. Artaxerxes (II.) Mnemon next took the throne (B.C. 404), and is reported to have reigned forty or forty-three years (Diod. Sicul. xiii. 108; xv. 93). His successor was Artaxerxes Ochus (B.C. 364), who occupied the throne for twenty-six years. Then came Arses (B.C. 338), reigning three years. At last Darius Codomannus (B.C. 335) ascended the throne. But the valour, hardihood, and discipline which had gained the dominion, and which, as the length of several reigns in the succession shows, had sustained it with a firm and effectual hand, were almost at an end, having been succeeded by the effeminacy, the luxuriousness, and the vices which had caused the dissolution of earlier Asiatic dynasties, and among them that of the Medes, which the Persians had set aside. When this relaxation of morals has once taken place, a dynasty or a nation only waits for a conqueror. In this case one soon appeared in the person of Alexander, misnamed the Great, who assailing Darius on several occasions, finally overcame him at Arbela (B.C. 330), and so put a period to the Persian monarchy after it had existed for 219 years. On this the country shared the fate that befell the other parts of the world which the Macedonian madman had overrun; but, more fortunate than that of other eastern nations, the name of Persia and of Persians has been preserved even to the present day, as the representative of a people and a government.

The events which transpired during this succession of Persian kings, so far as they are connected with the biblical history, may be thus briefly narrated:—Cyrus, having conquered Babylon, permitted the Jews to quit their captivity and return into Palestine, affording them aid for the reconstruction of their national house of worship. Under Cambyses, who invaded Egypt and became master of the land, adversaries of the Jews tried to render them objects of suspicion at the court; which intrigues, however, had full effect only in the reign of his successor, Smerdis, who issued a decree expressly commanding the building of the temple to cease (Ezra iv. 21); in which prohibition Smerdis, as he was of the Magian tribe, and therefore of the priestly caste, may have been influenced by religious considerations. A milder and more liberal policy ensued. Darius, having by search in the national records ascertained what Cyrus had done towards the Jews, took off the prohibition, and promoted the rebuilding of the temple. Darius Hystaspis was distinguished for great enterprises, as well as liberal ideas. He carried the renown of the Persian arms to India, Libya, and Europe, and began the Persian attempt to subjugate Greece. What Xerxes undertook, and what success he had in his warlike undertakings against Greece, is known to all. His conduct towards the Jews, as well as his own despotism and luxuriousness, are exhibited in the book of Esther with great force as well as truth. Artaxerxes Longimanus led an army into Egypt, which had rebelled against its Persian masters. He was compelled to make peace with the Greeks. Palestine must have suffered much by the passage of troops through its borders on their way from

Persia to Egypt; the new colony at Jerusalem began to sink, when the monarch permitted Nehemiah to proceed with full powers to the Jewish capital, in order to strengthen the hands of his brethren. Darius Nothus had to fight on all sides of his kingdom, and made Phœnicia the scene of a war against the combined forces of Egypt and Arabia. Even Artaxerxes Mnemon, though long busied with his arms in other parts, did not lose sight of Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke, and sent new Persian armies into the vicinity of Palestine. In consequence, the Jews had much to endure from the insolence of a Persian general, namely, Bagoses, who polluted the temple, and 'punished the Jews seven years' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 7, 1). Ochus followed the plan of his father, subdued the revolted Phœnicians, and again fell upon Egypt. The remaining period of the Persian dominion over the Jews passed away peaceably (Winer, *Real-Wört.;* Joseph. *Antiq.*, lib. xi.; Jahn, *Archäol.* ii. 1, 231-312; Schlosser, *Alten Welt*, i. 242, sq.; J. G. Eichhorn, *Geschichte Der Alt. Welt*, i. 80, sq.).



452. [Ancient Persian king on throne.]

The biblical books, Daniel, Esther, Nehemiah, and Ezra, combine to present a true as well as high idea of the Persian court and government. We will give a few particulars from Esther, a book of deep and vivid interest, not only in its story, but also, and by no means less, in the indirect history (as it may be termed) which it contains regarding the (perhaps) most splendid dominion that ever existed upon earth. The extent of the government was from India to Ethiopia, including 127 provinces. The empire was under the control of vassal princes and nobles, 'the power of Persia and Media,' under whom were governors of various ranks, and officers for every species of duty. It was specially the duty of seven ministers of state ('chamberlains') to serve in the immediate presence of the monarch. Other officers, however high in rank, were admitted to the royal person only through the barriers of a strictly-observed ceremonial. Even the prime minister himself, and the favoured concubine who was honoured with the title of queen, durst come no nearer than the outer court, unless, on making their appearance, the king extended towards them his sceptre of gold. The gorgeousness of the court dazzles the mind, and surpasses imagination. When the king sat upon his throne, his chief vizier and his beloved queen on either side, with rows of princes and nobles, like lessening stars, running in a line of fire-points from the monarch, the sun in whose light they shone, and in whose warm smile they were happy, feasting a hundred and fourscore days with his great men, in a hall and a palace of which the praise is too little to say that they were not unworthy the grandeur of the monarch on an occasion when 'he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom, and the honour of his excellent majesty;'—or when the stately autocrat, relaxing in a measure the rigour of his greatness, and descending from his god-like throne to a nearer level with ordinary mortals, 'made a feast unto the people, both unto great and small, seven days in the court of the garden of the palace,' where were white, green, and blue pavilions, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble; couches, gold and silver, upon a tesselated pavement of red and blue, white and black marble; and drink was served all around in golden vessels of curious fabric and divers shapes; and wine in abundance, whose worth had gained for it the name of Royal, of which each person by express ordinance drank what he pleased;—or when, at the end of these seven days of popular enjoyment, the king feasted with Vashti, the queen, at a banquet for the women in her own palace, when the monarch commanded his seven high officers of state to bring Vashti the queen before the king with the crown royal, to show the people and the princes her beauty, for she was fair to look on;—or, finally, when a favourite servant, being clothed in the royal apparel, and set upon the horse that the king rode upon, with the crown royal upon his head, was conducted by the hand of one of the king's most noble princes through the highways of the glittering city, while heralds proclaimed before the resplendent retinue, 'Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour;'—then blazed forth the glory of the Persian greatness, in pomp and splendour correspondent with the brilliancy of the heavens and the luxuriance of the earth under which and on which these luminaries shone. Nor, in the midst of all this outward pomp, were there wanting internal regulations fitted to sustain and give effect to the will of the monarch and his council. A body of law was in existence, to which additions were constantly made by omnipotent decrees issued by the king. These rescripts were made out by officials, a body of men who are designated royal scribes or secretaries; and being drawn up in the prescribed form, were copied and translated for 'every people after their language.' Being then 'sealed with the king's ring,' the letters were sent 'by post,' 'on horseback and on mules, camels and young dromedaries,' to the king's lieutenants, and to the governors over every province, and to the rulers of every people of every one of the 127 provinces. History, as well as law, received diligent and systematic attention. 'A book of records of the chronicles' was kept, in which the events of each reign were entered, probably under the supervision of the learned caste, the Magi. This book the monarch used to consult on occasions of importance and perplexity, partly for instruction, partly for guidance; so that the present was modelled after the past, and the legislation and the conduct of the king formed one entire and, to some extent, consistent whole. Whence it appears that though the monarch was despotic, he was not strictly arbitrary. Aided by a council, controlled by a priesthood, guided by the past as well as influenced by the present, the king, much as he may have been given up to his personal pleasures, must yet have had a difficult office to fill, and heavy

duties to discharge. Rulers are generally insecure in proportion to the degree of their despotism; and so we find, from the plot against the life of Ahasuerus (Xerxes, B.C. 485-465), which Mordecai discovered and made known, that even the recesses of a palace did not protect the kings of Persia from the attempts of the assassin. In the punishment, however, which fell upon the wicked Haman, we see the summary means which the Persian monarchs employed for avenging or defending themselves, as well as the unshared and unqualified power which they held over the life of their subjects even in the highest grades. Indeed it is not possible to read the book of Esther without fancying more than once that you are in the midst of the court of the Grand Seignior. Not least among the causes of this illusion is what is narrated in regard to the harem of Xerxes. The women, it seems, had a palace of their own, and dwelt there apart from the king, who paid them visits of ceremony. This their abode, and they themselves, were under the care of a royal chamberlain, whose power in the harem was supreme, and who had abundance of resources for increasing the state and promoting the comfort of those who pleased him; nor may he have been without an influence in determining the king in his choice of his favourite mistress. To supply the harem, officers were appointed in the several provinces, whose duty it was to find out and procure for the monarch the fairest maidens in the world. Each of these, after she had been in the women's house a twelvemonth, and had gone through a certain course of preparation, visited the king for one night in turn; but she came in unto the king no more except the king delighted in her, and that she were called by name, in which case she became queen. 'And the king loved Esther above all the women, and she obtained grace and favour in his sight more than all the virgins; so that he set the royal crown upon her head, and made her queen instead of Vashti.'



453. [Ancient Persian guards.]

The greatness of the power of the chief viziers of the Persian monarchy is illustrated in the recorded acts of Haman and Mordecai. The mode of delegating power was by presenting to the entrusted person the royal signet, which appears to have licensed him to do what he would, by such means as he pleased.

The great influence which Esther and Mordecai possessed with Xerxes is attributable to the noble qualities, both of mind and body, for which the Hebrew race were, and still are, conspicuous. These qualities won the heart and gained the favour of the king, and thereby proved instrumental in saving the Jews scattered throughout the empire from the bloody slaughter which Haman had designed should take place every where on the same day. Nor is it improbable that to influences connected with the same high qualities the decree may have been owing by which Cyrus set the people of the captivity free, that they might return home and build again the walls of Jerusalem. Cyrus, it is true, may have had some regard to justice; he may have thought it prudent to send away from his country at least the best of these highly-endowed men; he may not have been unwilling to see Jerusalem rise again into power, and prove a friendly barrier against Egypt; but the munificent manner in which the Jews were dismissed seems to betoken the agency of some personal influence, if not of some personal affection. Nehemiah (xiii. 6; comp. ii. 1, sq.) speaks expressly of a favour which he obtained of Artaxerxes (Longimanus, B.C. 465), or Xerxes II. (B.C. 424), after an interview of several days. By no means inconsistent with this personal favour, nor improbable in themselves, are the religious considerations by which the Scriptural writers represent Cyrus as being actuated in setting the Jews at liberty. The religion of the Persians was in its essential and primitive form monotheistic, and must therefore have been anything but alien, in spirit at least, to that of the Hebrews. Nor is there anything extravagant in assuming that so great a prince as Cyrus, who could scarcely have yielded to the luxurious effeminacy in which his successors indulged, and whose mind must have been elevated as well as powerful, understood in a measure, and highly appreciated, the excellences of the Mosaic religion; while the same general feeling which directed the storm of the Persians against the polytheistic temples of Greece, may have prompted an earlier and better sovereign to liberate the Jews, and bring about the restoration of the monotheistic worship on Mount Zion. Certainly the terms are distinct and emphatic in which Cyrus is made to speak in our sacred books; nôr do we see any reason to suppose that a Jewish colouring has been given to these passages, or to question that we have in them a faithful translation of the original state documents (Ezra i. 1-4; i. 7-11; vii. 23; viii. 22). The two last passages here referred to would seem to justify the inference that the favour of the Persian government was owing not merely to general religious influences, but also to specific instances of good and ill connected with the will of the Almighty; probably national reverses, more or less directly and believingly ascribed to God, may have been in operation to aid the restoration of the temple worship.

A general impression prevails that, to use the words of Winer (*Real-Wörterb.* s. v. 'Persien'), 'no edict published bearing the king's signature could be revoked,' so that the 'laws of the Medes and Persians' altered not in the sense of being diminished or reformed. Winer refers, as an authority, to Esth. i. 19; yet this book contains a striking fact which proves the contrary; for the decree which Haman had got promulgated for the destruction of the Jews was superseded by another procured by the influence of Esther and Mordecai, and this other of so decided a character as to give the Jews in all the provinces of the empire

the power of assaulting and slaying their enemies. In truth, the words 'that it be not altered' seem, at least in the period to which the biblical records refer, to signify little more than the general stability of the law, and the certainty of its penalties.

The extraordinary power entrusted to the Jews serves to show that the social constitution of the Persian empire was open to the greatest abuses. What could be worse than for the government itself to let loose on society a scattered horde of people, trembling for their lives, yet united in the strong bonds of religious fellowship? They would want no encouragement, if only relieved of the penalties commanded by the decree of Haman, to do all they could privately 'to be ready to avenge themselves on their enemies' (Esth. viii. 13); but when couriers came riding post into all parts where they were, bearing the royal behests to the effect that, on the very day on which they themselves expected unsparing slaughter, they were allowed not only 'to stand for their life,' but 'to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish all the power of the people and province that would assault them, both little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey' (Esth. viii. 11), then, we may well believe, a dreadful vengeance would be taken, and frightful disorder caused, the possibility of which in any social condition is a proof that the first principles of justice are not understood; and the actual existence of which shows that, whenever occasion required, they were recklessly set at nought.

On the religion of the ancient Persians we refer to the articles Medes and Magi, from whom the Persians received their religion, as well as the constitution of their social state. If, indeed, the Persians, as a separate tribe in the general government of the Medes, succeeded in getting the upper hand of their effeminate masters, and wresting the sceptre from their enfeebled hands, the Medes were not without a recompense in that they perpetuated, even by the instrumentality of their conquerors, most of the higher appliances and effects of civilization to which in the course of ages they had given birth, and which have in all ages constituted the true honour of men and the best treasure of states. In truth, in this matter the relation into which the Persians entered with the Medes is that which must exist where the rough, untamed energy of a half-barbarous race comes down on the cultivated plains of a high but decaying civilization; and that which, in its chief features, may be seen in the relation which the Romans bore to the Greeks, and which the Northmen in their turn bore to the Romans:

'Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.'

The oldest Persians were, however, fire-worshippers—a species of idolatry which is least removed from monotheism, and also least unpardonable in such a clime as that of Persia. That such a worship is not incompatible with the esoteric recognition of one intelligent Creator is obvious, for the fire may have been regarded, and doubtless by the wise and philosophic was regarded, as merely symbolical of the Great Power which, as imaged in the sun, quickens, vivifies, and blesses all things. But even so pure and lofty a form of symbolical worship tended to corruption; and though we are unable to trace the steps of the progress, yet we know that it did gradually, in the case of the Persians, lead first to dualism, and then to gross idolatry (Bauer, *Symbol. u. Mythol.* i. 323, sq.).

The name 'Persia' is not found in the older records of the Bible, but after the Babylonish period it (פָּרָס) occurs frequently (2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 22; Ezra iv. 5, sq.; vi. 14, sq.; Esth. i. 3; viii. 10; 1 Macc. i. 1), meaning the great Persian kingdom founded by Cyrus, which in the period of its highest glory comprised all Asiatic countries from the Mediterranean to the Indus, from the Black and Caspian Sea to Arabia and the Indian Ocean. This vast empire was divided into many provinces or satrapies, one of which was Persia (properly so called), or Persis (Farsistan), which on the north was separated from Media by the range of mountains denominated Parchratras, on the west bordered on Susiana (Khusistan), on the south reached to the Persian Gulf, and on the east was bordered by Carmania (Kirman). The country that lies along the sea is a sandy plain, which the heat and poisonous winds render unfit for human abodes (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xii. 20). The interior is crossed by rocky mountains, whose summits are covered with snow the greater part of the year. This mountain chain renders the north of the country rough and unfruitful, so that herdsmen and nomads alone dwell there. In the intermediate parts, however, are found many well-watered valleys and plains, which yield to few in fruitfulness and mildness of climate (Strabo, xv. p.727; Ptolem. vi. 4; Mannert, *Geog.* ii. 497). The inhabitants of this province of Persis were connected by blood with the Medes, and were divided into many tribes and clans (Herod. i. 125), three of which were noble, the Pasargadæ, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. The Pasargadæ held the pre-eminence; of which tribe was Cyrus, a circumstance to which he in part owed his power and influence.

The Persian language was diverse from the Shemitic, and connected with the Indo-Germanic tongues, of which the Sanscrit may be considered as the eldest branch (Adelung, *Mithridat.* i. 255, sq.; O. Frank, *De Persidis Lingua et Genio*, Norimb., 1809; Wahl, *Gesch. d. Morgenländ Sprache u. Literatur*, p. 129, sq.).

The residences of the monarchs of the immense country denominated Persia were various. Pasargada, with its royal tombs, was most ancient. Persepolis rose not very far from it, and became a treasure-city. After the overthrow of the Babylonian kingdom, Cyrus, while preserving a regard for the more ancient cities of the empire, seems to have thought Babylon a more suitable place for the metropolis of Asia; but as it might not be politic, if it were possible, to make a strange place the centre of his kingdom, he founded a new city, Susa, where he was still on Persian ground, and yet not far distant from Babylon. There was also Ecbatana, the Median capital. These several royal abodes seem to have been occupied by the later monarchs, according as the season of the year called for a colder, warmer, or milder climate.

We have before seen that the Persian monarchy had its chronicles. These may have been consulted by our classical authorities, but are wholly lost to us. We are therefore thrown on two foreign

sources of information regarding the Persian history: 1. The Jewish, to be elicited chiefly from the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, of which something has been said. 2. Grecian writers. Of these, Ctesias availed himself of the Persian annals, but we have only extracts from his work in Photius. Herodotus appears also to have consulted the native sources of Persian history. Xenophon presents us with the fullest materials, namely, in his *Anabasis*, his *Hellenica*, and especially in his *Cyropædia*, which is an imaginary picture of a perfect prince, according to Oriental conceptions, drawn in the person of Cyrus the elder. Some of the points in which the classical authorities disagree may be found set forth in Eichhorn's *Gesch. der A. Welt*, i. 82, 83. A representation of the Persian history, according to Oriental authorities, may be found in the *Hallische Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, th. iv. A very diligent compilation is that of Brissonius, *De Regno Persarum*, 1591. Consult especially Heeren's *Ideen*, i. 1; and his *Handbuch der G. d. S. Allerth.*, i. 102. A full and valuable list of the older authorities in Persian affairs may be seen in the *Bibliotheca Historica* of Meusellius, vol. i., pt. ii., p. 28, sq.—J. R. B.

PESTILENCE. The terms pestilence and plague are used with much laxity in our Auth. Version. The latter, however, which generally represents the Hebrew נֶגַע, is by far the wider term, as we read of 'plagues of leprosy,' 'of hail,' and of many other visitations. Pestilence is employed to denote a deadly epidemic, and is the word by which דֶּבֶר (Sept. *θάνατος*, and occasionally *λοιμός*) is translated. In our time, however, both these terms are nearly synonymous; but *plague* is, by medical writers at least, restricted to mean the glandular plague of the East. There is indeed no description of any pestilence in the Bible, which would enable us to form an adequate idea of its specific character. Severe epidemics are the common accompaniments of dense crowding in cities, and of famine; and we accordingly often find them mentioned in connection (Lev. xxvi. 25; Jer. xiv. 12; xxix. 18; Matt. xxiv. 7; Luke xxi. 11). But there is no better argument for believing that 'pestilence' in these instances means the glandular plague, than the fact of its being at present a prevalent epidemic of the East. It is also remarkable that the Mosaic law, which contains such strict rules for the seclusion of lepers, should have allowed a disease to pass unnoticed, which is above all others the most deadly, and, at the same time, the most easily checked by sanatory regulations of the same kind.* The destruction of Sennacherib's army (2 Kings xix. 35) has also been ascribed to the plague. But—not to insist on the circumstance that this awfully sudden annihilation of 185,000 men is not ascribed to any disease, but to the agency of an angel (since such passages as 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 16, weaken this objection, and even Josephus understood the cause to be a pestilence, *Antiq.* x. 1. 5)—it is impossible that such a mortality could have been produced, in one night, by a disease which spread itself by contagion, like the Oriental plague; and the same remark applies, though in a less degree, to the three days' pestilence in the reign of David (2 Sam. xxiv. 13). Those who entertain the common opinion about the means by which the destruction of Sennacherib's army was effected, regard the illness of Hezekiah (2 Kings xx. 1-11) as connected, both as to time and cause, with that event; and consider his 'boil' especially to afford direct evidence that he suffered from the plague. The boil would have certainly been a most characteristic symptom, if we had the least indication that his disease was pestilential; but we have no evidence whatever that any epidemic prevailed at that time at Jerusalem.

The glandular plague, like the small-pox, is an eruptive fever, and is the most virulent and most contagious disease with which we are acquainted. The eruption consists of buboes, carbuncles, and petechiæ. Buboes are inflamed and swollen glands; and the glands so affected are generally those of the groin, axilla, neck, and the parotid glands. More frequently there are two, three, or even four, such tumours. They sometimes subside of themselves; or, what is more commonly the case, they suppurate: and as this process seldom commences before the disease has taken a favourable turn, it is regarded as the cause, but more correctly as a sign, of approaching recovery. A carbuncle is an inflammation of the skin, giving rise to a hard tumour, with pustules or vesicles upon it. It resembles a common boil, but differs from it in this important respect. The carbuncle becomes gangrenous throughout its whole extent, so that when the eschar separates a large deep ulcer is left. Under the term petechiæ are included evanescent spots and streaks of various hues, from a pale blue to a deep purple, which give a marbled appearance to the skin. When such livid streaks occur in the face, they disfigure the countenance so much that a patient can hardly be recognised by his friends. The disease varies so considerably in its symptoms and course, that it is impossible to give one description that will suit even the majority of cases. Sometimes the eruption does not appear at all, and even the general symptoms are not of that violence to lead an ignorant person to suspect the least danger. The patient is suddenly attacked with a loss of strength, a sense of confusion, weight in the head, oppression at the heart, and extreme dejection of spirits. Such cases sometimes terminate fatally within twenty-four hours, and occasionally on the second or third day. Generally, however, the patient is attacked with shivering or coldness, which is soon followed by fever, giddiness, pain in the head, occasionally also by vomiting. Buboes and carbuncles in most cases make their appearance on the first day; and successive eruptions of them are not unusually observed during the course of the disease. There is a peculiar and characteristic muddiness of the eye, which has been described by Dr. Russell as a muddiness and lustre strangely blended together. The fever remits every morning, and increases during the day and night. The vomiting then increases;

* Michaelis endeavours to explain why the Law contained no ordinances about the plague, by arguing that, on account of the sudden appearance and brief duration of the disease, no permanent enactments could have been efficient in moderating its ravages, but only such preventive measures as varied according to the ever-varying circumstances of the origin and course of its visitations (*Mos. Recht.* iv. 290).

the tumours become painful; and the patient wanders, and is inclined to stupor. On the morning of the third day, in favourable cases, a sweat breaks out, which produces great relief, and sometimes even proves critical. The exacerbation on the fourth day is more severe than on the preceding ones, and continues intense until it is terminated by the sweat on the morning of the fifth day, which leaves the patient weak, but in every respect relieved. After this, the exacerbations become slighter and slighter; and the buboes advancing favourably to suppuration, little or no fever remains after the beginning of the second week. In other cases, again, the symptoms are far more urgent. Besides vomiting, giddiness, and headache, there is also diarrhœa at the outbreak of the fever. During the night the patient becomes delirious or comatose. The pulse is full and strong; and though the tongue is not dry, the thirst is excessive. The fever abates somewhat on the succeeding morning, but the pulse is frequent, the skin hot and dry, and the patient dejected. As the second day advances, the vomiting and diarrhœa become urgent, the eyes are muddy, expression of countenance confused, the pulse quick, and sometimes low and fluttering, external heat moderately feverish, or occasionally intense in irregular flushings. There is pain at the heart, burning pain at the pit of the stomach, and incessant restlessness. When to these symptoms are joined faltering of the tongue, or loss of speech, and the surface of the body becomes cold or covered with clammy sweats, death is inevitable, although it may still be at some distance. When the patient has been much weakened by the vomiting, diarrhœa, or hæmorrhage, the third day proves fatal; but more commonly the disease is prolonged two or three days longer. In this form of plague, buboes appear on the second or third day, and sometimes later; but whether they advance towards suppuration, or not, they seem to have no effect in hastening or retarding the termination of the disease. Lastly, in some cases, the eruption of buboes and carbuncles constitute the principal symptoms of the disease; and patients are so little indisposed, that they are able to go about the streets, or attend to their usual avocations, if not prevented by the inflammation of inguinal tumours.

Respecting the causes and origin of plague nothing is known. There cannot be the slightest doubt that it is propagated by absolute contact with, or a very near approach to, the bodies or clothes of persons infected; but we are entirely at a loss to know how it is generated afresh. Extremes of temperature have a decided effect in putting a stop to it; but Dr. Russell observed that, in the year 1761, the plague at Aleppo was mild, in 1762 it was severer, and in 1763 it was very fatal; and yet there was no appreciable difference in the respective seasons of these years. In Egypt, the plague commences in autumn, and is regularly put an end to by the heats of summer; and it is even asserted that contaminated goods are also disinfected at this time.

In Europe, the plague disappeared during the winter. This was remarked in all the epidemics, except that from 1636 to 1648, called the Great Plague, on account of its long duration; but even in this instance it abated considerably during the winter. It was a common superstition that the plague abated on St. John's day.

The most fatal, and at the same time the most general epidemic, was that which ravaged Asia, Africa, and the whole of Europe, in the fourteenth century. It was called by the northern European nations 'the Black Death,' and by the Italians 'la Mortilega Grande,' or the great mortality. According to Dr. Hecker, not less than twenty-five millions perished by it in the short space of three years, from 1347 to 1350. Since the commencement of this century, Europe has been free from the plague, with the exception of two or three instances. It occurred at Noja, in the kingdom of Naples, in 1815 and 1816; at the Lazaretto of Venice, in 1818; in Greiffenberg, in Silesia, in 1819. It has not been seen in Great Britain since the great epidemic of 1665, which is stated to have carried off eight thousand in one week. Quarantine was first performed in one of the islands near Venice, in 1485. Persons who had been cured of plague in the Lazaretto on one of the adjoining islands were sent there, and all those with whom they had had intercourse, where they were detained forty days. This period was probably fixed upon on account of some medical hypothesis. The fortieth day was regarded as the last day of ardent diseases, and that which separated them from chronic. Forty days constituted the philosophical month of alchymists. Theological, and even legal derivations, have been also given. The forty days of the flood; Moses' sojourn on Mount Sinai; our Lord's fast; and, lastly, what is called the 'Saxon term' (Sächsische Frist), which also lasts forty days. Bills of health were probably first established in 1507, by a council of health established at Venice during a fatal plague that visited Italy for five years; but they were not generally used until 1665. It is to these great measures that Europe is indebted for its present immunity from this terrible scourge; and it cannot be doubted that, but for the callous indifference of the Orientals (which proceeds from their fatalism, love of gain, and ignorance), the same measures would be adopted in the East, with the same success. (Hecker's *Hist. of the Epidemics of the Middle Ages;* Dr. Brown, art. 'Plague,' in *Cyclop. of Pract. Med.;* Dr. Russell, *Hist. of Aleppo.*)—W. A. N.

PETER (Πέτρος; Aram., כֵּיפָא; originally SIMEON or SIMON, שִׁמְעוֹן, *heard*) was a native of Bethsaida, in Galilee, and was the son of a certain Jonas, or John; whence he is named on one occasion in the Gospel history Simon Barjona, that is, son of Jona (Matt. xvi. 17). Along with his brother Andrew, he followed the occupation of a fisherman on the sea of Galilee. It is probable that, before they became known to Christ, they were both disciples of John the Baptist. That Andrew was so we are expressly informed by the evangelist John; and as his brother seems to have been much of the same mind with him on religious matters, it is extremely likely that he was so likewise. Their becoming known to Christ was owing to John's pointing him out on the day after his baptism to Andrew and another disciple (probably the evangelist John), as 'the Lamb of God;' on which they immediately followed Christ, and spent some time in receiving his instructions. Shortly after this, Andrew find-

ing Simon, carried him to Christ, who, on receiving him as his disciple, bestowed upon him that surname by which he has since that time been most commonly designated: 'When Jesus beheld him he said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation a stone (πέτρος).' After this interview the two brothers seem to have returned to their usual occupation for a season, as we have an account in Matthew (iv. 18-20) of their being summoned from that occupation by Christ on a subsequent occasion, posterior to his temptation in the wilderness, and to the commencement of his public ministry as a religious teacher. From this time forward they were his devoted and admiring followers. In the course of the evangelical history several anecdotes of Peter are incidentally recorded, for the purpose, doubtless, principally of illustrating the character and teaching of our Lord, but which tend also to throw light upon the history and character of his attached disciple. Such are the accounts furnished by the evangelists of his walking upon the agitated waters of the sea of Galilee to meet his master (Matt. xiv. 22, ff.; Mark vi. 45, ff.); of his bold and intelligent avowals of the undoubted Messiahship of Jesus, notwithstanding the difficulties which he, along with the rest of the disciples, felt in reconciling what they saw in him with what they had fondly expected the Christ to be (Matt. xvi. 13-20); of his rash but affectionate rebuke of his Lord for speaking of suffering and death as in prospect for him, and as forming a necessary part of his mediatorial work (Matt. xvi. 21-23); of his conduct in first rejecting, with an earnestness bordering on horror, the offer of Christ to wash his feet, and then, when the symbolical nature of that act had been explained to him, his over-ardent zeal that not his feet only, but also his hands and his head, might be washed (John xiii. 4, ff.); of his bold and somewhat vaunting avowal of attachment to his Master, and his determination never to forsake him, followed by his disgraceful denial of Jesus in the hour of trial (John xiii. 36, 37; Mark xiv. 29, &c.); of his deep and poignant contrition for this sin (Matt. xxvi. 75); and of his Lord's ample forgiveness of his offence, after he had received from him a profession of attachment as strong and as frequently repeated as his former denial of him (John xxi. 15-18). From these notices it is easy to gather a tolerably correct conception of the predominating features of the apostle's character up to this period. He seems to have been a man of undoubted piety, of ardent attachment to his Master, and of great zeal for what he deemed his Master's honour; but, at the same time, with a mind rather quick than accurate in its apprehensions, and with feelings rather hasty in their impulse than determined and continuous in their exercise. Hence his readiness in avowing his opinions, and his rashness in forming them; and hence also the tendency which beset his honest openness to degenerate into bravado, and his determinations of valour to evaporate into cowardice at appalling forms of danger. His fall, however, and his subsequent restoration, connected as these were with the mysterious events of his Master's crucifixion and resurrection, and with the new light which had by them been cast around his character and work, produced a powerful change for the better upon the apostle's mind. From this time forward he comes before us under a new aspect. A sober dignity and firmness of purpose have displaced his former hasty zeal; sagacity and prudence characterize his conduct; and whilst his love to his Master shows no symptom of abatement, it displays itself rather in active labour and much-enduring patience in his service, than in loud protestations or extravagant exhibitions of attachment. In the subsequent Scripture history he is presented to us as the courageous herald of the kingdom of Christ, by whose mouth the first public declaration of salvation through the crucified Jesus was made to the people; by whose advice and counsel the early churches were planted and governed; and by whom the prejudices of Judaism were first fairly surmounted, and the Gospel preached in all its universal freeness to the Gentile world. The Acts of the Apostles contain recitals of many interesting incidents which befell him whilst engaged in those efforts. Of these, the chief are his imprisonment and trial before the Sanhedrim for preaching Christ, and his bold avowal of his determination to persist in that work (Acts iv. 1-22); his miraculously inflicting the punishment of death on the infatuated couple who had dared to try an experiment upon the omniscience of the Holy Ghost (v. 1-11); his visit to Samaria, and rebuke of Simon Magus, who deemed that the miracles of the apostle were the result of some deep magic spell of which he had not yet become possessed, and which, consequently, he was desirous of purchasing from Peter (viii. 14-24); the vision by which he was taught that the ancient ritual distinctions between clean and unclean had been abolished, and thereby prepared to attend on the summons of Cornelius, to whom he preached the Gospel (x. 1-48); his apprehension by Herod Agrippa, and his deliverance by the interposition of an angel, who opened for him the doors of his prison, and set him free (xii. 3-19); and his address to the council at Jerusalem, on the occasion of a request for advice and direction being sent to the church there by the church in Antioch, in which he advocated the exemption of Gentile converts from the ceremonial institutes of the law of Moses (xv. 6-11). In all these incidents we trace the evidences of his mind having undergone an entire change, both as to its views of truth and impressions of duty, from what is displayed by the earlier events of his history. On one occasion only do we detect something of his former weakness, and that, strangely enough, in regard to a matter in which he had been the first of the apostles to perceive, and the first to recommend and follow, a correct course of procedure. The occasion referred to was his withdrawing, through dread of the censures of his Jewish brethren, from the Gentiles at Antioch, after having lived in free and friendly intercourse with them, and his timidly dissembling his convictions as to the religious equality of Jew and Gentile. For this Paul withstood him to the face, and rebuked him sharply, because of the injury which his conduct was calculated to produce to the cause of Christianity. With this single exception, however, his conduct seems to have been in full accordance with the name which his Master had prophetically bestowed on him when he called him Simon the Rock, and with the position which Paul himself assigns to him, at the very time that he recounts his temporary

dereliction, as one of 'the Pillars of the Church' (Gal. ii. 9, 14).

Thus far we are enabled, from the inspired documents, to trace the history of this apostle; but for what remains we must be indebted to evidence of a less explicit and certain character. Ecclesiastical tradition asserts that he performed an extensive missionary tour throughout those districts, to the converts in which his epistles are addressed. 'Peter,' says Origen, 'appears to have preached to the Jews in the dispersion, in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia' (*In Genesin*, tom. iii.; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 1, 4). This tradition, however, though deriving some countenance from 1 Pet. v. 13, is very uncertain; even Origen, in adducing it, speaks doubtingly (κεκηρυχέναι ἔοικεν). The fact that no allusion appears in his epistles to any personal acquaintance on the part of the apostle with those to whom they are addressed, militates strongly against its authenticity. Another tradition reports the apostle as having towards the close of his life visited Rome, become bishop of the church in that city, and suffered martyrdom in the persecution raised against the Christians by Nero. The importance of these points in connection with the claims urged by the Catholics on behalf of the supremacy of the pope, has led to a careful and sifting examination of the accuracy of this tradition; the result of which seems to be, that whilst it is admitted as *certain* that Peter suffered martyrdom, in all probability by crucifixion (Tertullian, *De Præscript.*, 38; Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. ii.), and as *probable* that this took place at Rome, it has, nevertheless, been made pretty clear that he never was for any length of time resident in that city, and morally certain that he never was bishop of the church there (Barrow, *On the Pope's Supremacy; Works*, vii. 207, ff., Lond. 1831; Cave's *Life of St. Peter*, § 11; Campbell, *Eccles. Hist.* lect. xii.; Neander, *Gesch. d. Pflanz. und Leit.* u. s. w., ii. 474; Winer, *Real-Wörterb.*, in 'Petrus,' &c.). By some an attempt has been made to obtain the support of the apostle's own testimony in favour of his having at one period resided at Rome, by interpreting the words, 'the church that is at *Babylon*,' the salutations of which he sends to those to whom he wrote his first epistle, as applying to the church at *Rome;* an attempt which Dr. Campbell justly stigmatizes as 'poor, not to call it ridiculous.' Even if we admit that at the time when this epistle was written it was understood amongst the Christians that Babylon was the prophetical name for Rome—an admission, however, which is entirely unsupported by evidence—it would remain unexplained why the apostle, in such a mere matter-of-fact affair as the communication of the friendly salutations of one church to another, should have employed the obscure and symbolical language of prophecy, when his meaning could have been so much more distinctly conveyed by a simple statement. This would be the more inexplicable, that the style of Peter is remarkably plain and perspicuous throughout the entire epistle. It seems much more consistent, therefore, with rational principles of interpretation, to understand the statement literally of the Assyrian Babylon, in which city, as we learn from Josephus, there was a great multitude of Jews (ἔνθα καὶ πλήθος ἦν Ἰουδαίων, *Antiq.* xv. 2. 2; see also c. 3. 1), and to which, consequently, it is probable that at some period of his life 'the apostle of the circumcision' (Gal. ii. 8) must have paid a visit. Some have suggested that Babylon in Egypt is probably intended; but this is set aside by the fact, that at this time the Egyptian Babylon was nothing more than a Roman fort (Strabo, xvii. 1).

The assertion that Peter was bishop of Rome is connected with another, by which the claims of the papacy are sought to be established, namely, that to him was conceded a right of supremacy over the other apostles. In support of this, an appeal is made to those passages in the Gospels, where declarations supposed to imply the bestowal of peculiar honour and distinction on Peter are recorded as having been addressed to him by our Lord. The most important of these are: 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church' (Matt. xvi. 18); and, 'Unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' &c. (Matt. xvi. 19). At first sight these passages would seem to bear out the assumption founded on them; but, upon a more careful investigation, it will be seen that this is rather in appearance than in reality. The force of both is greatly impaired for the purpose for which Catholics produce them, by the circumstance, that whatever of power or authority they may be supposed to confer upon Peter, must be regarded as shared by him with the other apostles, inasmuch as to them also are ascribed in other passages the same qualities and powers which are promised to Peter in those under consideration. If by the former of these passages we are to understand that the church is built upon Peter, the apostle Paul informs us that it is not on him *alone* that it is built, but upon *all* the apostles (Ephes. ii. 20); and in the book of Revelation we are told, that on the twelve foundations of the New Jerusalem (the Christian church) are inscribed 'the names of the *twelve apostles of the Lamb*' (xxi. 14). As for the declaration in the latter of these passages, it was in all its essential parts repeated by our Lord to the other disciples immediately before his passion, as announcing a privilege which, as his apostles, they were to possess in common (Matt. xviii. 18; John xx. 23). It is, moreover, uncertain in what sense our Lord used the language in question. In both cases his words are metaphorical; and nothing can be more unsafe than to build a theological dogma upon language of which the meaning is not clear, and to which, from the earliest ages, different interpretations have been affixed. And, finally, even granting the correctness of that interpretation which Catholics put upon these verses, it will not bear out the conclusion they would deduce from them, inasmuch as the judicial supremacy of Peter over the other apostles does not necessarily follow from his possessing authority over the church. On the other side, it is certain that there is no instance on record of the apostle's having ever claimed or exercised this supposed power; but, on the contrary, he is oftener than once represented as submitting to an exercise of power upon the part of others, as when, for instance, he went forth as a messenger from the apostles assembled in Jerusalem to the Christians in Samaria (Acts viii. 14), and when he received a rebuke from Paul, as already noticed. This circumstance is so fatal, indeed, to the pretensions which have

been urged in favour of his supremacy over the other apostles, that from a very early age attempts have been made to set aside its force, by the hypothesis that it is not of Peter the apostle, but of another person of the same name, that Paul speaks in the passage referred to (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* i. 13). This hypothesis, however, is so plainly contradicted by the words of Paul, who explicitly ascribes apostleship to the Peter of whom he writes, that it is astonishing how it could have been admitted even by the most blinded zealot (vers. 8, 9). Whilst, however, it is pretty well established that Peter enjoyed no judicial supremacy over the other apostles, it would, perhaps, be going too far to affirm that no dignity or primacy whatsoever was conceded to him on the part of his brethren. His superiority in point of age, his distinguished personal excellence, his reputation and success as a teacher of Christianity, and the prominent part which he had ever taken in his Master's affairs, both before his death and after his ascension, furnished sufficient grounds for his being raised to a position of respect and of moral influence in the church and amongst his brother apostles. To this some countenance is given by the circumstances that he is called 'the first' (*πρῶτος*) by Matthew (x. 2), and this apparently not merely as a numerical, but as an honorary distinction; that when the apostles are mentioned as a body, it is frequently by the phrase, 'Peter and the eleven,' or, 'Peter and the rest of the apostles,' or something similar; and that when Paul went up to Jerusalem by divine revelation, it was to Peter particularly that the visit was paid. These circumstances, taken in connection with the prevalent voice of Christian antiquity, would seem to authorize the opinion that Peter occupied some such position as that of *προεστὼς*, or president in the apostolical college, but without any power or authority of a judicial kind over his brother apostles (Campbell, *Eccles. Hist.*, lect. v. and xii.; Barrow, *ubi sup.*, &c.; Eichhorn, *Einleit.* iii. 599; Hug, *Introd.* p. 635, Fordick's tr.; Horne, *Introd.*, iv. 432; Lardner, *Works*, vols. iv. v. vi., ed. 1788; Cave, *Antiquitates Apostolicæ*, &c.).—W. L. A.

PETER, EPISTLES OF. Of the seven Catholic Epistles, there are two ascribed to St. Peter. The first of these is one of the *ὁμολογούμενα*, or those universally received in the early church. The second ranks among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, or controverted [ANTILEGOMENA].

Genuineness of the First Epistle.—The external evidence in favour of the genuineness of this Epistle is complete. 'One Epistle of Peter,' says Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 3), 'called the first, is universally received;' and Origen had before this time observed, that 'Peter . . . has left one Epistle acknowledged to be his.' It is cited by Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iv. 9, 2): 'Peter says in his Epistle, *In whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory*' (i. 8. And again he cites 1 Pet. ii. 16); also, by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i. 3): 'Peter in *the Epistle* says,' &c.; and by Tertullian (*Scorp.* c. 12), 'Peter says to the inhabitants of Pontus' (comp. 1 Pet. ii. 20). Dr. Lardner observes (*Hist. Apost.* c. ix.) that 'it seems to be referred to by Clement of Rome in his first Epistle.' Eusebius notices its citation by Polycarp (comp. Polycarp. c. i. with 1 Pet. i. 8); and also by Papias; (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39). 'In fact,' says De Wette (*Einleitung*, § 173), 'if we except its omission in the ancient catalogue in Muratori, and its rejection by the Paulicians, it has been never called in question.' De Wette himself, who never omits an opportunity of raising a doubt, contents himself with observing that 'as its contents are really apostolic, any doubts arising from the absence of any known personal relationship between the author and those to whom the Epistle was addressed, or any peculiarity of doctrinal phraseology, find no favour or recognition.' He adds that the second Epistle, even though not genuine, bears testimony (iii. 1) to the genuineness of the first.

The internal evidence is equally complete. The author calls himself the Apostle Peter (ch. i. 1), and the whole character of the Epistle shows that it proceeds from a writer who possessed great authority among those whom he addresses, who were most probably composed chiefly of Jewish Christians. The writer describes himself as 'an elder,' and 'a witness of Christ's sufferings' (v. 1). The vehemence and energy of the style are altogether appropriate to the warmth and zeal of Peter's character, and every succeeding critic, who has entered into its spirit, has felt impressed with the truth of the observation of Erasmus, 'that this Epistle is full of apostolical dignity and authority, and worthy of the prince of the apostles.'

The only indication as to the place from whence this letter was addressed to the five provinces, is contained in ch. v. ver. 13: 'She in Babylon, elected with you (*ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή*), saluteth you.' For whether 'she in Babylon' refers to the church or to an individual (in which latter case Peter's wife is the person generally believed to be referred to), the letter must have been written in, or at least in the neighbourhood of, Babylon. But where Babylon was, or whether it was the celebrated city of that name on the Euphrates, as has been maintained by Beza, Lightfoot, Basnage, De Wette, Neander, and a host of learned men, is a question which has never been, and probably never will be, decided. It has been maintained, as an objection to the supposition that Babylon on the Euphrates was meant, that there were no Jews residing there at the date of this Epistle, inasmuch as they had all been expelled from that city in the latter part of the reign of Caligula, with the exception of such as were permitted to remain on account of connection, or other special reasons (Hug's *Introduction*); while those in Seleucia, or New Babylon, were soon after massacred, or fled to Ctesiphon, on the other side of the river. Hug, who still maintains that Babylon on the Euphrates is intended, conceives that the *σεβόμενοι*, or 'pious,' were the persons to whom the apostle's injunctions were addressed, and who were numerous in the East. There is certainly no authority from ecclesiastical history for supposing that Peter was ever at Babylon; but this silence proves nothing, for there are fourteen years of the apostle's life concerning which we have no information. But this mention of Babylon by St. Peter has led to the belief that he may have paid a visit to the Parthians (De Wette, *l. c.*), of which, however, there is no other indication among the ancients.

Babylon in Egypt, near Memphis, has been con-

jectured by Pearson, Le Clerc, and others, to have been the scene of Peter's labours; but neither for this is there any evidence, and it seems to have been a very insignificant place, for Strabo describes it only as a frontier garrison, occupied by one of the Roman legions quartered in Egypt.

Although the ancient Syrian writers conceived the Babylon mentioned by St. Peter to have been a city in the East, the Greek and Latin fathers held the name of Babylon here to have been, as in the Apocalypse, a metonymy for Rome. This was the prevailing opinion in the time of Eusebius, who observes (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 15) that Peter 'is said to have composed his first Epistle at Rome, which he indicates in calling it figuratively Babylon.' This opinion is repeated by Jerome (*De Vir. Illustr.* cap. viii.), Œcumenius (ii. p. 256), and Bede (*Expos.* 1 Pet. v. 13). It has been, as is observed by Lardner and Michaelis, received by most members of the church of Rome, but certainly not, as Mr. Horne supposes (*Introd.* vol. ii. c. iv. § 3), after Macknight (*On the Epistles*), by *all* the learned of that communion; for, among others, Erasmus (*Comment.*), Du Pin (*Canon of Scripture*), and Hug (*Introd.*), contend against Rome in favour of Babylon in Mesopotamia. That Rome was meant has been maintained also by Grotius, Whitby, Macknight, and Lardner. Perhaps the strongest objection to this hypothesis arises from the consideration that the use of a mystical name is unsuited to the character of an epistolary writing, although adapted to the symbolical and poetical style of the apocalypse. It is, however, certain that *arcana nomina* were sometimes used by the early Christians. Louis Capell favours the idea of a mystical name, but he stands alone in considering Jerusalem to be the place indicated. It may be added that there is independent authority for believing that Peter was at Rome, but none that he was ever either in Assyria or Egypt.

Age of the Epistle.—The Epistle must have been written before A.D. 67-68, the year of St. Peter's martyrdom. Lardner places the date in A.D. 63 or 64, chiefly from the fact that an earlier date than A.D. 63 cannot be assigned for his arrival at Rome. Hug and De Wette (*Introductions*), and Neander (*Hist. of the Planting of the Christian Church*), find an indication of the true date in the Neronic persecution, to which the Epistle manifestly refers. The Christians were now suffering persecutions as *Christians*, and according to the popular belief, of which Tacitus informs us Nero took advantage, they were punished as evildoers (*malefici*, Tacitus; κακοποιοί, 1 Pet. ii. 12).

Hug fixes the date in the eleventh year of Nero's reign, or A.D. 65, a year after the conflagration of the city, and five before the destruction of Jerusalem. Lardner supposes that Peter's first Epistle could not have been written *from Rome* before the death of St. Paul, A.D. 66, as it is difficult to account for St. Paul's silence respecting him if Peter was at Rome at the date of any of his epistles from that city. Others, however, as Bishop Sherlock, consider that the first Epistle was written about A.D. 60. It is at the same time certain that Peter had read several of St. Paul's Epistles, as he adopts expressions, and sometimes whole phrases, from the Epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, and 1 Timothy (comp. especially, 1 Pet. ii. 13, with 1 Tim. ii. 2-4; ii. 18, with Eph. vi. 5; 1 Pet. i. 1, with Eph. i. 4-7; i. 3, with Eph. i. 3; i. 14, with Rom. xii. 2; ii. 1, with Col. iii. 8, and Rom. xii. 1; ii. 6-10, with Rom. ix. 32; ii. 13, with Rom. xiii. 1-4; ii. 16, with Gal. v. 13; ii. 18, with Eph. vi. 5; iii. 1, with Eph. v. 22; iii. 9, with Rom. xii. 17; iv. 9, with Philipp. ii. 14; iv. 10, with Rom. xii. 6, &c.; v. 1, with Rom. viii. 18; v. 5, with Eph. v. 21; v. 8, with 1 Thess. v. 6; v. 14, with 1 Cor. xvi. 20). There is, observes Hug (*Introd.*), evidence of more than accidental relationship even in the deviation of expression, in which, however, there is no essential difference. The similarity in thought and expression, and even in their very plan (Hug, *l. c.*), are indeed most striking, and this circumstance has been well accounted for by the fact that Peter had not himself visited the Asiatic provinces, and had, therefore, reference to the Epistles of his esteemed colleague for the general condition of the inhabitants, their manner of life, their virtues and their failings, and their civil and domestic relations. There are also some passages identical with those in the Epistle of St. James (comp. 1 Pet. i. 6, 7, with James i. 2, 3; i. 24, with James i. 10; ii. 1, with James i. 21; iv. 8, with James v. 20; and v. 5, with James iv. 6). This latter passage is, indeed, a citation from Prov. iii. 34; but the identity of the conclusions drawn by each renders it improbable that here was a merely accidental coincidence. It is also remarkable that in 1 Pet. iv. 8, and James v. 20, there occurs (in each) the same citation from Prov. x. 12. These resemblances, however, involve important consequences. If the Epistle of James was the first in order of time [JAMES], its right to a place in the canon is providentially confirmed by the high and unexceptionable authority of St. Peter.

Object and Contents of Peter's First Epistle.—To afford consolation to the persecuted appears to have been the main object of this Epistle. To this the moral instructions are subsidiary (Hug's *Introd.*). The exhortations to a pure conscience, to rebut the calumnies of the time by their innocence, to abstain from violent disputes, to pay respect to the existing authorities, to exercise increasing love and fidelity, were exhortations all given with a view to alleviate their fate, or enable them to bear it. The repeated references to the example of Jesus in his death and sufferings, are designed to strengthen them for the endurance of calamities. The exhortation to the slaves, too, has reference to the unhappy days, in which, for real or imaginary wrongs and hardships, they frequently became the accusers and betrayers of their masters. The following is a summary of the contents:—

The salutation and introduction, in which the inhabitants of the five provinces who were purchased by the sufferings of Christ, are exhorted to prepare themselves for a reward higher than the enjoyments of this fleeting life (i.1-13). They are, therefore, recommended to lay aside anything which could render them unworthy of Christ, the centre of their hopes, their pattern and their Saviour, and so to regulate their conduct to their superiors that none should be able to reproach them as 'evildoers.' These precepts were to extend to slaves, to whom the meek and suffering Jesus should be an example. Women, too, were

to render their submissive noiseless virtue their chiefest ornament, and men should cherish and honour them. All should be full of sympathy and love, and mutual indulgence. Their innocence should be so marked as to shame the calumniator, and they should make preparation for the approaching catastrophe, when they should have an opportunity of imitating Jesus in their sufferings: hoping for them all to have no other reproach than that of being his disciples. The presbyters are enjoined to watch over their flocks, and the subordinate to pay them respect, and all should be on the watch, and lay aside their worldly cares. All these exhortations are enforced by the example of Christ, and by the punishment of the disobedient in the days of Noah, those spirits in prison to whom Christ went and preached (iii. 19, 20).

The Second Epistle of St. Peter [Antilegomena] has been the subject of more discussion than any other book in the New Testament, and its genuineness has been contested by not a few of the ablest critics. Our space will not allow us to notice in detail all the objections which have been raised against it, but it will be our duty to state the most important. Its genuineness, the date of its composition, and its characteristics, are so intimately connected, that we shall pursue a different method in treating of this Epistle from that which we have adopted in regard to other books.

The author of the first epistle refers (1 Pet. v. 12) to a former letter, now no longer extant, which has been generally concluded to be a private communication, as the present is expressly called the *Second* Epistle (2 Pet. iii. 1). The first writer who has expressly named it is Origen (*Homily on Joshua*), who speaks of the *two* Epistles of Peter. He also cites the second epistle in his fourth *homily on Leviticus*, 'Petrus dicit, *consortes*, inquit, *facti estis divinæ naturæ*' (2 Pet. i. 4), and gives it the name of *Scripture* ('as the Scripture says in a certain place, *the dumb ass, replying with a human voice, reproved the madness of the Prophet*,' alluding to 2 Pet. ii. 16; *Opp.* ii. p. 321). At the same time he observes (*ap. Euseb.* vi. 25) that 'Peter has left one acknowledged Epistle, and perhaps a second, for this is contested.' Firmilian, Bishop of Cappadocia, also (*Ep. ad Cyprian.*) speaks of Peter's *epistles* in a passage referring evidently to the second. Earlier *allusions* have been supposed to exist in the Shepherd of Hermas (*Vision* iii. 7), 'reliquerunt viam suam veram' (2 Pet. ii. 15), and *Vision* iv. 3, 'effugistis sæculum hoc' (2 Pet. ii. 20). Clemens Romanus has also been thought by some to have referred to this epistle, in the passages, 'saved Noah, the eighth preacher of righteousness' (see 2 Pet. ii. 6), and 'by hospitality and piety Lot was delivered from Sodom, when the whole region was destroyed by fire and brimstone, the Lord thereby making it manifest that he does not forsake those who trust in him, but those that turn aside he appoints to punishment and torment' (2 Pet. ii. 6, 7, 9).

Irenæus (A.D. 178) is supposed by some to allude to 2 Pet. iii. 8, 'The day of the Lord is as a thousand years;' as is also Justin Martyr, who cites the same passage in an earlier part of the same century. But others have supposed that the allusion here is to Ps. xc. 4. Eusebius observes (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 14) that 'Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 192-217) wrote, in his Ὑποτύπωσεις ('Adumbrations'), commentaries on the canonical epistles, and also on the antilegomena, that is, Jude and the other Catholic epistles, together with that of Barnabas, and the so-called Revelation of Peter.' Cassiodorus, however, who published a Latin translation of the Adumbrations (*De Instit. div. leg.* c. 8), seems to confine the explications of Clement to 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and James.

Although we do not know by whom the collection of *Catholic Epistles*, as distinct from the Pauline, was made, yet there can be no reasonable doubt that such collection, including all the *Antilegomena*, existed before the close of the second century. It was well known in the time of Origen, and is referred to by Eusebius as generally received in his time (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 23), for he expressly calls St. James's 'the first of the *seven* Catholic epistles.' Eusebius at the same time informs us of the doubts which had been raised before his time in regard to our epistle:—'That called the Second Epistle of Peter, as we have been informed, has not been received as a part of the New Testament. Nevertheless, appearing to many to be useful, it has been carefully studied with the other Scriptures' (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 3). The next writers who refer to the doubts respecting our epistle, are Didymus, the blind teacher of Alexandria, in the fourth century, and his pupil St. Jerome. The former acquaints us (*Comment.*) that 'it should not be concealed that the present epistle was *considered spurious* (*falsatam esse*), and that although published, it was not in the Canon.' And Jerome observes (*De vir. illustr.*), that 'Peter wrote two epistles called Catholic, the second of which had been denied by many (or most, *plerique*) to be his, because of the difference of style.' And again, 'Paul had for his interpreter Titus, and Peter had Mark, ... the two epistles attributed to Peter differ in both style and character, and the structure of their language; from which we must of necessity suppose that he made use of two different interpreters.' It may be here observed that the Fathers supposed that such of the sacred writers as did not understand Greek (among whom they reckoned St. Peter) dictated in their native language to an amanuensis, who wrote down in Greek what they had uttered in Hebrew. Silas, or Silvanus, has been conjectured to have acted in this capacity to St. Peter in the writing of his first epistle (1 Pet. v. 2). Finally, St. Gregory the Great observes, towards the close of the sixth century, that there were some who asserted that 'Peter's second epistle, in which Paul's epistles were commended, was not his.' 'Before the fourth century,' observes the Roman Catholic Professor Hug, 'Christian writers with perfect freedom advocated or denied the authority of certain writings of the New Testament according as their judgment dictated.' We find, however, that before the close of the fourth century the doubts had subsided, and this epistle was received as genuine by St. Athanasius, St. Cyril, St. Epiphanius, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, and by Rufinus. Gregory Nazianzen alone considers it doubtful whether *three* or *seven* Catholic epistles ought to be used. The only

dissentient voices, after this period, were probably Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Cosmas Indicopleustes [ANTILEGOMENA], the latter on dogmatical rather than critical grounds, as the destruction of the world by fire clashed with his opinions. It is enumerated in the canon of Laodicea (A.D. 360 ?), and in the 85th apostolical canon, and was finally adopted by the councils of Hippo and Carthage, which included among the canonical books all those which are now commonly received, making no distinction, however, between the acknowledged and controverted books of the New Testament, or between the canonical and deuterocanonical of the Old.

Although before this period certain books were rejected from the defect of historical evidence, or from internal grounds of suspicion, an undeviating uniformity now took place, and no controversy was raised respecting any of the books of the New Testament until the inquiring age which ushered in the Reformation. We now find Erasmus denying the genuineness of our epistle. Although Luther does not appear to have had any doubts of its genuineness, he revived the ancient distinction in regard to the books both of the Old and New Testament,—separating the apocryphal books of the Old Testament from the canonical, and in the enumeration of the books leaving the antilegomena of the New without any numbers attached to them; and in the Lunenberg edition of Luther's Bible, published in 1614 (68 years after Luther's death), these books are headed by the words, 'Apocrypha of the New Testament' [ANTILEGOMENA]. Our epistle was called in question by Calvin (*Comm. in Ep. Cath.*), who observes, that 'notwithstanding some affinity in style, the discrepancies between it and the former are such as to indicate that they had not the same author.' It was, however, received by all the Reformed Confessions, as well as by the Council of Trent. It has been since that period rejected by Grotius (*Annot.*), Scaliger (*Scaligeriana*, ii. p. 22), Salmasius (*De Episc.* p. 145), Semler (*Præf.*), Eichhorn (*Einleit.*), Schmidt (*Einleit.*), Walker (*Clavis*), Schott (*Isag.*), Guericke (*Beitrage*, p. 176, note), Credner (*Einleit.*), De Wette (*Einleit.*), Ullmann, to some extent (*Der 2 Brief Pet.*), and Neander (*Hist. of the Planting, &c.*). Among its numerous defenders it will be sufficient to mention the names of Michaelis (Marsh's transl., vol. vi.), Lardner (*l.c.*) Pott. (*Proleg.*), Augusti (*Einleit.*), Flatt (*Progr.*), Dahl (*Dissert.*), Bertholdt (*Einleit.* vol. vi.), who, however, rejects the second chapter; Nietzche (*Dissert.*) and Olshausen (*Opusc. Academ.*), with the learned Roman Catholics Hug (*Introd.*) and Feilmoser: the latter, however, fluctuates in his opinion (*Einleit.* p. 527).

Before proceeding to consider the grounds for and against the rejection of this epistle, it may be useful to inquire into its internal structure and contents.

The writer designates himself here as the apostle Peter (Simon, or, according to some MSS., *Symeon* Peter, 2 Pet. i. 1; comp. Acts xv. 14; John's Gospel, *passim*) more clearly than in the first epistle; as personally known to Jesus (i. 14); as a beloved brother of Paul (iii. 15); and as the author of the first epistle (iii. 1). It is addressed to the same persons with the first, whom he presupposes to be acquainted with the writings of St. Paul (iii. 15; comp. Rom. ii. 4). Neander (*Planting of the Church*) asserts that the readers appear to have been personally instructed by the apostle, which implies a relationship in which the author did not stand to the readers of the first epistle. He refers to his approaching death (i. 14). The main object is the refutation of erroneous teachers. He, therefore, as an eye-witness of the acting and teaching of Jesus, is enabled to give them more accurate instruction than those who would mislead them. He exhorts them to advance in the knowledge and doctrine of Jesus, by adding to their faith fortitude (ἀρετήν), and every other excellent quality. He denounces (ch. ii.) punishment against false teachers, by examples drawn from the disobedient angels, the world before the flood, and Sodom and Gomorrah. He inveighs against those teachers for resigning themselves to impurity, and speaking evil of God and angels, whereas angels have not ventured to do this even of Satan. He compares them to the false prophet Balaam, and to clouds filled with wind. He rebukes those mockers who doubted of the coming of Christ, which was only delayed in mercy, but predicts the dissolution of the world by fire, and warns them to keep themselves in readiness for the new heavens and the new earth.

We have already seen that the main reasons which induced many of the ancients to reject this epistle arose from the difference in style and structure between the first and second epistle. The ancients have, however, not entered into detail in the examination of this subject, a task which has been left to their more critical successors. It is said, for instance, to be distinguished by a different *usus loquendi*, as by the word σωτῆρ, frequently applied to our Lord; παρουσία, day of the Lord, or of judgment; and instead of 'revelation,' knowledge (γνώσις and ἐπιγνώσις) is said to be enforced with peculiar prominence. The Christian religion is called 'the way of truth, and of righteousness' (ii. 2, 21). It contains a surprising multitude of ἅπαξ λεγομένα, instead of the very few found in the first epistle. A remarkable difference has been observed in respect to the appellations of our Saviour, who is in the first epistle generally called simply Christ or Jesus Christ; but the word κυρίος, which in the first epistle often occurs, and is always applied (with one exception only, i. 3) to God the Father, is applied in the second in almost every place to Christ. Its application in all other passages in the first epistle is confined also to citations from the Old Testament, except in ii. 13, where the Vulgate reads *Deum*. It is peculiar to the first epistle to subjoin to the terms God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, epithets designed to exalt the glory of the divinity. The second epistle has no quotations from the Old Testament,—in which the first abounds, and is remarkable for clothing its sentiments in the language of the Old Testament. De Wette furnishes as instances of repetition, indicating a carelessness of style in the author of the second epistle, 2 Pet. i. 3, 4, where occur δεδωρημένος, and δεδώρηται, and διὰ is several times repeated; 2 Pet. ii. 1-3, in which ἀπωλεία occurs three times; 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8, in which δίκαιος occurs as many times; and 2 Pet. iii. 12-14, in which there is a similar repetition of προσδόκειν. The first epistle is also said to be remarkable for a frequent and peculiar use of the particle ὡς, of

which the second furnishes but one example (i. 19). Olshausen adds, that in the second epistle the subjects proceed in regular order, and uninterruptedly, while the first is remarkable for detached and independent sentences (see 1 Pet. i. 3-12).

But in compensation for these differences, the resemblances are remarkably striking. One of the most obvious of these is the reference in both to the deluge, and the number of persons saved, the first epistle mentioning *eight* persons (1 Pet. iii. 20), and the second speaking of Noah the *eighth*, ὄγδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα (2 Pet. ii. 5). Some, however, here connect Noah with the following words, viz., Noah, the *eighth preacher of righteousness*, comparing it with the parallel passage in Jude, 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam,' the Jews having various ways of enumerating the good men who lived before Abraham (Ullmann, *Der zweite Brief P.*).

There are some words used in a peculiar sense by the author of each epistle, as ἀπόθεσις (1 Pet. iii. 21; 2 Pet. i. 14); ἀρετή (1 Pet. ii. 9; 2 Pet. i. 3); ἀναστρέφεσθαι (1 Pet. i. 17); ἀναστροφή (1 Pet. i. 15; ii. 12; iii. 1, 17); ἀμώμος and ἄσπιλος (1 Pet. i. 19; 2 Pet. ii. 13); πορεύεσθαι (1 Pet. iv. 3; 2 Pet. ii. 10; iii. 3); ἐπιθυμία (1 Pet. i. 14; 2 Pet. ii. 10; iii. 3); ὁ καλέσας (1 Pet. i. 15; ii. 9, 21); and ἴδιος (1 Pet. iii. 1, 5; 2 Pet. i. 20; ii. 16, 22; iii. 16). Some critics have, indeed, vindicated the genuineness of the epistle principally on the ground of resemblance in both sentiment and diction. Of these it will be sufficient for our purpose to refer to Hug and Michaelis. The former of these observes that the resemblance between the two is 'so thorough as to denote an identity of authorship' (Fosdick's transl.); and Michaelis had before this asserted (*l. c.*) that the agreement between them appeared to him to be such, 'that if the second was not written by St. Peter, the person who forged it not only possessed the power of imitation in a very unusual degree, but understood likewise the design of the first epistle, with which the ancients do not appear to have been acquainted.' The principal difference of style, however, is found in the second chapter, the character of which is totally unlike anything contained in the first epistle. The resemblance, indeed, between this chapter and the short epistle of St. Jude is so striking, that it has been at all times perceived that one must have at least read, if not copied from the other.

All those theologians who have disputed the genuineness of Peter's second epistle, have maintained that its writer adopted the sentiments and language of Jude, and this opinion is favoured even by many of the modern advocates of its genuineness, including Olshausen and Hug. But which of the two wrote first is, notwithstanding, a question impossible to decide. 'St. Jude's Epistle is so like the second chapter of St. Peter's Second Epistle,' says Bishop Sherlock, 'the figures and images in both are so much the same, ... that it has been commonly thought that St. Jude copied after St. Peter's Epistle.' This was the more generally received opinion, and was held among the ancients by Œcumenius (ii. p. 633), and maintained at the time of the Reformation by Luther, who observes, in his *Preface*, that 'no one can deny that Jude's Epistle is an extract or copy from St. Peter's Second Epistle, as the very words are nearly the same . . . . and allegeth stories which have no place in Scripture' [Enoch; Jude]; see also *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1834, and the extract from it in Mr. Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*, 1844, p. 175, where Luther is reproached for maintaining this opinion. It was, however, adopted by Mill (*Proleg.*), Michaelis (*Introd.*), Storr (*Opusc.*), Haenlein (*Einleit.*), Dahl (*De αὐθεντία Ep. Petr. poster. et Jud.*), Wetstein (*Test. Nov.*), and among the Roman Catholics by Du Pin and Calmet. One set of critics have supposed that one of the writers of these epistles had intended to illustrate at large what the other had briefly stated; others, that one sought to abridge what the other had stated diffusely. The former of these views is maintained by Hug and Olshausen. The latter writer founds his view on the fact that Peter does not give the minute statements found in Jude, especially in regard to the history of angels; in which passages Jude alone goes into details, while Peter advances a general historical fact,—which he conceives to be characteristic of a later composition.

Dr. Sherlock, bishop of London, adopted a middle course. Perceiving that the argument from the style affected only the second chapter, which 'abounds in pompous words and expressions,' and that the style of this chapter differed as much from the rest of the second epistle as it does from the first, he conceived that neither writer borrowed from the other, but that each made use of a common document. The explanation of St. Jerome, that Peter used two different interpreters, the bishop entirely rejects, as, if this were the case, the difference of style would have appeared in the whole epistle, and not in the second chapter only. The bishop conceives that notwithstanding the remarkable resemblance between both, there is sufficient variation to prove that the one was not a mere transcriber of the other's thoughts or language. 'St. Peter has an instance not to be found in Jude; and St. Jude has an instance not to be found in Peter: St. Jude quotes the prophecy of Enoch, of which St. Peter says nothing; St. Peter refers to the preaching of Noah, of which St. Jude says nothing, although both relate to one and the same thing, the destruction of the old world.' The circumstance that each quotes from a common Hebrew document will, in his lordship's judgment, account not only for the difference in style between Peter's two epistles, but for that which exists between the second chapter and the first and third of Peter's second epistle. The bishop at the same time admits that there are some instances of agreement which cannot possibly be drawn from any Jewish book (as 2 Pet. ii. 1-13, comp. with Jude 4-12; and 2 Pet. iii. 2, 3, with Jude 17, 18). He therefore supposes that Jude had both the Second Epistle of Peter and the old Jewish book before him. Herder supposes this lost book to have been the Zendavesta of Zoroaster. The strongest objection to Bishop Sherlock's ingenious conjecture will be found in the fact that the resemblance to the epistle of St. Jude is not confined to the second chapter of Peter's Second Epistle, but will be found equally striking in the third chapter, amounting, in the originals, although not in the English authorized version, nearly to identity of expression (comp. 2 Pet. iii. 2, 3, μνησθῆναι τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν,

καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος· τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες, ὅτι ἐλεύσονται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν ἐμπαιγμονῇ ἐμπαῖκται κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν, &c., with Jude 17, 18, μνήσθητε τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου ἐλεύσονται ἐμπαῖκται κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας, &c. A late eminent critic, perceiving that the opponents of the epistle were induced by this resemblance of the second epistle to St. Jude to deny its genuineness, maintained that this resemblance was accidental, and has endeavoured to show that the second chapter is an interpolation, and that without it there is a closer connection between the first and third chapters (Bertholdt, *Einleitung in die Schriften des A. und N. Test.*). But it has been satisfactorily shown in reply, that though the second chapter has no necessary connection with either the first or third, yet there are references in the third chapter to matters propounded in the second. Bertholdt conceives that the argument against the epistle, founded on the difference of style, is met by adopting his view, as the first and third chapters agree in style with the first epistle. Olshausen maintains, in reply to this, that the circumstance of Peter's having appropriated a great part of Jude's epistle, will of itself account for the difference of style in the second chapter; and that there is no discrepancy between the style of the first and second epistles of Peter, which is not common to every part of the second epistle, or strikingly peculiar to the first and third chapters. The hypothesis of Bertholdt, even if true, would not remove the difficulties, as many of the circumstances which have been supposed to militate against the genuineness of the epistle are found in the first, and still more in the third chapter. It would be doing an unnecessary violence to our epistle, in direct opposition to all external testimony.

Ullmann proceeded one step farther. 'Not long since,' says Hug, 'the Second Epistle of Peter met with an opponent, who menaced its dismemberment, and maintained his right to do this violence with learning and acuteness.' He separates it into three distinct portions, which happen to correspond with the present division into chapters. The first chapter he ascribes to Peter, and considers it to be one of his epistles, the conclusion of which was early lost. To this precious relic some unknown person, to effect a well-meant purpose, has added the two next chapters, for which the Epistle of Jude afforded him materials. The object of this writer, as well as of Bertholdt, is to vindicate the genuineness of part of the epistle, by rejecting those parts which are beset with greatest difficulties.

But while Ullmann, the divine alluded to (*Der zweite Brief Pet. krit. untersucht*, 1821), clearly shows that Bertholdt's hypothesis merely lessens, without removing the difficulty, his own solution of the remaining objections, which consists simply in cutting the knot, has not been such as to satisfy any reasonable mind. He argues from a resemblance in style between St. Peter's first epistle, and the first chapter of the second, and particularly from the use in each of certain words in a peculiar sense, as ἀρετή, ἀπόθεσις, &c., that these portions emanated from the same writer, and further maintains that there is no coherence between the first chapter and the remaining portions of the epistle. But it has been shown that this incoherence exists only in the fancy of the learned German, as the first chapter (4, 16, 17) is but a preface to the refutation of erroneous opinions in the second (Hug's *Introd.*); and, further, from a comparison of the first with the third chapter, that there are sufficient resemblances of expression to show that the whole epistle had an identical origin (Olshausen, *De Integritate et authent. post. Pet. ep.*).

But although neither these resemblances between the Epistles of Peter and Jude, nor the difference in style between the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter, are of themselves sufficient to destroy the genuineness of St. Peter's epistle, yet they would doubtless have some weight in affecting it, if supported by other internal marks of spuriousness. We shall therefore now consider whether such marks actually exist, and shall mention the principal indications which have had weight in the minds of some learned men against the authority of our epistle. In the first place, anachronisms have been pretended to be discovered which remove the epistle from the apostolic age and place it in the second century. The first who imagined that he discovered an indication of this nature was the illustrious Grotius, who, conceiving that the errors of the Carpocratians, a sect which originated in the second century, were those against which the second and third chapters were directed, ascribed the authorship of the epistle, not to Simon or Simeon Peter, but to Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, the successor of St. James. This opinion, however, which assumes upon mere conjecture that the name *Peter* (i. 1), the words *our beloved brother* (iii. 15), and the 16th, 17th, and 18th verses of the first chapter, were interpolated by those who wished to have the epistle pass for Peter's, has been long exploded (see especially Nietzch, *Epist. Petri posterior auctori suo imprimis cont. Grotium vindicata*, Leips. 1785), and Berthold, *Einleitung*, vol. vi. p. 310, sq.). Nietzch has shown that the representation of the heretics described by Peter does not accord with the Carpocratians. It is as probable that the Gnostics were the heretics aimed at, the seeds of whose heresies were doubtless sown in the apostolic age. 'This second Epistle' (iii. 1), in the opinion of Grotius, refers to the third chapter only, the two former chapters forming a distinct and previous letter.

The doubts respecting the coming of Christ, expressed in 2 Pet. iii. 4, have also been considered as indicating a later age than the apostolic, and it has been asserted by the opponents of the genuineness of our epistle, that sufficient time had not elapsed during St. Peter's lifetime for the application of the expression 'our fathers have slept.' This passage is also one of those adduced by Ullmann (*l. c.*) against the genuineness of the third chapter. Olshausen has replied to this objection by maintaining that the scoffers referred to were not believers, but gnostic heretics, who ridiculed the faith of true Christians in relation to the return of Christ.

But a still more remarkable anachronism has been pretended to be discovered in 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, where Paul is said 'in *all his epistles* ..... which the unlearned and unstable do wrest as they

do the *other Scriptures*' (τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς), &c. —thus both attributing a collection of the Pauline epistles to a period within the lifetime of their author, and applying the term Scriptures, which is exclusively applied by the New Testament writers to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, to the Epistles of St. Paul. Now it is well known that there was no collection of St. Paul's epistles completed before the second century, and that to no part of the New Testament was the term *Scriptures* applied until near its close [SCRIPTURE, HOLY]. In respect to the former part of this objection, however, it has been well shown by Augusti (*Commentar über die Cathol. Brief.*) that Peter does not here refer to *all* the epistles of St. Paul, but that the word *all* is to be taken relatively, and referred to the more important epistles, which were most probably widely diffused in the lifetime of the apostle. To the reasoning derived from the phrase 'the *other Scriptures*,' wherein the word λοιπάς with the article is said by Ullmann to indicate things of a like nature, more than one reply has been given. It has been shown that things of a different nature are sometimes referred to by this phrase (comp. Luke xviii. 9; Acts v. 13; Ephes. ii. 3; and iv. 17, if the reading be correct). Another interpretation of the words has therefore been proposed, viz., that the word 'scriptures' here has no reference to the sacred writings, but to books in general, or such writings as were used by the parties referred to. Olshausen, however, has given an interpretation, by which he conceives the serious difficulties by which this passage is beset may be wholly removed. He supposes that the words, 'in *which* are some things hard to be understood,' relate to the epistles which Paul had sent to the readers of Peter's epistle, and that the *other scriptures* are the other *epistles* of St. Paul, just before named, πάσαι ἐπιστολαὶ (all his epistles). This explanation seems much more satisfactory than that of Storr (*De Cath. Epist. Occas. et Consil.*), who conceives that 'other scriptures' mean other *passages* in the same epistles of St. Paul, as γραφή signifies a passage in Mark xv. 28, Luke iv. 21, where, however, it means a particular passage, but not any passage indiscriminately.

An objection of quite a different character has been derived from 2 Pet. iii. 2, already referred to; in our English Version, 'the commandment of us the apostles of the Lord.' But the order of the words in our Greek copies will not bear this rendering: to answer our Version, we must read ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων. These words, therefore, 'our apostles,' as the words must be translated, would seem to separate the writers from the apostles. Bishop Sherlock proposes that the sentence be transposed, and that the word ἡμῶν be placed after κυρίου, as in the parallel passage in Jude 17, when the whole sentence would run thus, καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος, 'the commandment of the apostles of our Lord and Saviour;' a reading supported by the Æthiopic, and which Olshausen also favours, observing that 'there are as many genitives as there are words, and these not following each other in proper order.' But there is no necessity for having recourse to conjecture, if we adopt the reading of the Alexandrine, the Vatican, the Ephrem, and other manuscripts, which instead of ἡμῶν have ὑμῶν. According to this reading there is no further difficulty, and the sentence will stand thus: 'the word spoken by the holy prophets and *your* apostles, the commandment of the Lord and Saviour.' This reading is also confirmed by the Vulgate, which has 'et apostolorum vestrorum, præceptorum Domini et Salvatoris.' The Syriac also reads, 'the commandment of our Lord and Saviour, which through the apostles.'

On another alleged anachronism, brought forward by Neander (*Hist. of the Planting, &c.*), founded on the phrase 'the holy mount' (2 Pet. i. 18), we shall merely observe that this might with as much force be adduced as an argument against our epistle being a work of the second century.

An objection has been also taken from Peter's referring to the aqueous origin of the earth and its destruction by fire, which Ullmann and others consider mythical in their character. But so far from this being the case in regard to the origin of the earth, it completely coincides with the Mosaic cosmogony; and as to the destruction of the world by fire, although nowhere else alluded to in the New Testament, it is not only intimated by the prophets, but is in strict accordance with the physiological conclusions of the science of modern geology. If Wetstein's interpretation be well founded, and if the writer made use of these strong figures to indicate the Roman war, and the destruction of the Jewish state and city, instead of forming an objection, they will furnish an additional and powerful argument in favour of the early date, and consequently of the genuineness of our epistle.

It is fully conceded that there is no other book in the New Testament against whose authority so many arguments can be adduced as against this epistle. One of the most impartial as well as ablest critics of modern times, after weighing them all, comes to the conclusion that neither its genuineness nor its spuriousness can be demonstrated by undoubted arguments; but, while he admits that unfriendly critics will see occasion for doubt, yet, relying on subjective grounds, he is persuaded of the authenticity of the epistle, and that the arguments which go to disprove its genuineness are not of sufficient weight to establish its spuriousness, or cause it to be 'stricken from the number of inspired books.' This is in accordance with the decision which he has formed of the sacred books, and which consists (1) of those whose genuineness and authorship can be determined; (2) of those whose spuriousness can be shown, of *which there are none;* (3) of those whose author is uncertain, but whose authenticity is clear, viz., Hebrews, James, 2 and 3 John, and Jude; and (4), those whose authenticity or spuriousness cannot be positively ascertained. These are, in his estimation, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and 2 Peter. To these he adds the Apocalypse, as being a work of a peculiar kind, but of whose genuineness he entertains no doubt (Olshausen, *ut supra*).

The authorship of other portions of the sacred writings may indeed be rendered uncertain, without throwing any doubts on their right to a place in the canon, as in the instance of the Epistle to the Hebrews. No one contests the right of the Epistles of Jude or of James to their present position in the canon, although it is uncertain whether their authors were the apostles of those names or the brethren of our Lord. But it is far otherwise with the

Epistle of St. Peter. As Calvin has observed, 'If it is to be received as canonical, Peter must have been its author . . . . .; for any other one to have personated the apostle would have been a deception unworthy the Christian name.' It has been indeed maintained that some well-meaning individual may have personated Peter, either to intimate that a reconciliation had taken place between him and St. Paul, to strengthen the minds of the Gentiles who doubted the coming of Christ, or the more easily to gain advantage over the heretics. But although it may be true that some writers have through modesty (see Lee's *Dissertation upon* 2 *Esdras;* Laurence's *Ascensio Vatis Isaiæ*, p. 178; and the Rev. W. Mascall's Preface to the *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, 1844) used another's name and prefixed it to their work, we are convinced, with Olshausen, from the internal structure of our epistle, that it would not have been possible to have found a pious man the bold and unblushing inventor of a literary artifice so manifest as the author in question must have been if he had dishonestly assumed the character of Peter. We must also bear in mind how cautious and discriminating were the Fathers of the Church, who first admitted this book into the canon. Nor were they strangers to the application of the higher criticism, while they had opportunities of adducing external evidence, which is not within our reach. 'Higher criticism,' says Hug, 'is still open to us, and I even entertain the hope of drawing from it manifest proofs of the genuineness of some of these epistles, particularly those of James and Jude, and the Second of St. Peter.' Its apostolical character is confessed. 'In the two epistles of Peter,' says Priestley, 'many attentive readers have observed that . . . . . there is a peculiar dignity and energy, exceeding any thing in the writings of Paul, and worthy of the prince of the apostles' (*Hist. of Christian Church*, i. 141; see also Wright's *Seiler*, p. 513).

By those who acknowledge its genuineness its date is generally fixed about the year A.D. 65, or not long before Peter's death, which they deduce from 2 Pet. i. 14. Wetstein concludes from 2 Pet. iii. that it must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, in which case none will allege that any but Peter could have been its author. If it were proved that Peter had Jude's epistle before him, this must have been written not long before the same period, which agrees with the time assigned by Dr. Lardner, between 64 and 66 [JUDE]. But if Jude certainly quoted the book of Enoch, and if the result of the investigation of Lücke, who concludes that this book was written in the first century, at the time of the Jewish war, and probably after the destruction of Jerusalem, be correct, this circumstance would of itself, *cæteris paribus*, settle the question in favour of the priority of St. Peter's second epistle [JUDE]. Bishop Sherlock maintains that there are no less than five years intervening between the date of the two epistles of Peter (see *Dissertation on the Authority of the Second Epistle of St. Peter*).—W. W.

PETRA (called by the earlier Greek writers Πέτρα or ἡ Πέτρα, but by the later αἱ Πέτραι) was the capital of the Nabathæan Arabs in the land of Edom, and seems to have given name to the kingdom and region of *Arabia Petræa*. As there is mention in the Old Testament of a stronghold which successively belonged to the Amorites (Judg. i. 36), the Edomites (2 Kings xiv. 7) and the Moabites (Isa. xvi. 1, comp. in Heb. ch. xlii. 11), and bore in Hebrew the name of סֶלַע *Selah*, which has the same meaning as *Petra* in Greek, viz., 'a rock,' that circumstance has led to the conjecture that the Petra of the Nabathæans had been the Selah of Edom. But the consideration of that point in a work of this nature falls more naturally under the Bible head of SELAH, to which article accordingly the reader is referred; and there likewise the question will be disposed of as to whether (on the supposition of Petra being the Selah of Scripture) its site is to be identified with that of the modern *Kerek*, or with the locality of the far-famed *Wady Mûsa* [ARABIA; IDUMÆA; NEBAIOTH].—N.M.

PHARAOH (פַּרְעֹה; Sept. Φαραώ), the general title of the kings of Egypt in the Old Testament, and found only there and in the writers who have drawn from that source. It often stands simply like a proper name (Gen. xii. 15; xxxvii. 36; xl. 2, sq.; xliv. 1, sq.; and so generally throughout the Pentateuch, and also in Cant. i. 9; Isa. xix. 11; xxx. 2). 'King of Egypt' is sometimes subjoined to it (1 Kings iii. 1; 2 Kings xvii. 7; xviii. 21); and sometimes also the more specific designation, or real proper name of the monarch is indicated, as Pharaoh Necho (2 Kings xxiii. 33), Pharaoh Hophra (Jer. xliv. 30). Josephus intimates that the word signifies 'the king' in the Egyptian language (*Antiq.* viii. 6. 2). This is apparently confirmed by our finding the word 'king' written in the dialect of Memphis, ⲟⲩⲣⲟ *ouro*, and with the masculine article ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ *piouro* (Jablonsky, *Opusc.* i. 374; Peyron, *Lex. Copt.*, p. 150). The idea has, however, been more recently started that Pharaoh corresponds to the Egyptian 𓉔-𓂋𓇋 *phra*, 'the sun,' which is written as an hieroglyphic symbol over the titles of kings (Rosellini, *Monument. Storici*, i. 117; Lipsius, *Lettre à Rosellini*, p. 25; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iv. 287). It seems to us that this explanation might be admitted without contradicting the other, seeing that it is not only possible, but highly probable, that the Egyptians should make the name of the sun a royal title, and that at length custom rendered it equivalent to 'king.' The practice of ancient, and, indeed, modern Oriental kings, of associating the idea of their own dignity with the glory of the sun, is well-known.

PHARAOH-HOPHRA. [HOPHRA.]

PHARAOH-NECHO. [NECHO.]

PHARISEES (in the Talmud פרושין). The name denotes those who are separated, *i. e.* from ordinary persons, of course, by the correctness of their opinions and the holiness of their lives. They were a Jewish sect who had the dominant influence in the time of our Lord, to whose faults the overthrow of the state may be attributed, and who have to bear the awful burden of having crucified the Lord and giver of life.

A full and accurate knowledge of the Pharisees is even more important to the reader of the New Testament than of the two other leading philosophical schools, because our Lord's doctrine has an immediate reference to their several opinions,

because these opinions constituted the source of the power which was arrayed against him, and because, absurdly enough, it has been asserted (as what paradox has not?) that Jesus did but borrow from these schools what suited his purpose, so that his system is nothing more than an heterogeneous compound of old Jewish doctrines, dressed up anew in order to serve a new purpose (Hennell's *Enquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity;* London, 1838).

The force of character which Moses possessed, the wisdom he displayed, and the excellence of his institutions in general, are seen in the fact that for many centuries after his death no sect arose among the Jews. Such was the deep impression which he made on the Hebrew nation that they ever after retained it, and only under peculiar circumstances allowed any disturbing and effacing influences to affect it. So long as the culture of the nation flowed on in its own original and proper channel, the Jewish religion was free from even a trace of sectism. But when foreign influences came into immediate contact and entered into close union with Mosaism, then the grounds were laid for diversities of opinion, and ere long, as a natural consequence of diverse currents of impulse, there came into existence different parties, agreeing in scarcely more than one thing, namely, that they were all of a religious description.

The precise period when the Pharisees appeared as a sect, history does not supply us with the means of determining. That they, however, as well as their natural opponents, the Sadducees, existed in the priesthood of Jonathan, in the interval, that is, between 159 and 144 before Christ, is known from Josephus, who (*Antiq.* xiii. 5) makes mention of them as well as of the sect of the Essenes. The terms he employs warrant the conviction that they were then no novelties, but well known, well defined, and two established religious parties. But from the time of Jonathan to that of Ezra (about 460 B.C.), there had taken place no great formative event such as could of itself cause so great a change in the Hebrew system as was the rise of these sects; whereas the influences to which the Israelites had been subject in the Medo-Persian dominions, and the necessarily somewhat new direction which things took on the rebuilding of the Temple and the restoration of the civil and religious polity, could hardly fail, considering the distance from Moses at which these changes happened, and the great extent to which the people had lost even the knowledge of the institutions and language of their forefathers, to lead to diversities of views, interests, and aims, whence sects would spring as a natural if not inevitable result. There is, therefore, good reason to refer the origin of the Pharisees to the time of the return from the Babylonish captivity, a period which constitutes a marked epoch, as dividing the Hebraism of the older and purer age from the Judaism of the later and more corrupt times. Nor, did our space allow, should we find it difficult to trace the leading features of the Pharisaic character back to those peculiar opinions and usages with which the old Israelitish type of mind had been made familiar, and at the same time corrupt, in the Persian empire. Nor are we aware that any solid objection can be taken to this reference of the rise of the Pharisees, provided it is understood that we do not suppose that they sprang forth, as Minerva in the legend, complete at once. These sects lay in embryo among the Jews while scattered over the provinces of Persia, were brought forth at the rebuilding of the Temple, and grew continually in strength till the days of Christ and the overthrow of Jerusalem—division in this, as in all other cases, proving weakness, and issuing in ruin. The Mosaic institutions were in themselves sharply defined and strongly sanctioned, nor could there well originate in them any important differences, still less any sects. But in Persia the scattered Jews were subjected to new and impure currents of opinion, which would do something to overflow and overlay the primitive doctrines and usages. Here, then, was at once a soil for sectism. Puritans would spring up wishing to preserve or restore the original form of doctrine and worship. They naturally called forth defenders of things as they were. But in the disputes which would hence arise, appeal must be made to reason, for the voice of prophecy was extinct, the divine oracles were silent; there remained only the Scriptures and the interpretation of them by means of tradition—a questioned instrument—and reason, to which all were, in the nature of the case, compelled to appeal. But when there is a general appeal to reason in religious questions, then philosophy is born in the church, and may be expected to take the several directions into which the diversities of formation and complexion urge the mind of man to run. Accordingly it is the name philosophy which Josephus gives to the three leading sects—'the Jews had three sects of philosophy' (*Antiq.* xviii. 1, 2; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 12). This philosophical tendency would, in process of time, be strengthened by the influence of the Western world, whose philosophy was cultivated and spread in the East, and particularly at Alexandria. Unlike the philosophy of the Greeks, however, which had scarcely anything but a human ground on which to stand and labour, the Jewish sects made a divine revelation the object of their philosophical research, and so were saved from the grosser errors and absurd wanderings into which the Greek schools were led while in pursuit of the airy visions of their own heated brain.

There is a tendency in all institutions to grow in process of time. Perhaps the tendency to grow corrupt is not less certain. In the rich and teeming soil of Persia, Hebraism could do no other than become rank. Accretions would also be made, and those in great number. But every accretion would, of course, have the sanction which belonged to the primitive form. There never could be any corruption of religion, did not each new opinion or practice contrive to get to its behalf the sanction of the old and recognised type. Corruptions do not come as corruptions. Accretions fasten themselves on to an ancient institution, and are then defended as old; or they spring out of the body of the institution itself, and then appear a natural offshoot. Any way the old sanctions and perpetuates the new.

Thus the very soil in which Hebraism lay during the captivity, was fitted to produce the philosophy of the Pharisees, which was essentially conservative and aggregative. It, in all times and cases, kept the old, howsoever abundant it became, and did not reject the new, provided its nature and tendency were to add and not to take away. Hence theirs was a system of positive beliefs, distinguished rather by its exuberance than

its purity, retentive of what was established, venerating past ages, decrying novelties though having its very essence in novelties, and excluding all reform as hostile alike to God and man. This tendency to aggregation on the part of the Pharisees is well described by Tertullian (*De Præscrip.* c. 45): 'Pharisæos qui additamenta quædam legi adstruendo a Judæis divisi sunt,'—making the very ground of their separation and the reason of their name to lie in the additions which they made to the ancient law. This same characteristic is found recognised by Josephus, when he ascribes to them the preservation, if not the invention, of tradition.

But as we think it more for the reader's instruction to lay before him the very words in which this sect is described, than to give a philosophical account of the rise and connection of their principles, to which of necessity our own views would impart a colouring, we shall proceed to transcribe a nearly literal translation of the most important passages in question.

'The Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the law of Moses, and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. Hence great disputes. The Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side.' 'The Pharisees are not apt to be severe in punishments' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 5 and 6; Epiphan. *Hær.* 15).

'The Pharisees live meanly and despise delicacies in diet; and they follow the conduct of reason, and what that prescribes to them as good they do. They also pay respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in anything which they have introduced; and when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away from men the freedom of acting as they think fit, since their notion is that it hath pleased God to make a constitution of things whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as men have lived virtuously or viciously in this life. The latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison; but the former shall have power to revive and live again: on account of which doctrine they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people; and whatsoever is done about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, is performed according to their directions, insomuch that the cities gave great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3).

'The Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact interpretation of the laws. They ascribe all to Fate (or Providence) and to God, and yet allow that to act what is right or the contrary is for the most part in the power of man. They say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies, and that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are for the exercise of concord and regard for the public' (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14).

'The Pharisees are a sect of Jews which appear to be more pious than others, and to expound the laws more accurately. These Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her (Queen Alexandra's) favour by little and little, and became the real administrators of public affairs; they banished and restored whom they pleased; they bound and loosed at their pleasure; they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and became not only very powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates; while she governed other people, the Pharisees governed her. She was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, and accordingly they slew whom they pleased' (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* i. 5. 2, 3).

'There was a certain sect that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women were inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were able to make great opposition to kings; a cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good will to Cæsar and to the king's government, these men did not swear, being about 6000; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Phreroras' wife paid it. In order to requite this kindness, since they were believed to have a foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed that Herod's government should cease, and that the kingdom should come to her and Phreroras, and to their children; so the king Herod slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and all who had consented to what the Pharisees had foretold' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 2. 4).

'The Pharisees say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate (εἱμαρμένη); that some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 9).

'The sect of the Pharisees are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country' (Joseph. *Vita*, § 38).

'The Pharisees have so great a power over the multitude that when they say anything against the king or against the high-priest, they are generally believed' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 5).

'The bodies of all men are mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits our bodies' (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 8. 5).

'Being now nineteen years old, I began to conduct myself according to the rule of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of Stoics, as the Greeks call them' (Joseph. *Vita*, § 2).

As Josephus himself was a Pharisee, many particulars respecting them may be gathered in his works on occasions when he is speaking in his own person or avowedly delivering an opinion. A remarkable instance presents itself in the *Jewish War* (iii. 8. 5), being an address delivered to his soldiers, when in extremities, against self-destruc-

tion. We shall transcribe only such parts as bear on our subject: 'He is equally a coward who will not die when he is obliged to die, and he who will die when he is not obliged so to do.' 'Self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals, and an instance of impiety against God our Creator.' 'The bodies of all men are mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits our bodies. If any one destroys or abuses a trust he hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed wicked and perfidious; but then if any one cast out of his body this divine depositum, can we imagine that He who is thereby affronted will not take cognizance of it?' 'Do not you know that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay that debt when he that lent life is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame? that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven, from whence in the revolution of ages they are again sent into pure bodies, while the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves are received by the darkest place in Hades?' In the third section of the same chapter Josephus claims for himself skill in the interpretation of dreams as being means by which God presignified events. This power, and his acquaintance with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, prompted and enabled him to address 'a secret prayer to God' for aid and support: he thus gives other reasons for so doing, 'as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of the priests; and just then was he in an ecstasy and set before himself the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had.' His liability to, and belief in, dreams are exemplified by a passage in his life (§ 42): 'Wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, a certain person seemed to stand by me, who said,' &c.

Josephus held worthy opinions on religious liberty. Having prevented Jews from compelling some heathens to submit to be circumcised, he adds, 'Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and these men, who have fled to us for protection, must not be so treated as to repent of their coming hither' (*Vita*, § 23).

There is another source of our knowledge of the Pharisees—the books of the New Testament. The light in which they here appear varies, of course, with the circumstances to which its origin is due. The reader has just had before him the account of a friend and an adherent, an account which, therefore, we may believe, is conceived and set forth in the most favourable manner. The Gospels present the character of the Pharisees in a darker hue, inasmuch as here a higher standard is brought into use, a loftier morality is the judge. To pass on to the views given in the New Testament. The high repute in which the Pharisees were held, as expositors of the national laws, whether civil or religious, may be seen in John vii. 48; Acts xxii. 3; the casuistry which they employed in expounding the Scriptures, in Matt. ix. 34; xv. 5; xxiii. 16; Mark vii. 7, sq.; their excessive zeal in proselytism, Matt. xxiii. 15; yet their concealment of light and hindrance of progress, Matt. xxiii. 13; their inordinate regard for externals, and oppressive but self-sparing rule, Matt. xxiii. 3, sq., 25; their affectation of grandeur and distinction, Matt. xxiii. 5, sq.; their shocking hypocrisy, Matt. xxiii. 14, 27, sq.; their standing on inconsiderable points, while they neglected such as were of consequence, preferring ceremonial rites to justice and charity, Matt. xxiii. 24; xii. 2-7; Luke vi. 7; John ix. 16, sq.; Mark vii. 1; the display which they affected even in works of religion, Matt. vi. 1, sq.; xxiii. 5; their pride and self-gratulation as assuredly, and before others, religious men, Luke xviii. 9, sq.; their regard to tradition, Matt. xv. 2; Mark vii. 3; they formed schools, which had masters and disciples, Matt. xxii. 16; Luke v. 33; agreeably with their general doctrines, they regarded the act rather than the motive, Luke xi. 39; xviii. 11, sq.; and were given to fasts, prayers, washing, paying of tithes, alms, &c., Matt. ix. 14; xxiii. 15, 23; Luke xi. 39, sq.; xviii. 12; exhibiting themselves to the people, in order to gain their favour, as self-denying, holy men, zealous for God and the law, a kind of Jewish stoics, Matt. ix. 11; Luke v. 30; vi. 2; Matt. xxiii. 5, 15, 29; while in reality they were fond of the pleasures of sense, and were men of lax morals, Matt. v. 20; xv. 4, 8; xxiii. 3, 14, 23, 25; John viii. 7. At an early period they determined in the Sanhedrim to withstand and destroy Jesus, instigated doubtless by the boldness with which he taught the necessity of personal righteousness and pure worship (Matt. xii. 14).

In regard to the opinions of the Pharisees, the New Testament affords only fragments of information, which are, however, in accordance with the fuller particulars furnished by Josephus. From Acts xxiii. 6, 8, we learn that they believed in the existence of higher created beings than man, doubtless the good and bad spirits of the Chaldee philosophy. The same places also instruct us that they held a resurrection of the dead (comp. Matt. xxii. 24, sq.).

It thus appears that the Pharisees were in general a powerful religious party, or rather the predominant influence, in the Jewish state, who aspired to the control of the civil and religious institutions, affected popularity among the people, exerted influence in the councils of kings, queens, and people of rank; were the recognised teachers and guides of the national mind, proud of their orthodoxy, pluming themselves on their superior sanctity, practising austerities outwardly, but inwardly indulging their passions, and descending to unworthy and shameful acts; and withal of narrow spirit, contracted views, seeking rather their own aggrandisement than the public good, of which they used the name merely as a pretext and a cover.

In order to draw a full and complete picture we ought to combine and blend together the accounts contained in Josephus and those contained in the New Testament, which, it is important to observe, so entirely agree that they supplement and illustrate each other, these making up for the defects of those, or unfolding more fully features of which the first give a bare outline or only a single feature; so that, while there is no contradiction, no incompatibility between the two, they appear obviously to have been taken from the same subject and from actual life; whence, we conceive, arises a very strong corroboration of the

historic credibility of the New Testament narratives. A difference of colouring is indeed observable between the picture given in Josephus and that found in the Evangelists: yet the reader will hardly need any aid to enable him to see how the qualities spoken of by the first passed and degenerated into those, so many of which were strongly condemned by our Lord. 'Many circumstances concurred to bring about this corruption. The Pharisees held anxiously to the decisions of the holy writings and the older Jewish teachers. Thus their whole system was built upon authority, and their morality was changed into a casuistry, like that of the Jesuits. To every event that happened they knew how to apply either a passage of the sacred books or an explanation of the same, or a corollary, an inference, an arbitrary extension or restriction. On this account nothing is more pitiable or more ridiculous than their exegetical theology, whence their system of morality became uncertain and unconnected, without general principles, life, and spirit. Thus arbitrariness and ingenuity, instead of reason and solidity, were applied to morals; and to a party which assumed, and by its nature must assume, dominion over the minds of men, the temptation was often too great to accommodate their principles to the passions of men, and to use for the same purpose their casuistry, dependent on authority, which so easily lent itself to this end. The persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, the opposition of the Sadducees, bound them only the more to their old precepts and method of teaching, and filled them with an ever-living opposition to every Gentile doctrine and custom. They considered themselves the more as the only genuine and pure Israelitish teachers of religion; they preserved the reverence for the holy books, which had been of old widely spread among the people; and, aided by their principles, which were in fact very rigid, they could not fail to gain with the people a reputation for superior holiness. The greater this reputation became, the greater was the temptation to hypocrisy. The more rigorous were their principles, the more difficult was it to act entirely up to them, and the easier were they led to observe that with a holy *appearance* they could attain the power of imposing on the mass of the people and of ruling over them. This dominion of the Pharisees over the minds of the people was nourishment for their pride, and incentive enough to use it for selfish purposes. Like cunning priests and Jesuits, they played with forms and phrases, they seized a place in the hearts and consciences of men, corrupted them even by means of pious instruction, led them whither they would have them go, acquired many a fair prize, and became rulers of an earthly kingdom of darkness' (Stäudlin, *Sittenlehre*, i. 431).

Even were there discrepancies, however marked, on minor points between our Lord and Josephus, yet the general type and the leading features of the character are in so striking a manner the same, that it is impossible not to feel that if Josephus is true the Gospel-history cannot be false; a consideration which acquires strength, and reaches to a moral certainty, when the subject is considered to which their accounts relate, the admitted independence of the authorities, and especially the incidental and implicatory manner in which most of the information in the New Testament presents itself, and some of that which is found in Josephus. The line of argument might be still further extended did our space allow us to trace the development of the Pharisaic influence on through the primitive Christian age down to later periods, as it would appear that Rabbinism was but an unfolding of Pharisaism, the full and swelling stream of corrupt doctrines, views, and practices, of which the rivulets run up to the days of Christ, and stretch back to those of Ezra, till they are lost in the fountain-head—the religious philosophy of a debased Zoroasterism. And from the contrast which presents itself between this gross earthly system—a system imbued throughout with selfishness—and the pure, benign, heavenly doctrine and life of Christ, there arises (to our mind) an irresistible proof not only that our Lord did not and could not derive anything from the Pharisees, but that no less clearly is his spirit from above than is theirs from beneath—in all which no credit is taken for the bold, manly, noble, and self-forgetful manner in which he unmasked their hypocrisy, laid open their hollowness, condemned their pretensions, and withstood and strove to nullify their influence. It is to unite the hawk and the dove, to bring into one darkness and light, to expect figs from thistles, if we will persist in maintaining that Jesus and the Pharisees had any essential and peculiar features in common—we say essential and peculiar features, because such only are of any value in the argument, since even the Pharisees, as men and monotheists, doubtless had some good traits, and possessed some scattered rays of truth.

Indeed we are not to suppose that there were no individuals in the body free from its prevailing vices. There did not fail to be upright and pure-minded men, who united inward piety to outward correctness of conduct, and were indeed superior to the principles of their sect; such was Nicodemus (John iii. 1); such also Gamaliel may have been (Acts v. 34; comp. *Berach.* xiii. 2; *Sota*, xx. 3; *Babyl. Sota*, xxii. 2). Of men of this kind many were led to embrace the Gospel (Acts xv. 5).

In general, however, their power was all directed against Jesus and his work. With what force they must have acted appears obvious from the preceding remarks. Nor is the reader to imagine that they were merely a few learned men, congregated together in the capital, engaged in learned pursuits or religious practices, and in consequence leaving our Lord at liberty to pursue his ordinary duties up and down the land. The capital was doubtless their head-quarters, but they pervaded the entire country in considerable numbers (six thousand are referred to above), and were therefore present in all parts to withstand the publication of the Gospel of that kingdom every feature of which they hated (Luke v. 17); and as they constituted a large portion of the Sanhedrim (Acts v. 34; xxiii. 6, sq.), and had an almost unlimited influence with the people, great indeed was the power which they wielded in their conflict with the infant church. Perhaps there never was an instance in any social condition in which the elements of power supplied by religion, politics, high life, and humble condition were more thoroughly or more densely combined in order to oppose and destroy the

young power of new ideas and lofty aims. The victory, however, was for man, because it was also of God. Darkness, indeed, prevailed for three days, covering the land, and casting a thick shadow over the world. But the sun of righteousness arose, and still shines.

Pharisaism, how compact soever might be its appearance outwardly, and as against a common enemy, had its own internal dissensions. The question of more or less of moderate or extreme views, of what on one side would be called temporising and on the other consistency, agitated this school as it has agitated most others. In the age of our Lord there were two leading parties, that of Hillel and that of Schammai, the former representing a moderate Pharisaism, the latter 'the straitest sect,' to which Paul had probably belonged.

Those who may wish to prosecute the study of the subject now treated of with more minuteness and particularity, will do well to consult, *Trium Scriptorum Illust. de tribus Judæorum Sectis Syntagma, in quo R. Serarii, J. Drusii, J. Scaligeri opuscula cum aliis exhibentur;* J. Iriglandius, *Diatrib. de Secta Karæorum adj.*, Delphis, 1703; Buddei *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 974, sq.; Flatt, *Ueber die Lehre der Pharisaen in Paulus Memorab.* ii. 157, sq.; Paulus, *Meletemata De Rep. Mortuor.*, Jenæ, 1796. The valuable piece before referred to, namely, *Trium Scriptor.*, &c., may be found in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, vol. xxii. In the same work (vol. xxii.) may also be found other sources of information, namely, Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 173, sq.; the treatises by J. Schmid, H. Opitz, and others. Much solid information may be found in Stäudlin's *Sittenlehre Jesu*, i. 417, sq. See also Beer, *Gesch. Lehren in Meinung. aller relig. Sect. der Juden*, Brünn, 1822. Some of the extracts from Josephus show clearly that the Greek philosophy had an influence on the doctrines of the Pharisees. Consult Tholuck, *Comm. de vi quam Græca Philosophia in Theologiam tum Muhamedanor. tum Judæor. exercuerit*, Hamb. 1835-7.—J. R. B.

PHARPAR, one of the rivers of Damascus [Abana and Pharpar].

PHEBE. [Phœbe.]

PHENICE (Φοίνιξ), a city on the south-east of Crete, with a harbour, in the attempt to reach which the ship in which Paul voyaged as a prisoner to Rome, was driven out of its course, and eventually wrecked (Acts xxvii. 12).

PHICOL (פִּיכֹל, *mouth of all*, i. e. *all-commanding*), the proper, or more probably, the titular name of the commander of the troops of Abimelech, the Philistine king of Gerar. If the Abimelech of the time of Isaac was the son of the Abimelech of the time of Abraham, we may conclude that the Phicol who attended on the second Abimelech was the successor of the one who was present with the first at the interview with Abraham (Gen. xxi. 22; xxvi. 26). But the whole subject of these interviews is beset with difficulties [Abimelech; Abraham; Isaac].

PHILADELPHIA (Φιλαδελφεία), a city of Lesser Asia, and one of the seven containing the Christian churches to which the Apocalyptic admonitions were addressed. The town stood about twenty-five miles south-east from Sardis, in N. lat. 32° 28′, E. long. 28° 30′, in the plain of Hermus, about midway between the river of that name and the termination of Mount Tmolus. It was the second in Lydia (Ptolem. v. 2; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 30), and was built by King Attalus Philadelphus, from whom it took its name. In B.C. 133 the place passed, with the dominion in which it lay, to the Romans. The site is re-



454. [Philadelphia.]

puted by Strabo (xiii. p. 628) to have been very liable to earthquakes; but it continued a place of importance and of strength down to the Byzantine age; and of all the towns in Asia Minor it withstood the Turks the longest. It was taken by Bajazet I. in A.D. 1392.

Philadelphia still exists as a Turkish town, under the name of Allah Shehr, 'city of God,' *i. e.* High-town. It covers a considerable extent of ground, running up the slopes of four hills, or rather of one hill with four flat summits. The country, as viewed from these hills, is extremely magnificent—gardens and vineyards lying at the back and sides of the town, and before it one of the most extensive and beautiful plains of Asia. The town itself, although spacious, is miserably built and kept, the dwellings being remarkably mean, and the streets exceedingly filthy. Across the summits of the hill behind the town and the small valleys between them runs the town wall, strengthened by circular and square towers, and forming also an extensive and long quadrangle in the plain below. The missionaries Fisk and Parsons, in 1822, were informed by the Greek bishop that the town contained 3000 houses, of which he assigned 250 to the Greeks, and the rest to the Turks. On the same authority it is stated that there are five churches in the town, besides twenty others which were too old or too small for use. Six minarets, indicating as many mosques, are seen in the town; and one of these mosques is believed by the native Christians to have been the church in which assembled the primitive Christians addressed in the Apocalypse. There are few ruins; but in one part there are still found four strong marble pillars, which supported the dome of a church. The dome itself has fallen down, but its remains may be observed, and it is seen that the arch was of brick. On the sides of the pillars are inscriptions, and some architectural ornaments in the form of the figures of saints. One solitary pillar of high antiquity has been often noticed, as reminding beholders of the remarkable words in the Apocalyptic message to the Philadelphian church:—'Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God; and he shall go no more out' (Rev. iii. 12) (Smith, *Sept. Ecclesiarum Asiæ*, p. 138; Arundell, *Seven Churches;* Richter, *Wahlfahrten*, p. 518; Schubert, *Morgenlande*, i. 353-357; *Missionary Herald*, 1821, p. 253; 1839, pp. 210-212).

PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO. That this epistle was written by the apostle Paul is the constant tradition of the ancient Church. It is expressly cited as such by Origen (*Homil. XIX. in Jerem.*, tom. i. p. 185, ed. Huet.); it is referred to as such by Tertullian (*Nov. Marc.* v. 21); and both Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25) and Jerome (*Proem. in Ep. ad Philem.* tom. iv. p. 442) attest its universal reception as such in the Christian world. The latter, indeed, informs us that some in his day deemed it unworthy of a place in the canon, in consequence of its being occupied with subjects which, in their estimation, it did not become an apostle to write about, save as a mere private individual; but this he, at the same time, shows to be a mistake, and repudiates the legitimacy of such a standard for estimating the genuineness or authority of any book. It was also admitted as canonical by Marcion (Hieronym. *l. c.*). That this epistle should not have been quoted by several of the Fathers who have quoted largely from the other Pauline epistles (*e. g.* Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Cyprian), may be accounted for partly by the brevity of the epistle, and partly by their not having occasion to refer to the subjects of which it treats. Paley has adduced the undesigned coincidences between this epistle and that to the Colossians with great force, as evincing the authenticity of both (*Horæ Paulinæ*, c. 14); and Eichhorn has ingeniously shown how a person attempting, with the epistle to the Colossians before him, to forge such an epistle as this in the name of Paul, would have been naturally led to a very different arrangement of the historical circumstances and persons from what we find in the epistle which is extant (*Einleit. ins N. T.* iii. 302).

This epistle was evidently written during the apostle's imprisonment (ver. 9, 10), and, as we have already endeavoured to show [COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE], during his two years' imprisonment at Rome. It was occasioned by his sending back to Philemon his runaway slave Onesimus, who, having found his way to Rome, was there, through the instrumentality of the apostle, converted to Christianity; and, after serving Paul for a season, was by him restored to his former master, without whose consent the apostle did not feel at liberty to retain him. The epistle commences with the apostle's usual salutation to those to whom he wrote; after which he affectionately alludes to the good reputation which Philemon, as a Christian, enjoyed, and to the joy which the knowledge of this afforded him (ver. 1-7). He then gently and gracefully introduces the main subject of his epistle by a reference to the spiritual obligations under which Philemon lay to him, and on the ground of which he might utter as a command what he preferred urging as a request. Onesimus is then introduced; the change of mind and character he had experienced is stated; his offence in deserting his master is not palliated; his increased worth and usefulness are dwelt upon, and his former master is intreated to receive him back, not only without severity, but with the feeling due from one Christian to another (ver. 8-16). The apostle then delicately refers to the matter of compensation for any loss which Philemon might have sustained either through the dishonesty of Onesimus, or simply through the want of his service; and though he reminds his friend that he might justly hold the latter his debtor for a much larger amount (seeing he owed to the apostle his own self), he pledges himself, under his own hand, to make good that loss (ver. 17-19). The epistle concludes with some additional expressions of friendly solicitude; a request that Philemon would prepare the apostle a lodging, as he trusted soon to visit him; and the salutations of the apostle and some of the Christians by whom he was surrounded at the time (ver. 20-25).

This epistle has been universally admired as a model of graceful, delicate, and manly writing. 'It is a voucher,' says Eichhorn, 'for the apostle's urbanity, politeness, and knowledge of the world. His advocacy of Onesimus is of the most insinuating and persuasive character, and yet without the slightest perversion or concealment of any

fact. The errors of Onesimus are admitted, as was necessary, lest the just indignation of his master against him should be roused anew; but they are alluded to in the most admirable manner: the good side of Onesimus is brought to view, but in such a way as to facilitate the friendly reception of him by his master, as a consequence of Christianity, to which he had, during his absence, been converted; and his future fidelity is vouched for by the noble principles of Christianity to which he had been converted. The apostle addresses Philemon on the softest side: who would wilfully refuse to an aged, a suffering, and an unjustly imprisoned friend a request? And such was he who thus pleaded for Onesimus. The person recommended is a Christian, a dear friend of the apostle's, and one who had personally served him: if Philemon will receive him kindly, it will afford the apostle a proof of his love, and yield him joy. What need, then, for long urgency? The apostle is certain that Philemon will, of his own accord, do even more than he is asked. More cogently and more courteously no man could plead' (*Einleit. ins N. T.*, iii. 300).

Of separate commentaries on this Epistle, the following is nearly a complete list:—Henr. Hummel, *Explanatio Ep. Ap. Pauli ad Philem.*, Tiguri, 1670, fol.; Lebr. Ch. Gottlieb. Schmid, *Pauli Ap. ad Philem. Ep. Gr. et Lat. Illustr. et ut Exemplum Humanitatis Pauli Proposita*, Lips. 1786, 8vo.; Konrad Rudolf Hagenbach, *Pauli Ep. ad Philem. Interpretatus est*, Basil, 1829, 4to.; W. Attersol, *Commentary upon the Ep. to Philem.*, Lond. 1633, 4to.; Bp. Smalridge, *Saint Paul's Ep. to Philemon Explained* (*Sermons*, Oxf. 1724, fol., Serm. 39).—W. L. A.

PHILETUS, an apostate Christian, mentioned by Paul, in connection with Hymenæus, 2 Tim. ii. 17 [Hymenæus].

1. PHILIP (Φίλιππος), one of the twelve apostles. He was of Bethsaida, 'the city of Andrew and Peter' (John i. 44). He became one of the disciples of John the Baptist, and was in the neighbourhood where John was baptizing, at the time of our Lord's baptism. Andrew and John, who were also disciples of the Baptist, heard the testimony concerning Jesus which the latter gave, and thenceforth attached themselves to him as the promised Messiah. Through Andrew his brother, Simon (Peter) was brought to Christ; and as on the next day Philip unhesitatingly accompanied Jesus when called to follow him, it is probable that his townsmen had previously spoken to him of Jesus as the long-expected Saviour (John i. 35-44). Philip was thus the fourth of the apostles who attached themselves to the person of Jesus—of those 'who left all and followed him.' The first act of Philip was to bring to the Lord Nathanael, who is supposed to have also become an apostle under the name of Bartholomew (John i. 45-51). Little more is recorded of Philip in the Scriptures; but it is remarkable that when Christ beheld the five thousand people whom he afterwards fed with five loaves and two fishes, he singled out Philip for the question, 'Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat?' It is added, 'This he said to prove him, for he himself knew what he would do.' Bengel and others suppose that this was because the charge of providing food had been committed to Philip, while Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia rather suppose it was because this apostle was weak in faith. The answer of Philip agrees well enough with either supposition, 'Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one of them may take a little' (John vi. 1-7). But it is well to compare this with John xiv. 8, where the inappropriate remark of Philip, 'Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us,' evinces that he experienced in a degree beyond his brother apostles, the difficulty which they generally felt in raising themselves above the things of sense.

Intermediately, we find recorded the application to Philip of certain 'Greeks' (proselytes of the gate) at Jerusalem, who wished to be introduced to Jesus, of whom they had heard so much. Knowing that his master was not forward to gratify mere curiosity, Philip was uncertain whether to comply with their wish or not, but first consulted Andrew, who went with him to mention the circumstance to Jesus (John xii. 21, 22). This incident, although slight, is indicative of character, as we feel sure that some of the other apostles, Peter for instance, would at once have complied with or declined this application on their own responsibility. The sacred history only adds to these facts, that Philip was present with the other apostles at the religious assembly following the Lord's resurrection (Acts i. 13).

The ancient commentators attribute to Philip the request of 'one of the disciples' to Christ, 'Suffer me first to go and bury my father' (Matt. viii. 21; Luke ix. 59); but there seems no warrant for this; and it is not likely that it would have been overlooked by John in his account of Philip's call to the apostleship.

The later traditions concerning this apostle are vague and uncertain; but there is nothing improbable in the statement that he preached the Gospel in Phrygia (Theodoret, *in Ps.* cxvi.; Niceph. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 39), and that he met his death at Hierapolis in Syria (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 31; v. 24). The further statement, that Philip was married and had daughters (Euseb. *u. s.*; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 192; Niceph. ii. 44), very probably arose from confounding him with Philip the Evangelist (Acts xxi. 8).

2. PHILIP, one of the seven first deacons (Acts vi. 5); also called an 'Evangelist' (xxi. 8), which denotes one of those ministers of the primitive church, who, without being attached to any particular congregation, preached the Gospel from place to place (Eph. iv. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 5). Being compelled to leave Jerusalem by the persecution which ensued on Stephen's death, Philip was induced to take refuge in Samaria. He there came to a city where Simon Magus was held in high reverence through the wonders which he wrought. But the substantial and beneficent miracles which were performed by Philip in the name of Jesus, drew away their attention from the impostor, and prepared their minds for the reception of the Gospel. Simon himself seems to have regarded him as in league with some superhuman being, and looking upon baptism as the initiatory rite of a compact through which he might obtain the same powers, he solicited and obtained baptism from the Evangelist [Simon Magus]. After Peter and John had come to Samaria to complete and carry on the work which Philip had

been the means of commencing, the Evangelist himself was directed by a divine impulse to proceed towards Gaza, where he met the treasurer of Candace, queen of Ethiopia [CANDACE; ETHIOPIA], by whose conversion and baptism he became the instrument of planting the first seeds of the Gospel in Ethiopia (Acts viii. 1-39). Philip then retraced his steps, and after pausing at Azotus, preached the Gospel from town to town till he came to Cæsarea (ver. 40). At this place he seems to have settled; for when Paul was on his last journey to Jerusalem, he and his party were entertained in the house of Philip, on which occasion it is mentioned that he had 'four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy' (Acts xxi. 9), or, who were endued with the faculty of speaking under divine inspiration, and of predicting future events, together with other supernatural gifts vouchsafed to the primitive Christians, in accordance with the prophecy in Acts ii. 18. With this fact the Scriptural history of Philip closes, and the traditions which refer to his subsequent proceedings are uncertain and conflicting. The Greek martyrologies make him to have been bishop of Tralles, in Lydia; but the Latins make him end his days in Cæsarea (*Acta Sanct.* ad 6 Juni); but in all old accounts Philip the Apostle and Philip the Evangelist are much confounded.

3. PHILIP, son of Herod the Great, and tetrarch of Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis (Luke iii. 1) [HERODIAN FAMILY].

4. PHILIP, called by Josephus Herod, son of Herod the Great, and first husband of Herodias [HERODIAN FAMILY].

PHILIPPI (Φίλιπποι), a city of the proconsular Macedonia, situated eastward of Amphipolis, within the limits of ancient Thrace (Acts xvi. 12; xx. 6; Phil. i. 1). It was anciently called Κρηνίδες, from its many fountains; but having been taken and fortified by Philip of Macedon, he named it, after himself, Philippi. In the vicinity were mines of gold and silver; and the spot eventually became celebrated for the battle in which Brutus and Cassius were defeated. Paul made some stay in this place on his first arrival in Greece, and here founded the church to which he afterwards addressed one of his epistles. It was here that the interesting circumstances related in Acts xvi. occurred; and the city was again visited by the Apostle on his departure from Greece (Acts xx. 6). In the former passage (xvi. 12) Philippi is called a colony (κολωνία), and this character it had in fact acquired through many of the followers of Antony having been colonized thither by Augustus (Dion. Cass. xlvii. 432). The fact that Philippi was a colony was formerly disputed; but its complete verification has strongly attested the minute accuracy of the sacred narrative. It is there also said to have been πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις, 'a chief city of this part of Macedonia'—not the capital, for that was Amphipolis (Livy, xlv. 29). Others explain the word πρώτη with reference to geographical position, *i. e.* the *first city* as one comes from the East; but it has been well objected that Paul had just landed at Neapolis, which is still further to the East (comp. Diod. Sic. xvi. 8; Strabo, vii. p. 511; also Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geog.* iii. 393). The site has not been much visited by travellers; but an interesting account of it may be found in the *American Missionary Herald*, by the missionaries Dwight and Schauffler, who were there in 1834. The plain in which the ruins of Philippi stand is embraced by the parallel arms of mountains extended from the Necrokop, which pour into the plain many small streams, by which it is abundantly watered and fertilized. The acropolis is upon a mount standing out into the plain from the north-east, and the city seems to have extended from the base of it to the south and south-west. The remains of the fortress upon the top consist of three ruined towers and considerable portions of walls, of stone, brick, and very hard mortar. The plain below does not now exhibit anything but ruins—heaps of stone and rubbish, overgrown with thorns and briars; but nothing of the innumerable busts and statues, thousands of columns, and vast masses of classic ruins, of which the elder travellers speak. Ruins of private dwellings are still visible; also something of a semi-circular shape, probably a forum or market-place, 'perhaps the one where Paul and Silas received their undeserved stripes.' The most prominent of the existing remains is the remainder of a palatial edifice, the architecture of which is grand, and the materials costly. The pilasters, chapiters, &c., are of the finest white marble, and the walls were formerly encased with the same stone. These marble blocks are gradually knocked down by the Turks, and 'wrought into their silly grave-stones.' The travellers were informed that many of the ruins are now covered by stagnant water, at the bottom of which they may be seen; but they did not visit this spot.

PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE. Of this part of the Apostle Paul's writings the authenticity has never been questioned. Professing to be written by that distinguished servant of Christ, it bears on every part of it the impress of his peculiar style, manner of thought, and form of doctrine; and the internal evidence of authenticity arising from the incidental allusions in it to persons and circumstances is very strong (*Horæ Paulinæ*, c. 7). It is referred to formally and expressly by Polycarp, in his *Epistle to the Philippians* (§ 3, § 11), besides being repeatedly quoted by him. It is quoted by the churches at Vienne and Lyons, in their letter to the churches in Asia and Phrygia, preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, v. 2; by Irenæus (*Cont. Hær.*, iv. 18, § 4); by Clement of Alexandria (*Pædag.* lib. i. p. 107; *Strom.*, iv. p. 511; *Admon. ad Gentes*, p. 56); by Tertullian (*De Resur. Carnis*, c. 23); by Origen (*Cont. Cels.*, lib. iii. p. 122, ed. Spencer; *et sæpiss.*); by Cyprian (*Lib. Testim.*, iii. 39), and by many of the later Fathers.

From allusions in the epistle itself, it is evident that it was written at Rome during the period of the apostle's two years imprisonment in that city, and in all probability towards the close of that period (i. 13, 14, 23, 26; ii. 18, 25). It seems to have been composed on the occasion of the return to Philippi of Epaphroditus, a member of the church in that place, who had been deputed to Rome with a pecuniary contribution from the church in aid of the apostle. Full of gratitude for this work of friendly remembrance and regard, Paul addressed to the church in Philippi this epistle, in which, besides expressing

his thanks for their kindness, he pours out a flood of eloquence and pathetic exhortation, suggested partly by his own circumstances, and partly by what he had learned of their state as a church. That state appears to have been on the whole very prosperous, as there is much commendation of the Philippians in the epistle, and no censure is expressed in any part of it either of the church as a whole, or of any individuals connected with it. At the same time the apostle deemed it necessary to put them on their guard against the evil influences to which they were exposed from Judaizing teachers, and false professors of Christianity. These cautions he interposes between the exhortations suggested by his own state and by the news he had received concerning the Philippians, with which his epistle commences and with which it closes. We may thus divide the epistle into *three* parts. In the *first* of these (i., ii.), after the usual salutation and an outpouring of warm-hearted affection towards the Philippian church (i. 1-11), the apostle refers to his own condition as a prisoner at Rome; and lest they should be cast down at the thought of the unmerited indignities he had been called upon to suffer, he assures them that these had turned out rather to the furtherance of that great cause on which his heart was set and for which he was willing to live and labour, though, as respected his personal feelings, he would rather depart and be with Christ, which he deemed to be 'far better' (12-24). He then passes by an easy transition to a hortatory address to the Philippians, calling upon them to maintain steadfastly their profession, to cultivate humanity and brotherly love, to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling, and concluding by an appeal to their regard for his reputation as an apostle, which could not but be affected by their conduct, and a reference to his reason for sending to them Epaphroditus instead of Timothy, as he had originally designed (i. 25; ii. 30). In part *second* he strenuously cautions them, as already observed, against Judaizing teachers, whom he stigmatizes as 'dogs' (in reference probably to their impudent, snarling, and quarrelsome habits), 'evil-workers,' and 'the concision;' by which latter term he means to intimate, as Theophylact remarks (*in loc.*), that the circumcision in which the Jews so much gloried had now ceased to possess any spiritual significance, and was therefore no better than a useless mutilation of the person. On this theme he enlarges, making reference to his own standing as a Jew, and intimating, that if under the Christian dispensation Jewish descent and Jewish privileges were to go for anything, no one could have stronger claims on this ground than he; but at the same time declaring, that however he had once valued these, he now counted them 'all but lost for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ' (iii. 1-12). A reference to his own sanctified ambition to advance in the service of Christ leads him to exhort the Philippians to a similar spirit; from this he passes to caution them against unnecessary contention, and against those who walk disorderly, concluding by reminding them of the glorious hopes which, as Christians, they entertained (ver. 13-21). In the *third* part we have a series of admonitions to individual members of the church at Philippi (iv. 1-3), followed by some general exhortations to cheerfulness, moderation, prayer, and good conduct (ver. 4-9); after which come a series of allusions to the apostle's circumstances and feelings, his thanks to the Philippians for their seasonable aid, and his concluding benedictions and salutations (ver. 10-23).

Heinrichs has advanced the opinion, that of these three parts of this epistle the first belongs to a different composition from the other two (*Nov. Test. Koppan.* vol. vii. pt. ii. p. 31). It is not worth while to recapitulate his reasonings in support of this notion; they have been fully examined and sufficiently refuted by Krause (*An Epist. Pauli ad Phil. in duas Epistolas . . . . dispescenda sit? Dis. crit. exeget.* Regiom. 1811), and Schott (*Isagoge in N. T.* § 70).

This epistle is written throughout in a very animated and elevated style. It is full of the most sublime thoughts and the most affectionate exhortations. It resembles more the production of a father addressing his children, than that of an apostle laying down authoritatively what is to be received and followed. The whole of it shows, as Theophylact observes, how very much he loved and estimated those to whom it was addressed, ὧν ἕνεκεν ἁπάντων σφόδρα φιλῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ τιμῶν φαίνεται (*Proem. in Ep. ad Phil.*).

Of separate commentaries upon this epistle, a considerable number has appeared, especially on the continent. Of these the chief are the following: M. H. Schotanus, *Analys. et Comment. in Ep. Pauli ad Phil., cum observationibus et earum usibus*, Franc. 1637, 4to.; J. Gottfried Am Ende, *Pauli Ep. ad Phil. Gr. ex recens. Griesbachii; Nova vers. Lat. et annot. perpet. illust.*, Vitemb. 1798, 8vo.; G. F. H. Rheinwald, *Commentar. üb. d. Brief Pauli an die Philipp.*, Berlin, 1827, 8vo.; Konrad Steph. Matthies, *Erklärung d. Briefes Pauli an d. Phil.*, Greifswold, 1835, 8vo.; Hermann Gustav. Hölemann, *Comment. in Ep. ad Phil.*, Lips. 1839; Wessel Alb von Hengel, *Comment. perpetuus in ep. Pauli ad Phil.*, Amstel, 1839; A. Rilliet, *Commentaire sur l'Epitre de l'Apôtre Paul aux Phil.*, Geneva, 1841, 8vo. In English the works of Pearce and Ferguson may be mentioned.—

W. L. A.

PHILISTINES (פְּלִשְׁתִּים; Sept. Φυλιστιείμ, and Ἀλλόφυλοι; Joseph. Παλιστῖνοι, *Antiq.* v. 1. 18), a tribe which gave its name to the country known as Palestine, though it occupied only a portion of the southern coast, namely, that which was bounded on the west by the hill country of Ephraim and Judah, and on the south extended from Joppa to the borders of Egypt, thus touching on the Israelite tribes Dan, Simeon, and Judah. Indeed the portions of Simeon and Dan covered a large part of Philistia, but its possession by the Israelites was disputed, and was never entirely achieved. This country was originally held by the Avims, who were destroyed and their land seized by the Caphtorims, coming forth out of Caphtor (Deut. ii. 23). In Jer. xlvii. 4 the Philistines are denominated 'the remnant of the country (or isle) of Caphtor.' In Amos ix. 7, the Divine Being asks, 'Have I not brought the Philistines from Caphtor?' The Caphtorim and the Philistim are also associated together as kindred tribes in the genealogical list of nations

given in Gen. x. 14, both being descendants of Mizraim. This last passage would be more strictly in agreement with the others if the words 'out of whom came Philistim' were placed immediately after Caphtorim. Where then is Caphtor? Where are we to look for the Caphtorim? There, wherever it was, are the Philistines to be originally found. Caphtor has been thought to be Cappadocia; so is it rendered by the Targums, as well as by the Syriac and Vulgate translations ('Palæsthinos reliquias insulæ Cappadociæ'). Bertheau, however, decides that Caphtor is Crete, on several grounds (Bertheau, *Zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, 1842; see also *Die Phönizier*, von Movers, 1841; and *Kanáan*, von C. von Lengerke, 1844). In Jer. xlvii. 4, Caphtor is named אִי: the word may indicate a coast, but leads the mind most forcibly to think of an island. The Philistines, in 1 Sam. xxx. 14, 16, are termed Cherethites (Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5), כרתי, an adjective, which itself might be put into the English letters Cretans, and is derived from the proper name כרת, or Crete. Since the appearance of Lakemacher's *Observat. Philol.* (ii. 11, sq.), and Calmet's *Biblical Researches*, the word Kreti has been considered to prove that the Philistines were wanderers from Crete, which recent scholars have confirmed. Thus Hitzig (*Die 12 Kleinen Propheten*) says, on Zeph. ii. 5, the Philistines were offsprings of Barbarians, who dwelt of old in Crete (Herod. i. 173), and thence passed to different parts of the continent (Amos ix. 7; comp. Tuch's *Commentar zur Genesis*, p. 243).

Greeks and Romans support this view. Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2) relates that inhabitants of Palestine came thither from Crete. He uses indeed the name Jews; but as the Philistines gave their name to Palestine, the heathen historian was not likely to make any exact distinction in the case, and may be understood to mean the Philistines, as inhabitants of Palæstina or Philistia. Stephen of Byzantium, under the word Γάζα, states that this city, Gaza, was properly called Minoa, from Minos, king of Crete, who came to Gaza with his brothers Acakos and Rhadamanthus, and named the place after himself (comp. *Kreta*, von Karl Hoeck, ii. 368). Stephanus Byzant. adds that the Cretan Jupiter (Ζεὺς Κρηταγένης) was honoured in Gaza. From other writers it appears that the Cretan Jupiter bore the name of Marna in this Philistine city, where he was chief of eight principal gods, and had a splendid temple consecrated to his service. The authorities for this statement may be found in Movers' *Die Phönizier*, p. 662. Marna seems only another name for Malchan, Baalan, or Baalti, denoting the protecting deity of the city.

The Philistines are represented in the Old Testament as foreign immigrants. The ordinary translation of their name in the Septuagint is Ἀλλόφυλοι, men of another tribe. The root פלש, whence Philistine, denotes a wanderer, one from a foreign land, and was probably given by the Hebrews to the foreign immigrants who called themselves Cretans. If so, the Philistines did not belong to any of the aboriginal stems. That they were not a portion of the Hebrew race appears from the fact that they were uncircumcised. In 1 Sam. xvii. 26, Goliath of Gath is derisively denominated 'this uncircumcised Philistine' (comp. 2 Sam. i. 20). Yet the Philistines belonged to the Shemitic family. The names of their cities and their proper names are of Shemitic origin. In their intercourse with the Israelites there are many intimations that the two used a common language. How is this, if they were immigrants in Palestine? This difficulty is removed by supposing that originally they were in Palestine, being a part of the great Shemitic family, went westward, under pressure from the wave of population which came down from the higher country to the sea-coast, but afterwards returned eastward, back from Crete to Palestine; so that in Amos ix. 7 it is to be understood that God brought them up to Palestine, as he brought the Israelites out of Egypt—back to their home. This view the passage undoubtedly admits; but we cannot agree with Movers in holding that it gives direct evidence in its favour, though his general position is probably correct, that the Philistines first quitted the mainland for the neighbouring islands of the Mediterranean sea, and then, after a time, returned to their original home (Movers, pp. 19, 29, 35). Greek writers, however, give evidence of a wide diffusion of the Shemitic race over the islands of the Mediterranean. Thucydides says (i. 8) that most of the islands were inhabited by Carians and Phœnicians. Of Crete Herodotus (i. 173) declares that Barbarians had, before Minos, formed the population of the island. There is evidence in Homer to the same effect (*Od.* ix. 174; comp. Strabo, p. 475). Many proofs offer themselves that, before the spread of the Hellenes, these islands were inhabited by Shemitic races. The worship observed in them at this time shows a Shemitic origin. The Shemitics gave place to the Hellenics—a change which dates from the time of Minos, who drove them out of the islands, giving the dominion to his son. The expelled population settled on the Asiatic coast. This evidence, derived from heathen sources, gives a representation which agrees with the Scriptural account of the origin, the westerly wandering, and return eastwards of the Philistines. But chronology creates a difficulty. Minos lived probably about the year B.C. 1300. According to the Old Testament the Philistines were found in Palestine at an earlier period. In Gen. xx. 2; xxvi. 1; we find a Philistine king of Gerar. But this king (and others) may have been so termed, not because he was of Philistine blood, but because he dwelt in the land which was afterwards called Philistia. And there are other considerations which seem to show that Philistines did not occupy this country in the days of Abraham (consult Bertheau, p. 196). It is, however, certain that the Philistines existed in Palestine in the time of Moses, as a brave and warlike people (Exod. xiii. 17)—a fact which places them on the Asiatic continent long before Minos. This difficulty does not appear considerable to us. There may have been a return eastwards before the time of Minos, as well as one in his time; or he may have merely put the finishing stroke to a return commenced from some cause or other—war, overpopulation, &c.—at a much earlier period. The information found in the Bible is easily understood on the showing, that in the earliest ages tribes of the Shemitic race spread themselves over the west, and, becoming inhabitants of the

islands, gave themselves to navigation. To these tribes the Philistines appear to have belonged, who, for what reason we know not, left Crete, and settled on the coast of Palestine. But in Gen. x. 13, 14, the Philistines are derived from Mizraim, that is, from Egypt. How is this? Movers holds that Phœnician invaders were the Hyksos of Egyptian history, whence the Philistines would, in relation to their stay and dominion in Egypt, be spoken of as of Egyptian origin. Bertheau, however, condemns this view as too complicated, and states it as his opinion that the Philistines, as dwellers in Crete, were reckoned as belonging to Egypt (see also Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. 289; Lengerke, *Kanáan*, p. 195, sq.).

If now we follow the Biblical accounts we find the history of the Philistines to be in brief as follows. They had established themselves in their land as early as the time of Abraham, when they had founded a kingdom at Gerar (Gen. xxi. 32; xxvi. 1). When the Israelites left Egypt they were deterred by fear of the power of the Philistines from returning by the shortest road—that which the caravans still take—because it lay through the country of the Philistines (Exod. xiii. 17). In the time of Joshua (xiii. 3) the Philistines appear in a league of five princes (סרנים, which may be a Philistine corruption from שר), governors of so many tribes or petty states—'all the borders of the Philistines from Sihor which is before Egypt even unto the borders of Ekron northward counted to the Canaanites.' Joshua appears to have thought it prudent to attempt nothing for the dispossession of the Philistines, and he therefore had no hostile relations with them; for the division of Philistia among the tribes was nothing more than a prospective but unfulfilled arrangement (Josh. xv. 45; xix. 43). The days of the Judges, however, brought conflicts between the Israelites and the Philistines, who dwelt wide over the land, and even exercised dominion over their Hebrew neighbours (Judg. iii. 31; x. 7; xiii. 1; xiv. 2, 4, 5; xv. 11).

In the time of Eli the Philistines succeeded in getting the ark into their possession (1 Sam. iv.); but a defeat which they suffered under Samuel put an end to their dominion, after it had lasted forty years (1 Sam. vii.). This subjection of the Israelites began after the death of Jair, and continued to the termination of the period embraced in the book of Judges. Within this space of time fall the life and the heroic actions of Samson. Notwithstanding the total defeat which the Philistines had undergone, and the actual termination of their political supremacy, they continued to be troublesome neighbours. 'There was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul' (1 Sam. xiv. 52); a conflict which was carried on with various success, and in which the king found great support in the prudent bravery of his son Jonathan and the high courage of David (1 Sam. xiii. 4; xiv.; xvii. 18; xix. 8; xxiii. 28). Even after his separation from Saul David inflicted many blows on the Philistines (1 Sam. xxiii.), but soon saw himself obliged to seek refuge in Gath (1 Sam. xxvii.), and was in consequence near making common cause with them against Saul (1 Sam. xxix.), who met with his death at their hands while engaged in battle (1 Sam. xxxi.). They also raised their arms against David, when he had become king of all Israel, but were several times beaten by that brave monarch (2 Sam. v. 17, sq.; viii. 1). 'Mighty men,' performing valorous deeds in imitation of David's rencontre with Goliath, gave the king their support against this brave and persevering enemy (2 Sam. xxiii. 8, sq.). Solomon appears to have been undisturbed by the Philistines, but they had settlements in the land of Israel under the early Ephraimitic kings (1 Kings xv. 27; xvi. 15). To Jehoshaphat they became tributary (2 Chron. xvii. 11). Under Jehoram, however, they, in union with the Arabians, fell on Jerusalem, and carried off the king's substance, as well as his wives and children (2 Chron. xxi. 16). On the other hand, in the reign of king Jehoash, their city Gath was taken by Hazael, king of Syria, who also threatened Jerusalem (2 Kings xii. 17). But in the time of Ahaz they revolted, and carried with them a part of western Judah, having 'invaded the cities of the low country and of the south of Judah, and taken Beth-shemesh and Ajalon,' &c. (2 Chron. xxviii. 18; comp. Isa. xiv. 29). Hezekiah in the first years of his reign obtained some advantages over them (2 Kings xviii. 8). Soon, however, Assyrian armies went against Philistia, and, with a view to an invasion of Egypt, got into their power the strong frontier-fortress of Ashdod (Isa. xx. 1), which at a later time Psammetichus took from them, after a siege of twenty-nine years (Herod. ii. 157). In consequence of the hostile relations between Assyria and Egypt, Philistia suffered for a long period, as the troops of the former power took their way through that land, and Pharaoh-Necho captured the stronghold Gaza (Isa. xlvii. 1). The same was done by Alexander the Great in his expedition to Egypt. On the destruction of the Jewish state, the Philistines, like other neighbouring peoples, acted ill towards the Jews, having 'taken vengeance with a despiteful heart' (Ezek. xxv. 15). Many of those who returned from the captivity 'had married wives of Ashdod, and their speech spoke half in the speech of Ashdod' (Neh. xiii. 23, sq.). In the Maccabæan period the Philistines were Syrian subjects, and had at times to suffer at the hands of the Jews (1 Macc. x. 86; xi. 60, sq.). King Alexander (Balas) gave Jonathan a part of their territory, Accaron, with the borders thereof in possession (1 Macc. x. 89). The Jewish monarch Alexander Jannæus overcame and destroyed Gaza (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 3. 3; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 4. 2). By Pompey Azotus, Jamnia, and Gaza were united to the Roman province of Syria (*Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4); but Gaza was given by Augustus to King Herod (*Antiq.* xv. 7. 3).

The Philistine cities were greatly distinguished. Along the whole coast from north to south there ran a line of towns—in the north the Phœnician, in the south the Philistine—which were powerful, rich, and well-peopled. The chief cities of the Philistines were five—Gaza, Ashdod, Askalon, Gath, and Ekron (Josh. xiii. 3; Judg. iii. 3). Several of these Palestinian cities flourished at the same time; and though now these, now those cities gained at different periods pre-eminence in power, wealth, and population, and though some did not rise till others had declined or perished, yet is it true that from the earliest times till the century after Christ a number of important towns existed

on the narrow strip of land which borders the Mediterranean sea, such as was never seen in any other part of the world, the Ionian coast of Asia Minor not excepted.

The greatness of these cities was mainly owing to commerce, for the coast of Palestine was in the earliest ages exclusively in possession of the trade which was carried on between Europe and Asia. Besides a great transit trade, they had internal sources of wealth, being given to agriculture (Judg. xv. 5). In the time of Saul they were evidently superior in the arts of life to the Israelites; for we read (1 Sam. xiii. 20) that the latter were indebted to the former for the utensils of ordinary life. Their religion was not essentially different from that of the Phœnicians. The idol which they most reverenced was Astarte, the Assyrian Semiramis, or Derketo, who was also honoured as Dagon, in a very ancient temple at Askalon and at Gaza, also at Ashdod (Movers, p. 589, sq.; Lengerke, *Kanaan*, p. 200; Herod. i. 105; Judg. xvi. 23; 1 Sam. v. 1, sq.; 1 Macc. x. 83). This was a species of fish-worship, a remnant of which may still be found in the special care taken of certain holy fish in some parts of Syria (Niebuhr, *Reise*, ii. 167; Burckhardt, i. 278, 521). In Ekron Baal-zebub had his chief seat. Priests and soothsayers were numerous (1 Sam. vi. 2). Their magicians were in repute (Isa. ii. 6), and the oracle of Baal-zebub was consulted by foreigners (2 Kings i. 2). They had the custom of carrying with them in war the images of their gods (2 Sam. v. 21). Tradition makes the Philistines the inventors of the bow and arrow.—J. R. B.

PHILOLOGUS (Φιλόλογος), one of the Christians at Rome to whom Paul sent his salutations (Rom. xvi. 15). Dorotheus makes him one of the seventy disciples, and alleges that he was placed by the apostle Andrew as bishop of Sinope, in Pontus. But this seems altogether improbable.

PHILOSOPHY, GREEK. It cannot be expected, that within the limits of a brief article, in a work of this nature, and of the size to which it is limited, we should enter into an historical, critical, or even popular account of Greek philosophy; nor that the subject, however interesting in itself, should be introduced at all, farther than will minister to the right understanding and reception of Scriptural truth. In the articles Gnosticism and Logos we have shown that a knowledge of Greek philosophy throws light on one of the most recondite doctrines of Christianity, bringing us acquainted with expressions and opinions current throughout the civilized world during the rise and progress of Christianity, and showing how these modes of expression came to be adopted by the first converts to Christianity, and afterwards to be employed by St. John in his Gospel. Indeed, if a knowledge of the sacrificial language of the Jews throws light upon Christ's mission, in so far as its object was to put an end to the numerous sacrifices and ceremonial ministrations of the Jewish priesthood, it is not less evident that a knowledge of the philosophical language of the Greeks will throw light upon the first use amongst the Christian converts, and upon the subsequent adoption by St. John into his Gospel, and by St. Paul into his Epistles, of the remarkable language employed to describe the mission and the nature of Christ. But not only may a knowledge of ancient learning, and more especially of ancient philosophy, supply valuable assistance for the better understanding of Christian doctrines; but we may derive from such knowledge the fullest and clearest proofs of the benefit conferred by Christianity on the progress of principle and civilization: and we may add, that we have a direct warrant from St. Paul to employ ancient learning, and more especially Greek philosophy, in rendering to the Christian religion the services we have specified.

Perhaps there does not occur in the Christian record a more striking and important passage than that which we shall quote from the Epistle to the Romans: that Epistle which, for its general and paramount interest (being equally addressed to Gentile, Jew, and Christian), has been placed first of the Epistles. Indeed, the Epistle to the Romans proves, by the plainest facts, that Christianity was absolutely necessary for the removal of the most intolerable evils that ever oppressed the world. The Apostle of the Gentiles, having in the opening chapter given a fearful picture of the vices and crimes of Rome, the truth of which is fully established by the writings of Tacitus and Suetonius, Martial and the Roman satirists (and in the next chapter, ii. 17, he charges the same neglect of moral duty, under pretence of a sounder faith, upon the Jews), proceeds to address Gentile and Jew in a strain of manly and noble eloquence, which, if we estimate the magnitude of the interests, individual and domestic, private and public, religious, moral, and political, which then depended and still depends on the understanding and reception of Christianity in its truth and power, must be allowed to leave every other example of reasoning and eloquence far behind it. The words of St. Paul, following his exposure of the wickedness of Rome (of heathen vices as the direct consequences of heathen superstitions) are contained in Rom. i. 21, 24-26, 28, 29, &c.

The Christian minister has in his spiritual armoury no weapon of keener edge or of finer temper, whether for laying bare the hidden secrets of the heart, or for unfolding the mystery of salvation in Jesus Christ. What man, however ignorant, careless, or vicious he may be, does not find his inmost conscience respond to the words, 'and thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?' What resister of the truth, whether by open scoffing or secret disobedience, does not find himself pricked to the heart by the words, 'them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth?' What sanctimonious hypocrite, rigid dogmatist, or fierce persecutor, does not find the hollowness and perilousness of his pretence in the words, 'not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified?' What catholic-minded, sincere-hearted, rightly-conducted Christian does not find comfort in the words, 'but glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good.' What man fainting by the way will not take courage from the words, 'to those who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life.' What Antinomian professor of faith, as an excuse for disobedience, does not feel his hope fail him as he reads the words, 'not the hearers of the law are just before God

but the doers of the law shall be justified,'—or should he attempt to escape the plain meaning of the passage by the plea that he is neither Jew nor Gentile, how will he escape from words addressed in the same spirit of making obedience the test of faith—'What shall we say then? Shall *we* continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid —Know ye not that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?' Lastly, who does not feel his faith, hope, and charity enlarged, as he reads the following catholic extension of justice, and mercy, and truth, published by the Apostle to the Gentiles—'Glory, and honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile.'

The Protestant will not fail to remark that the preaching of St. Paul exhibits a far more catholic spirit than the narrower and more sectarian views of St. Peter. Indeed, the word Catholic might with much greater fitness be applied to the teaching of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, than to the teaching of the apostle whose Judaizing spirit sought to narrow the grace of God, and to impose the yoke of the ceremonial law, and to keep up the power of the priesthood. And if any one of the apostles is to be selected as the patron saint of the whole catholic church, surely that apostle should be the great Apostle to the Gentiles. Or, if the Church of Rome claims to be the Catholic Church, there seems an especial reason for her adopting the really catholic views of Christianity which were addressed by St. Paul to the Romans.

We have found it impossible to refer to the above striking and important passage from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans without being led into a few remarks upon its general scope and meaning. But the view on which we would especially insist, as the subject of our present article, is, that theologians have in this passage, as they have in many other passages closely connected with it, a warrant for bringing ancient history, literature, and philosophy, and especially the philosophy of Greece, to bear upon the rise and progress, the object and end of Christianity. For assuredly every passage in the New Testament which relates to the superstition of the Gentiles, the immoralities of the Gentiles, the opinions of the Gentiles, and the knowledge of the Gentiles, must derive evidence and explanation from Gentile history, literature, and philosophy; just as passages which have reference to the Jews must derive evidence and explanation from Jewish history, literature, and philosophy. The latter is more especially the case with passages in the New Testament, which relate to the termination of sacrifice and the priesthood; whilst the former applies more especially to passages which relate to the word of God and the Christian ministry. It might, indeed, be supposed from the opinions and conduct of some Christians in all ages (who have all but adduced their ignorance in proof of the soundness of their faith), that the oft-quoted words of the learned, as well as pious, Apostle to the Gentiles, 'after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe' (1 Cor. i. 12), contained a warrant, on the one hand, for preaching without knowledge, and on the other hand, for faith without obedience. If we inquire into the real meaning of those remarkable words, we shall find it closely connected with our present subject, and directly opposed to the unlearned and unwise meaning which has been deduced from it, by what may be called the pride of ignorance, as a warrant for presumption. Indeed, it is not a little remarkable, that few passages require more real learning and true wisdom for their sound interpretation, than that which has been so often and so hastily quoted as a warrant for a contempt of all learning. Let us endeavour to understand the real meaning of the passage: and, in order to do so, let us return to our former quotation.

In the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, the necessity of a great religious change, preparatory to a great moral change—a change of faith and worship, preparatory to a change in principles and conduct—is fully and plainly made out. The Apostle to the Gentiles was about to build upon the Jewish Scriptures, but for the edification of the whole world, a purer faith and a more reasonable service than Jew or Gentile had yet known. The moral ruin of the Jewish temple had already taken place—'Behold, thou art called a Jew, and restest in the law, and makest thy boast of God; and knowest his will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the law; and art confident that thou thyself art a guide to the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes; which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law;—Thou, therefore, which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? Thou that preachest, A man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest, A man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God' (Rom. ii. 21)? On the other hand, the ruins of Gentile temples, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman, still witness the truth of St. Paul's words to the same effect—'When they knew God, they glorified him not as God, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness.'

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this lesson, or the plainness of the evidence; the *lesson*, that corruption of religion implies corruption of morals; the *evidence*, the phenomena of the civilized world at that great period of history. Respecting the religious and moral corruptions of the Jews at that period, our present argument does not require us to say more. Let us then turn to the corruptions of the heathens. Those who are acquainted with the progressively-increasing profligacy of the heathen world, as exhibited in Greek and Roman history and literature, are aware that the picture drawn by St. Paul is fully borne out by facts. The sanctity and purity of the domestic hearth were undermined; the roof-tree virtues, which are a nation's strength, had given way; and the vast edifice of Greek

science and Roman power was tottering to its fall. That this is no exaggerated statement, we appeal to Plato, Aristophanes, and Lucian, to Tacitus, Martial, Ovid, and the Roman satirists. Indeed, the summary given by the Roman Historian of a somewhat earlier period, points to the same conclusion :—'Labante deinde paulatim disciplinâ, velut desidentes, primo mores sequatur animo; deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire cœperint præcipites: donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est' (Liv. *Præf.*). In that state of unprinciple and indiscipline, Roman civilization was unable to resist the attacks which her vices had provoked. The close connection between licentiousness and blood-guiltiness was never so strikingly manifested as in the frightful exhibitions which formed 'a Roman holiday' in the amphitheatre. Woman must have lost all the best attributes of her nature and her character before she could sit and applaud at such a scene. If, casting from us every poor and petty jealousy, sexual, and sectarian, and philosophical, we contrast *that* scene of woman's debasement with those happier scenes where thousands of our countrywomen have met in hall and temple, and even in the open air, to give freedom to the slave, and remember that *these* are as certainly direct consequences of Christianity, as those were direct consequences of heathen superstition (unless, indeed, St. Paul's unanswerable argument, and the concurrent testimony of ancient and modern history, are false instead of true), assuredly we have before us proofs of a great religious and moral and political advance in the situation and character of women; and the cause, as well as the effect, is plainly before us.

We speak of a great and notorious fact, when we say that there was not a hope that sanctity, and purity, and love, would be restored to the character of woman, and by her means to the domestic hearth,—and by the domestic hearth to the councils of legislators, and the acts of nations,—that there was not a hope that woman would resume, or rather, would assume, her true position in society, till heathen superstitions and heathen rites were superseded by a holier faith and a purer worship. Nor is the fact less notorious or less important, that it was the religion of Christ which, by superseding those heathen superstitions and heathen rites by a holier faith and a purer worship, did, at the same time, and as a direct consequence, raise woman to her true position in society. It is, we repeat, matter of fact that the religion of Christ restored sanctity, and purity, and love to the domestic hearth, making those three Christian graces, if we may be allowed that expression, the best ornaments of the female character, and giving Christian love and Christian charity an influence which has at once softened and purified the heart. And, were it possible that the ill-directed ingenuity which has laboured for the downfall of religion on the continent, should get footing in this country, we persuade ourselves that it would be resisted effectually by our countrywomen, who might plead that the best graces of their character,—graces which have made them eminent amongst the women of Europe, need we add, of the world,—their sanctity, their purity, and their affection, have been inspired, and disciplined, and directed by the religion of Christ. Now, as there cannot be a greater evil to society than the corruption of women, nor a greater good than female virtue, so there cannot be a more important evidence respecting the value of Christianity in the progress of civilization, than this proof which ancient history and literature supply; first, of the moral degradation produced by heathen superstition; and, secondly, of the moral cure wrought by Christianity.

In the Epistle to the Romans, it is the object of St. Paul to prove, both to Jew and Gentile, that the moral world, though it had the law of Moses and the philosophy of Greece, was so sunk in superstition, sin, and crime, that the whole body of society was corrupt, and that there was not a hope of cure till the sources of corruption, whether in the pharisaical observances of the Jew, or in the profligate superstitions of the Gentile, were superseded by a purer faith and a sounder worship. St. Paul contends that neither the law of Moses, nor the philosophy of Greece, was able to raise Jew or Gentile from the bondage of sin and death; and he challenges the religious and the moral, and, we may add, the political facts of those times, to prove the truth of his assertion. His object was not to depreciate either the Mosaic law or the Greek philosophy, the authority of the one, or the morality of the other, but to show that so long as the pharisaical observances of the Jew, and the profligate superstitions of the Gentile, remained in force, neither religion nor philosophy could prevent the world from sinking deeper and deeper into pollution. The Apostle of the Gentiles allows that 'they knew God,' but he contends that 'they glorified Him not as God;' and, therefore, he asserts, 'God gave them up to lasciviousness;' he allows, 'that some amongst them, though they had not the law, did by nature the things contained in the law,' but he contends that the principles and conduct of such men were but an oasis in the midst of a howling wilderness, for that the mass of men were given up 'to vile affections.'

It is impossible to deny that in the Greek philosophy we find the rise and progress of a speculative knowledge of God of no common character or measure; but it is just as impossible to deny that though the nations, amongst which a few such burning and shining lights had arisen, might be said 'to know God,' it was notorious that 'they glorified Him not as God.' It is by following out St. Paul's argument, and by examining the truth of his statements, that we feel all the necessity of an abolition of heathen superstitions, and the establishing of a better faith, before sound principles and right conduct could be understood and practised by the mass of mankind, though they had been conceived by a few philosophers.

If to this evidence of the necessity of a change of faith and worship for the salvation of the ancient world, proving that without such change the religious, and moral, and political reformations which were required, were quite unattainable,—if, to this evidence, we add proofs of the religious, moral, and political reformation which Christianity actually introduced,—and if, to this two-fold evidence respecting the necessity of a change of faith, and the efficacy of the change to Christianity, we add the evidence of the actual effects of Christianity in our own times, freedom to the slave, knowledge to the ignorant, and civi-

lization to the heathen (for though these benefits have been wrought by politicians, it has been in compliance with a motive and a zeal which assuredly were not supplied by worldly wisdom or worldly justice),—and if, to this three-fold evidence, we add present indications, that still higher religious, and moral, and political effects will be wrought out by Christianity—we have in this four-fold evidence a body of proof respecting the usefulness of Christianity exactly fitted for the wants of the time.—J. P. P.

PHINEHAS (פִּינְחָס, *mouth of brass;* Sept. *Φινεές*), son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron the high priest. An incident which illustrates the zealous and somewhat passionate character of Phinehas, occurred before the Israelites entered the Promised Land. The Israelites were encamped in the plains of Moab, and were lamenting the sin into which they had been seduced by the Midianites, when a prince of Judah named Zimri was beheld conducting a woman of Midian named Cozbi to his tent. The licentious effrontery of this act kindled the wrath of Phinehas, who hastened after them into the tent, and transfixed them both with his javelin (Num. xxv. 7, sq.) This bold act pointed out Phinehas to Moses as a proper person to accompany as priest the expedition which was immediately after sent forth, under the command of Joshua, against the Midianites, and by which the cause of the deluded Israelites was abundantly avenged (Num. xxxi. 6, sq.) After the conquest of the Promised Land, when the warriors of the two and half tribes beyond the Jordan were permitted to return to their homes, Phinehas was at the head of the deputation sent after them to inquire and remonstrate concerning the altar which, on their way, they had set up on the bank of the Jordan; and it was he doubtless who pronounced the forcible address to the supposed offenders. He was certainly the first to express his satisfaction and joy at the explanation which was given, and which, with a lightened heart, he bore back to the tribes assembled at Shiloh (Josh. xxii. 5, sq.).

It appears that while his father lived Phinehas filled the post of superintendent or chief of the Levites, probably after Eleazar became high priest (Num. iii. 32; 1 Chron. ix. 20). At the death of his father, he succeeded to the pontificate (Josh. xxiv. 33); but the only case in which he appears officially in the Bible, is in connection with the unhappy circumstances recorded at the end of the book of Judges, in which he comes forward as high priest to consult Jehovah. This mention of his name enables us to conclude that the chronological place of these occurrences would be rather towards the beginning than at the latter end of the book in which they are found [JUDGES; PRIEST].

2. PHINEHAS, son of Eli the high priest, and brother of Hophni [ELI; HOPHNI; SAMUEL].

PHLEGON (*Φλέγων*), one of the Christians of Rome to whom Paul sent his salutations (Rom. xvi. 14). The legend (*ap.* Dorotheus) makes him to have been one of the seventy disciples, and bishop of Marathon.

PHŒBE (*Φοίβη*), a deaconess of the church at Cenchreæ, recommended to the kind attention of the church of Rome by St. Paul, who had received hospitable treatment from her (Rom. xvi. 1). It is probable that she was the bearer of the Epistle to the Romans.

PHŒNICIA, and the PHŒNICIANS. The Greeks called those merchants who came from that coast of the Mediterranean Sea which runs parallel with Mount Lebanon, *Φοίνικες*. This name probably arose from the circumstance that the chief article of the commerce of these merchants was *φοινός, purple.* The word *φοινός* means *blood-red,* and is probably related to *φόνος, murder.* This derivation of the name is alluded to by Strabo (i. p. 42). Strabo, however, maintains that the Phœnicians were called *Φοίνικες*, because they resided originally on the coasts of the Red Sea. Reland, in his *Palæstina ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata*, derives the name from *φοίνιξ, palm-tree.* Bochart, in his *Canaan* (i. 1), derives it from the Hebrew בני ענק, *sons of Anak.*

The country inhabited by the Phœnicians was called by the Greeks *Φοινίκη*, and by the Romans Phœnice. In Cicero (*De Fin.* iv. 20) there occurs the doubtful reading Phœnicia. (Compare the Vulgate in Num. xxxiii. 51.) However, this latter form of the name has come into general use. (Compare Gesenii *Monumenta Phœnicia*, Lips. 1837, p. 338; Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, Lips. 1842-44, p. 659, sq.)

This name was used by the ancients sometimes in a wider, sometimes in a narrower sense. Phœnicia, in its widest signification, embraces the whole coast of the Mediterranean situated between the river Orontes and Pelusium. (Compare Strabo, xvi. p. 754, sq.) When Ptolemæus and Strabo speak of Phœnicia in a more restricted sense, they mention the river Eleutheros as its northern boundary; and Ptolemæus states also that Dora, situated to the south of the promontory Carmel, and north of the river Chorseus, was the most southern of the maritime towns of Phœnicia. The accounts contained in the Old Testament agree with these statements, since they mention the town of Aradus (ארוד), situated a short distance north of the river Eleutheros, as being the most northern town of those maritime colonies which had proceeded from Sidon, and Dor as being the most southern maritime town belonging to the Canaanites, which the Israelites had not been able to conquer. (Compare Gen. x. 18; Jos. xvii. 12, 13.) However, it appears that at a later period the tribe of Manasseh was in possession of this town. (Compare 1 Kings iv. 11; 1 Chron. vii. 29). The towns Dor and Acco (Ptolemais) were mercantile places of less importance than Tyre and Sidon, and are consequently not often mentioned. Hence arises the fact that the territory of Sidon is sometimes spoken of as if it were the most southern part of Phœnicia. For this reason we, also, in speaking of Phœnicia, mean only that slip of the coast which is bounded towards the east by Mount Lebanon, which is about twelve miles wide, and extends about one hundred miles from north to south, between the river Eleutheros and the promontory Carmel. The Israelites called this slip כנען, the *netherlands*, or *lowlands*, in contradistinction to the neighbouring mountains. (Compare Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, Lips. 1842-44, vol. ii. p. 659, sq.)

Phœnicia is situated between about lat. 33° and 35° N., and under long 33° E. The whole

of Phœnicia is situated at the western declivity of Mount Lebanon. Compare the article LIBANUS.

Phœnicia was distinguished by the variety of its vegetable productions. This variety was occasioned by the great diversity of climate produced by the diversity in the elevation of the soil. The Lebanon is said to bear winter on its head, spring on its shoulders, autumn in its lap, and to have summer at its feet. The fertility of Phœnicia is increased by the numerous streams whose springs are in Mount Lebanon. Even in the Song of Solomon we read the praises of the spring of living waters which flows down from Lebanon. The dense population assembled in the great mercantile towns greatly contributed to augment by artificial means the natural fertility of the soil. The population of the country is at present very much reduced, but there are still found aqueducts and artificial vineyards formed of mould carried up to the terraces of the naked rock. Ammianus Marcellinus says, Phœnice regio plena gratiarum et venustatis, urbibus decorata magnis et pulchris—Phœnicia is a charming and beautiful country, adorned with large and elegant cities. Even now this country is among the most fertile in Western Asia. It produces wheat, rye, and barley, and, besides the more ordinary fruits, also apricots, peaches, pomegranates, almonds, citrons, oranges, figs, dates, sugar-cane, and grapes, which furnish an excellent wine. In addition to these products, it yields cotton, silk, and tobacco. The country is also adorned by the variegated flowers of oleander and cactus. The higher regions are distinguished from the bare mountains of Palestine by being covered with oaks, pines, cypress-trees, acacias, and tamarisks; and above all by majestic cedars, of which there are still a few very old trees, whose stems measure from thirty to forty feet in circumference. The inhabitants of Sur still carry on a profitable traffic with the produce of Mount Lebanon, namely, wood and charcoal. Phœnicia produces also flocks of sheep and goats; and innumerable swarms of bees supply excellent honey. In the forests there are bears, wolves, panthers, and jackals. The sea furnishes great quantities of fish, so that Sidon, the most ancient among the Phœnician towns, derived its name from fishing. Concerning the natural geography of Phœnicia, compare especially the works of Forbiger, Raumer, and Robinson; also Winer, vol. ii. p. 30.

The inhabitants of Phœnicia might at the first view appear to have derived their origin from the same source (pre-Abrahamite) as the Hebrews; for they spoke the same language. The Phœnician proper names of persons and places occurring in the Old Testament may be explained from the Hebrew. For instance, מלכי צדק, Melchizedek, *king of righteousness* (Gen. xiv. 18); אבי מלך, Abimelech, *father of the king* (Gen. xx. 2); צר, *rock*, the Hebrew name for Tyre. The Phœnician inscriptions on monuments and coins exhibit also the characteristics of the Hebrew dialect in contradistinction to the Aramæan and Arabic. There are slight deviations from the ancient classical Hebrew, which may easily be explained from the circumstance that the most ancient Phœnician inscriptions now extant are not older than the fourth century before Christ. The most ancient Phœnician inscriptions are those on the Cilician coins. (Compare Gesenius, *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipz. 1815, p. 16, sq.; and Gesenii *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 335, sq.)

In the Old Testament the Phœnicians and Canaanites are, however, described as descending, not from Shem, but from Ham. Herodotus, also, on the authority of some Persian historians, states that the Phœnicians came as colonists to the Syrian coasts from the Erythræan Sea. He even appeals to the statement of the Phœnicians themselves (vii. 89), from which it appears that they resided originally on the shores of the Erythræan Sea; which sea, in its larger signification, extended from the eastern shores of Egypt to the western shores of India. Strabo relates in his sixteenth book (p. 766), that in the Persian Gulf were two islands; one of which was called Tyros or Tylos, and the other Aradus, on which were found temples similar to those of the Phœnicians, and inhabitants, who stated that the Phœnicians went out from them as colonists. An island, south of the Bahrein Islands, still bears the name of Arad. (Compare Niebuhr's *Beschreibung von Arabien*.) Justinus also (xvi. 3) furnishes a similar account of the origin of the Phœnicians. These are the authorities by which most antiquarians have been induced to consider the Phœnicians as colonists from the Persian Gulf. Hamaker, however, in his *Miscellanea Phœnicia* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1828, p. 172, sq.), asserts that the Phœnicians came from the Arabian Gulf; and Hengstenberg (*De Rebus Tyriorum*, Berolini, 1832, p. 93) maintains that the Phœnicians came into their country immediately after the dispersion of mankind. However, they are not mentioned in Genesis among the inhabitants of Palestine.

The first Phœnician colony was Sidon, which is therefore called in Genesis (x. 15) the first-born of Canaan. But soon other colonies arose, like Arka (Gen. x. 17), Aradus, and Smyrna (Gen. x. 18), &c., whose power extended beyond the Jordan, and who drove out before them the earlier inhabitants of Palestine. Hence it arose that the appellation, 'the land of Canaan,' was transferred to the whole of Palestine, although it is by no means a country of a low level, but is full of high elevations. However, the Canaanites, in a stricter sense, were the people who resided in the lower regions along the coast, and on the banks of the Jordan.

When the Israelites conquered the country, the Canaanites on the Phœnician coast, who resided in powerful maritime towns, preserved their independence, and were called Canaanites in particular. Thus we read, in Isa. xxiii. 11, כנען Canaan, in the signification of Phœnicia. The same word has also this meaning in the inscriptions on the Phœnician coins. In the Septuagint the Hebrew כנעני is frequently translated φοίνιξ. In Job xl. 30, A. V. xli. 6, the word כנעני means *a merchant*, because the Phœnicians were the most important of all mercantile nations.

The Carthaginians, as Phœnician colonists, maintained, even in the days of St. Augustine, that they were Canaanites. In Greek writers also occurs the name χνᾶ for Phœnicia (comp. Gesenii *Thesaurus Linguæ Hebraicæ*, Lipsiæ, 1839, tom. ii. p. 696, and Gesenii *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 270, sq.). The dialect of the Israelites perhaps resembled more the Aramæan, and that of the

Phœnicians more the Arabic; but this difference was nearly effaced when both nations resided in the same country, and had frequent intercourse with each other. Concerning the original country of the Phœnicians and their immigration into Canaan, compare especially Bertheau, *Zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, pp. 152-186, Göttingen, 1840; and Lengerke's *Kanaan, Volks und Religionsgeschichte Israels*, vol. i. p. 182, sq., Königsberg, 1844.

During the period of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, the Phœnicians possessed the following towns, which we will enumerate successively, in the direction from south to north:— Dora (דור, Josh. xi. 2; xvii. 11, sq.); Ptolemais (עכו, Judg. i. 33); Ecdippa (אכזיב, Josh. xix. 29); Tyre (צור, Josh. xix. 29); Sarepta (צרפת, 1 Kings xvii. 9, sq.; Luke iv. 26); Sidon (צידון, Gen. x. 15); Berytus (ברותה, Ezek. xlvii. 16; 2 Sam. viii. 8); Byblus (גבל, Josh. xiii. 5); Tripolis, Simyra (הצמרי, Gen. x. 18); Arka (הערקי, Gen. x. 17); Simna (הסיני, Gen. x. 16); Aradus (הארודי, Gen. x. 18). Compare the respective articles on these towns. Sidon is the only Phœnician town mentioned in Homer (see *Iliad*, vi. 239; xxiii. 743; *Odyss.* xv. 415; xvii. 421).

The Phœnicians in general are sometimes called Sidonians (comp. Gesenii *Monumenta Phœnicia*, ii. 267, sq.; *Thesaurus Linguæ Hebraicæ*, under the word צידון). Justinus (xviii. 3) alludes to the etymology of this name: 'Condita urbe quam a *piscium ubertate Sidona appellaverunt;* nam piscem Phœnices *Sidon* vocant,'—*a city being built which they called* Sidon, *from the abundance of fishes; for the Phœnicians call a fish* sidon. This statement is not quite correct. But the root צוד, which in Hebrew means only to catch beasts and birds, can also be employed in Arabic when the catching of fishes is spoken of. This root occurs also in the Aramaic, in the signification of both hunting and fishing (compare the article Zidon).

Heeren, in his work, *On the Commerce and Politics of the Ancients*, vol. i. part ii. p. 9, Göttingen, 1824, justly observes that the numerous towns which were crowded together in the narrow space of Phœnicia covered almost the entire coast, and, together with their harbours and fleets, must have presented an aspect which has scarcely ever been equalled, and which was calculated to impress every stranger on his arrival with the ideas of wealth, power, and enterprise.

We have no continuous history of the Phœnicians. The sources of such a history, as well as the works proceeding from them, have been lost. Josephus states that there were kept in various Phœnician towns, collections of public documents and annals. Menander of Ephesus derived his information from such annals when he wrote, in Greek, a history of Tyre (compare Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 17, 18). Dius, also, a native Phœnician, wrote, in Greek, a history of Tyre. Of these two works, only a few fragments have been preserved (compare Joseph. *Antiq.*, viii. 5. 3; xiii. 1, sq.; ix. 14. 2; *Cont. Ap.* i. 77, sq.; Theophil. *Ad Autol.* iii. 22; Sync. *Chron.* p. 182). Philo of Byblus translated and re-modelled, during the reign of Hadrian, a history of Phœnicia and Egypt, said to be composed by Sanchoniathon, B.C. 1250. From this work Porphyrius, in the fourth century after Christ, borrowed some cosmogonical arguments, which have been preserved in Eusebii *Præparatio Evangelica* (i. 10). The nature of these fragments is such, that they cannot throw much light upon Phœnician history. Theodotus, Hesycrates, and Moschos, are mentioned as authors on Phœnicia, by Tatianus (*Cont. Græcos*, § 37): their works are likewise lost. Gesenius mentions, in his *Monumenta Phœnicia* (p. 363, sq.), some later Phœnician authors, who do not touch upon historical subjects. Our knowledge of Phœnician history is consequently confined to occasional notices in the Hebrew and classical authors of antiquity. This deficiency of historical information arises also from the circumstance that the facts of Phœnician history were less connected than the events in the history of other nations. The Phœnicians never formed one compact body politic, and consequently did not always gradually advance in their political constitution and in the extent of their power. Every town endeavoured to advance its commerce in its own way. Thus there constantly entered into the life of the Phœnicians new elements, which disturbed a gradual historical progress. Phœnicia was a country favourable to the growth of maritime towns, but did not afford room for great political events. The history of the Phœnicians is that of their external commerce.

A mercantile nation cannot bear despotic government, because the greatest external liberty is requisite in order constantly to discover new sources of gain, and to enlarge the roads of commerce. The whole of Phœnicia consisted of the territories belonging to the various towns. Each of these territories had its own constitution, and in most of them a king exercised supreme power. We hear of kings of Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, and Byblus. It seems that after Nebuchadnezzar had besieged Tyre in vain, the royal dignity ceased for some time, and that there existed a kind of republican administration, under *suffetes* or judges. The regal power was always limited by the magistracy and the priesthood. The independent Phœnician states seem to have formed a confederation, at the head of which stood for some time Sidon, and at a later period Tyre. Tripolis was built conjointly by the various states in order to form the seat of their congress. The smaller states were sometimes so much oppressed by Tyre, that they preferred rather to submit to external enemies (compare Heeren's *Ideen*, &c., p. 15, sq.; Beck's *Anleitung zur genaueren Kenntniss der Welt- und Völker-Geschichte*, p. 252, sq., and 581, sq.).

The position of Phœnicia was most favourable for the exchange of the produce of the East and West. The Libanus furnished excellent timber for ships. Corn was imported from Palestine. Persians, Lydians, and Lycians, frequently served as mercenaries in the Phœnician armies (Ezek. xxvii. 10, 11). Phœnicia exported wine to Egypt (Herod. iii. 5, 6). Purple garments were best manufactured in Tyre (Amati, *De Restitutione Purpurarum*, 3d edit., Cassine, 1784). Glass was made in Sidon and Sarepta (compare Heeren, p. 86, sq.; Beck, p. 593, sq.). In Phœnicia was exchanged the produce of all known countries. After David had vanquished the Edomites and conquered the coasts of the Red

Sea, King Hiram of Tyre entered into a confederacy with Solomon, by which he ensured for his people the right of navigation to India. The combined fleet of the Israelites and Phœnicians sailed from the seaports of Ezion-geber and Elath. These ports were situated on the eastern branch of the Red Sea, the Sinus Ælaniticus, or Gulf of Akaba. Israelitish-Phœnician mercantile expeditions proceeded to Ophir, perhaps Abhira, situated at the mouth of the Indus (compare Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. 537, sq., Bonn, 1844). It seems, however, that the Indian coasts in general were also called Ophir. Three years were required in order to accomplish a mercantile expedition to Ophir and to return with cargoes of gold, algum-wood, ivory, silver, monkeys, peacocks, and other Indian produce. Some names of these products are Indian transferred into Hebrew, as אלמגים *almuggim;* Sanscrit *valgu*, or, according to the Decanic pronunciation, *valgum;* שן־הבים *shen-habbim* (ivory); Sanscrit *ibha;* קוף, *koph* (ape); Sanscrit *kapi;* תוכיים *tukkiyim* (peacock); Sanscrit *cikhi*, according to the Decanic pronunciation (compare 1 Kings ix. 27; x. 11, 22) [Commerce; Ophir].

It seems, however, that these mercantile expeditions to India were soon given up, probably on account of the great difficulty of navigating the Red Sea. King Jehoshaphat endeavoured to recommence these expeditions, but his fleet was wrecked at Ezion-geber (1 Kings xxii. 49). About B.C. 616 or 601, Phœnician seamen undertook, at the command of Pharaoh-Necho, a voyage of discovery, proceeding from the Red Sea round Africa, and returning after two years through the columns of Hercules to Egypt (Herod. iv. 42). The 27th chapter of Ezekiel mentions the commerce by land between India and Phœnicia. The names of mercantile establishments on the coasts of Arabia along the Persian Gulf have partly been preserved to the present day. In these places the Phœnicians exchanged the produce of the west for that of India, Arabia, and Ethiopia. Arabia especially furnished incense, gold, and precious stones. The Midianites (Gen. xxxvii. 28) and the Edomites (Ezek. xxvii. 16) effected the transit by their caravans. The fortified Idumæan town Petra contained probably the storehouses in which the produce of southern countries was collected. From Egypt the Phœnicians exported especially byssus (Ezek. xxvii. 7) for wine. According to an ancient tradition, the tyrant of Thebes, Busiris, having soiled his hands with the blood of all foreigners, was killed by the Tyrian Hercules. This indicates that Phœnician colonists established themselves and their civilization successfully in Upper Egypt, where all strangers usually had been persecuted.

At a later period Memphis was the place where most of the Phœnicians in Egypt were established. Phœnician inscriptions found in Egypt prove that even under the Ptolemies the intimate connection between Phœnicia and Egypt still existed (compare Gesenii *Monumenta Phœnicia*, xiii. 224, sq.).

From Palestine the Phœnicians imported, besides wheat, especially from Judæa, ivory, oil, and balm; also wool, principally from the neighbouring nomadic Arabs. Damascus furnished wine (Ezek. xxvii. 5, 6, 17, 18, 21), and the mountains of Syria wood. The tribes about the shores of the Caspian Sea furnished slaves and iron; for instance, the Tibaræans (תובל Tubal), and Moschi (משך Meshech). Horsemen, horses, and mules, came from the Armenians (תגרמה Togarmah). See Heeren, pp. 86-130.

The treasures of the East were exported from Phœnicia by ships which sailed first to Cyprus, the mountains of which are visible from the Phœnician coast. Citium was a Phœnician colony in Cyprus, the name of which was transferred to the whole of Cyprus, and even to some neighbouring islands and coasts called כתים (Gen. x. 4; Isa. xxiii. 1, 12). Hence also חתים, the name of a Canaanitish or Phœnician tribe (Gesen. *Mon. Phœn.*, p. 153). Cyprus was subject to Tyre up to the time of Alexander the Great. There are still found Phœnician inscriptions which prove the connection of Cyprus with Tyre. At Rhodes (רדנים) also are found vestiges of Phœnician influence. From Rhodes the mountains of Crete are visible. This was of great importance for the direction of navigators, before the discovery of the compass. In Crete, and also in the Cycladic and Sporadic Isles, are vestiges of Phœnician settlements. On the Isle of Thasos, on the southern coast of Thrace, the Phœnicians had gold mines; and even on the southern shores of the Black Sea, they had factories. However, when the Greeks became more powerful, the Phœnicians sailed more in other directions. They occupied also Sicily and the neighbouring islands, but were, after the Greek colonization, confined to a few towns, Motya, Soloes, Panormus (Thuc. vi. 2). The Phœnician mercantile establishments in Sardinia and the Balearic Isles could scarcely be called colonies.

Carthage was a Phœnician colony, which probably soon became important by commerce with the interior of Africa, and remained connected with Tyre by means of a common sanctuary. After Phœnicia had been vanquished by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, the settlements in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain came into the power of Carthage. The Phœnicians had for a long period exported from Spain gold, silver, tin, iron, lead (Ezek. xxxviii. 13), fruit, wine, oil, wax, fish, and wool. Their chief settlement was Tarshish, תרשיש, *subjection*, from the root רשש, *he vanquished, subjected.* The Aramæans pronounced it תרתיש; hence the Greek *Tartessos.* Teis was probably only the name of a town situated to the west of the pillars of Hercules (Calpe and Abyla, now Gibraltar and Ceuta), and even more west than Gades, at the mouth of the Bætis (Herod. iv. 62; Scymnus Chius, v. 161, sq.). This river was also called Tartessus (Arist. *Meteor.* i. 13; Paus. vi. 19, 3; Strabo, iii. p. 148). At a later period the town of Tartessus obtained likewise the Phœnician name Carteja, from קרת, *town* (Strabo, iii. p. 151).

There are other names of towns in Spain which have a Phœnician derivation; Gades, גדר, *septum, fence* (comp. Gesen. *Mon. Phœn.* p. 304, sq. 349); Malaga, מלח, on account of much salt-fish thence exported; or, according to Gesenius (*Mon. Phœn.* p. 312, sq., and 353), from מלאכה־מלכה, *officina fabrorum*, iron-works, or manufactory of other metals, on account of the mines to be found there;

Belon, בעלה, *civitas*, city (Gesen. *Mon. Phœn.* p. 311, sq., and 348).

The voyage to Tarshish was the most important of those undertaken by the Phœnicians. Hence it was that their largest vessels were all called *ships of Tarshish*, although they sailed in other directions (1 Kings x. 22).

It appears, also, that the Phœnicians exported tin from the British Isles, and amber from the coasts of Prussia. Their voyages on the western coasts of Africa seem to have been merely voyages of discovery, without permanent results. The Spanish colonies were, probably, the principal sources of Phœnician wealth, and were founded at a very remote period. The migration of the Phœnician, Cadmus, into Bœotia, likewise belongs to the earlier period of Phœnician colonization. Homer seems to know little of the Sidonian commerce; which fact may be explained by supposing that the Phœnicians avoided all collision and competition with the increasing power of the Greeks, and preferred to direct their voyages into countries where such competition seemed to be improbable.

Phœnicia flourished most in the period from David to Cyrus, B.C. 1050-550. In this period were founded the African colonies, Carthage, Utica, and Leptis. These colonies kept up a frequent intercourse with the mother country, but were not politically dependent. This preserved Phœnicia from the usual stagnation of Oriental states. The civilization of the Phœnicians had a great influence upon other nations. Their voyages are described in Greek mythology as the expeditions of the Tyrian Hercules. The course of the Tyrian Hercules was not marked like that of other conquerors—viz. Medes and Assyrians—by ruined cities, and devastated countries, but by flourishing colonies, by agriculture, and the arts of peace (comp. Heeren, pp. 24-80, and Movers, *Die Phœnicier*, i. pp. 12-55.)

According to the Phœnician religion, the special object of worship was the vital power in nature, which is either producing or destroying. The productive power of nature, again, is either procreative, *masculine*, or receptive, *feminine*. These fundamental ideas are represented by the Phœnician gods, who appear under a great variety of names, because these leading ideas may be represented in many different ways. Compare Movers, *Untersuchungen über die Religion und die Gottheiten der Phœnicier*, Bonn, 1841; Stahr, *Die Religions systeme der Heidnischen Völker des Orients*, Berlin, 1836, pp. 376-448; Selden, *De Diis Syris*.

We need not here enter into details concerning the Phœnician gods, as the principal of them have been noticed under their names [Baal, Ashtoreth]. It suffices to state generally, that the procreative principle was worshipped as Baal, בעל, *lord*, and as the sun. The rays of the sun are, however, not only procreative, but destructive; and this destructive power is especially represented in the Ammonitish fire-god Moloch. Thus Baal represented both the generative and destructive principles of nature; in which latter capacity the Hebrews worshipped him by human sacrifice (1 Kings xviii. 28; Jer. xix. 5). He was the tutelary god of Tyre, and hence had the name of Melkar, מלקרת, equivalent to Melech-kereth מלך קרת, 'king of the city,' whom the Greeks called the Tyrian Hercules.

Of Baaltis, or Astarte, which are usually identified, although they seem to have been originally different, we shall here add nothing to what has been already stated under Ashtoreth.

Besides these principal deities, the Phœnicians worshipped seven *kabirim*, כבירים, *mighty ones*, whose numbers corresponded with the seven planets. These kabirim were considered as protectors of men in using the powers of nature, especially navigation. With these seven kabirim was associated Esmun (השמיני = אשמן, *the eighth*), representing the sky full of fixed stars, surrounding the seven planets, the refreshing air and the warmth of life. Esmun was called by the Greeks Ἀσκληπίος. Many Phœnician names are compounded with Esmun. Hence we infer that he was frequently worshipped (comp. Gesen. *Mon. Phœn.* p. 136, sq.).—G. B.

PHRAT. [Euphrates.]

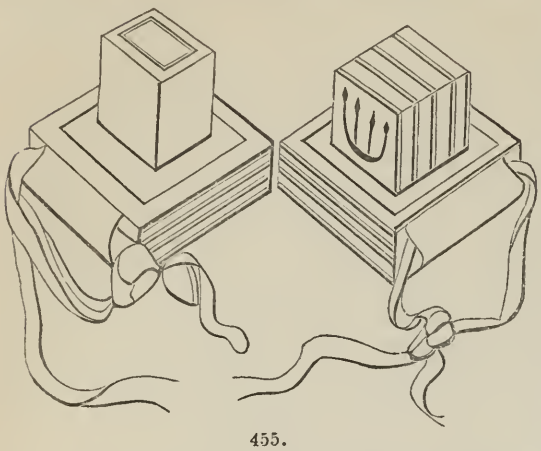
PHRYGIA (Φρυγία), an inland province of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by Bithynia and Galatia, on the east by Cappadocia and Lycaonia, on the south by Lycia, Pisidia, and Isauria, and on the west by Caria, Lydia, and Mysia. In early times Phrygia seems to have comprehended the greater part of the peninsula of Asia Minor. It was subsequently divided into Phrygia Major on the south, and Phrygia Minor or Epictetus (*acquired*) on the north-west. The Romans divided the province into three districts: Phrygia Salutaris on the east, Phrygia Pacatiana on the west, and Phrygia Katakekaumene (*the burnt*) in the middle. The country, as defined by the specified limits, is for the most part level, and very abundant in corn, fruit, and wine. It had a peculiar and celebrated breed of cattle, and the fine raven black wool of the sheep around Laodicea on the Lycus was in high repute. The Mæander and the Hermus were its chief rivers. The Phrygians were a very ancient people, and are supposed to have formed, along with the Pelasgi, the aborigines of Asia Minor. Jews from Phrygia were present in Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 10), and the province was afterwards twice traversed by St. Paul in his missionary journeys (Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 23). The cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossæ, mentioned in the New Testament, belonged to Phrygia, and Antioch in Pisidia was also within its limits (see the names). Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geog.* iii. 43-45; Winer, *Real-worterbuch;* Leake, *Geog. of Asia Minor.*

PHUL. [Pul.]

PHUT (פוט; Sept. Φούδ), a son of Ham (Gen. x. 6), progenitor of an African people of the same name, sometimes rendered 'Libya' (Jer. xlvi. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 10; xxx. 5; xxxviii. 5; Nah. iii. 9) [Nations, Dispersion of].

PHYLACTERY (*φυλακτήρια*, called in Rabbinical Hebrew תפלין *tephelin*), strips of parchment inscribed with particular passages of Scripture (Deut. vi. 4-9; xi. 13-21; Exod. xiii. 1-10, 11-16). They were folded up and enclosed in a small leather box, and worn upon the forehead nearly between the eyes, or upon the left arm near to the heart, being attached by straps of leather (Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8, 13; Hieron. *in Ezek.* xxiv. 17). They were considered as thus

reminding the wearers to fulfil the law with the head and heart (comp. Rosenmüller *in Exod.*



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xiii. 9); and they were also regarded as amulets, protecting the wearer from the powers of evil, especially demons (Targ. *in Cant.* viii. 3). On this notion was founded the Greek name of φυλακτήριον, which means a 'safeguard.' These appendages were used during the stated prayers, and only by men. The whole observance is founded on the authority of the texts which are written on the strips of parchment, as Exod. xiii. 16: 'It shall be for a token upon thine hand, and for frontlets (טוטפות, bands, fillets) between thine eyes;' which, although in all probability only figurative expressions, have been literally understood, and acted upon by the Jews since the Exile. In existing usage the skin employed in making the phylacteries is prepared with much care, and the writing traced with minute accuracy and neatness. The Hebrew ritualists give very exact and numerous directions on this subject, which are required to be closely observed. The case itself is composed of several layers of parchment or of black calf-skin. The phylacteries for the head have four cavities, in each of which is put one of the four texts to which we have referred; but the phylacteries for the arm have only one cavity, containing the same texts all written on one slip of parchment. Lightfoot thinks it not unlikely that our Saviour himself wore the Jewish *tephelin* or phylacteries, as well as the *zizith* or fringes, according to the custom of his nation; and that in Matt. xxiii. 5, our Lord condemns not the wearing of them, but the pride and hypocrisy of the Pharisees in making them broad and visible, to obtain respect and reputation for wisdom and piety (*Hor. Heb.* ad Matt. xxiii. 5). Maimonides, *Yad Hacash.* pp. 2, 3; Carpzov, *Apparat.* p. 190, sq.; Beck, *Dissert. de usu Phylacterior.*; Ugolino, *De Phylacter. Hebræor.*, in *Thesaurus*, tom. xxi.; Buxtorf. *Synag.* p. 179, sq.; Townley, *Reasons for the Laws of Moses*, p. 350).

PHYSIC; PHYSICIANS. There can be no question that the Israelites brought some knowledge of medicine with them from Egypt, whose physicians were celebrated in all antiquity. To the state of medical knowledge in that country there are indeed some allusions in Scripture, as contained in the notice of the corps of physicians in the service of Joseph (Gen. l. 2); of the use of artificial help and practised midwives in childbirth (Exod. i. 16); and of the copious materia medica, the 'many medicines,' which their medical practice had brought into use (Jer. lxvi. 11). On the strength of these notices, and in the absence of equally detailed information respecting the state of medicine among the Hebrews, it has become usual to bring under the present head all that Wilkinson and others tell us respecting the medical service of the Egyptians: but, in truth, all this has little connection with the Hebrews, and tends nothing to the illustration of Scripture, except in the particular instances to which we have referred; for nothing can be more manifest than that the state of medicine was very different among the Egyptians from what it was among the Hebrews. It is, therefore, better to bring together the few facts which are really available, than to occupy our space with irrelevant matter. This will embrace so much of the Egyptian matter as is properly applicable to the subject.

In Gen. l. 2, it is said that Joseph 'commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father; and the physicians embalmed Israel.' By this we are not to understand that all the physicians of Joseph took part in the operation. The command must be considered as addressed to those among them to whom this business belonged. It seems rather remarkable to find in the household of Joseph a considerable number of physicians. Warburton (*Divine Legation*, b. iv. 3-83) compares with this account what Herodotus (ii. 84) says of the Egyptian physician: 'The medicine practice is divided among them as follows: each physician is for one kind of sickness, and no more; and all places are crowded with physicians: for there are physicians for the eyes, physicians for the head, physicians for the teeth, physicians for the stomach, and for internal diseases.' Therefore, remarks Warburton, it ought not to appear strange that Joseph had a considerable number of family physicians. 'Every great family, as well as every city, must needs, as Herodotus expresses it, swarm with the faculty. A multitude of these domestics would now appear an extravagant piece of state even in a first minister, but we see it could not be otherwise, when each distemper had its proper physician.' The renown of the Egyptian physicians, in ancient times, may be sufficiently illustrated by the fact that Cyrus had a physician sent him from Egypt, and Darius always had Egyptian physicians at his court (Herodot. iii. 1. 129). On this subject see Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 57; xxvi. 3; xxix. 30; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 390-394; Hengstenberg, *D. Bücher Moses u. Aegypten*, pp. 70, 71; Sprengel, *Gescht. d. Alte Welt.*, i. 62

In the early stage of medical practice attention was confined among all nations to surgical aid and external applications: even down to a comparatively late period outward maladies appear to have been the chief subjects of medical treatment among the Hebrews (Isa. i. 6; Ezek. xxx. 21; 2 Kings viii. 29; ix. 15); and although they were not altogether without remedies for internal or even mental disorders (2 Chron. xvi. 12; 1 Sam. xvi. 16), they seem to have made but little progress in this branch of the healing art. The employment of the physician was, however, very general both before and after the

exile (2 Chron. xvi. 12; Jer. viii. 22; Sirach xxxviii. 1; Mark v. 26; comp. Luke iv. 23; v. 31; viii. 43).

The medicines most in use were salves, particularly balms (Jer. viii. 21; xlvi. 11; comp. Prosper Alpinus, *Med. Ægypt.*, p. 118), plasters or poultices (2 Kings xx. 7; comp. Plin. xxiii. 63), oil-baths (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 5; ii. 21. 6; *T. Bab.* tit. *Berachoth*, i. 2), mineral baths (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 6. 5; *Vita*, 16; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 5; ii. 21. 6; comp. John v. 2, sq.), river bathing (2 Kings v. 10). Of remedies for internal complaints, some notion may be formed from the Talmudical intimations of things lawful and unlawful to be done on the Sabbath day. They were mostly very simple, such as our old herbalists would have been disposed to recommend. For instance:—'It is unlawful to eat Greek hyssop on the Sabbath, because it is not food fit for healthy people; but man may eat wild rosemary, and drink אבום רועח ("bloom of the herbs;" some plant regarded as an antidote against pernicious liquids); a man may eat of any kind of food as medicine, and drink any kind of herbage, except water of דקלים *dekalim* (*i. e.* "water of trees," that is, from a spring between two trees, the first draught of which was believed to promote digestion, the second to be laxative, and the third an emetic); and of כום עקרים *cos ikkarim* (a mucilage or ointment of pulverized herbs and gum in wine), as these are only remedies for the jaundice; but a man may drink the water of *dekalim* for thirst, and may anoint himself with the oil of *ikkarim*, but not as a remedy. He who has the toothache must not rinse his teeth with vinegar, but he may wash them as usual (*i. e.* dip something in vinegar, and rub them), and if he gets cured, he does get cured. He who has pains in his loins must not rub them with wine or vinegar; he may, however, anoint them with any kind of oil, except rose-oil. Princes may anoint (dress) their wounds with rose-oil, as they are in the habit of anointing themselves on other days' (*T. Bab.* tit. *Sabbath*, fol. 110; comp. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in Matt. v. 26).

Amulets were also much in use among the Jews; the character of which may be shown from the same source:—'It is permitted [even on the Sabbath] to go out with the egg of a grasshopper, or the tooth of a fox, or the nail of one who has been hanged, as medical remedies' (*T. Bab.* tit. *Sabbath*, fol. 4. 2). Strict persons, however, discountenanced such practices as belonging to 'the ways of the Amorites.' Enchantments were also employed by those who professed the healing art, especially in diseases of the mind; and they were much in the habit of laying their hands upon the patient (2 Kings v. 11; Joseph. *Antiq.* ii. 5).

The part taken by the priest in the judgment on leprosy, &c., has led to an impression that the medical art was in the hands of the Levitical body. This may in some degree be true; not because they were Levites, but because they, more than any other Hebrews, had leisure, and sometimes inclination for learned pursuits. The acts prescribed for the priest by the law do not, however, of themselves, prove anything on this point, as the inspection of leprosy belonged rather to sanitary police than to medicine—although it was certainly necessary that the inspecting priest should be able to discriminate, according to the rules laid down in the law, the diagnosis of the disease placed under his control (Lev. xii. 13; xiv. 15). The priests themselves were apt to take colds, &c., from being obliged to minister at all times of the year with naked feet; whence there was in latter times a medical inspector attached to the temple to attend to their complaints (Kall, *De Morbis Sacerdot. V. T.*; Lightfoot, p. 781).

Of anatomical knowledge some faint traces may be discerned in such passages as Job ix. 8, sq. It does not appear that the Hebrews were in the habit of opening dead bodies to ascertain the causes of death. We know that the Egyptians were so, and their practice of embalmment must have given them much anatomical knowledge (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 392). But to the acquisition of such knowledge there were great obstacles among a people to whom simple contact with a corpse conveyed pollution. Besides the authorities cited, see F. Börner, *Dissert. de Statu Medicinæ ap. Vett. Ebr.*, 1755; Sprengel, *De Medicina Ebræor.*, 1789; Mead, *Medica Sacra*, 1755; Schmidt, *Bibl. Medic.*; Norberg, *De Medicina Arabum*, in *Opusc. Acad.* iii, 404, sq.; see also Diseases of the Jews, and the names of diseases in the present work.

PI-BESETH (פִּי בֶסֶת; Sept. Βούβαστος), a city of Egypt, named with several others in Ezek. xxx. 17. According to the Septuagint, which is followed by the Vulgate, it is the same with Bubastus, which was the principal town of the Nomos Bubastites (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 9; Ptol. iv. 5). Bubastus itself is evidently a corruption of Pi-bast, Pi being the Egyptian article; and Pi-beseth seems also to be manifestly no other than a corrupt reading of the same Egyptian name (Wilkinson's *Modern Egypt.* i. 427). That name was derived from the goddess Bubastis (Copt. *Pascht*), whom the Greeks identified with their Artemis. A great festive pilgrimage was yearly made to her temple in this place by great numbers of people (Herod. ii. 59). Bubastus is described with unusual minuteness by Herodotus (ii. 137, 138); and Wilkinson assures us that the outlines of his account may still be verified. The city was taken by the Persians, who destroyed the walls (Diod. Sic. xvi. 51); but it was still a place of some consideration under the Romans. It was near Bubastus that the canal leading to Arsinoe (Suez) opened to the Nile (Herod. ii. 158); and although the mouth was afterwards often changed and taken more southward, it has now returned to its first locality, as the present canal of Tel-el-Wadee commences in the vicinity of Tel Basta. This Tel Basta, which undoubtedly represents Bubastus, is in N. lat. 30° 36'; E. long. 31° 33. The site is occupied by mounds of great extent, which consist of the crude brick houses of the town, with the usual heaps of broken pottery. The temple, of which Herodotus states that, although others in Egypt were larger and more magnificent, none were more beautiful, is entirely destroyed; but the remaining stones, being of the finest red granite, confirm the historian's testimony (Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt.* i. 300, 427-429; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, i. 825).

PIGEON. [Dove; Turtle-Dove.]

PI-HAHIROTH (פִּי הַחִירֹת), a place near the northern end of the Gulf of Suez, east of Baal-zephon (Exod. xiv. 2, 9; Num. xxxiii. 7). The Hebrew signification of the words would be equivalent to 'mouth of the caverns;' but it is doubtless an Egyptian name, and as such would signify a 'place where grass or sedge grows.' Jablonsky, *Opusc.* i. 447; ii. 159, comp. Gesen. *Thesaur.* s. v. [Exodus].

PILATE, PONTIUS, was the sixth Roman Procurator of Judæa (Matt. xxvii. 2; Mark xv. 1; Luke iii. 1; John xviii.-xix.), under whom our Lord taught, suffered, and died (Acts iii. 13; iv. 27; xiii. 28; 1 Tim. vi. 13; Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44). The testimony of Tacitus on this point is no less clear than it is important; for it fixes beyond a doubt the time when the foundations of our religion were laid. The words of the great historian are: Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus est.—'The author of that name (Christian) or sect was Christ, who was capitally punished in the reign of Tiberius by Pontius Pilate.'

Pilate was the successor of Valerius Gratus, and governed Judæa, as we have seen, in the reign of Tiberius. He held his office for a period of ten years. The agreement on this point between the accounts in the New Testament and those supplied by Josephus, is entire and satisfactory. It has been exhibited in detail by the learned, accurate, and candid Lardner (vol. i. 150-389, Lond. 1827).

Pilate's conduct in his office was in many respects highly culpable. Josephus has recorded two instances in which Pilate acted very tyrannically (*Antiq.* xviii. 3. 1; comp. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 2, sq.) in regard to the Jews. 'But now Pilate, the Procurator of Judæa, removed the army from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Cæsar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there: which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night-time; but, as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cæsarea, and interceded with Pilate many days, that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their requests, because this would tend to the injury of Cæsar, while they yet persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat; which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them: and, when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves on the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.'

'But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from a distance of 200 furlongs. However, the Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water; and many ten thousands of the people got together, and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. He bid the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on, who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least; and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition.'

'We have,' says Lardner, 'another attempt of Pilate's of the same nature, mentioned in the letter which Agrippa the Elder sent to Caligula, as this letter is given us by Philo. In some particulars it has a great resemblance with the story Josephus has told of Pilate's bringing the ensigns into Jerusalem, and in others it is very different from it; which has given occasion to some learned men to suppose that Philo has been mistaken. For my own part, as I make no doubt but Josephus's account of the ensigns is true, so I think that Philo may also be relied on for the truth of a fact he has mentioned, as happening in his own time in Judæa, and, consequently, I judge them to be two different facts.'

Agrippa, reckoning up to Caligula the several favours conferred on the Jews by the Imperial family, says: 'Pilate was procurator of Judæa. He, not so much out of respect to Tiberius as a malicious intention to vex the people, dedicates gilt shields, and places them in Herod's palace within the holy city. There was no figure upon them, nor any thing else which is forbidden, except an inscription, which expressed these two things—the name of the person who dedicated them, and of him to whom they were dedicated. When the people perceived what had been done, they desired that this innovation of the shields might be rectified; that their ancient customs, which had been preserved through so many ages, and had hitherto been untouched by kings and emperors, might not now be violated. He refused their demands with roughness, such was his temper, fierce and untractable. They then cried out, Do not you raise a sedition yourself; do not you disturb the peace by your illegal practices. It is not Tiberius's pleasure that any of our laws should be broken in upon. If you have received any edict, or letter from the emperor to this purpose, produce it, that we may leave you, and depute an embassy to him, and entreat him to re-

voke his orders. This put him out of all temper; for he was afraid that if they should send an embassy, they might discover the many mal-administrations of his government, his extortions, his unjust decrees, his inhuman cruelties. This reduced him to the utmost perplexity. On the one hand he was afraid to remove things that had been once dedicated, and was also unwilling to do a favour to men that were his subjects; and, on the other hand, he knew very well the inflexible severity of Tiberius. The chief men of the nation observing this, and perceiving that he repented of what he had done, though he endeavoured to conceal it, wrote a most humble and submissive letter to Tiberius. It is needless to say how he was provoked when he read the account of Pilate's speeches and threatenings, the event showing it sufficiently. For he soon sent a letter to Pilate, reprimanding him for so audacious a proceeding; requiring, also, that the shields should be removed. And, accordingly, they were carried from the metropolis to Cæsarea by the seaside, called Sebaste, from your great grandfather, that they might be placed in the temple there consecrated to him, and there they were reposited.'

To the Samaritans, also, Pilate conducted himself unjustly and cruelly. His own misconduct led the Samaritans to take a step which in itself does not appear seditious or revolutionary, when Pilate seized the opportunity to slay many of the people, not only in the fight which ensued, but also in cold blood after they had given themselves up. 'But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan Senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, now President of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those who had been slain. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judæa, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome to answer before the emperor to the accusations of the Jews. Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judæa, made haste to Rome, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict; but before he could get to Rome, Tiberius was dead' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 4. 2). This removal took place before the Passover, in A.D. 36, probably about September or October, A.D. 35; Pilate must, therefore, as he spent ten years in Judæa, have entered on his government about October, A.D. 25, or at least before the Passover, A.D. 26, in the twelfth year of Tiberius's sole empire (Compare Lardner, i. 391, sq.; Winer, *Real-wörterb.*).

To be put out of his government by Vitellius, on the complaints of the people of his province, must have been a very grievous mortification to Pilate; and though the emperor was dead before he reached Rome, he did not long enjoy such impunity as guilt permits; for, as Eusebius (*Chron.* p. 78) states, he shortly afterwards made away with himself out of vexation for his many misfortunes (ποικίλαις περιπέσων συμφόραις).

It is a matter of considerable importance in regard to the exposition of the New Testament, to define accurately what relation the Jews stood in during the ministry of Christ in particular to their Roman masters. Lardner has discussed the question with a learning and ability which have exhausted the subject, and he concludes that the Jews, while they retained for the most part their laws and customs, both civil and religious, untouched, did not possess the power of life and death, which was in the hands of the Roman Governor, and was specifically held by Pilate. Pilate, indeed, bore the title of Procurator, and the Procurator, as being a fiscal officer, had not generally the power of life and death. 'But,' says Lardner (i. comp. pp. 83-164), 'Pilate, though he had the title of Procurator, had the power of a President. The Evangelists usually give Pilate, Felix, and Festus, the title of Governor, a general word, and very proper, according to the usage of the best writers, and of Josephus in particular, in many places.' According to the Evangelists, the Jewish council having, as they pretended, convicted Jesus of blasphemy, and judged him guilty of death, led him away to Pilate, and seem to have expected that he should confirm their sentence, and sign an order that Jesus should be punished accordingly. Indeed, the accounts found in the Gospels and in other authorities, touching the civil condition of the Jews at this time, are in strict agreement. We proceed to mention another instance of accordance, which is still more forcible, as being on a very minute point.

From Matt. xxvii. 19, it appears that Pilate had his wife (named probably Procla, or Claudia Procula) with him. A partial knowledge of Roman history might lead the reader to question the historic credibility of Matthew in this particular. In the earlier periods, and, indeed, so long as the Commonwealth subsisted, it was very unusual for the governors of provinces to take their wives with them (Senec. *De Controv.* 25), and in the strict regulations which Augustus introduced he did not allow the favour, except in peculiar and specified circumstances (Sueton. *Aug.* 24). The practice, however, grew to be more and more prevalent, and was (says Winer, *Real-wört.* in 'Pilate') customary in Pilate's time. It is evident from Tacitus, that at the time of the death of Augustus, Germanicus had his wife Agrippina with him in Germany (*Annal.* i. 40, 41; comp. iii. 33-59; Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 10. 1; Ulpian, iv. 2). Indeed, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, Germanicus took his wife with him into the East. Piso, the Prefect of Syria, took his wife also along with him at the same time (Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 54, 55). 'But,' says Lardner (i. 152), 'nothing can render this (the practice in question) more apparent than a motion made in the Roman Senate by Severus Cæsina, in the fourth consulship of Tiberius, and second of Drusus Cæsar (A.D. 21), that no magistrate to whom any province was assigned, should be accompanied by his wife, except the Senate's rejecting it, and that with some indignation' (Tacit. *Annal.* iii. 33, 34). The fact mentioned incidentally, or rather implied, in Matthew, being thus confirmed by full and unquestionable evidence, cannot fail to serve as a corroboration of the evangelical history.

Owing to the atrocity of the deed in which Pilate took a principal part, and to the wounded feelings of piety with which that deed has been naturally regarded by Christians, a very dark idea has been formed of the character of this Roman governor. That character was undoubtedly bad; but moral depravity has its degrees, and the cause of religion is too sacred to admit any spurious aid from exaggeration. It is therefore desirable to form a just conception of the character of Pilate, and to learn specifically what were the vices under which he laboured. For this purpose a

brief outline of the evangelical account seems necessary. The narratives on which the following statement is founded may be found in John xviii., xix.; Matt. xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke xxiii.

Jesus having been betrayed, apprehended, and found guilty of blasphemy by the Jewish Sanhedrim, is delivered to Pilate in order to undergo the punishment of death, according to the law in that case provided. This tradition of Jesus to Pilate was rendered necessary by the fact that the Jews did not at that time possess on their own authority the power of life and death. Pilate could not have been ignorant of Jesus and his pretensions. He might, had he chosen, have immediately ordered Jesus to be executed, for he had been tried and condemned to death by the laws of the land; but he had an alternative. As the execution of the laws, in the case at least of capital punishments, was in the hands of the Roman Procurator, so without any violent straining might his tribunal be converted into a court of appeal in the last instance. At any rate, remonstrance against an unjust verdict was easy and proper on the part of a high officer, who, as having to inflict the punishment, was in a measure responsible for its character. And remonstrance might easily lead to a revision of the grounds on which the verdict had been given, and thus a cause might virtually be brought, *de novo*, before the Procurator: this took place in the case of our Lord. Pilate gave him the benefit of a new trial, and pronounced him innocent.

This review of the case was the alternative that lay before Pilate, the adoption of which speaks undoubtedly in his favour, and may justify us in declaring that his guilt was not of the deepest dye.

That the conduct of Pilate was, however, highly criminal cannot be denied. But his guilt was light in comparison of the criminal depravity of the Jews, especially the priests. His was the guilt of weakness and fear, theirs the guilt of settled and deliberate malice. His state of mind prompted him to attempt the release of an accused person in opposition to the clamours of a misguided mob; theirs urged them to compass the ruin of an acquitted person by instigating the populace, calumniating the prisoner, and terrifying the judge. If Pilate yielded against his judgment under the fear of personal danger, and so took part in an act of unparalleled injustice, the priests and their ready tools originated the false accusation, sustained it by subornation of perjury, and when it was declared invalid, enforced their own unfounded sentence by appealing to the lowest passions. Pilate, it is clear, was utterly destitute of principle. He was willing, indeed, to do right, if he could do right without personal disadvantage. Of gratuitous wickedness he was perhaps incapable, certainly in the condemnation of Jesus he has the merit of being for a time on the side of innocence. But he yielded to violence, and so committed an awful crime. In his hands was the life of the prisoner. Convinced of his innocence he ought to have set him at liberty, thus doing right regardless of consequences. But this is an act of high virtue which we hardly require at the hands of a Roman governor of Judæa; and though Pilate must bear the reproach of acting contrary to his own declared convictions, yet he may equally claim some credit for the apparently sincere efforts which he made in order to defeat the malice of the Jews and procure the liberation of Jesus.

If now we wish to form a judgment of Pilate's character, we easily see that he was one of that large class of men who aspire to public offices, not from a pure and lofty desire of benefiting the public and advancing the good of the world, but from selfish and personal considerations, from a love of distinction, from a love of power, from a love of self-indulgence; being destitute of any fixed principles, and having no aim but office and influence, they act right only by chance and when convenient, and are wholly incapable of pursuing a consistent course, or of acting with firmness and self-denial in cases in which the preservation of integrity requires the exercise of these qualities. Pilate was obviously a man of weak, and therefore, with his temptations, of corrupt character. The view given in the Apostolical Constitutions (v. 14), where unmanliness (ἀνανδρία) is ascribed to him, we take to be correct. This want of strength will readily account for his failing to rescue Jesus from the rage of his enemies, and also for the acts of injustice and cruelty which he practised in his government—acts which, considered in themselves, wear a deeper dye than does the conduct which he observed in surrendering Jesus to the malice of the Jews. And this same weakness may serve to explain to the reader how much influence would be exerted on this unjust judge, not only by the stern bigotry and persecuting wrath of the Jewish priesthood, but specially by the not concealed intimations which they threw out against Pilate, that, if he liberated Jesus, he was no friend of Tiberius, and must expect to have to give an account of his conduct at Rome. And that this was no idle threat, nothing beyond the limits of probability, Pilate's subsequent deposition by Vitellius shows very plainly; nor could the procurator have been ignorant either of the stern determination of the Jewish character, or of the offence he had by his acts given to the heads of the nation, or of the insecurity, at that very hour, when the contest between him and the priests was proceeding regarding the innocent victim whom they lusted to destroy, of his own position in the office which he held, and which, of course, he desired to retain. On the whole, then, viewing the entire conduct of Pilate, his previous iniquities as well as his bearing on the condemnation of Jesus—viewing his own actual position and the malignity of the Jews, we cannot, we confess, give our vote with those who have passed the severest condemnation on this weak and guilty governor.

That Pilate made an official report to Tiberius of the condemnation and punishment of Jesus Christ, is likely in itself; and becomes the more likely, if the view we have given of Pilate's character is substantially correct, for then the governor did not regard the case of Jesus as an ordinary, and therefore inconsiderable one, but must have felt its importance alike in connection with the administration of justice, the civil and religious character of the Jews, and therefore with the tenure of the Roman power. The voice of antiquity intimates that Pilate did make such a report; the words of Justin Martyr are: 'That these things were so done you may know from the *Acts* made in the time of Pontius Pilate' (*Apol.*

i. 76). A similar passage is found a little further on in the same work. Now, when it is considered that Justin's *Apology* was a set defence of Christianity, in the shape of an appeal to the heathen world through the persons of its highest functionaries, it must seem very unlikely that the words would have been used had no such documents existed; and nearly as improbable that those *Acts* would have been referred to had they not been genuine. Tertullian also uses language equally decisive (*Apol.* v. 21). Eusebius gives a still fuller account (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 2). These important passages may be found in Lardner (vi. 606, seq.). See also Ord's *Acta Pilati*, or Pilate's report (vii. 4), long circulated in the early church, being received without a suspicion (Chrysost. *Hom. viii. in Pasch.*; Epiphan. *Hær.* l. 1; Euseb. i. 9 and 11; 9, 5, and 7). There can be little doubt that the documents were genuine (Hencke, *Opuse. Aead.* p. 201, sq.). Such is the opinion of Winer (*Real-wörterb.*). Lardner, who has fully discussed the subject, decides that 'it must be allowed by all that Pontius Pilate composed some memoirs concerning our Saviour, and sent them to the emperor' (vi. 610). Winer adds, 'What we now have in Greek under this title (*Pilate's Report*), see Fabricii *Apocr.* i. 237, 239; iii. 456, as well as the two letters of Pilate to Tiberius, are fabrications of a later age.' So Lardner: 'The *Acts* of Pontius Pilate, and his letter to Tiberius, which we now have, are not genuine, but manifestly spurious.' We have not space here to review the arguments which have been adduced in favour of and against these documents; but we must add that we attach some importance to them, thinking it by no means unlikely that, if they are fabrications, they are fabricated in some keeping with the genuine pieces, which were in some way lost, and the loss of which the composers of our actual pieces sought as well as they could to repair. If this view can be sustained, then the documents we have may serve to help us in the use of discretion to the substance of the original *Acts*. At all events, it seems certain that an official report was made by Pilate; and thus we gain another proof that 'these things were not done in a corner.' Those who wish to enter into this subject should first consult Lardner (*ut supra*), and the valuable references he gives. See also J. G. Altman, *De Epist. Pil. ad Tiber.* Bern. 1755; Van Dale, *De Orac.* p. 609, sq.; Schmidt, *Einleitung ins N. T.*, ii. 249, sq. Of especial value is Hermansson, *De Pontio Pilat.*, Upsal, 1624; also Burger, *De Pontio Pilat.*, Misen. 1782.

On the general subject of this article, the reader may refer to Germar, *Docetur ad loca P. Pilati facinora, eæt.*, Thorun, 1785; J. M. Müller, *De P. Christum servandi Studio*, Hamb. 1751; Niemeyer, *Charakt.* i. 129, sq.; Paulus, *Comment.* iii. 697, sq.; Lücke, *On John XIX.*; Gotter, *De Conjugis Pilati Somnio*, Jen. 1704; Kluge, *De Somnio Uxoris Pilati*, Hal. 1720; Herbart, *Examen Somnii Ux. Pil.*, Oldenb. 1735; Schuster's *Urtheil üb. Pilatus*, in Eichhorn's *Biblioth. d. Bibl. Liter.* x. 823, sq.; Olshausen, *Comment.* ii. 453, sq.; Mounier, *De Pilati in Causa Servat. agendi ratione*, 1825. Hase, in his *Leben Jesu*, p. 215, affords valuable literary references on this, as on so many other New Testament subjects.—J. R. B.

PINE TREE. [Oren.]

PINNACLE. In the account of our Lord's temptation (Matt. iv. 5), it is stated that the devil took him to Jerusalem, 'and set him on a pinnacle of the temple' (ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ). The part of the temple denoted by this term has been much questioned by different commentators, and the only certain conclusion seems to be that it cannot be understood in the sense usually attached to the word (*i. e.* the point of a spiral ornament), as in that case the article would not have been prefixed. Grotius, Hammond, Doddridge, and others, take it in the sense of balustrade or pinnated battlement. But it is now more generally supposed to denote what was called the king's portico, which is mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 5), and is the same which is called in Scripture 'Solomon's porch.' Of this opinion are Wetstein, Kuinoel, Parkhurst, Rosenmüller, and others [Temple]. Krebs, Schleusner, and some others, however, fancy that the word signifies the ridge of the roof of the temple; and Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 5) is cited in proof of this notion. But we know that iron spikes were fixed all over the roof of the temple, to prevent the holy edifice from being defiled by birds; and the presence of these spikes creates an objection, although the difficulty is perhaps not insuperable, as we are told that the priests sometimes went to the top of the temple (*Middoth.* ch. 4; *T. Bab.* tit. *Taanith*, fol. 29). Dr. Bloomfield asks: 'May it not have been a lofty spiral turret, placed somewhere about the centre of the building, like the spire in some cathedrals, to the topmost look-out of which the devil might take Jesus?' (*Recens. Synopt.* in Matt. iv. 5). We answer, no: steeples do not belong to ancient or to Oriental architecture, and it is somewhat hazardous to provide one for the sole purpose of meeting the supposed occasion of this text.

Lightfoot, whose opinion on this point is entitled to much respect, declares his inability to judge, whether the part denoted should be considered as belonging to the holy fabric itself, or to some building within the holy circuit. If the former, he can find no place so fitting as the top of the אולם, or porch of the temple; but if the latter, the royal porch or gallery (στοὰ βασιλική) is the part he would prefer. He adds that above all other parts of the temple, the porch thereof, and indeed the whole pronaos, might not unfitly be called τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, *the wing* (for that is the literal meaning) *of the temple*, 'because like wings it extended itself in breadth on each side, far beyond the breadth of the temple. If therefore the devil had placed Christ on the very precipice of this part of the temple, he may well be said to have placed him "upon the wing of the temple;" both because this part was like a wing to the temple itself, and because that precipice was the wing of this part' (*Hor. Hebr.* ad Matt. iv. 5). With regard to the other alternative, it is only necessary to cite the description of Josephus to show that the situation was at least not inappropriate to Satan's object: 'On the south part (of the court of the Gentiles) was the στοὰ βασιλική, "the royal gallery," that may be mentioned among the most magnificent things under the sun; for above the profoundest depth of the valley, Herod constructed a gallery of a

vast height, from the top of which if any one looked down, σκοτοδινιᾷν οὐκ ἐξικουμένης τῆς ὄψεως εἰς ἀμέτρητον τὸν βυθόν, "he would become dizzy, his eyes being unable to reach so vast a depth." '

PINON. [Punon.]

PIPE. [Musical Instruments.]

PIRATHON (פִּרְעָתוֹן; Sept., Josephus, and 1 Macc. ix. 50, Φαραθών), a town in the land of Ephraim, to which Abdon, judge of Israel, belonged, and in which he was buried (Judg. xii. 13. 15). Josephus names it twice (*Antiq.* v. 7, 13; xiii. 1. 3); and in the last instance coincides with 1 Macc. ix. 50, in ranking it among the towns whose ruined fortifications were restored by Bacchides, in his campaign against the Jews.

PISGAH (פִּסְגָּה; Sept. Φασγά), a mountain ridge in the land of Moab, on the southern border of the kingdom of Sihon (Num. xxi. 20; xxiii. 14; Deut. iii. 27; Josh. xii. 3). In it was Mount Nebo, from which Moses viewed the Promised Land before he died (Deut. xxxiv. 1) [Nebo].

PISHTAH. Reference was made to this article from Flax; but, as it is desirable to consider it in connection with Shesh, both substances will be treated of under that head.

PISIDIA (Πισιδία), a district of Asia Minor, lying mostly on Mount Taurus, between Pamphylia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia. Its chief city was Antioch, usually called Antioch in Pisidia, to distinguish it from the metropolitan city of the same name [Antioch, 2].

PITCH. [Asphaltum.]

PITDAH (פִּטְדָה; Sept. τοπάζιον), a precious stone; one of those which were in the breastplate of the high-priest (Exod. xxviii. 17), and the origin of which is referred to Cush (Job xxviii. 19). It is, according to most ancient versions, the topaz (τοπάζιον; Joseph. τόπαζος), which most of the ancient Greek writers describe as being of a golden yellow colour (Strabo, xvi. p. 770); Diod. Sic. iii. 39), while Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 32) states its colour to be green. Relying on this last authority, several modern authors have asserted that the ancient gem thus named was no other than the modern crysolite. But this notion has been confuted by Bellarmann (*Urim and Thummim*, p. 39), who shows that the hues ascribed by the ancients to the topaz, are found in the gem to which the moderns have applied that name. This is a precious stone, having a strong glass lustre. Its prevailing colonr is wine-yellow of every degree of shade. The dark shade of this colour passes over into carnation red, and sometimes, although rarely, into lilac; the pale shade of the wine-yellow passes into greyish; and from yellowish-white into greenish-white and pale green, tincal and celadon-green. It may thus be difficult to determine whether the pitdah in the high-priest's breastplate was the yellow topaz; but that it was a topaz there is little reason to doubt.

It is clear that the stone was highly prized by the Hebrews. Job declares that wisdom was more precious than the pitdah of Cush (Job xxviii. 19); and as the name Cush includes Southern Arabia, and the Arabian Gulf, the intimation coincides with the statement of Pliny and others. that the topazes known to them came from the Topaz Island in the Red Sea (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 8; comp. vi. 29; Diod. Sic. iii. 30; Strabo, xvi. p. 770), whence it was probably brought by the Phœnicians. In Ezek. xxviii. 13, the *pitdah* is named among the precious stones with which the king of Tyre was decked.

It may be added that Bohlen seeks the origin of the Hebrew word in the Sanscrit language, in which *pita* means 'yellowish,' 'pale;' and, as Gesenius remarks, the Greek τοπάζιον itself might seem to come from the Hebrew פטרה, by transposition into טפרה (see *Thesaurus*, p. 1101; Braunius, *De Vestitu*, p. 508; Hofmann, *Mineral.*, i. 337; Pareau, *Comment. on Job*, p. 333; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ii. 675).

PITHOM (פִּתֹם; Sept. Πειθώμ), one of the 'treasure-cities' which the Israelites built in the land of Goshen 'for Pharaoh' (Exod. i. 11) [Egypt; Goshen]. The site is by general consent identified with that of the Patumos (Πάτουμος) of Herodotus (ii. 158). Speaking of the canal which connected the Nile with the Red Sea, this author says, 'The water was admitted into it from the Nile. It began a little above the city Bubastis [Pi-beseth], near the Arabian city Patumos, but it discharged itself into the Red Sea.' According to this, Patumos was situated on the east side of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, not far from the canal which unites the Nile with the Red Sea, in the Arabian part of Egypt. The *Itinerarium* of Antoninus furnishes a further limitation. It cannot be doubted that the Thum (Θοῦμ) which is there mentioned is identical with Patumos and Pithom. The *Pi* is merely the Egyptian article. Now this Thum was twelve Roman miles distant from Heroopolis, the ruins of which are found in the region of the present Abu-Keisheid. All these designations are appropriate if, with the scholars who accompanied the French expedition, we place Pithom on the site of the present Abhaseh, at the entrance of the Wady Fumilat, where there was at all times a strong military post. (Hengstenberg, *Die Bücher Moses und Aegypten;* Du Bois Ayme, in *Descript. de l'Egypte*, xi. 377; xviii. 1, 372; Champollion, *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, i. 172; ii. 58).

PLANE-TREE. [Armon.]

PLAGUE. [Pestilence.]

PLEDGE. [Loan.]

PLOUGH. [Agriculture.]

POETRY, HEBREW; the poetry which is found in the Bible, and which, rich and multifarious as it is, appears to be only a remnant of a still wider and fuller sphere of Shemitic literature. The New Testament is intended to be comprised in our definition, for, besides scattered portions, disjecti membra poetæ, which, under a prosaic form, convey a poetic thought, the entire book of the Apocalypse abounds in poetry.

The term 'Biblical poetry' may find little acceptance in the ears of those who have identified poetry with fiction, fable, and profane delights, under the impression that as such things are of the earth earthy, so religion is too high in its character, and too truthful in its spirit, to admit into its province mere creations of the human

fancy. But whatever opinion may be entertained of the character and tendency of poetry in general, the poetry of the Hebrews is, as we shall presently remark more at length, both deeply truthful, and earnestly religious; nor are we without a hope, that by the time the reader has arrived at the end of this article, he will then, if he is not before, be of the opinion that the poetry which we are about to consider was, and is, an eminently worthy channel for expressing and conveying the loftiest and holiest feelings of the human heart. Meanwhile we direct attention to a fact—there is poetry in the Bible. In one sense the Bible is full of poetry; for very much of its contents which is merely prosaic in form, rises, by force of the noble sentiments which it enunciates, and the striking or splendid imagery with which these sentiments are adorned, into the sphere of real poetry. Independently of this poetic prose, there is in the Bible much writing which has all the ordinary characteristics of poetry. This statement the present article will abundantly establish. But even the unlearned reader, when once his mind has been turned to the subject, can hardly fail to recognise at once the essence, if not somewhat of the form, of poetry in various parts of the Bible. And it is no slight attestation to the essentially poetic character of Hebrew poetry that its poetical qualities shine through the distorting coverings of a prose translation. If, however, the reader would at once satisfy himself that there is poetry in the Bible, let him turn to the book of Job, and after having examined its prose introduction, begin to read the poetry itself, as it commences at the third verse of the third chapter.

Much of the Biblical poetry is, indeed, hidden from the ordinary reader by its prose accompaniments, standing, as it does, undistinguished in the midst of historical narrations. This is the case with some of the earliest specimens of Hebrew poetry. Snatches of poetry are discovered in the oldest prose compositions. Even in Gen. iv. 23, sq., are found a few lines of poetry, which Herder incorrectly terms 'the song of the sword,' thinking it commemorative of the first formation of that weapon. To us it appears to be a fragment of a longer poem, uttered in lamentation for a homicide committed by Lamech, probably in self-defence. It has been already cited in this work [Lamech]. Herder finds in this piece all the characteristics of Hebrew poetry. It is, he thinks, lyrical, has a proportion between its several lines, and even assonance; in the original the first four lines terminate with the same letter, making a single or semi-rhyme.

Another poetic scrap is found in Exod. xxxii. 18. Being told by Joshua, on occasion of descending from the mount, when the people had made the golden calf, and were tumultuously offering it their worship—

'The sound of war is in the camp;'

Moses said

'Not the sound of a shout for victory,
Nor the sound of a shout for falling;
The sound of a shout for rejoicing'

do I hear.

The correspondence in form in the original is here very exact and striking, so that it is difficult to deny that the piece is poetic. If so, are we to conclude that the temperament of the Israelites was so deeply poetic that Moses and Joshua should find the excitement of this occasion sufficient to strike improvisatore verses from their lips? Or have we here a quotation from some still older song, which occurred to the minds of the speakers by the force of resemblance? Other instances of scattered poetic pieces may be found in Num. xxi. 14, 15; also v. 18; and v. 27; in which passages evidence may be found that we are not in possession of the entire mass of Hebrew, or, at least, Shemitic literature. Further specimens of very early poetry are found in Num. xxiii. 7, sq.; xviii. sq.; xxiv. 3, 15.

The preceding will suffice to satisfy the reader that there is poetry in the Bible. With this as a fact it is the business of the theologian to deal, whether the fact be or be not in accordance with any preconceived ideas of fitness and propriety. We must take the Bible as we find it; and so taking it, endeavour to understand its claims, and form a just appreciation of its merits.

The ordinary train of thought and feeling presented in Hebrew poetry is entirely of a moral or religious kind; but there are occasions when other topics are introduced. The entire Song of Solomon the present writer is disposed to regard, on high authority, as purely an erotic idyll, and considered as such it possesses excellences of a very high description. In Amos vi. 3, sq. may be seen a fine passage of satire in a denunciation of the luxurious and oppressive aristocracy of Israel. Subjects of a similar secular kind may be found treated, yet never without a moral or religious aim, in Isa. ix. 3; Jer. xxv. 10; xlviii. 33; Rev. xviii. 22, sq. But, independently of the Song of Solomon, the most worldly ode is perhaps the forty-fifth Psalm, which Herder and Ewald consider an epithalamium. The latter critic, in the account which he gives of it, states that it was sung during the time when the new queen was led in pomp to take her seat in her husband's palace.

The literature of the Bible, as such, is by no means adequately appreciated in the minds of many. Owing, in part, to the higher claims of inspiration, its literary merits have not received generally the attention which they deserve, while the critical world, whose office it is to take cognizance of literary productions, have nearly confined their attention to works of profane authors, and left the Biblical writings to the exclusive possession of the religious public. This severance of interests is to be regretted as much for the sake of literature as of religion. The Bible is a book—a literary production—as well as a religious repository and charter; and ought, in consequence, to be regarded in its literary as well as in its religious bearings, alike by those who cultivate literature and by those who study religion. And when men regard and contemplate it as it is, rather than as fancy or ignorance makes it, then will it be found to present the loftiest and most precious truths enshrined in the noblest language. Its poetry is one continued illustration of this fact. Indeed, but for the vicious education which the first and most influential minds in this country receive, Biblical literature would long ere now have held the rank to which it is entitled. What is the course of reading through which our divines, our lawyers, our statesmen, our

philosophers, are conducted? From early youth up to manhood it is almost entirely of a heathen complexion. Greek and Latin, not Hebrew, engage the attention; Homer and Horace, not Moses and Isaiah, are our class-books, skill in understanding which is made the passport to wealth and distinction. Hence Hebrew literature is little known, and falls into a secondary position. Nor can a due appreciation of this priceless book become prevalent until, with a revival and general spread of Hebrew studies, the Bible shall become to us, what it was originally among the Israelites, a literary treasure, as well as a religious guide. Nor, in our belief, can a higher service be rendered either to literature or religion than to make the literary claims of the Bible understood at the same time that its religious worth is duly and impressively set forth. The union of literature and religion is found in the Bible, and has, therefore, a divine origin and sanction. Those who love the Bible as a source of religious truth, should manifest their regard both towards the book and towards Him whose name and impress it bears, by carefully preserving that union, and causing its nature, requirements, and applications to be generally understood. No better instrument can be chosen for this purpose than its rich, varied, and lofty poetry.

There is no poetic cyclus that can be put into comparison with that of the Hebrews but the cyclus of the two classic nations, Greece and Rome, and that of India. In form and variety we grant that the poetry of these nations surpasses that of the Hebrews. Epic poetry and the drama, the two highest styles so far as mere art is concerned, were cultivated successfully by them, whilst among the Israelites we find only their germs and first rudiments. So in execution we may also admit that, in the higher qualities of style, the Hebrew literature is somewhat inferior. But the thought is more than the expression; the kernel than the shell; and in substance, the Hebrew poetry far surpasses every other. In truth, it dwells in a region to which other ancient literatures did not, and could not, attain, a pure, serene, moral, and religious atmosphere—thus dealing with man in his highest relations, first anticipating, and then leading onwards, mere civilization. This, as we shall presently see more fully, is the great characteristic of Hebrew poetry; it is also the highest merit of any literature, a merit in which that of the Hebrews is unapproached. To this high quality it is owing that the poetry of the Bible has exerted on the loftiest interests and productions of the human mind, for now above two thousand years, the most decided and the most beneficial influence. Moral and religious truth is deathless and undecaying; and so the griefs and the joys of David, or the far-seeing warnings and brilliant pourtrayings of Isaiah, repeat themselves in the heart of each successive generation, and become coexistent with the race of man. Thus of all moral treasuries the Bible is incomparably the richest. Even for forms of poetry, in which it is defective, or altogether fails, it presents the richest materials. Moses has not, as some have dreamed, left us an epic poem, but he has supplied the materials out of which the *Paradise Lost* was created. The sternly sublime drama of *Samson Agonistes* is constructed from a few materials found in a chapter or two which relate to the least cultivated period of the Hebrew republic. Indeed, most of the great poets, even of modern days, from Tasso down to Byron, all the great musicians, and nearly all the great painters, have drawn their best and highest inspiration from the Bible. This is a fact as creditable to religion as it is important to literature, of which he who is fully aware, will not easily be turned aside from faith to infidelity by the shallow sarcasms of a Voltaire, or the low ribaldry of a Paine. That book which has led civilization, and formed the noblest minds of our race, is not destined to be disowned for a few real or apparent chronological inaccuracies; or because it presents states of society and modes of thought, the very existence of which, however half-witted unbelief may object, is the best pledge of its reality and truth. The complete establishment of the moral and spiritual pre-eminence of the Bible, considered merely as a book, would require a volume, so abundant are the materials.

It may have struck the reader as somewhat curious that the poetical pieces of which we spoke above should, in the common version of the Bible, be scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from prose. We do not know whether there is anything extraordinary in this. Much of classical poetry, if turned into English prose, would lose most of its poetic characteristics; but, in general, the Hebrew poetry suffers less than perhaps any other by transfusion into a prosaic element: to which fact it is owing that the Book of Psalms, in the English version, is, notwithstanding its form, eminently poetic. There are, however, cases in which only the experienced eye can trace the poetic in and under the prosaic attire in which it appears in the vulgar translation. Nor, until the subject of Hebrew poetry had been long and well studied, did the learned succeed in detecting many a poetic gem contained in the Bible. In truth, poetry and prose, from their very nature, stand near to each other, and, in the earlier stages of their existence, are discriminated only by faint and vanishing lines. If we regard the thought, prose sometimes even now rises to the loftiness of poetry. If we regard the clothing, the simpler form of poetry is scarcely more than prose; and rhetorical or measured prose passes into the domain of poetry. A sonnet of Wordsworth could be converted into prose with a very few changes; a fable of Krummacher requires only to be distributed into lines in order to make blank verse, which might be compared even with that of Milton. Now in translations, the form is for the most part lost; there remains only the substance, and poetic sentiment ranges from the humblest to the loftiest topics. So with the Hebrew poetry in its original and native state. Whether in its case poetry sprang from prose, or prose from poetry, they are both branches of one tree, and bear in their earlier stages a very close resemblance. The similarity is the greater in the literature of the Hebrews, because their poetic forms are less determinate than those of some other nations: they had, indeed, a rhythm; but so had their prose, and their poetic rhythm was more like that of our blank verse than of our rhymed metre. Of poetical feet they appear to have known nothing, and, in consequence, their verse must be less measured and less strict. Its melody was rather that of thought than of art and skill—spontaneous, like their religious feelings, and therefore deep and

impressive, but less subject to law, and escaping from the hard limits of exact definition. Rhyme, properly so called, is disowned as well as metre. Yet Hebrew verse, as it had a kind of measured tread, so had it a jingle in its feet, for several lines are sometimes found terminating with the same letter. In the main, however, its essential form was in the thought. Ideas are made to recur under such relations that the substance itself marks the form, and the two are so blended into one that their union is essential to constitute poetry. It is, indeed, incorrect to say that 'the Hebrew poetry is characterized by the recurrence of similar ideas' (Latham's *English Language*, p. 372), if by this it is intended to intimate that such a peculiarity is the sole characteristic of Hebrew poetry. One, and that the chief, characteristic of that poetry, such recurrence is; but there are also characteristics in form as well as in thought. Of these it may be sufficient to mention the following:—(1) There is a verbal rhythm, in which a harmony is found beyond what prose ordinarily presents; but as the true pronunciation of the Hebrew has been long lost, this quality can be only imperfectly appreciated. (2) There is a correspondence of words, *i. e.* the words in one verse, or member, answer to the words in another; for as the sense in the one echoes the sense in the other, so also form corresponds with form, and word with word. This correspondence in form will fully appear when we give instances of the parallelism in sentiment; meanwhile, an idea of it may be formed from these specimens:

'Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
And why art thou disquieted in me?'
Ps. xliii. 5.

'The memory of the just is a blessing;
But the name of the wicked shall rot.'
Prov. x. 7.

'He turneth rivers into a desert,
And water-springs into dry ground.'
Ps. cvii. 33.

In the original this similarity in construction is more exact and more apparent. At the same time it is a free, and not a strict correspondence that prevails; a correspondence to be caught and recognised by the ear in the general progress of the poem, or the general structure of a couplet or a triplet, but which is not of a nature to be exactly measured or set forth by such aids as counting with the fingers will afford. (3) Inversion holds a distinguished place in the structure of Hebrew poetry, as in that of every other; yet here again the remark already made holds good; it is only a modified inversion that prevails, by no means (in general) equalling that of the Greeks and Romans in boldness, decision, and prevalence. Every one will, however, recognise this inversion in the following instances, as distinguishing the passages from ordinary prose:

'Amid thought in visions of the night,
When deep sleep falleth upon men,
Fear and horror came upon me.' Job iv. 13.

'To me men gave ear and waited,
To my words they made no reply.'
Job xxix. 21.

'For three transgressions of Damascus,
And for four will I not turn away its punishment.' Amos i. 3.

'His grave was appointed with the wicked,
And with the rich man was his sepulchre.'
Isa. liii. 9.

(4) The last verbal peculiarity of Hebrew poetry which we notice is, that its language betrays an archaical character, a licence, and, in general, a poetic hue and colouring which cannot be confounded with the simple, lowly, and unrhythmical diction of prose. The formation of a poetic diction is, in any nation, dependent on the possession, by that nation, of a poetical temperament, as much as of a poetical history. Wherever these two elements are found, the birth of poetry and the formation of a poetical language are certain. Great events give rise to strong passions, and strong passions are the parents of noble truths; which, when they spring from and nestle in a poetic temperament, cannot fail to create for themselves an appropriate phraseology, in which the tame and quiet march of prose is avoided, and all the loftier figures of speech are put into requisition. For a time, indeed, the line of demarkation between the diction of prose and that of poetry will not be very strongly marked; for poetry will predominate, as in men's deeds so in their words, and, if they as yet have any, in their literature. Soon, however, the passions grow cool, enthusiasm wanes, a great gulf opens between the actual and the ideal—the ideal having ceased to be actual in ceasing to be possible,—and a separate style of language for prose and poetry becomes as inevitable as the diversity of attire in which holy and ordinary days have their respective duties discharged.

In no nation was the union of the two requisites of which we have spoken found in fuller measure than among the Hebrews. Theirs was eminently a poetic temperament; their earliest history was an heroic without ceasing to be an historic age, whilst the loftiest of all truths circulated in their souls, and glowed on and started from their lips. Hence their language, in its earliest stages, is surpassingly poetic. Let the reader peruse, even in our translation, the first chapters of Genesis, or parts of the Book of Job, and he cannot but perceive the poetic element in which these noble compositions have almost their essence. And hence the difficulty of determining, with accuracy, the time when a poetic diction, strictly so termed, began to make its appearance. Partially, such a diction must be recognised in the earliest specimens we have of Hebrew poetry, nor is it hard to trace, if not in words, yet in colouring and manner, signs of this imaginative dress; but the process was not completed, the diction was not thoroughly formed, until the Hebrew bard had produced his highest strains, and tried his powers on various species of composition. The period when this excellence was reached was the age of Solomon, when the rest, peace, opulence, and culture which were the fruits of the lofty mind and proud achievements of David, had had time to bring their best fruits to maturity—a ripeness to which the Israelite history had in various ways contributed during many successive generations.

The chief characteristics, however, of Hebrew poetry are found in the peculiar form in which it gives utterance to its ideas. This form has received the name of 'parallelism.' Ewald justly prefers the term 'thought-rhythm,' since the rhythm, the music, the peculiar flow and harmony of the

verse and of the poem, lie in the distribution of the sentiment in such a manner that the full import does not come out in less than a distich. It is to this peculiarity, which is obviously in the substance and not the mere form of the poetry, that the translation of the Psalms in our Bibles owes much of its remarkable character, and is distinguished from prose by terms clearly and decidedly poetic; and many though the imperfections are which attach, some almost necessarily, to that version, still it retains so much of the form and substance, of the simple beauty, and fine harmony of the original Hebrew, that we give it a preference over most poetic translations, and always feel disposed to warn away from this holy ground the rash hands that often attempt, with no fit preparation, to touch the sacred harp of Zion.

Those who wish to enter thoroughly into the subject of Hebrew rhythm, are referred to the most recent and best work on the subject, by the learned Hebrew scholar, Ewald, who has translated into German all the poetical books of the Old Testament (*Die Poet. Bücher des Alten Bundes*, 1835-9, 4 vols. 8vo., vol. i. pp. 57—92). A shorter and more simple account will better suit these pages; which we take in substance from Gesenius (*Hebräisches Lesebuch*, 17th edit. by De Wette, Leipzig, 1844). The leading principle is, that a simple verse or distich consists, both in regard to form and substance, of two corresponding members: this has been termed Hebrew rhythm or Parallelismus membrorum. Three kinds may be specified. There is first the *synonymous parallelism;* which consists in this, that the two members express the same thought in different words, so that sometimes word answers to word: for example—

'What is man that thou art mindful of him,
And the son of man that thou carest for him!'
Ps. viii. 4.

There is in some cases an inversion in the second line—

'The heavens relate the glory of God,
And the work of his hands the firmament declares.' Ps. xix. 2.

'He maketh his messengers the winds,
His ministers the flaming lightning.' Ps. civ. 4.

Very often the second member repeats only a part of the first—

'Woe to them that join house to house,
That field to field unite.' Is. v. 8.

Sometimes the verb which stands in the first member is omitted in the second—

'O God, thy justice give the king,
And thy righteousness to the king's son.'
Ps. lxxii. 1.

Or the verb may be in the second member—

'With the jawbone of an ass heaps upon heaps,
With the jawbone of an ass have I slain a thousand men.' Judg. xv. 16.

The second member may contain an expansion of the first—

'Give to Jehovah, ye sons of God,
Give to Jehovah glory and praise.' Ps. xxix. 1.

Indeed the varieties are numerous, since the synonymous parallelism is very frequent.

The second kind is the *antithetic*, in which the first member is illustrated by some opposition of thought contained in the second. This less customary kind of parallelism is found mostly in the Proverbs—

'The full man treadeth the honeycomb under foot,
To the hungry every bitter thing is sweet.'
Prov. xxvii. 7.

Under this head comes the following, with other similar examples—

'Day to day uttereth instruction,
And night to night sheweth knowledge.'

The third kind is denominated the *synthetic:* probably the term *epithetic* would be more appropriate, since the second member not being a mere echo of the first, subjoins something new to it, while the same structure of the verse is preserved; thus—

'He appointed the moon for seasons;
The sun knoweth his going down.' Ps. civ. 19.

'The law of Jehovah is perfect, reviving the soul;
The precepts of Jehovah are sure, instructing the simple.' Ps. xix. 7.

This correspondence of thought is occasionally found in Greek and Latin poetry, particularly in the interlocutions of the eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil. The two following distichs are specimens of the antithetic parallelism:

'*Dam.* Triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imber,
Arboribus venti; nobis Amaryllidis iræ.

Men. Dulce satis humor, depulsis arbutus hædis,
Lenta salix fœto pecori; mihi solus Amyntas.'

Pope's writings present specimens which may be compared with the antithetical parallelism. In his *Rape of the Lock*, passages of the kind abound. We opened his *Essay on Criticism*, and the first lines our eye fell on were these—

'A little learning is a dang'rous thing:
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring:
There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
And drinking largely sobers us again.'

So in his *Messiah*, where he was likely to copy the form in imitating the spirit of the original—

'The lambs with wolves shall graze the verdan t mead,
And boys in flow'ry bands the tiger lead;
The steer and lion at one crib shall meet,
And harmless serpents lick the pilgrim's feet.'

This correspondence in thought is not, however, of universal occurrence. We find a merely rhythmical parallelism in which the thought is not repeated, but goes forward, throughout the verse, which is divided midway into two halves or a distich—

'The word is not upon the tongue,
Jehovah thou knowest it altogether.'
Ps. cxxxviii. 4.

'Gird as a man thy loins,
I will ask thee; inform thou me.' Job xxxix. 3.

Here poetry distinguishes itself from prose chiefly by the division into two short equal parts. This

peculiarity of poetic diction is expressed by the word זמר, which properly denotes dividing the matter, and so speaking or singing in separated portions. Among the Arabians, who, however, have syllabic measure, each verse is divided into two hemistichs by a cæsura in the middle. What is termed 'service metre' in English versification, is not unlike this in the main: it is the 'common metre' of the Psalm-versions, and of ordinary hymn books, though in the latter it is arranged in four lines—

'But one request I make to him | that sits the skies above,
That I were fairly out of debt | as I were out of love.' *Suckling.*

The simple two-membered rhythm hitherto described prevails, especially in the book of Job, the Proverbs, and a portion of the Psalms; but in the last, and still more in the Prophets, there are numerous verses with three, four, or yet more members.

In verses consisting of three members (tristicha) sometimes all three are parallel—

'Happy the man who walketh not in the paths of the unrighteous,
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
Nor sitteth in the seat of scoffers.' Ps. i. 1.

Sometimes two of the members stand opposed to the third—

'To all the world goes forth their sound,
To the end of the world their words;
For the sun he places a tabernacle in them.'
Ps. xix. 4.

Verses of four members contain either two simple parallels—

'With righteousness shall he judge the poor,
And decide with equity for the afflicted of the people;
He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth;
With the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.' Isa. xi. 4.

Or the first and third answer to each other; also the second and fourth—

'That smote the people in anger
With a continual stroke;
That lorded it over the nations in wrath
With unremitted oppression.' Isa. xiv. 6.

If the members are more numerous or disproportionate (Isa. xi. 11), or if the parallelism is imperfect or irregular, the diction of poetry is lost and prose ensues; as is the case in Isa. v. 1-6, and frequently in the later prophets, as Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

It is not to be supposed that each poem consists exclusively of one sort of verse; for though this feature does present itself, yet frequently several kinds are found together in one composition, so as to give great ease, freedom, and capability to the style. We select the following beautiful specimen, because a chorus is introduced—

DAVID'S LAMENT OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN.

The Gazelle, O Israel, has been cut down on thy heights!

Chorus. How are the mighty fallen!

Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ascalon,
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised exult.

Hills of Gilboa, no dew nor rain come upon you, devoted fields!
For there is stained the heroes' bow,
Saul's bow, never anointed with oil.

From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty,
The bow of Jonathan turned not back,
And the sword of Saul came not idly home.

Saul and Jonathan! lovely and pleasant in life!
And in death ye were not divided;
Swifter than eagles, stronger than lions!

Ye daughters of Israel! Weep for Saul;
He clothed you delicately in purple,
He put ornaments of gold on your apparel.

Chorus. How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!
O Jonathan, slain in thy high places!

I am distressed for thee, brother Jonathan,
Very pleasant wast thou to me,
Wonderful was thy love, more than the love of woman.

Chorus. How are the mighty fallen,
And the weapons of war perished!

We have chosen this ode not only for its singular beauty, but also because it presents another quality of Hebrew poetry—the strophe. In this poem there are three strophes marked by the recurrence three times of the dirge sung by the chorus. The chorus appears to have consisted of three parts, corresponding with the parties more immediately addressed in the three several portions of the poem. The first choral song is sung by the entire body of singers, representing Israel; the second is sung by a chorus of maidens; the third, by first a chorus of youths in a soft and mournful strain, and then by all the choir in full and swelling chorus. But in order to the reader's fully understanding with what noble effect these 'songs of Zion' came on the souls of their hearers, an accurate idea must be formed of the music of the Hebrews [MUSIC]. Referring to the articles which bear on the subject, we merely remark that both music and dancing were connected with sacred song in its earliest manifestations, though it was only at a comparatively late period, when David and Solomon had given their master-powers to the grand performances of the temple-service, that poetry came forth in all its excellence, and music lent its full aid to its solemn and sublime sentiments.

Lyrical poetry so abounds in the Bible, that we almost forget that it contains any other species. Doubtless lyrical poetry is the earliest, no less than the most varied and most abundant. Yet the lyrical poetry of the Israelites contains tokens of proceeding from an earlier kind. It is eminently sententious—brief, pithy, and striking in the forms of language, and invariably moral or religious in its tone. Whence we infer that it had its rise in a species of poetry analogous to that which we find in the book of Proverbs. Read the few lines addressed by Lamech to his wives: do they not bear a correspondence with the general tone of the Proverbs?

We do not by this intend to intimate that the book so called was the earliest poetic production of the Hebrew muse. In its actual form it is of a much later origin than many of the odes. Yet the elements out of which it was formed may have existed at a very early day. Indeed the Oriental genius turns naturally to proverbs and sententious speeches. In its earliest, its most purely native state, the poetry of the Easterns is a string of pearls. Every word has life; every proposition is condensed wisdom; every thought is striking and epigrammatic. The book of Proverbs argues the influence of philosophy. Early poetry is too spontaneous to speak in this long retinue of glittering thoughts. But Eastern imaginations may at first have poured forth their creations, not in a continued strain, but in showers of broken light, on which the lyrist would seize to be worked as sparkling gems into his odes. It is however certain that a general name for poetic language, משל, signifies also a saying, a proverb, a comparison, a similitude. The last is indeed the primary signification, showing that Hebrew poetry in its origin was a painting to the eye; in other words, a parable, a teaching by likenesses, discovered by the popular mind, expressed by the popular tongue, and adopted and polished by the national poet. And as a sententious form of speech may even by its very condensation become dark, so that the wisdom which it contains may have to be patiently and carefully sought for, what was משל may become hidden knowledge, and pass into חידה, a secret or a riddle; which, as being intended to baffle and so to deride, may in its turn be appropriately termed מליצה, derision, satire, or irony.

Lyrical poetry embraced a great variety of topics, from the shortest and most fleeting effusion, as found in specimens already given, and in Ps. xv., cxxxi., cxxxiii., to the loftiest subjects treated in a full and detailed manner; for instance, Deborah's song (Judg. v.), and Ps. xviii. and lxviii. It ran equally through all the moods of the human soul, nothing being too lowly, too deep, or too high for the Hebrew lyre. It told how the horse and his Egyptian rider were sunk in the depths of the sea; it softly and sweetly sang of the benign effects of brotherly love. It uttered its wail over the corpse of a friend, and threw its graceful imagery around the royal nuptial couch. Song was its essence. Whatever its subject, it forewent neither the lyre nor the voice. Indeed its most general name, שיר, signifies 'song;' song and poetry were the same. Another name for lyrical poetry is מזמור, which the Seventy render ψαλμός, 'psalm,' and which from its etymology seems to have a reference not so much to song as to the numbers into which the poet by his art wrought his thoughts and emotions. The latter word describes the making of an ode, the former its performance on the lyre. Another general name for lyrical poetry is משכיל, which is applied to poems of a certain kind (Ps. xxxii., xlii., xlv., lii., lv., lxxiv., lxxviii., lxxxviii., cxlii.), and appears to denote an ode lofty in its sentiments and exquisite in its execution. Under these general heads there were several species, whose specific differences it is not easy to determine.

1. תהלה, 'a hymn,' or 'psalm of praise.' The word is used as a title only to one psalm (cxlv.), but really describes the character of many, as may naturally be expected when we consider the origin of the ode as springing from victory, deliverance, the reception of bounties, and generally those events and occasions which excited joy and gladness in the soul, and were celebrated with music, often accompanied by dancing in the public assemblies of the people, or after a more sacred manner, in the solemn courts of the temple. To this class of joyous compositions belong the lofty hymns which commemorated great national events, such as the deliverance from Pharaoh (Exod. xv., Judg. v., Ps. xviii., lxviii.), which were appointed for set holyday seasons, and became a part at once of the national worship and of the best national property. Other songs of this kind were used on less distinguished occasions, and by individuals on presenting their thank-offerings, and were pitched at a lower key, being expressive rather of personal than general emotions (Ps. xxx., xxxii., xli., cxxxviii.; Isa. xxxviii.). There are occasionally briefer songs of victory, sung by the general congregation in the temple, as Ps. xlvi. and xlviii.

2. קינה, θρῆνος, 'a dirge,' or 'song of sorrow,' companied by exclamations of grief, as אוי, אוי, or very often by איכה, *O how!* and distinguished from songs of joy by mournful strains of music. The Hebrew heart was as much open to sorrow as to joy, tender and full as were its emotions, and simple as was the ordinary mode of life. Adversity and bereavement were therefore keenly felt, and as warmly and strikingly expressed. Indeed so great was the regard held due to the dead, that mourners did not consider their own sorrow sufficient, but used to engage others to mourn for their lost friends, so that in process of time there arose a profession whose business it was to bewail the departed. In Amos v. 16, these persons are named as ינרעי נהי, those who are skilful in wailing (Jer. ix. 17). Distinguished heroes, and persons who were tenderly beloved, found in the sorrowful accents of the Hebrew muse, the finest and most lasting memorial (2 Sam. i. 17-28; iii. 33, 34). From 1 Sam. i. 18, it appears that these dirges (*neniæ*) were taught to the children of Israel *ad perpetuam rei memoriam;* and so heroic deeds lived through successive generations on the lips of the people, whose hearts were thus warmed with emulation, while they were softened with gentleness and love. In this class of lamentations may be ranked the songs of sorrow over the misfortunes of Israel, such as Ps. xliv., lx., lxxiii., which seem to have borne the general name of 'a weeping and wailing' (Jer. vii. 29; ix. 9). In the same class stand lamentations poured forth on the desecration or destruction of the holy city (Jer. ix. xix.; Ezek. xxvii. xxxii.; Isa. i. xxi.). Jeremiah has put together and united in one book, executed with great skill and presenting an altogether unique specimen of writing, which indeed could have had its birth nowhere but in a Hebrew soul, all possible lamentations and wailings on the ruin and fall of Jerusalem.

3. שגיון is found only as the title of a poem (Ps. vii.), and once in the plural (Hab. iii. 1), as a description of this species of poetry in general. The word is not easy to understand. The Sep-

magint render it by ψαλμός, a general term which seems to betray their own ignorance. It had doubtless a specific meaning. The root שׁנה denotes bewilderment, so that the term may indicate a sort of dithyrambic poetry—poetry in which the emotions are put forth in wild confusion betokening an agitated, confused, and worried state of mind. This description corresponds with the character of the two compositions to which the epithet is applied in Ps. vii. and Hab. iii. That the melody employed in singing these pieces answered, in wild hurrying confusion, to the train of the thought may be conjectured naturally, and inferred with good reason, from the heading of Habakkuk iii.

4. תפלה, 'prayer,' is the name of certain odes in the titles given to Ps. xvii., lxxxvi., xc., cii., cxlii.; Hab. iii. In Psalm cii. and in Hab. iii. it seems not to denote the ode so much as the general tendency of the sentiment of the poet, and in the other headings it may import merely the use to which these compositions may be applied. It is not therefore so much a term of art as a term of religion. Yet may it be applied to compositions in general, designed for use in divine worship whatever their form or strain, inasmuch as it regards in a general way the religious element which constituted their essence; and accordingly it is found in Ps. lxxii. 20 applied as a general name to an entire collection of the poems of David—'the prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended.'

In these four classes we have not pretended to exhaust all the species and forms which lyric poetry took, but merely to present the chief facts. Respecting other kinds, little need be said, as the lyrical comprehends the greatest and best part of Hebrew poetry, nor are learned men so much of one mind regarding the compositions to which we allude.

Dramatic poetry in the sense in which the phrase is applicable to productions such as those of Euripides, Shakspeare, or Schiller, had no place in the literature of the Hebrews. This defect may be owing to a want of the requisite literary cultivation. Yet we are not willing to assign this as the cause, when we call to mind the high intellectual culture which the Hebrews evinced in lyric and didactic poetry, out of which the drama seems naturally to spring. We rather look for the cause of this in the earnest nature of the Hebrews, and in the solemnity of the subjects with which they had to do in their literary productions. Nor is it any objection to this hypothesis that the drama of modern times had its birth in the religious mysteries of the middle ages, since those ages were only secondary in regard to religious truth, stood at a distance from the great realities which they believed and dramatized; whereas the objects of faith with the Israelites were held in all the fresh vividness of primitive facts and newly-recognised truths. Elements however for dramatic poetry and first rudimental efforts are found in Hebrew; as in the Song of Solomon, in which several dramatis personæ will be discovered speaking and acting, by the diligent and unprejudiced reader. Ewald asserts that the poem is divisible into four acts. In the book of Job, however, the dramatic element of the Hebrew muse is developed in a more marked form, and a more decided degree. Here the machinery and contrivances of the drama, even to the plot and the *Deus Vindex*, lie patent to a reader of ordinary attention. For epic poetry the constituent elements do not appear to have existed during the classic period of the Hebrew muse, since epic poetry requires an heroic age, an age, that is, of fabulous wonders and falsely so called divine interpositions. But among the Israelites the patriarchal, which might have been the heroic age, was an age of truth and reality; and it much raises the religious and historical value of the biblical literature, that neither the singular events of the age of the patriarchs, nor the wonderful events of the age of Moses, nor the confused and somewhat legendary events of the age of the Judges, ever degenerated into mythology, nor passed from the reality which was their essence, into the noble fictions into which the imagination, if unchastened and unchecked by religion, might have wrought them; but they retained through all periods their own essential character of earnest, lofty, and impressive realities. At a later period, when the religion of Moses had, during the Babylonish captivity, been lowered by the corruptions of the religion of Zoroaster, and an entirely new world of thought introduced, based not on reality but fancy, emanating not from the pure light of heaven but from the mingled lights and shadows of primitive tradition and human speculation,—then there came into existence among the Jews the elements necessary for epic poetry; but the days were gone in which the mind of the nation had the requisite strength and culture to fashion them into a great, uniform, and noble structure; and if we can allow that the Hebrews possessed the rudimental outlines of the epic, we must seek for them not in the canonical but the apocryphal books; and while we deny with emphasis that the term Epos can be applied, as some German critics have applied it, to the Pentateuch; we can find only in the book of Judith, and with rather more reason in that of Tobit, anything which approaches to epic poetry. Indeed fiction, which if it is not the essence, enters for a very large share into both epic and dramatic poetry, was wholly alien from the genius of the Hebrew muse, whose high and noble function was not to invent but to celebrate the goodness of God, not to indulge the fancy but to express the deepest feelings of the soul, not to play with words and feign emotions, but to utter profound truth and commemorate real events, and pour forth living sentiments.

These remarks imply that art, though subordinate, was not neglected, as indeed is proved by the noble lyrics which have come down to us, and in which the art is only relatively small and low, that is, the art is inconsiderable and secondary, merely because the topics are so august, the sentiments so grand, the religious impression so profound and sacred. At later periods, when the first fresh gushing of the muse had ceased, art in Hebrew, as is the case in all other poetry, began to claim a larger share of attention, and stands in the poems for a greater portion of their merit. Then the play of the imagination grew predominant over the spontaneous outpourings of the soul, and among other creations of the fancy alphabetical poems were produced, in which the matter is artistically distributed sometimes under two-and-

twenty heads or divisions, corresponding with the number of the Hebrew letters. This is of course a peculiarity which cannot be preserved in any ordinary prose translation; but it is indicated in Psalm cxix., as found in the common bibles; and other specimens may be seen in Ps. ix., x., xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxi., cxii.

If, now, from these details we consider for a moment what are the essential peculiarities of Hebrew poetry, we find we have to offer to the reader's attention the following observations.

The source of all true poetry is in the human mind. Even where there is a divine inspiration, this higher element must enter into the soul of man, and, blending with its workings, conform also to its laws. But every thought is not poetical. Thought and emotion become poetical only when they rise to the ideal. Poetry, in its source, is thought which ascends to a high if not perfect (relatively) conception of moral and spiritual realities. Mere intensity is not poetry, any more than strength of muscle is beauty. Still less is passion either poetry or eloquence, as Blair teaches. Passion is of a suspicious origin, and represents the soul as being mastered; whereas in all true poetry the soul is a sovereign. There may be intensity in poetry, however, and the soul, when in a poetic state, may be impassioned; but these are only accidents—results, not causes, ensuing (sometimes) from the ideal conceptions which for the time being constitute the soul, and make up consciousness. Hence all true poetry is religious; for religion is the contemplation of the highest perfection as at once holy, lovely, honourable, formative and guiding, the object of adoration, the fountain of law, the source of obligation. But in the Hebrew poetry, the religion which constituted its essence had attributes of truth and reality such as no other poetry ever did or could possess. The intimate relation in which the nation of Israel, and the still more intimate relation in which distinguished individuals of that nation, stood to the Deity, made the religious the predominant element, and gave to that element a living and quickening fire as from heaven, which burnt from the first with the true vestal purity, and on to the last with more than vestal constancy and duration. A divine and imperishable power was thus the chief constituent of Hebrew poetry: divine truth, divine energy, divine life, are all found in the earliest productions of Hebrew song. Its chief characteristic—that by which, more than any other thing, it is contradistinguished from the poetry of all other nations—is its pure and rich religious element.

But this divine power lay not merely in the truths conveyed nor in the facts commemorated by the songs of Zion, but equally in the strong, deep, and overflowing emotions with which the Hebrew harp thrilled sometimes to ecstasy. The origin of this religious sensibility is to be chiefly looked for in the Hebrew temperament, which was and is peculiarly rich in all the sentiments of the heart, so that devotion was as natural—as much a necessity of the character of the Israelites—as domestic affection. It is in the main owing to the religious and devotional qualities of Hebrew poetry that the Book of Psalms, still, after the lapse of so many centuries, and the rise and fall of so many modes of thought, and forms of social life, holds an empire over the heart of man, far wider, deeper, and more influential than what any other influence has possessed, save only that which is and will ever be exercised by 'David's greater son.'

Nor is the wonder at all diminished when we learn that the Hebrew was an essentially national muse. There is no poetry which bears a deeper or broader stamp of the peculiar influences under which it was produced. It never ceases to be Hebrew in order to become universal, and yet it is universal while it is Hebrew. The country, the clime, the institutions, the very peculiar religious institutions, rites and observances, the very singular religious history of the Israelites, are all faithfully and vividly reflected in the Hebrew muse, so that no one song can ever be mistaken for a poem of any other people. Still it remains true that the heart of man, at least the heart of all the most civilized nations of the earth, has been moved and swayed, and is still pleasingly and most beneficially moved and swayed by the strains of Biblical poesy. Others may, but we cannot, account for this indubitable fact, without admitting that some specially divine influence was in operation amidst the Jews.

Its originality is also a marked characteristic of Hebrew poetry. Homer had his teachers, but who taught Moses? Yet 'the divine song of Troy' is less divine than the ode of triumph over Pharaoh. The Hebrew poetry is original in this sense, that it is self-educed and self-developed. It is an indigenous plant in Palestine. Like Melchizedek, it is, in regard to an earlier culture, ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος; and if we cannot say that it has strictly μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν, there is no danger in predicting of it, μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές (Heb. vii. 3).

Connected with its originality, as, in part, its cause, is the fact that the Hebrew Muse stood nearer than any other to the first days and the earliest aspects of creation, 'when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy' (Job xxxviii. 7). Those stars that Muse saw in the maiden purity of their earliest radiance; that song the same Muse heard when first it struck the canopy of heaven and was reverberated to earth. The rose of Sharon blushed with its first loveliness on her glad sight, and the dews of Hermon were first disturbed by her unsandalled feet. Thus there is a freshness as of morn about all her imagery. In her best days there were no stock figures of speech, no *loci communes*, nor universal recipes for forming poetry. Not even at second hand did she receive her stores, but she took what she had out of the great treasure-house of nature, and out of the fulness of her own heart. To be a master, therefore, to other poesies is the divine right and peculiar function of the Hebrew muse. Other bards may borrow and imitate; the poetry of the Bible copies nature and creates.

Hence there is a spontaneousness in its poetry. Open the Psalter at any place; you find streams pouring forth like the brooks and waterfalls that trickle and gush down the hills of Palestine after the latter rain. Nature you behold at work. All therefore is ease, and, as ease, so grace. There is no constraint, no effort, no affectation. The heart itself speaks, and it speaks because it is full and overflowing.

If we add that simplicity is another marked character of Hebrew poetry, we do little more than

state that which is already implied. But such is its simplicity that it seems never to have known, in its age of purity, anything of the artificial distinctions by which critics and rhetoricians have mapped out the domain of poesy and endeavoured to supply the deficiencies of fancy by the laborious efforts of varied culture. Hebrew poetry was the voice of man communing with God, and thought as little of the one as of the other of the two purposes which Horace ascribes to artistic poets—

'Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poëtæ.'

It was, indeed, wholly unconscious of anything but the satisfaction of a high and urgent want, which made worship a necessity, and devotion a delight. A striking confirmation of these facts is found in the circumstance that among the earliest of the 'sweet singers of Israel,' women are found. The great event which Moses, in his sublime triumphal ode, had celebrated, was forthwith taken up by Miriam, whose poetic skill could not be singular, as she is described by a general name, and was supported by other females; 'And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron' (a remarkable family was that of Amram, 'Aaron, and Moses, and Miriam their sister,' Num. xxvi. 59), 'took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels, and with dances, and Miriam answered them, Sing ye to the Lord,' &c. (Exod. xv. 20, sq.; see also Judg. v. 1; xi. 34; xxi. 21; 1 Sam. xviii. 7; Ps. lxviii. 25).

Were it a matter to be determined by authority, we could easily prove that the Hebrew poetry is written in hexameters and pentameters. Josephus more than once asserts that the triumphal ode of Moses was written in hexameter verse (*Antiq.* ii. 16. 4.; iv. 8. 44); and in *Antiq.* vii. 12. 3, he expressly says, 'And now David, being freed from wars and dangers, composed songs and hymns to God, of several sorts of metre; some of those which he made were trimeters and some were pentameters;' in which statement he is as much in error in regard to the verse as he is in regard to his implication that David wrote his Psalms at some one set period of his life. Not improbably Josephus was influenced in this representation regarding the alleged metres by his Græcising propensities, by which he was led to assimilate the Hebrew laws and institutions to Grecian models, with a false view of thus gaining honour to his country, and by reflection, to himself as well. Even in his day the true pronunciation of the Hebrew was lost, so that it was easy to make this or that assertion on the subject of its versification. Certainly all the attempts to which these misstatements of Josephus (see also Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* xi; Hieron. *Præf. ad Chron.*; Euseb. p. 1; Isidor. *Orig.* i. 38) chiefly led, have utterly failed; and whatever the fact may be, whether or not these poems were written in stricter measure than the doctrine of this article supposes, we are little likely to form an exact idea of the Hebrew measures unless we could raise David from the sleep of centuries; and at a time when, like the present, it is beginning to be felt that there has been far too much dogmatizing about even the classical versification, and that speculation and fancy have outstripped knowledge, we do not expect to find old attempts to discover the Hebrew hexameters and pentameters revived. Those who may wish to pursue the subject in its details are referred to the following works: Carpzov, *Introd. in V. T.* ii. England has the credit of opening a new path in this branch by the publication of Bishop Lowth's elegant and learned *Prælectiones de Sacra Poesi Hebræorum*, Oxon. 1753; which may be found also in Ugolini, *Thesaur.* xxxi.; the editions having Michaelis's *Notæ et Epimetra* are to be preferred; that of Oxon. 1810, is good: the work was translated into English by Gregory. On the didactic poetry of the Hebrews the reader may consult Umbreit, *Sprüche Sal. Einleitung;* Rhode, *De Vet. Poetar. Sapientia Gnom. Hebræor. imp. et Græcor.* Havn. 1800; Unger, *De Parabolar. Jesu natura*, &c. Leips. 1828. Le Clerc, in his *Biblioth. Univers.* ix. 226, sq., has given what is worth attention; see also *Hist. Abrégée de la poésie chez les Hébr.* in the History of the Academy of Inscriptions, tom. xxiii. 92, sq. But the work which has, next to that of Lowth, exerted the greatest influence, is a posthumous and unfinished piece of the celebrated Herder, who has treated the subject with extraordinary eloquence and learning: *Von Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, 1782, to be found in his collected writings; also Tübing. 1805; and Carlsruhe, 1826; see also Gügler, *Die Heil Kunst der Hebräer*, Landshut, 1814; and B. F. Guttenstein, *Die Poet. Literar. alten Israelit.*, Mainh. 1835. The subject of metre has been skilfully handled by Bellermann, *Versuch über d. Metrik der Hebräer.* Berl. 1813. Much useful information may be found in De Wette's *Einleitung in d. A. Test.*, Berlin, 1840, translated into English by Theodore Parker, Boston (U. S.), 1843. In Wellbeloved's Bible translations of the poetical portions may be found, in which regard is paid to rhythm and poetical form; a very valuable guide in Hebrew poetry, both for form and substance, may be found in Noyes's *Translation of Job*, Cambridge (U. S.), 1827; of the *Psalms*, Boston (U. S), 1831; and of the *Prophets*, Boston (U. S.), 1833; but the best, fullest, and most satisfactory work on the subject is by Ewald, *Die Poet. Bücher des Alten Bundes*, 4 vols. 8vo. Göttingen, 1835-9.—J. R. B.

POL (פּוֹל) occurs twice in Scripture, and no doubt signifies 'beans,' as translated in the Auth. Version. The first occasion is in 2 Sam. xvii. 28, where beans are described as being brought to David, as well as wheat, barley, lentils, &c., as is the custom at the present day in many parts of the East when a traveller arrives at a village. So in Ezekiel iv. 9, the prophet is directed to take wheat, barley, *beans*, lentils, &c., and make bread thereof. This meaning of *pol* is confirmed by the Arabic فول *fool*, which is the same word (there being no *pe* in Arabic), and is applied to the *bean* in modern times, as ascertained by Forskal in Egypt, and as we find in old Arabic works. The common bean, or at least one of its varieties, has been employed as an article of diet from the most ancient times, since, besides the mention of it in Scripture, we find it noticed by Hippocrates and Theophrastus, under the names of κύαμος ἑλληνικός, to distinguish it from κύαμος αἰγύπτιος, the Egyptian bean, or bean of Pythagoras, which was no doubt the large farinaceous seed of Nelumbium speciosum. Beans were employed as articles of diet by the ancients, as they are by the moderns; and are considered to give

rise to flatulence, but otherwise to be wholesome and nutritious. 'Mélangée à la quantité d'une livre sur dix à douze de farine de froment, elle fournit un assez bon pain, et donne de la consistance à la pâte lorsqu'elle est trop molle.' So Pliny: 'Inter legumina maximus honos fabæ: quippe ex qua tentatus etiam sit panis. Frumento etiam miscetur apud plerasque gentes.' Beans are cultivated over a great part of the old world, from the north of Europe to the south of India; in the latter, however, forming the cold-weather cultivation, with wheat, peas, &c. They are extensively cultivated in Egypt and Arabia. Mr. Kitto states that the extent of their cultivation in Palestine he had no means of knowing. In Egypt they are sown in November, and reaped in the middle of February (three and a half months in the ground); but that in Syria they may be had throughout the spring. The stalks are cut down with the scythe; and these are afterwards cut and crushed, to fit them for the food of camels, oxen, and goats. The beans themselves, when sent to a market, are often deprived of their skins. Basnage reports it as the sentiment of some of the Rabbins, that beans were not lawful to the priests, on account of their being considered the appropriate food of mourning and affliction; but he does not refer to the authority; and neither in the sacred books nor in the Mishna can be found any traces of the notion to which he alludes. So far from attaching any sort of impurity to this legume, it is described as among the first-fruit offerings; and several other articles in the latter collection prove that the Hebrews had beans largely in use, after they had passed them through the mill (*Phys. Hist. of Palestine*, cccxix.).—J. F. R.

POLLUX. [Castor and Pollux.]

POLYGAMY. [Marriage.]

POLYGLOTT. [Versions.]

POMEGRANATE. [Rimmon.]

PONTIUS PILATE. [Pilate.]

PONTUS (Πόντος), the north-eastern province of Asia Minor, which took its name from the sea [Pontus Euxinus] that formed its northern frontier. On the east it was bounded by Colchis, on the south by Cappadocia and part of Armenia, and on the west by Paphlagonia and Galatia. Ptolemy (*Geog.* v. 5) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 4) regard Pontus and Cappadocia as one province; but Strabo (*Geog.* xii. p. 541) rightly distinguishes them, seeing that each formed a distinct government with its own ruler or prince. The family of Mithridates reigned in Pontus, and that of Ariarathes in Cappadocia. The two countries were also separated naturally from each other by the Lithrus and Ophlimus mountains. The kingdom of Pontus became celebrated under Mithridates the Great, who waged a long war with the Romans, in which he was at length defeated, and his kingdom annexed to the Roman empire by Pompey (Appian, *Mithrid.* p. 121). That Jews had settled in Pontus, previous to the time of Christ, is evident from the fact, that strangers from Pontus were among those assembled at Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 9). Christianity also became early known in this country, as the strangers 'in Pontus' are among those to whom Peter addressed his first epistle (1 Pet. i. 1). Of this province Paul's friend, Aquila, was a native (Acts xviii. 2). The principal towns of Pontus were Amasia, the ancient metropolis, and the birth-place of the geographer Strabo, Themiscyra, Cerasus, and Trapezus; which last is still an important town under the name of Trebizond (Cellarius, *Notit.* ii. 287; Mannert. vi. 350; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geog.* iii. 5-9; *Encyclop. Method.* Sect. *Géog. Ancienne*, art. 'Pontos').

POPLAR. [Libneh.]

PORCIUS FESTUS. [Festus.]

POSSESSION. [Demoniacs.]

POTIPHAR (פּוֹטִי פֶרַע, contract. of פּוֹטִי פֶרַע, Potipherah, which see; Sept. Πετεφρής), an officer of Pharaoh, probably the chief of his body-guard (Gen. xxxix. 1). Of the Midianitish merchants he purchased Joseph, whose treatment by him is described under that head. The keeper of the prison into which the son of Jacob was eventually cast treated him with kindness, and confided to him the management of the prison; and this confidence was afterwards sanctioned by the 'captain of the guard' himself, as the officer responsible for the safe custody of prisoners of state. It is sometimes denied, but more usually maintained, that this 'captain of the guard' was the same with the Potiphar who is before designated by the same title. We believe that this 'captain of the guard' and Joseph's master were the same person. It would be in accordance with Oriental usage that offenders against the court, and the officers of the court, should be in custody of the captain of the guard; and that Potiphar should have treated Joseph well after having cast him into prison, is not irreconcilable with the facts of the case. After having imprisoned Joseph in the first transport of his choler, he might possibly discover circumstances which led him to doubt his guilt, if not to be convinced of his innocence. The mantle left in the hands of his mistress, and so triumphantly produced against him, would, when calmly considered, seem a stronger proof of guilt against her than against him: yet still, to avoid bringing dishonour upon his wife, and exposing her to new temptation, he may have deemed it more prudent to bestow upon his slave the command of the state prison, than to restore him to his former employment.

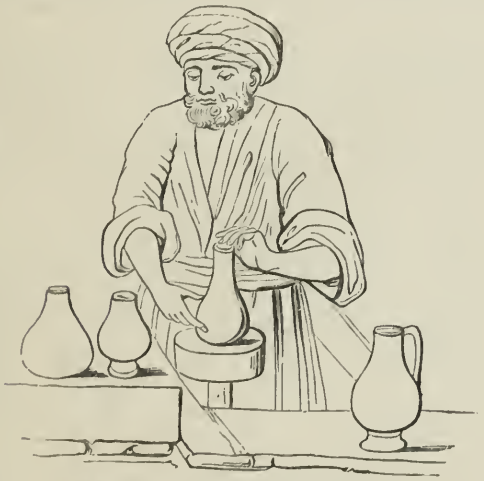
POTIPHERAH (פּוֹטִי פֶרַע), the priest of On, or Heliopolis, whose daughter Azenath became the wife of Joseph [Azenath]. The name is Egyptian, and is in the Septuagint accommodated to the analogy of the Egyptian language, being in the Cod. Vatican. Πετεφρῆ: Alex. Πετεφρῆ, al. Πεντεφρὴ, Πεντεφρί; which corresponds to the Egyptian ⲡⲉⲧⲉ-ϥⲣⲏ, qui Solis est, *i. e.* Soli proprius (Champollion, *Précis, Tabl. Général*, p. 23). The name is found written in various forms on the monuments, which are copied by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, p. 1094, from Rosellini, *Monum. Storici*, i. 117.

POTSHERD. Potsherd is figuratively used in Scripture to denote a thing worthless and insignificant (Ps. xxii. 15; Prov. xxvi. 23; Isa. xlv. 9). It may illustrate some of these allusions to remind the reader of the fact, that the sites of ancient towns are often covered at the surface with great quantities of broken pottery. The present writer has usually found this pottery to be of coarse texture, but coated and protected with a strong and bright-coloured glaze, mostly bluish-

green, and sometimes yellow. These fragments give to some of the most venerable sites in the world, the appearance of a deserted pottery rather than of a town. The fact is, however, that they occur only upon the sites of towns which were built with crude brick; and this suggests that the heaps of ruin into which these had fallen being disintegrated, and worn at the surface by the action of the weather, bring to view and leave exposed the broken pottery, which is not liable to be thus dissolved and washed away. This explanation was suggested by the actual survey of such ruins; and we know not that a better has yet been offered in any other quarter. It is certainly remarkable that of the more mighty cities of old time, nothing but potsherds now remains visible at the surface of the ground.

Towns built with stone, or kiln-burnt bricks, do not exhibit this form of ruin, which is, therefore, not usually met with in Palestine.

POTTER. The potter, and the produce of his labours, are often alluded to in the Scriptures. The fragility of his wares, and the ease with which they are destroyed, supply apt emblems of the facility with which human life and power may be broken and destroyed. It is in this figurative use that the potter's vessels are most frequently noticed in Scripture (Ps. ii. 9; Isa. xxx. 14; Jer. xix. 11; Rev. ii. 27). In one place, the



456. [Modern Egyptian Potter.]

power of the potter to form with his clay, by the impulse of his will and hand, vessels either for honourable or for mean uses, is employed with great force by the apostle to illustrate the absolute power of God in moulding the destinies of men according to his pleasure (Rom. ix. 21). The first distinct mention of earthenware vessels is in the case of the pitchers in which Gideon's men concealed their lamps, and which they broke in pieces when they withdrew their lamps from them (Judg. vii. 16, 19). Pitchers and bottles are indeed mentioned earlier; but the 'bottle' which contained Hagar's water (Gen. xxi. 14, 15) was undoubtedly of skin; and although Rebekah's pitcher was possibly of earthenware (Gen. xxiv. 14, 15), we cannot be certain that it was so.

The potter's wheel is mentioned only once in the Bible (Jer. xviii. 2); but it must have been in use among the Hebrews long before the time of that allusion; for we now know that it existed in Egypt before the Israelites took refuge in that country (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 165). The processes employed by the Hebrews were probably not in any way dissimilar to those of the Egyptians, from whom the use of the wheel may be supposed to have been adopted. There is the greater probability in this, as the materials, forms, and manufacture of earthenware vessels are still very similar throughout Western Asia—and are also the same which were anciently in use. This we know from the comparison of ancient paintings and sculptures with modern manufactures, as well as from the vast quantities of broken pottery which are found upon the sites of ancient cities. The ancient potters 'frequently kneaded the clay with their feet, and after it had been properly worked up, they formed it into a mass of convenient size with the hand, and placed it on the wheel, which, to judge from that represented in the paintings, was of very simple construction, and turned with the hand. The various forms of the vases were made out by the finger during the revolution; the handles, if they had any, were afterwards affixed to them; and the devices and other ornamental parts were traced with a wooden or metal instrument, previously to their being baked. They were then suffered to dry, and for this purpose were placed on planks of wood; they were afterwards arranged with great care on trays, and carried, by means of the usual yoke, borne on men's shoulders, to the oven' (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 163-167).

POTTER'S-FIELD. [Aceldama.]

PRÆTORIUM (Πραιτώριον). This word denotes the general's tent in the field, and also the house or palace of the governor of a province, whether a prætor or not. In the Gospels it is applied to the palace built by Herod the Great, at Jerusalem, and which eventually became the residence of the Roman governors in that city (Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; John xviii. 28, 38; xix. 9). In the two first of these texts it may, however, denote the court in front of the palace, where the procurator's guards were stationed [Jerusalem]. Herod built another palace at Cæsarea, and this also is called the Prætorium in Acts xxiii. 35, probably because it had, in like manner, become the residence of the Roman governor, whose head-quarters were at Cæsarea. In Philipp. i. 13, the word denotes the Prætorian camp at Rome, *i. e.* the camp or quarters of the Prætorian cohort at Rome.

PRIEST, HIGH PRIEST, &c. (כֹּהֵן, *priest*; Sept. Ἱερεύς; Vulg. *sacerdos*). The English word is generally derived from the New Testament term presbyter [elder], the meaning of which, is, however, essentially different from that which was intended by the ancient terms. It would come nearer, if derived from προΐστημι or προΐσταμαι, 'to preside,' &c. It would then correspond to Aristotle's definition of a priest, τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος, 'presiding over things relating to the gods' (*Polit.* iii. 14), and with the very similar one in Heb. v. 1; 'every high-priest taken from among men, is constituted on the behalf of men, with respect to their concerns with God (τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν), that he may present both gifts and sacrifices for sins.' It would then adequately represent the ἱερεὺς (ὁ ἱερὰ ῥέζων) of

the Greeks, and the *sacerdos* (*a sacris faciundis*) of the Latins. The primitive meaning of the Hebrew word is not easily determined, because the verb, in its radical form, nowhere occurs. Gesenius observes: 'In Arabic it denotes to prophesy, to foretel as a soothsayer, and among the heathen Arabs the substantive bore the latter signification; also that of *a mediator* or *middle person*, who interposed in any business, which seems to be its radical meaning, as prophets and priests were regarded as mediators between men and the Deity. In the earliest families of the race of Shem, the offices of priest and prophet were undoubtedly united; so that the word originally denoted both, and at last the Hebrew idiom kept one part of the idea, and the Arabic another' (*Hebraisches und Chaldaisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipz., 1823). It is worthy of remark, that all the persons who are recorded in Scripture as having legally performed priestly acts, but who were not strictly sacerdotal, come under the definition of a prophet, viz., persons who received supernatural communications of knowledge generally, as Adam, Abraham (Gen. xx. 7), Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Job, Samuel, Elijah (comp. Luke i. 70). The primary meaning of the Hebrew word is regarded by Kimchi, Castell, Giggeius, Ernesti, Simonis, Tittmann, and Eichhorn, to be, the rendering of honourable and dignified service, like that of ministers of state to their sovereign. Nearly similar is the idea adopted by Cocceius and Schultens, viz., drawing near, as to a king or any supreme authority. The following definition of a priest may be found sufficiently comprehensive:—A man who officiates or transacts with God on behalf of others, statedly, or for the occasion.

It will now be attempted to trace the *Biblical origin and development* of the subject, for which purpose the inquiry will be pursued upon the plan of Townsend's *Historical and Chronological Arrangement of the Scriptures*, London, 1827, notwithstanding the doubts which may be entertained respecting the true chronological order of certain books and passages. We accede to the Jewish opinion, that *Adam was the first priest.* The divine institution of sacrifices, immediately after the fall, seems *connected* with the event, that 'the Lord God made coats of skins to Adam and his wife, and clothed them' (Gen. iii. 21), that is, with the skins of animals which had been offered in sacrifice (for the permission to eat animal food was not given till after the Deluge (comp. Gen. i. 29; ix. 3), expressive of their faith in the promise of the victorious yet suffering 'seed of the woman' (ver. 15): and judging from the known custom of his immediate descendants, we infer that Adam, now also become the head and ruler of the woman (ver. 16), officiated in offering the sacrifice as well on her behalf as his own. Judging from the same analogy, it seems further probable, that Adam acted in the same capacity on behalf of his sons, Cain and Abel (and possibly of their children), who are each said to have 'brought' his respective offering, but not to have personally presented it (iv. 3-5). The *place* evidently thus indicated, would seem to have been the situation of 'the cherubim,' at the east of the garden of Eden (iii. 24), called 'the face' (iv. 14), and 'the presence of the Lord' (ver. 16; comp. Hebrew of Exod. xxxiv. 24; Lev. ix. 5), and from which Jehovah conferred with Cain (ver. 9): circumstances which, together with the name of their offering, מנחה, which, sometimes at least, included bloody sacrifices in after times (1 Sam. ii. 17; xxvi. 19; Mal. i. 13, 14), and the appropriation of the skins to the offerer (comp. Lev. vii. 8), would seem like the rudiments of the future tabernacle and its services, and when viewed in connection with *many* circumstances incidentally disclosed in the brief fragmentary account of things before the Exodus, such as the Sabbath (Gen. ii. 2, 3), the distinction observed by Noah, and his burnt-offerings upon the altar of clean and unclean beasts (viii. 20), the prohibition of blood (ix. 4), tithes (xiv. 20), priestly blessing (ver. 19), consecration with oil, and vows (xxviii. 18-22), the Levirate law (xxxviii. 8), weeks (xxix. 27), distinction of the Hebrews by their families (Exod. ii. 1), the office of elder during the bondage in Egypt (iii. 16), and a place of meeting with Jehovah (v. 22; comp. xxv. 22)—would favour the supposition that the Mosaic dispensation, as it is called, was but an authoritative re-arrangement of a patriarchal church instituted at the fall. The fact that Noah officiated as the priest of his family, upon the cessation of the Deluge (B.C. 2347) is clearly recorded (Gen. viii. 20), where we have an altar built, the ceremonial distinctions in the offerings already mentioned, and their propitiatory effect, 'the sweet savour,' all described in the words of Leviticus (comp. i. 9; xi. 47). These acts of Noah, which seem like the resumption rather than the institution of an ordinance, were doubtless continued by his sons and their descendants, as *heads of their respective families.* Following our arrangement, the next glimpse of the subject is afforded by the instance of Job (B.C. 2130), who 'sent and sanctified his children' after a feast they had held, and offered burnt-offerings, עלות, 'according to the number of them all,' and 'who did this continually,' either constantly, or after every feast (i. 5). A direct reference, possibly to priests, is lost in our translation of xii. 19, 'he leadeth *princes* away spoiled,' כהנים; Sept. ἱερεῖς; Vulg. *sacerdotes;* a sense adopted in Dr. Lee's *Translation*, Lond. 1837. May not the difficult passage, xxxiii. 23, contain an allusion to priestly duties? A case is there supposed of a person divinely chastised in order to improve him (xix. 22): 'If then there be a messenger with him,' מלאך, which means priest (Eccles. v. 6; Mal. ii. 7), 'an interpreter,' מליץ, or mediator generally (2 Chron. xxxii. 31; Isa. xliii. 27); 'one among a thousand,' or of a family (Judg. vi. 15), 'my family,' literally 'my thousand' (comp. Num. i. 16), 'to show to man his uprightness,' or rather 'duty' (Prov. xiv. 2), part of the priest's office *in such a case* (Mal. ii. 7; comp. Deut. xxiv. 8), then, such an individual 'is gracious,' or rather will supplicate for him, and *saith*, 'Deliver him from going down into the pit,' or grave, for 'I have found a ransom,' a cause or ground in him for favourable treatment, namely, the penitence of the sufferer, who consequently recovers (xxv. 29). The case of Abraham and Abimelech is very similar (Gen. xx. 3-17), as also that of Job himself, and his three misjudging friends, whom the Lord commands to avert chastisement from themselves, by taking to him bullocks and rams, which he was to offer for

them as a burnt-offering, and to *pray* for them (xlii. 8). The instance of Abram occurs next in historical order, who, upon his first entrance into Canaan, attended by his family (B.C. 1921), 'built an altar, and called upon the name of the Lord' (Gen. xii. 7, 8). Upon returning victorious from the battle of the kings, he is congratulated by Melchizedek, the Canaanitish king of Salem, and 'priest of the most High God' (xiv. 18). For the ancient union of the royal and sacerdotal offices, in Egypt and other countries, see Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Lond. 1842, i. 245. Abram next appears entering into covenant with God as the head and representative of his seed; on which occasion those creatures only are slain which were appointed for sacrifice under the law (xv. 9-21). Isaac builds an altar (B.C. 1804), evidently as the head of his family (Gen. xxvi. 25); his *younger* son Jacob offers a sacrifice, זבח (xxxi. 54), and 'calls his brethren to eat of it' (comp. Lev. vii. 15); builds an altar at Shalem (xxxiii. 20), makes another by *divine command*, and evidently as the head of his household, at Bethel (xxxv. 1-7), and pours a drink-offering, נסך (comp. Num. xv. 7, &c.), upon a pillar (ver. 14). Such was the state of the institution we are considering during the patriarchal times. *It henceforth becomes connected with Egypt, and materially modified in consequence.* The marriage of Joseph (B.C. 1715) incidentally discloses the existence of priests in that country; for it is recorded that 'Pharaoh gave Joseph to wife a daughter of Potipherah, priest of On' (xli. 45). The priests of Egypt had evidently been endowed with lands by the Egyptian kings; for when the reigning Pharaoh, by the advice of Joseph, took all the land of the Egyptians in lieu of corn (xlvii. 20), the priests were not compelled to make the same sacrifice of theirs (ver. 22); nor was the tax of the fifth part of the produce entailed upon it (ver. 26), as on that of the other people (ver. 24). They seem also to have had a public maintenance besides (ver. 22; Herod. ii. 37). It may be serviceable, in the sequel, if we advert at this point to some of the numerous and truly important points of resemblance between the Egyptian and Jewish priests, viz., that the sacerdotal order constituted one of the four principal castes, of the highest rank, next to the king, and from whom were chosen his confidential and responsible advisers (comp. 2 Sam. viii. 18; 1 Chron. xviii. 17; Isa. xix. 11; Diodorus, i. 73); they associated with the monarch, whom they assisted in the performance of his public duties, to whom they explained from the sacred books those lessons which were laid down for his conduct. Each deity had *several priests*, and *a high-priest* (Herod. ii. 37); the latter, of whatever deity, held the first and most honourable station. The minor priests were divided into various grades, having distinct offices, as well as the scribes and priests of the kings. The same office usually descended from father to son, but was sometimes changed. They enjoyed important privileges, which extended to their whole family. They were exempt from taxes. Wine was allowed to them only in the strictest moderation, and entire abstinence from it was required during the fasts, which were frequent (Plut. *De Isid.* § 6). Each grade of the priests was distinguished by its peculiar costume. The high-priests, who, among other official duties, anointed the king, wore a mantle made of an entire leopard-skin; as did the king, when engaged in priestly duties. The underdresses of priests, of all orders, were made of linen, and they were not allowed to wear woollen in a temple (Herod. ii. 81). The undeniable similarity between the dresses of the Egyptian and Jewish priests will be hereafter illustrated. Besides their religious duties, the priests fulfilled the offices of judges, legislators, and counsellors of the king, and the laws forming part of their sacred books could only be administered by members of that order (Wilkinson, i. 237, 257-282).

In returning to the biblical history, we next find Jethro, priest of Midian, the father-in-law of Moses, possibly a priest of the true God (Exod. iii. 1), and probably his father in the same capacity (ii. 16). In Exod. v. 1, 3, the whole nation of the Israelites is represented as wishing to sacrifice and to hold a feast to the Lord. The first step, though *very* remote, towards the formation of the Mosaic system of priesthood, was the consecration of the first-born, in memory of the destruction of the first-born of Egypt (xiii. 2, 14-16); for, instead of these, God afterwards took the Levites to attend upon him (Num. iii. 12). As to the popular idea, both among Jews and Christians, that the right of priesthood was thus transferred from the first-born generally to the tribe of Levi, or rather to one family of that tribe, we consider, with Patrick, that it is utterly groundless (*Commentary on Exod.* xix. 22; Num. iii. 12; see Campeg. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacræ*, ii. 33; Outram, *De Sacrificiis*, i. 4). The substance of the objections is, that Aaron and his sons were consecrated *before* the exchange of the Levites for the first-born, that the Levites were *afterwards* given to minister unto them, but had nothing to do with the priesthood, and that the peculiar right of God in the first-born originated in the Exodus. The last altar, before the giving of the law, was built by Moses, probably for a memorial purpose only (xvii. 15; comp. Josh. xxii. 26, 27). At this period, the office of priest was so well understood, and so highly valued, that Jehovah promises as an inducement to the Israelites to keep his covenant, that they should be to him 'a kingdom of priests' (xix. 6), which, among other honourable appellations and distinctions originally belonging to the Jews, is transferred to Christians (1 Pet. ii. 9). The first introduction of the word *priests*, in this part of the history, is truly remarkable. It occurs just previous to the giving of the law (B.C. 1491), when, as part of the cautions against the too eager curiosity of the people, lest they should 'break through unto the Lord and gaze' (Exod. xix. 21), it is added, 'and let *the priests which come near unto the Lord* sanctify themselves, lest the Lord break through upon them' (ver. 22). Here, then, priests are incontestably spoken of as an already existing order, which was now about to be remodified. Nor is this the last reference to these ante-Sinaitic priests. Selden observes that the phrases 'the priests the Levites' (Deut. xvii. 9), and 'the priests the sons of Levi' (xxi. 5), and even the phrase, 'the Levites alone' (xviii. 6, comp. 1), are used to include all others who had been priests before God took the sons of Aaron peculiarly to serve him in this office (*De Synedr.* ii. 8, pp. 2, 3). Aaron is summoned at this junc-

ture to go up with Moses unto the Lord on Mount Sinai (Exod. xix. 24). Another remarkable circumstance is then recorded. Moses, now acting as 'mediator,' and endued with an extraordinary commission, builds an altar under the hill, and sends 'young men of the children of Israel, who offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord' (xxiv. 5). Various interpretations are given to the phrase 'young men;' but, upon a view of all the circumstances, we incline to think that they were young *laymen*, purposely selected by Moses for this act, in order to form a complete break between the former priesthood and the new, and that the recommencement and re-arrangement of the priesthood under divine authority might be made more palpably distinct. In the same light we consider the many priestly acts performed by Moses himself, at this particular time, as in ch. xxix. 25; xl. 25, 27, 29; like those of Gideon, Judg. vi. 25-27; of Samuel, 1 Sam. vii. 9; of David, 1 Chron. xxi. 26. Yet these especial permissions, upon emergencies and extraordinary occasions, had their limits, as may be seen in the fate of 'the men of Bethshemesh,' 1 Sam. vi. 19; and of Uzzah, 2 Sam. vi. 7.

The designation and call of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood are commanded in Exod. xxviii. 1; and holy garments to be made for Aaron, 'for glory and for beauty' (ver. 2), and for his sons (ver. 40), by persons originally skilful, and now also inspired for the purpose (ver. 3), the chief of whom were Bezaleel and Aholiab (xxxi. 2-6). As there were some garments common both to the priests and the high-priest, we shall begin with those of the former, taking them in the order in which they would be put on. 1. The first was מכנסי־בד, 'linen-breeches,' or drawers (xxviii. 42; Sept. περισκελῆ λινᾶ; Vulg. *feminalia linea*). These were to be of fine twined linen, and to reach from the loins to the middle of the thighs. According to Josephus, whose testimony, however, of course, relates only to his own time, they reached only to the middle of the thigh, where they were tied fast (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 1). Such drawers were worn universally in Egypt. In the sculptures and



457. [Drawers and girdle.]

paintings of that country, the figures of workmen and servants have no other dress than a short kilt or apron, sometimes simply bound about the loins and lapping over in front: other figures have short loose drawers; while a third variety of this article, fitting closely and extending to the knees, appears in the figures of some idols, as in No. 457. This last sort of drawers seems to have been peculiar in Egypt to the gods, and to the priests, whose attire was often adapted to that of the idols on which they attended. The priests, in common with other persons of the upper classes, wore the drawers under other robes. No mention occurs of the use of drawers by any other class of persons in Israel except the priests, on whom it was enjoined for the sake of decency. 2. The coat of fine linen or cotton, כתנת שש (Exod. xxxix. 27). *tunica byssina*. This was worn by men in general (Gen. xxxvii. 3); also by women (2 Sam. xiii. 18; Cant. v. 3), next to the skin. It was to be of woven work. Josephus states that it reached down to the feet, and sat close to the body; and had sleeves, which were tied fast to the arms; and was girded to the breast a little above the elbows by a girdle. It had a narrow aperture about the neck, and was tied with certain strings hanging down from the edge over the breast and back, and was fastened above each shoulder (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 2). But this garment, in the case of the priests and high-priest, was to be broidered (xxviii. 4), כתנת תשבץ, 'a broidered coat,' by which Gesenius understands a coat of cloth worked in checkers or cells. Braunius compares it to the reticulum in the stomach of ruminant animals (*De Vestitu*, i. 17). The Sept. gives χίτων κοσυμβωτός, which seems to refer to the tassels or strings; Vulg. *linea stricta*, which seems to refer to its close fitting. 3. The girdle, אבנט (xxviii. 40); Sept. ζώνη; Vulg. *balteus*. This was also worn by magistrates (Isa. xxii. 21). The girdle for the priests was to be made of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, of needlework (xxxix. 29). Josephus describes it as often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven that it might be taken for the skin of a serpent; and that it was embroidered with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, but that the warp was nothing but linen. The beginning of its circumvolution was at the breast; and when it had gone often round, it was there tied, and hung loosely down to the ancles while the priest was not engaged in any laborious service, for in that position it appeared in the most agreeable manner to the spectators; but when he was obliged to assist at the offering of sacrifices, and to do the appointed service, in order that he might not be hindered in his operations by its motion, he threw it to the left hand, and bore it on his right shoulder (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 2). The mode of its hanging down is illustrated by the cut No. 460, where the girdle is also richly embroidered; while the imbricated appearance of the girdle, רקם מעשה, may be seen very plainly in No. 457. The next cut, No. 458, of a priestly scribe of ancient Egypt, offers an interesting specimen of both tunic and girdle. Other Egyptian girdles may be seen under Abnet. 4. The bonnet, cap, or turban, מגבעה (xxviii. 40); Sept. κιδάρις; Vulg. *tiara*. The bonnet was to be of fine linen (xxxix. 28). In the time of Josephus it was circular, covering about half the head, something like a crown, made of thick linen swathes doubled round many times, and sewed together, surrounded by a linen cover to hide the seams of the swathes, and sat so

close that it would not fall off when the body was bent down (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 3). The dress of the high-priest was precisely the same with that of the common priests in all the foregoing particulars; in addition to which he had (1) a robe, מעיל (xxviii. 4), ποδήρη, *tunica*. This was not a mantle, but a second and larger coat without sleeves; a kind of surtout worn by the laity,



458. [Girdle and tunic.]

especially persons of distinction (Job i. 20; ii. 12, by kings; 1 Sam. xv. 27; xviii. 4; xxiv. 5, 12). This garment, when intended for the high-priest, and then called את מעיל האפד, 'the robe of the ephod,' was to be of one entire piece of woven work, all of blue, with an aperture for the neck in the middle of the upper part, having its rim strengthened and adorned with a border. The hem had a kind of fringe, composed of tassels, made of blue, purple, and scarlet, in the form of pomegranates; and between every two pomegranates there was a small golden bell, so



459. [Egyptian tunic.]

that there was a bell and a pomegranate alternately all round (xxviii. 31-35). The use of these bells may have partly been, that by the high-priest shaking his garment at the time of his offering incense on the great day of expiation, &c., the people without might be apprised of it, and unite their prayers with it (comp. Ecclus. xlv. 9; Luke i. 10; Acts x. 4; Rev. viii. 3, 4). Josephus describes this robe of the ephod as reaching to the feet, and consisting of one entire piece of woven-work, and parted where the hands came out (John xix. 23). He also states that it was tied round with a girdle, embroidered with the same colours as the former, with a mixture of gold interwoven (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 4). It is highly probable that this garment was also derived from Egyptian usage. There are instances at Thebes of priests wearing over the coat a loose sleeveless robe, and which exposes the sleeves of the inner tunic. The fringe of bells and pomegranates seems to have been the priestly substitute for the fringe bound with a blue riband, which all the Israelites were commanded to wear. Many traces of this fringe occur in the Egyptian remains. The use assigned to it, 'that looking on this fringe they should remember the Lord's commandments,' seems best explicable by the supposition that the Egyptians had connected some superstitious ideas with it (Num. xv. 37-40). (2.) The ephod, אפוד, ἐπωμίς, *superhumerale* (Exod. xxviii. 4). This was a short cloak covering the shoulders and breast. It is said to have been



460. [Ephod and girdle.]

worn by Samuel while a youth ministering before the Lord (1 Sam. ii. 18); by David, while engaged in religious service (2 Sam. vi. 14); and by inferior priests (1 Sam. xxii. 18). But in all these instances it is distinguished as a linen ephod, and was not a sacred but honorary vestment, as the Sept. understands it in 2 Sam. vi. 14, στολὴν ἑξάλλον; but the ephod of the high-priest was to be made of gold, of blue, of purple, of scarlet, and fine twined linen, with cunning work, חשב. Though it probably consisted of one piece, woven throughout, it had a back part and a front part, united by shoulder-pieces. It had also a girdle; or rather strings went out from each side and tied it to the body. On the top of each shoulder was to be an onyx stone, set in sockets of gold, each having engraven upon it six of the names of the children of Israel, according to the precedence of

birth, to memorialize the Lord of the promises made to them (Exod. xxviii. 6-12, 29). Josephus gives sleeves to the ephod (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 5). It may be considered as a substitute for the leopard-skin worn by the Egyptian high-priests in their most sacred duties, as in No. 460, where the ephod appears no less plainly. In other figures of Egyptian priests, the shoulder-pieces are equally apparent. They are even perceptible in No. 457. The Egyptian ephod is, however, highly charged with all sorts of idolatrous figures and emblems, and even with scenes of human sacrifices. The Sept. rendering of חשב, 'cunning work,' is ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποικιλτοῦ, 'woven-work of the embroiderer,' a word which especially denotes a manufacturer of tissues adorned with figures of animals (Strabo, xvii. p. 574, Sieb.). Then came (3) the breastplate, חשן, περιστήθιον; Vulg. *rationale;* a gorget, ten inches square, made of the same sort of cloth as the ephod, and doubled so as to form a kind of pouch or bag (Exod. xxxix. 9), in which was to be put the Urim and Thummim, which are also mentioned as if already known (xxviii. 30). The external part of this gorget was set with four rows of precious stones; the first row, a sardius, a topaz, and a carbuncle; the second, an emerald, a sapphire, and a diamond; the third, a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst; and the fourth, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper,—set in a golden socket. Upon each of these stones was to be engraven the name of one of the sons of Jacob. In the ephod, in which there was a space left open sufficiently large for the admission of this pectoral, were four rings of gold, to which four others at the four corners of the breastplate corresponded; the two lower rings of the latter being fixed inside. It was confined to the ephod by means of dark blue ribands, which passed through these rings; and it was also suspended from the onyx stones on the shoulder by chains of gold, or rather cords of twisted gold threads, which were fastened at one end to two other *larger* rings fixed in the upper corners of the pectoral, and by the other end going round the onyx stones on the shoulders, and returning and being fixed in the larger ring. The breastplate was further kept in its place by a girdle, made of the same stuff, which Josephus



461. [Breastplate.]

says was sewed to the breastplate, and which, when it had gone once round, was tied again upon the seam and hung down. It appears in No. 463. Here is another adaptation and correction of the costume of the higher Egyptian priests, who wore a large splendid ornament upon the breast, often a winged scarabæus, the emblem of the sun, as in the cut No. 461, which exhibits the connecting ring and chain to fasten it to the girdle. 4. The remaining portion of dress peculiar to the high-priest was the mitre, מצנפת, κίδαρις, *cidaris* (xxviii. 4). The Bible says nothing of the difference between this and the turban of the common priests. It is, however, called by a different name. It was to be of fine linen (ver. 39). Josephus says it was the same in construction and figure with that of the common priest, but that above it there was another, with swathes of blue, embroidered, and round it was a golden crown, polished, of three rows, one above another, out of which rose a cup of gold, which resembled the calyx of the herb called by Greek botanists, hyoscyamus. He ends a most laboured description by comparing the shape of it to a poppy (iii. 7. 6). Upon comparing his account of the bonnet of the priests with the mitre of the high-priests, it would appear that the latter was conical. The cut, No. 462, presents the principal forms of the mitres worn by the



462. [Egyptian mitres.]

ancient priests of Egypt, and affords a substantial resemblance of that prescribed to the Jews, divested of idolatrous symbols, but which were displaced to make way for a simple plate of gold, bearing the inscription, 'Holiness to Jehovah.' This ציץ, πέταλον, *lamina*, extended from one ear to the other, being bound to the forehead by strings tied behind, and further secured in its position by a blue riband attached to the mitre (Exod. xxviii. 36-39; xxxix. 30; Lev. viii. 9). Josephus says this plate was preserved to his own day (*Antiq.* viii. 3-8; see Reland, *De Spol. Templi*, p. 132). Such was the dress of the high-priest: see a description of its magnificence in corresponding terms in Eccles. l. 5-16. Josephus had an idea of the symbolical import of the several parts of it. He says, that being made of linen signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates, and in the noise of its bells resembling thunder. The ephod showed that God had made the universe of four elements, the gold relating to the splendour by which all things are enlightened. The breast-plate in the middle of the ephod resembled the earth, which has the middle place

of the world. The girdle signified the sea, which goes round the world. The sardonyxes declare the sun and moon. The twelve stones are the twelve months or signs of the zodiac. The mitre is heaven, because blue (iii. 7. 7). He appears, however, to have had two explanations of some things, one for the Gentiles, and another for the Jews. Thus in this section, he tells his Gentile readers that the seven lamps upon the golden candlesticks referred to the seven planets; but to the Jews he represents them as an emblem of the seven days of the week (*De Bell. Jud.* vii. 5. 5; Whiston's notes *in loc.*). The magnificent dress of the high-priest was not always worn by him. It was exchanged for one wholly of linen, and therefore white, though of similar construction, when on the day of expiation he entered into the Holy of Holies (Lev. xvi. 4, 23); and neither he nor the common priests wore their appropriate dress, except when officiating. It was for this reason, according to some, that Paul, who had been long absent from Jerusalem, did not know that Ananias was the high-priest (Acts xxiii. 5). In Ezek. xlii. 14; xliv. 17-19, there are directions that the priests should take off their garments when they had ministered, and lay them up in the holy chambers, and put on other garments; but these directions occur in a visionary representation of a temple, which all agree has never been realized, the particulars of which, though sometimes derived from known customs, yet at other times differ from them widely. The garments of the inferior priests appear to have been kept in the sacred treasury (Ezra ii. 69; Neh. vii. 70).

The next incident in the *history* is, that Moses receives *a command to consecrate* Aaron and his sons to the priests' office (Exod. xxviii. 41), with the following ceremonies. They were to be washed at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation (xxix. 4), where the altar of burnt offering stood (xl. 6, 29). Aaron was then robed in his pontifical garments (vers. 4-6), and anointed with a profusion of oil (ver. 7); whence he was called 'the priest that is anointed' (Lev. iv. 3, &c.; Ps. cxxxiii. 2). This last act was the peculiar and only distinguishing part of Aaron's consecration; for the anointing of his sons (xxx. 30) relates only to the unction (xxix. 31), by a mixture made of the blood of the sacrifice and of the anointing oil, which was sprinkled upon both Aaron and his sons, and upon their garments, as part of their consecration. Hence then Aaron received two unctions. In after-times the high-priest took an oath (Heb. vii. 23) to bind him, as the Jews say, to a strict adherence to established customs (*Mishna*, tit. *Yoma*, i. 5). The other details of this ceremony of consecration are all contained in one chapter (Exod. xxix.), to which we must be content to refer the reader. The entire ceremony lasted seven days, on each of which, all the sacrifices were repeated (Lev. viii. 33), to which a promise was added, that God would sanctify Aaron and his sons, that is, declare them to be sanctified, which he did, by the appearance of his glory at their first sacrifice, and by the fire which descended and consumed their burnt-offerings (Lev. ix. 23, 24). Thus were Aaron and his sons and their descendants separated for ever, to the office of the priesthood, from all other Israelites. There was consequently no need of any further consecration for them or their descendants. The first-born son of Aaron succeeded him in the office, and the elder son among all his descendants; a rule which, though deviated from in after times, was ultimately resumed. The next successor was to be anointed and consecrated in his father's holy garments (ver. 29), which he must wear seven days when he went into the tabernacle of the



463 [High-priest]

congregation to minister (ver. 30; comp. Num. xx. 26-28; xxxv. 25), and make an atonement for all things and persons (Lev. xvi. 32-34), and for himself (comp. ver. 11), besides the offering (vi. 20-22). The common priests were required to prove their descent from Aaron. No age was prescribed for their entrance on their ministry, or retirement from it.

We shall now give a summary of the *duties and emoluments* of the high-priest and common priests respectively. Besides his lineal descent from Aaron, the high-priest was required to be free from every bodily blemish or defect (Lev. xxi. 16-23); but though thus incapacitated, yet, his other qualifications being sufficient, he might eat of the food appropriated to the priests (ver. 22). He must not marry a widow, nor a divorced woman, or profane, or that had been a harlot, but a virgin Israelitess (ver. 14). In Ezekiel's vision a general permission is given to the priests to marry a priest's widow (xliv. 22). The high-priest might not observe the external signs of mourning for any person, or leave the sanctuary upon receiving intelligence of the death of even father or mother (ver. 10-12; comp. x. 7). Public calamities seem to have been an exception, for Joacim the high-priest, and the priests, in such circumstances ministered in sackcloth with ashes on their mitres (Judith iv. 14, 15; comp. Joel i. 13). He must not eat anything that died of itself, or was torn of beasts (Lev. xxii. 8); must wash his hands and feet when he went into the tabernacle of the congregation, and when he came near to the altar to minister (Exod. xxx. 19-21).

At first Aaron was to burn incense on the golden altar every morning when he dressed the lamps, and every evening when he lighted them, but in later times the common priest performed this duty (Luke i. 8, 9); to offer, as the Jews understand it, daily, morning and evening, the peculiar meat-offering he offered on the day of his consecration (Exod. xxix.); to perform the ceremonies of the great day of expiation (Lev. xvi.); to arrange the shew-bread every Sabbath, and to eat it in the holy place (xxiv. 9); must abstain from the holy things during his uncleanness (xxii. 1-3); also if he became leprous, or contracted uncleanness (ver. 4-7). If he committed a sin of ignorance he must offer a sin-offering for it (iv. 3-13); and so for the people (ver. 12-22); was to eat the remainder of the people's meat-offerings with the inferior priests in the holy place (vi. 16); to judge of the leprosy in the human body or garments (xiii. 2-59); to adjudicate legal questions (Deut. xvii. 12). Indeed when there was no divinely inspired judge, the high-priest was the supreme ruler till the time of David, and again after the captivity. He must be present at the appointment of a new ruler or leader (Num. xxvii. 19), and ask counsel of the Lord for the ruler (ver. 21). Eleazar with others distributes the spoils taken from the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 21, 26). To the high-priest also belonged the appointment of a maintenance from the funds of the sanctuary to an incapacitated priest (1 Sam. ii. 36, margin). Besides these duties, peculiar to himself, he had others in common with the inferior priests. Thus, when the camp set forward, 'Aaron and his sons' were to take the tabernacle to pieces, to cover the various portions of it in cloths of various colours (iv. 5-15), and to appoint the Levites to their services in carrying them; to bless the people in the form prescribed (vi. 23-27), to be responsible for all official errors and negligences (xviii. 1), and to have the general charge of the sanctuary (ver. 5).

Emoluments of the High-Priest.—Neither the high-priest nor common priests received 'any inheritance' at the distribution of Canaan among the several tribes (Num. xviii. 20; Deut. xviii. 1, 2), but were maintained, with their families, upon certain fees, dues, perquisites, &c., arising from the public services, which they enjoyed as a common fund. Perhaps the only distinct prerogative of the high-priest was a tenth part of the tithes assigned to the Levites (Num. xviii. 28; comp. Neh. x. 38); but Josephus represents this also as a common fund (*Antiq.* iv. 4. 4).

Duties of the Priests.—Besides those duties already mentioned as common to them and the high-priests, they were required to prove their descent from Aaron, to be free from all bodily defect or blemish (Lev. xxi. 16-23); must not observe mourning, except for near relatives (xxi. 1-5); must not marry a woman that had been a harlot, or divorced, or profane. The priest's daughter who committed whoredom was to be burnt, as profaning her father (xxi. 9). The priests were to have the charge of the sanctuary and altar (Num. xviii. 5). The fire upon the altar, being once kindled (Lev. i. 7), the priests were always to keep it burning (vi. 13). In later times, and upon extraordinary occasions, at least, they flayed the burnt-offerings (2 Chron. xxix. 34), and killed the Passover (Ezra vi. 20). They were to receive the blood of the burnt-offerings in basins (Exod. xxiv. 6), and sprinkle it round about the altar, arrange the wood and the fire, and to burn the parts of the sacrifices (Lev. i. 5-10). If the burnt sacrifice were of doves, the priest was to nip off the head with his finger-nail, squeeze out the blood on the edge of the altar, pluck off the feathers, and throw them with the crop into the ash-pit, divide it down the wings, and then completely burn it (ver. 15-17). He was to offer a lamb every morning and evening (Num. xxviii. 3), and a double number on the Sabbath (ver. 9), the burnt-offerings ordered at the beginning of months (ver. 11), and the same on the Feast of Unleavened Bread (ver. 19), and on the day of the First Fruits (ver. 26); to receive the meat-offering of the offerer, bring it to the altar, take of it a memorial, and burn it upon the altar (Lev. ii.); to sprinkle the blood of the peace-offerings upon the altar round about, and then to offer of it a burnt-offering (iii.); to offer the sin-offering for a sin of ignorance in a ruler or any of the common people (iv. 22-25); to eat the sin-offering in the holy-place (vi. 26; comp. x. 16-18); to offer the trespass-offering (ver. 6-19; vi. 6, 7), to sprinkle its blood round about the altar (vii. 2), to eat of it, &c. (ver. 6); to eat of the shew-bread in the holy place (xxiv. 9); to offer for the purification of women after child-birth (xii. 6, 7); to judge of the leprosy in the human body or garments; to decide when the leper was cleansed, and to order a sacrifice for him (xiv. 3, 4); to administer the rites used at pronouncing him clean (ver. 6, 7); to present him and his offering before the Lord, and to make an atonement for him (ver. 10-32); to judge of the leprosy in a house (xiv. 33-47), to decide when it was clean (ver. 48), and to make an atonement for it (ver. 49-53); to make an atonement for men cleansed from an issue of uncleanness (xv. 14, 15), and for women (ver. 29, 30); to offer the sheaf of First Fruits (xxiii. 10, 11); to estimate the commutation in money for persons in cases of a singular or extraordinary vow (xxvii. 8), or for any devoted unclean beast (ver. 11, 12), or for a house (ver. 14), or field (xviii. 23); to conduct the ordeal of the bitter water (Num. v. 12-31) [JEALOUSY, WATER OF]; to make an atonement for a Nazarite who had accidentally contracted uncleanness (vi. 13); to offer his offering when the days of his separation were fulfilled (ver. 14, 16); to blow with the silver trumpets on all occasions appointed (vi. 13-17), and ultimately at morning and evening service (1 Chron. xvi. 6); to make an atonement for the people and individuals in case of erroneous worship (Num. xv. 15, 24, 25, 27) (see Outram, *De Sacrificiis*, c. xiv. 2); to make the ointment of spices (1 Chron. ix. 30); to prepare the water of separation (Num. xix. 1-11); to act as assessors in judicial proceedings (Deut. xvii. 9; xix. 7); to encourage the army when going to battle, and probably to furnish the officers with the speech (ver. 5-9); to superintend the expiation of an uncertain murder (xxi. 5), and to have charge of the law (xxxi. 9).

The emoluments of the priests were as follows:—1. Those which they might eat only at the sanctuary; viz., the flesh of the sin-offering (Lev. vi. 25, 26), and of the trespass-offering (vii. 1, 6); the peace-offerings of the congregation at Pentecost (xxiii. 19, 20); the remainder of

the omer or sheaf of the first-fruits of barley harvest (ver. 10), and the loaves offered at wheat harvest (ver. 17); the shew-bread (xxiv. 9); the remainder of the leper's log of oil (xiv. 10, &c.); the remnants of the meat-offerings (vi. 16). 2. Those which might be eaten only in the camp in the first instance, and afterwards in Jerusalem, viz., the breast and right shoulder of the peace-offerings (vii. 31, 34); the heave-offering of the sacrifice of thanksgiving (ver. 12-14); the heave-offering of the Nazarite's ram (Num. vi. 17, 20); the firstling of every clean beast (xviii. 15); whatsoever was first ripe in the land (ver. 13). 3. Those due to them only from inhabitants of the land; viz., the first-fruits of oil, wine, wheat (ver. 12); a cake of the first dough made of any kind of grain (xv. 20); the first fleece (Deut. xviii. 4). 4. Those due to them everywhere within and without the land; viz., the shoulder, two cheeks and maw, of an ox or sheep, offered in sacrifice (ver. 3); the redemption of man and of unclean beasts (Num. xviii. 15); of the firstling of an ass (Exod. xxxiv. 20); the restitution in cases of injury or fraud when it could not be made to the injured party or his kinsman (Num. v. 8); all devoted things. 5. The skins of the burnt offerings (Lev. vii. 8), which Philo calls a very rich perquisite (*De Sacerd. Honor.* p. 833, ed. 1640). Many of these dues were paid in money. The priests might also incidentally possess lands (1 Kings ii. 26; Jer. xxxii. 7, 8); and they most likely shared in occasional donations and dedications (Num. xxxi. 25-29, 50-54; 2 Sam. viii. 11, 12; 1 Chron. xxvi. 27, 28). Their revenues were probably more extensive than they appear, owing to the ambiguity with which the term Levite is often used. If the regular and ascertained incomes of the priests seem large, amounting, as it has been computed, to one-fifth of the income of a Jew (comp. Gen. xlvii. 24), it must be considered that their known duties were multifarious and often difficult. Michaelis calls them 'the literati of all the faculties.' The next *event* in the history of the subject is the *public consecration* of Aaron and his sons (B.C. 1490), according to the preceding regulations (Lev. viii.). At their first sacerdotal performances (ix.) the Divine approbation was intimated by a supernatural fire which consumed their burnt-offering (ver. 24). The general satisfaction of the people with these events was, however, soon dashed by the miraculous destruction of the two elder sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, for offering strange fire (x. 1), probably under the influence of too much wine, since the prohibition of it to the priests when about to enter the tabernacle seems to have originated in this event (ver. 9). Moses forbade Aaron and his sons to uncover their heads, or to rend their clothes on this occasion; but the whole house of Israel were permitted to bewail the visitation (ver. 6). The inward grief, however, of Eleazar and Ithamar caused an irregularity in their sacerdotal duties, which was forgiven on account of the occasion (ver. 16-20). Aaron now appears associated with Moses, and the leading men of the several tribes, in taking the national census (Num. i. 3, &c.), and on other grand state occasions (xxvi. 2, 3; xxxi. 13-26; xxxii. 2; xxxiv. 17). The high-priest appears ever after as a person of the highest consequence. The dignity of the priesthood soon excited the emulation of the ambitious; hence the penalty of death was denounced against the assumption of it by any one not belonging to the Aaronic family (ver. 10), and which was soon after miraculously inflicted upon Korah, Dathan, and Abiram for this crime (xvi. 40). Its restriction to that family was further demonstrated by the blossoming of Aaron's rod (xvii. 5, 8; comp. xxviii. 5-7). The death of Aaron (B.C. 1452) introduces the installation of his successor, which appears to have simply consisted in arraying him in his father's pontifical garments (xx. 28). Thus also Jonathan the Asmonæan contented himself with putting on the high-priest's habit, in order to take possession of the dignity (1 Macc. x. 21; comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 2. 3). The high esteem in which the priesthood was held may be gathered from the fact that it was promised in perpetuity to Phinehas and his family as a reward for his zeal (xxv. 13). At the entrance into Canaan the priests appear bearing the ark of the Lord, at the command of Joshua (iii. 6), though this was ordinarily the duty of the Levites. It was carried by the priests on other grand occasions (2 Chron. v. 4, 5, 7). At the distribution of the land the priests received thirteen cities out of the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin (xxi. 4). The *first idolatrous priest in Israel* was a man consecrated by his own father to officiate in his own house (B.C. 1413); he also afterwards consecrated a Levite to the office (Judg. xvii. 5-13). This act seems like a return to the ancient rites of Syria (ver. 5; comp. x. 6; Gen. xxxi. 19, 30; Hosea iii. 4). This Levite became afterwards the idolatrous priest of the whole tribe of Dan (Judg. xviii. 19), and his successors long held the like office in that tribe (ver. 30). The abuse of the sacerdotal office in Shiloh is evinced by the history of Eli the high-priest, and his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas (B.C. 1156). According to Josephus Eli was not of the posterity of Eleazar, the first-born son of Aaron, but of the family of Ithamar; and Solomon took the office of high-priest away from Abiathar, a descendant of Ithamar, and conferred it upon Zadok, who descended from Eleazar (1 Kings ii. 26, 27; *Antiq.* v. 11. 5; viii. 1. 3). The sons of Eli introduced a new exaction from the peace-offering, of so much as a flesh-hook with three teeth brought up; for which and other rapacities (1 Sam. ii. 12-17) their death was threatened (ver. 34), and inflicted (iv. 11). The capture of the ark of God by the Philistines (B.C. 1116) affords us an insight into the state of sacerdotal things among that people (1 Sam. v.), viz., a temple (ver. 2), priests (ver. 5), who are consulted respecting the disposal of the ark (vi. 2, 3). Ahiah, the great-grandson of Eli, succeeded to the high priesthood (B.C. 1093) (1 Sam. xiv. 3); he asks counsel of God for Saul, but it is not answered (ver. 37); is succeeded in office by his brother Ahimelech (xxi. 1-9). Saul appears to have appointed Zadok, of the family of Eleazar, to the high priesthood, and who, with his brethren the priests, officiated before the tabernacle at Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39). David, at his elevation to the throne, sent for all the priests and Levites to bring the ark of God to Jerusalem (B.C. 1051) (1 Chron. xiii. 2, 3; comp. the Psalm he wrote on the occasion, cxxxii. 9-16). At this period, therefore, there were two high-priests at Jerusalem (1 Chron. xv. 11; xviii. 16). A

peculiar use of the Hebrew word signifying priest occurs in 2 Sam. viii. 18, 'and David's sons were כהנים, chief rulers;' Sept. αὐλάρχαι, 'chamberlains;' Vulg: *sacerdotes*. The writer of the First book of Chronicles, however, did not choose to give the name to any but a priest, and renders it 'the sons of David were chief (or heads) on the side of the king' (xviii. 17). The word seems, however, certainly applied to some persons who were not priests (1 Kings iv. 5, 'principal officer;' Sept. ἑταῖρος; Alex. ἱερεὺς ἑταῖρος; Vulg. *sacerdos;* comp. 2 Sam. xx. 26; 1 Chron. xxvii. 5; Ps. xcix. 6). These 'sons of David' were, therefore, probably ecclesiastical counsellors, or chief church lawyers. During the reign of David, both Zadok and Abiathar steadily adhered to his interests, accompanied him out of Jerusalem when he fled before Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 24), and, after having at his desire returned to Jerusalem (ver. 29), still maintained private correspondence with him (ver. 35), and ultimately negotiated his restoration (xix. 11). David introduced *the division of the priests into twenty-four classes or courses* by lot (1 Chron. xxiv.), B.C. 1015. He appointed sixteen courses of the descendants of Eleazar, under as many heads of their families, and eight of those of Ithamar (ver. 4). This distribution took place in the presence of the king, the princes, Zadok, and the principal priests and Levites. The first of these courses was that which had Jehoiarib at the head of it (ver. 7). It was reckoned the most honourable. Josephus values himself on his descent from it (*Vita*, § 1). Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, descended from it (1 Macc. ii. 1). Abijah was the head of the eighth course (ver. 10), to which Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, belonged (Luke i. 5). All these courses were placed under the jurisdiction of the high-priest, called Aaron, on this occasion (ver. 19). Each course served a week, alternately, under a subordinate prefect (2 Kings xi. 5, 7); and in the time of Zacharias, at least, the duties of each individual seem to have been determined by lot (Luke i. 9); but all attended at the great festivals (2 Chron. v. 11). This arrangement continued till the time of Josephus (*Antiq.* vii. 14. 7). At the close of David's life, Abiathar sided with Adonijah in his effort to gain the throne; but Zadok adhered to Solomon (1 Kings i. 7, 8), and anointed him king (ver. 39). Accordingly, when Solomon became established in the government, he deposed Abiathar (ii. 26), and put Zadok in his place; who appears to have been anointed to the office (1 Chron. xxix. 22), owing to the interruption already alluded to, which had taken place in the proper succession of the high-priesthood. Frequent references to the priests occur in the Psalms written upon the dedication of the temple (B.C. 1004) (see Ps. cxxxv. 1, 19, &c.). The priests were now installed in their offices (2 Chron. viii. 14, 15). At the revolt of the ten tribes from Rehoboam (B.C. 975), all the priests repaired to him to Jerusalem (2 Chron. xi. 13), and there continued their services in the legal manner (xiii. 11). On the other hand, Jeroboam, now become king of Israel, deposed them from their office in his dominions, and consecrated priests of his own idolatrous worship (xi. 15), persons of the lowest class, not of the sons of Levi (1 Kings xii. 31); 'whosoever would he consecrated him' (xiii. 33), provided that the candidate could only bring a young bullock and seven rams for the purpose (2 Chron. xiii. 9). It was during this depression of the true religion and worship that Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, made the celebrated attempt to restore and confirm it in his own dominions, recorded in 2 Chron. xvii. 7-9. For this purpose he sent priests and Levites, who 'took with them the book of the law,' under the convoy of certain princes, to teach its contents throughout all the cities of Judah. This, which seems the nearest approach of any on record to *teach* the people by the priests or Levites, really *amounts to no more* than the declaring the obligations of the law by the appointed expositors of its requirements (comp. Deut. xvi. 18; xvii. 9-13; xxiv. 8; xxxiii. 10; Ezek. xliv. 23, 24; Hagg. ii. 11-13; Hosea iv. 6; Micah iii. 11; Mal. ii. 6-9; and even Neh. viii. 7-9). It may be collected from this incident, that the Scriptures were not then in common circulation (for the deputation 'took the book of the law with them'), and that there was then no religious instruction in synagogues (Campegius Vitringa, *Synag. Vet.* pt. ii. lib. i. c. 9). Although the priests, by the ceremonies they performed, no doubt *incidentally* revived religious principles in the minds of the people, yet they were *never* public teachers of religion in the customary sense of the words. Those of the prophets who collected assemblies on the sabbaths and new moons, approached the nearest of any to religious teachers under the Gospel (comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 30, 31; Jahn, *Biblisches Archäol.* § 371, 372). Jehoshaphat shortly afterwards (B.C. 897) established a permanent court at Jerusalem, composed of priests and Levites, and of the chief of the Fathers of Israel, for the decision of all causes, with the high-priest presiding over them in regard to ecclesiastical concerns (2 Chron. xix. 8-11). About 120 years after, Jehu destroyed all the priests of Baal, and extirpated his worship from Israel (2 Kings x. 15-29). The account of this incident affords additional illustration of the general resemblance observable between idolatrous worship and that of the true God, viz., 'prophets of Baal,' 'priests,' 'servants' who waited on the latter in the capacity of Levites, 'a solemn assembly,' 'a temple' for the god, 'sacrifices,' 'burnt-offerings,' 'vestments for the priests.' About B.C. 884 the high-priest Jehoiada recovers the throne of Judah for its youthful heir Joash; and, after a long life of influence and usefulness, dies, aged 130 years, and is buried in the royal sepulchre at Jerusalem (2 Kings xi. 12; 2 Chron. xxiii.; xxiv. 15, 16). During this reign the priests were empowered, under royal authority, to raise money for the repair of the temple, but at last forfeited this commission by their negligent discharge of it (2 Kings xii. 4-12). At the public humiliation for the famine, ordered by the prophet Joel (B.C. 787), a form of prayer is delivered for the use of the priests (ii. 17; comp. Hosea xiv. 2).

Some time between B.C. 787 and 765, the attempt of Uzziah, king of Judah, to burn incense in the temple, calls forth the resistance of the high-priest Azariah and eighty of the priests, and ends with the king becoming leprous for life (2 Chron. xxvi. 16, 21). The ignorance and depravity of the idolatrous priests of Israel at this period are vividly described (Hosea iv. 6-8; vi. 9). These priests are called כמרים (2 Kings xxiii. 5; Hosea x. 5;

Zeph. i. 4), from the Syr. ܟܡܪ̈ܐ, the idolatrous priests of Palestine being, as might be expected, derived from Syria. The abandoned character of the priests of Judah nearly at the same period is described, Is. xxviii. 7, 8; Micah iii. 11. In the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah (B.C. 739), a flagrant violation of divine commands is permitted by Urijah the high-priest, by the introduction into the temple of an altar similar to one which the king had seen at Damascus (2 Kings xvi. 10-16; comp. Exod. xxvii. 1, 2). The prophecy of Hosea, addressed to the priests (v. 1, &c.), is referred to this period. Better things marked the reign of Hezekiah, who reinstated the priests in their office (2 Chron. xxix. 4); they restore the Passover (xxx.), and are reinstated in their revenues (xxxi. 4-10), are also properly provided for in their own cities (ver. 15), and have the care of their genealogies restored (ver. 16-21), B.C. 726. *During the captivity of the ten tribes*, at least one priest was sent back from Assyria to teach the Assyrian colonists in Samaria 'the manner of the God of the land' (2 Kings xvii. 27); but the colonists themselves also appointed priests for this purpose (ver. 32). Josiah, king of Judah, degrades idolatry by burning the bones of its priests upon their altars (2 Chron. xxxiv. 5), expels some of the survivors (2 Kings xxiii. 8), yet affords some of them an allowance (ver. 9), but puts others to death (ver. 20). Jeremiah, a sacerdotal prophet, flourishes B.C. 630; he is informed that his commission was partly directed against the priests of Judah (i. 18), whose degeneracy is adverted to (ii. 8), and even idolatry (ver. 26, 27). In his time the office of *second priest*, or *sagan*, as he is called by the Jews in later times, is referred to (Jer. lii. 24; 2 Kings xxv. 18). This was a sort of deputy, or *vice high-priest*, whose duty it was to officiate for his superior in case of sudden illness, &c. Many references to the depravity of the priests mark this period (2 Chron. xxxvi. 14; vi. 13; Ezek. xxii. 26), in which they were joined by the prophets (Jer. v. 31; viii. 10; xxvi. 8; Lam. iv. 13). Jeremiah records the attempt of a false prophet, Shemaiah, the Nehelamite, to induce *Zephaniah, the second priest*, to assume the office of high-priest at Jerusalem during the captivity of Judah (B.C. 597). He predicts the restoration of the sacerdotal office (xxxiii. 18, 21). About this time Seraiah, the high-priest, and his sagan Zephaniah, were carried to Babylon, and put to death (2 Kings xxv. 18, 20). Jeremiah describes the miseries of the priests at this period (Lam. i. 4, 19). At *the decree of Cyrus to rebuild Jerusalem* (B.C. 536), some of the priests in exile at Babylon, with the Fathers and Levites, avail themselves of the royal permission to return (Ezra i. 5). These belonged to *four of the courses* which retained the names of their original heads (comp. ii. 36-39; 1 Chron. xxiv. 7, 18, 14; 1 Chron. ix. 12), amounting in all to 4289 priests, besides others who could not produce their genealogy, and whom 'the governor' would not allow to eat the priests' portion till their claim should be verified by a priest with Urim and Thummim (ver. 61-64). These were followed by a second company (vii. 7). The proportion of the priests who returned seems large in comparison with the number of the people who returned, and who scarcely amounted to 50,000. Some of the Fathers who returned presented a hundred priests' garments (Ezra ii. 69). The priests were restored to their cities (ver. 70); the service was restored (iii. 3-5); and, under Joshua, the son of Josedech, the temple was rebuilt (Hagg. i. 1) and dedicated (B.C. 519). The priests who had married strange wives were compelled to separate from them (Ezra x. 18-22). Ezra the scribe publicly reads the law (Neh. viii. 4), and the priests translate the passages read into the Aramæan dialect (ver. 7). They revive the Feast of Tabernacles (ver. 13-18), and the chief of them sign the covenant of the Lord as representatives of the rest (ix. 38, &c.). At the distribution of the inhabitants, 1760 priests remained at Jerusalem (1 Chron. ix. 13). In Neh. xii. 10, 11, an account is given of the succession of the high-priests from the return of the captivity to Jaddua, or Jaddus, who held an interview with Alexander the Great. Thus, as Grotius observes, 'the Scripture history ends where the very light of times, viz., the affairs of Alexander, begin, from which time profane history becomes clear.' Then follows a list of all those chief of the priests who officiated in the lifetime of Jehoiakim, son of Joshua, either as assistants or successors of their fathers (ver. 12). Again, however, the negligence and wickedness of the restored priests are complained of by Malachi (i. 6-13). A heavy threatening is denounced against them (ii. 1-9). The fault of Eliashib, the high-priest, in the misappropriation of a sacred storehouse to the use of one of his relations (Neh. xiii. 4-10), and whose family was much corrupted (ver. 28, 29), closes the information furnished by the canonical books of the Old Testament. The high-priesthood and government of Judæa continued in the lineage of Eleazar, son of Aaron (subject, however, to the Persians), in the family of Josedech, by which it was transmitted down to Onias III. He was supplanted by Jason, his brother, as Jason was by his brother Menelaus; at whose death Alcimus, of a different family, was put into the office by the king of Syria. In the year B.C. 152, Alexander, king of Syria, bestowed it upon the heroic general Jonathan (1 Macc. x. 18-20), who belonged to the class Jehoiarib (ii. 1), and in whose family it became settled, and continued for several descents till the time of Herod, who took the liberty to change the incumbents of the office at his pleasure,—a liberty which the Romans exercised without restraint, so that at last the office was often little more than annual. At the entrance of the Christian history, we are met with the priest Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, of the course of Abia, and married to a daughter of Aaron (Luke i. 5). 'The chief priests,' mentioned in Matt. ii. 4, and elsewhere, so frequently, included, beside the high-priest properly so called and then in office, all that had already held it, who, for the reason just mentioned, were numerous, and the chiefs of the twenty-four courses, who also enjoyed this title. The acting high-priest also usually had for his coadjutor some influential senior who had previously filled the station. Hence the association of Annas and Caiaphas (Luke iii. 2). Josephus speaks of many contemporary high-priests (*Vita*, § 38); and alludes to the influence they possessed (*De Bell. Jud.* iv. 3, 6, 7, 9); and as even wearing the archieratical robe (10). By virtue of his office, the high-priest Caiaphas is

said to have prophesied (John xi. 51). He appears as chairman of the Sanhedrim at our Lord's trial (Matt. xxvi. 57). The chief priests appear as assessors in the court (ver. 59). The common priests still retain the exercise of their ancient functions, in judging of the leprosy, &c. (Mark i. 44). Christians are figuratively called priests (Rev. i. 6; xx. 6). The student will observe the important distinction, that the term ἱερεύς is never applied to the *pastor of the Christian church;* with which term the idea of a sacrifice was always connected in ancient times. Thus Hesychius, Ἱερεύει, σφάζει. Ἱερεύς, ὁ διὰ θυσιῶν μαντευόμενος. We submit the following inferences from the foregoing particulars to the judgment of the reader. The patriarchal form of the priesthood was of divine origin, and the purest. This was carried at the dispersion of the nations into every part of the globe, and became everywhere corrupted in some degree, and ultimately even among the ancient Canaanites. Hence the unquestionable resemblances to it traceable in the religions of all nations. The legation of Moses was directed to the revival of all the important truths comprised in the early revelations, and which were shrouded under the system of Egypt. Hence it was proper that he should become 'learned in all the wisdom' of that country. In the accomplishment of this mission, Moses retained also such innocent adaptations to the old system as were required by the fixed associations of the people whom he was destined to deliver. Among these adaptations we incline to consider the peculiar office of the high-priest, of which we find no rudiments in the patriarchal church. Nor does the *use and illustration* made of that office in the Epistle to the Hebrews disturb our view, because the same writer finds more points of resemblance between the performances of Christ and the priesthood of the patriarchal Melchizedek than between the office of Aaron and that of Christ (ch. vii.; see Jer. vii. 21-23). The resemblances between the religious customs of the ancient Egyptians and those of the Jews are numerous, decided, peculiar, and most important. Besides those laid before the reader in this article, we refer him to the articles Ark, Cherubim, &c., but especially to Kitto's *Pictorial History of Palestine*, London, 1844, which contains *all* the most valuable illustrations of this nature derived from the best and most modern works on Egypt. To this work the reader is indebted for the valuable cuts which have been now submitted to his consideration. For the similarity in the religion of ancient Greece, see Potter's *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 202, Lond. 1775; of ancient Rome, Adam's *Antiquities*, p. 293, § *ministri sacrorum*, Edin. 1791. For particular topics, Kiesling, *De Legibus Mos. circa Sacerd. Vitio Corporis laborantes;* T. C. Kall, *De Morbis Sacerdot. V. T. ex ministerii eor. conditione oriundis*, Hafn. 1745; Jablonskii *Pantheon, proleg.* § 29, 41, 43; Munch, *De Matrimonio Sacerd. V. T. cum filiab. Sacer.* Norimb. 1747; Krumbholz, *Sacer. Heb. ebendas.* For the theology of the subject, Dr. J. P. Smith's *Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ*, London, 1842; Wilson on the same subject.—J. F. D.

PRIMOGENITURE (בְּכֹרָה; Sept. Πρωτοτόκια, Gen. xxv. 31, 31; xxvii. 36; Deut. xxi. 17; 1 Chron. v. 1) [see Birthright]. It occurs in the New Testament only in Heb. xii. 16. Πρωτότοκος, always rendered 'first-born' in the English version, is found in the Sept. in Gen. iv. 4, Deut. xxi. 17, and several other passages of the Old Testament, as the representative of the Hebrew בכור, signifying 'one who openeth the womb,' whether an only child, or whether other children follow. 'Primogenitus est, non post quem alii, sed ante quem nullus alius genitus' (Pareus). Πρωτότοκος is found nine times in the New Testament—viz. Matt. i. 25 (if the passage be genuine, and not introduced from the parallel passage in Luke); Luke ii. 7; Rom. viii. 29; Col. i. 15, 18; Heb. i. 6; xi. 28; xii. 23; Rev. i. 5. Except in the Gospels, and Heb. xi. 28, the word always bears a metaphorical sense in the New Testament, being generally synonymous with *heir* or *lord*, and having, in Heb. i. 6, an especial reference to our Lord's Messianic dignity. In Heb. xii. 23, 'the assembly of the first-born,' it seems to be synonymous with 'elect,' or 'dearly beloved,' in which sense it is also used on one occasion in the Old Testament (Jer. xxxi. 9). In the fourth century, Helvidius, among the Latins, and Eunomius among the Greeks, wished to attach a signification to πρωτότοκος in Matt. i. and Luke ii., different from the Old Testament usage, maintaining, in order to support their novel hypothesis—(viz. that Joseph and Mary had children after the birth of our Lord)—[Jude], that the word πρωτότοκος, by reason of its etymology, could not be applied to an *only child.* Jerome replied to the former by appealing to the usage of the word in the Old Testament (*adv. Helvid. in Matt.* i. 9). The assertion of Eunomius was equally refuted by the Greek fathers, Basil (*Hom. in Nat.*), Theophylact (*in Luc.* ii.), and Damascenus (*De fid. Orthod.* l. iv.). In reference to this controversy, Drusius (*Ad difficiliora loca Num.* cap. 6) observes: 'Sic sane Christus vocatur Πρωτότοκος, licet mater ejus nullos alios postea liberos habuerit. Notet hoc juventus propter Helvidium, qui ex eâ voce inferebat Mariam ex Josepho post Christum natum plures filios suscepisse.' 'Those entitled to the prerogative' [viz. of birthright], observes Campbell (*On the Gospels*), 'were invariably denominated the first-born, whether the parents had issue afterwards or not.' Eunomius further maintains, from Col. i. 15, that our Lord was 'a creature;' but his arguments were replied to by Basil and Theophylact. Some of the Fathers referred this passage to Christ's pre-existence, others to his baptism. In Isa. xiv. 30, the 'first-born of the poor' signifies the poorest of all; and in Job xviii. 13, the 'first-born of death' means the most terrible of deaths. See Suicer's *Thesaurus;* Leigh's *Critica Sacra;* Wahl's *Clavis Philolog.;* Rose's edition of Parkhurst's *Lexicon;* and Cruden's *Concordance.* W. W.

PRISCA. [Priscilla.]

PRISCILLA (Πρίσκιλλα), or Prisca (Πρίσκα), wife of Aquila, and probably, like Phœbe, a deaconess. She shared the travels, labours, and dangers of her husband, and is always named along with him (Rom. xvi. 3; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; 2 Tim. iv. 19) [Aquila].

PRISON. [Punishment.]

PRIZE. [Games.]

PROCHORUS (Πρόχορος), one of the seven first deacons of the Christian church (Acts vi. 5). Nothing is known of him.

PROCONSUL, a Roman officer appointed to the government of a province with consular authority. He was chosen out of the body of the senate; and it was customary, when any one's consulate expired, to send him as a proconsul into some province. He enjoyed the same honour with the consuls, but was allowed only six lictors with the fasces before him.

The proconsuls decided cases of equity and justice, either privately in their palaces, where they received petitions, heard complaints, and granted writs under their seals; or publicly in the common hall, with the formalities generally observed in the courts at Rome. These duties were, however, more frequently delegated to their assessors, or other judges of their own appointment. As the proconsuls had also the direction of justice, of war, and of the revenues, these departments were administered by their lieutenants, or *legati*, who were usually nominated by the senate. The office of the proconsuls lasted generally for one year only, and the expense of their journeys to and from their provinces was defrayed by the public. After the partition of the provinces between Augustus and the people, those who presided over the provinces of the latter were especially designated proconsuls, for whom it appears to have been customary to decree temples (Suet. *Aug.*). Livy (viii. and xxvi.) mentions two other classes of proconsuls: those who, being consuls, had their office continued beyond the time appointed by law; and those who, being previously in a private station, were invested with this honour, either for the government of provinces, or to command in war. Some were created proconsuls by the senate without being appointed to any province, merely to command in the army, and to take charge of the military discipline; others were allowed to enter upon their proconsular office before being admitted to the consulship, but having that honour in reserve.

When the Apostle Paul was at Corinth, he was brought before Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia, one of the provinces of Greece, of which Corinth was the chief city, and arraigned by the Jews as one who 'persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law' (Acts xviii. 13); but Gallio refused to act as a judge of such matters, and 'drave them from the judgment-seat' (ver. 16).—G. M. B.

PROGNOSTICATORS. The phrase 'monthly prognosticators' occurs in the Authorized Version of Isa. xlvii. 13, where the prophet is enumerating the astrological superstitions of the Chaldæans. In the later Hebrew, חזה denotes a 'seer,' or 'prophet;' and to express the sense in which it is employed in this text, a better word than prognosticator could not well be chosen. The original, חזים בכוכבים, might perhaps be more exactly rendered, as by Dr. Henderson, 'prognosticators at the new moons.' It is known that the Chaldæan astrologers professed to divine future events by the positions, aspects, and appearances of the stars, which they regarded as having great influence on the affairs of men and kingdoms; and it would seem, from the present text, that they put forth accounts of the events which might be expected to occur from month to month, like our old almanac-makers. Some carry the analogy further, and suppose that they also gave monthly tables of the weather; but *such* prognostications are only cared for in climates where the weather is uncertain and variable; while in Chaldæa, where (as we know from actual experience) the seasons are remarkably regular in their duration and recurrence, and where variations of the usual course of the weather are all but unknown, no prognosticator would gain much honour by foretelling what every peasant knows.

PROPHECY. The principal considerations involved in this important subject may be arranged under the following heads:—

I. *The nature of Prophecy, and its position in the economy of the Old Testament.*—The view commonly taken of the prophets is, that they were mere predictors of future events; but this view is one-sided and too narrow, though, on the other hand, we must beware of expanding too much the acceptation of the term prophet. Not to mention those who, like Hendewerk, in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, identify the notion of a prophet with that of an honest and pious man, the conception of those is likewise too wide who place the essential feature of a prophet in his divine inspiration. That this does not meet the whole subject, appears from Num. xii. 6, sq., where Moses, who enjoyed divine inspiration in its highest grade, is represented as differing from those called prophets in a stricter sense, and as standing in contrast with them. Divine inspiration is only the general basis of the prophetic office, to which two more elements must be added:—

1. Inspiration was imparted to the prophets in a *peculiar form*. This appears decisively from the passage in Numbers above cited, which states it as characteristic of the prophet, that he obtained divine inspiration in *visions* and *dreams*, consequently in a state extraordinary and distinguished from the general one. This mode was different from that in which inspirations were conveyed to Moses and the apostles. The same thing is shown by the names usually given to the prophets, viz., ראים and חזים, *seers*, and from this that all prophecies which have come down to us have a poetical character, which points to an intimate affinity between prophecy and poetry; a subject further illustrated by Steinberk, in his work, *Der Dichter ein Seher*, Leipzig, 1836; though the materials which he gives are not sufficiently digested. The prophetical style differs from that of books properly called poetical, whose sublimity it all but outvies, only in being less restrained by those external forms which distinguish poetical language from prose, and in introducing more frequently than prose does plays upon words and thoughts. This peculiarity may be explained by the practical tendency of prophetical addresses, which avoid all that is unintelligible, and studiously introduce what is best calculated for the moment to strike the hearers. The same appears from many other circumstances, *e. g.* the union of *music* with prophesying, the demeanour of Saul when among the prophets (1 Sam. x. 5), Balaam's description of himself (Num. xxiv. 3) as a man whose eyes were opened, who saw the vision of the Almighty, and heard the words of God, the established phraseology to denote the inspiring impulse, viz., 'the hand of the Lord was strong

upon him' (Ezek. iii. 14, comp. Isa. viii. 11.; 2 Kings iii. 15), &c. All these facts prove that there essentially belonged to prophecy a state of mind worked up—a state of being beside one's self—an ecstatic transport, in which ideas were immediately imparted from Heaven. Acute remarks on the subject will be found in the works of Novalis (vol. ii. p. 472, sq.), from which we give the following passage: 'It is a most arbitrary prejudice to suppose that to man is denied the power of going out of himself, of being endued with a consciousness beyond the sphere of sense: he may at any moment place himself beyond the reach of sense (*ein übersinnliches Wesen seyn*), else he would be a mere brute, not a rational freeman of the universe. There are, indeed, degrees in the aptitude for revelations; one is more qualified for them than another, and certain dispositions are particularly capable of receiving such revelations; besides, on account of the pressure of sensible objects on the mind, it is in this state difficult to preserve self-possession. Nevertheless there are such states of mind, in which its powers are strengthened, and, so to speak, armed.' The state of ecstacy, though ranking high above the ordinary sensual existence, is still not the highest, as appears from Num. xii., and the example of Christ, whom we never find in an ecstatical state. To the prophets, however, it was indispensable, on account of the frailty of themselves and the people. The forcible working upon them by the Spirit of God would not have been required, if their general life had already been altogether holy; for which reason we also find ecstacy to manifest itself the stronger the more the general life was ungodly; as, for instance, in Balaam, when the Spirit of God came upon him (Num. xxiv. 4, 16), and in Saul, who throws himself on the ground, tearing his clothes from his body. With a prophet whose spiritual attainments were those of an Isaiah, such results are not to be expected. As regards the people, their spiritual obtuseness must be considered as very great, to have rendered necessary such vehement excitations as the addresses of the prophets caused. Thus it appears that prophecy has a predominant place in the Old Testament. Under the New Testament it could take only a subordinate place; although even then it could not be dispensed with, and hence we find it in the apostolic age. It had to prepare the soil on which the peculiar gifts of the New Testament might flourish, and the lower the church's state, the more it resembled that of the Old Testament, the greater the need of this. It had also to counteract the risk of barrenness and inefficiency to which the unexciting form of the New Testament system was exposed. To the church in the present day one could wish a copious supply of the prophetic gifts!

2. Generally speaking, every one was a prophet to whom God communicated his mind in this peculiar manner. Thus, *e. g.* Abraham is called a prophet (Gen. xx. 7), not, as is commonly thought, on account of general revelations granted him by God, but because such as he received were in the special form described; as indeed in chap. xv. it is expressly stated that divine communications were made to him in *visions* and *dreams*. The body of the patriarchs are in the same manner called prophets (Ps. cv. 15). When the Mosaic economy had been established, a new element was added; the prophetic gift was after that time regularly connected with the prophetic office, so that the latter came to form part of the idea of a prophet. Thus Daniel's work was not placed in the collection of prophetical books, because, though eminently endowed with prophetic gifts, he still had not filled the prophetic office. Speaking of office, we do not of course mean one conferred by men, but by God; the mission to Israel, with which the certainty of a continued, not temporary, grant of the *donum propheticum* was connected.

That the Lord would send such prophets was promised to the people by Moses, who by a special law (Deut. xviii. 1) secured them authority and safety. As his ordinary servants and teachers, God appointed the Priests: the characteristic mark which distinguished the prophets from them was inspiration; and this explains the circumstance that, in times of great moral and religious corruption, when the ordinary means no longer sufficed to reclaim the people, the number of prophets increased. The regular religious instruction of the people was no part of the business of the prophets; their proper duty was only to rouse and excite. The contrary, viz., that part of the regular duty of the prophets was to instruct the people, is often argued from 2 Kings iv. 23, where it is said that the Shunamite on the sabbaths and days of new moon used to go to the prophet Elisha; but this passage applies only to the kingdom of Israel, and admits of no inference with respect to the kingdom of Judah. As regards the latter, there is no proof that prophets held meetings for instruction and edification on sacred days. Their position was here quite different from that of the prophets in the kingdom of Israel. The agency of the prophets in the kingdom of Judah was only of a subsidiary kind; these extraordinary messengers of the Lord only filled there the gaps left by the regular servants of God, the priests and the Levites; the priesthood never became there utterly degenerate, and each lapse was followed by a revival of which the prophets were the vigorous agents; the divine election always vindicated itself, and in the purity of the origin of the priesthood lay the certainty of its continued renewal. On the contrary, the priesthood in the kingdom of Israel had no divine sanction, no promise; it was corrupt in its very source: to reform itself would have been to dissolve itself; the priests there were the mercenary servants of the king, and had a brand upon their own consciences. Hence in the kingdom of Israel the prophets were the regular ministers of God; with their office all stood or fell, and hence they were required to do many things besides what the original conception of the office of a prophet implied—a circumstance from the oversight of which many erroneous notions on the nature of prophecy have sprung. This led to another difference, to which we shall revert below, viz., that in the kingdom of Judah the prophetic office did not, as in Israel, possess a fixed organization and complete construction.

In their labours, as respected their own times, the prophets were strictly bound to the Mosaic law, and not allowed to add to it or to diminish ought from it; what was said in this respect to the whole people (Deut. iv. 2; xiii. 1) applied also to them. We find, therefore, prophecy always takes its ground on the Mosaic

law, to which it refers, from which it derives its sanction, and with which it is fully impressed and saturated. There is no chapter in the prophets in which there are not several references to the law. The business of the prophets was to explain it, to lay it to the hearts of the people, and to preserve vital its spirit. It was, indeed, also their duty to point to future reforms, when the ever-living spirit of the law would break its hitherto imperfect form, and make for itself another: thus Jeremiah (iii. 16) foretells days when the ark of the covenant shall be no more, and (ch. xxxi. 31) days when a new covenant will be made with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah. But for their own times they never once dreamt of altering any, even the minutest and least essential precept, even as to its form; how much less as to its spirit, which even the Lord himself declares (Matt. v. 18) to be immutable and eternal. The passages which some interpreters have alleged as opposed to sacrifices as instituted by the Mosaic law, have been misunderstood; they do not denounce sacrifices generally, but only those of the Canaanites, with whom sacrifice was not even a form of true worship, but opposed to the genuine and spiritual service of God.

As to prophecy in its circumscribed sense, or the foretelling of future events by the prophets, some expositors would explain all predictions of special events; while others assert that no prediction contains anything but general promises or threatenings, and that the prophets knew nothing of the particular manner in which their predictions might be realised. Both these classes deviate from the correct view of prophecy; the former resort often to the most arbitrary interpretations, and the latter are opposed by a mass of facts against which they are unable successfully to contend; *e. g.*, when Ezekiel foretells (ch. xii. 12) that Zedekiah would try to break through the walls of the city and to escape, but that he would be seized, blinded, and taken to Babylon. The frailty of the people, under the Old Testament, required external evidence of the real connection of the prophets with God, and the predictions of particular forthcoming events were to them σημεῖα, signs. These were the more indispensable to them, because the ancients generally, and the Orientals in particular, showed the greatest tendency towards the exploration of futurity, which tended to foster superstition and forward idolatry. All other methods of knowing future events by necromancy, conjuration, passing through the fire, &c., having been strictly forbidden (Deut. xviii. 10, 11), it might be expected that the deep-rooted craving for the knowledge of forthcoming events would be gratified in some other and nobler manner. The success of a prophet depended on the gift of special knowledge of futurity; this it is true was granted comparatively to only few, but in the authority thus obtained all those shared who were likewise invested with the prophetic character. It was the seal impressed on true prophecy, as opposed to the false. From 1 Sam. ix. 6, it appears that, to inspire uncultivated minds with the sense of divine truths, the prophets stooped occasionally to disclose things of common life, using this as the means to reach a higher mark. On the same footing with definite predictions stand miracles and tokens, which prophets of the highest rank, as Elijah and Isaiah, volunteered or granted. These also were requisite to confirm the feeble faith of the people; but Ewald justly remarks, that with the true prophets they never appear as the chief point; they only assist and accompany prophecy, but are not its object, not the truth itself, which supersedes them as soon as it gains sufficient strength and influence.

Some interpreters, misunderstanding passages like Jer. xviii. 8; xxvi. 13, have asserted, with Dr. Köster (p. 226, sq.), that all prophecies were conditional; and have even maintained that their revocability distinguished the true predictions (*Weissagung*) from soothsaying (*Wahrsagung*). But beyond all doubt, when the prophet denounces the divine judgments, he proceeds on the assumption that the people will not repent, an assumption which he knows from God to be true. Were the people to repent, the prediction would fail; but because they will not, it is uttered *absolutely*. It does not follow, however, that the prophet's warnings and exhortations are useless. These serve 'for a witness against them;' and besides, amid the ruin of the mass, individuals might be saved. Viewing prophecies as conditional predictions nullifies them. The Mosaic criterion (Deut. xviii. 22), that he was a false prophet who predicted 'things which followed not nor came to pass,' would then be of no value, since recourse might always be had to the excuse, that the case had been altered by the fulfilling of the condition. The fear of introducing fatalism, if the prophecies are not taken in a conditional sense, is unfounded; for God's omniscience, his foreknowledge, does not establish fatalism, and from divine omniscience simply is the prescience of the prophets to be derived. The prophets feel themselves so closely united to God, that the words of Jehovah are given as their own, and that to them is often ascribed what God does, as slaying and reviving (Hos. vi. 5), rooting out nations and restoring them (Jer. i. 10; xviii. 7; Ezek. xxxii. 18; xliii. 3); which proves their own consciousness to have been entirely absorbed into that of God.

The sphere of action of the prophets was absolutely limited to Israel, and there is only one case of a prophet going to the heathen to preach among them, that of Jonah sent to Nineveh. He goes, however, to Nineveh to shame the Hebrews by the reception which he meets with there, and acting upon his own nation was thus even in this case the prophet's ultimate object. Many predictions of the Old Testament concern, indeed, the events of foreign nations, but they are always uttered and written with reference to Israel, and the prophets thought not of publishing them among the heathens themselves. The conversion of the pagans to the worship of the true God was indeed a favourite idea of the prophets; but the Divine Spirit told them, that it was not to be effected by their exertions, as it was connected with extensive future changes, which they might not forestall.

It needs hardly to be mentioned that before a man could be a prophet he must be converted. This clearly appears in the case of Isaiah, 'whose iniquity was taken away, and his sin purged,' previous to his entering on his mission to the people of the covenant. For a single momentary inspiration, however, the mere beginning of spiritual life sufficed, as instanced in Balaam and Saul.

The most usual appellation of a prophet is נביא, and Exod. iv. 1-17 is the classical passage as to the meaning of this word. There God says to Moses, 'Aaron shall be thy נביא unto the people, and thou shalt be unto him instead of God.' The sense is: Aaron shall speak what thou shalt communicate to him. This appellation implies, then, the prophet's relation to God: he speaks not of his own accord, but what the Spirit puts into his mouth. This accords also with the etymology of the word, as נבא signifies in the Arabic *produxit*, and next, *protulit verba, nunciavit, indicavit.* Thus נביא is an adjective of passive signification; he who has been divinely inspired, who has received from God the revelations which he proclaims: it is of the form קטיל, which cannot be proved ever to have an active signification; and hence the common opinion that נביא signifies originally a *speaker*, which has recently been again set up by Dr. Ewald (p. 6), cannot be maintained. While this name refers to divine inspiration, the others are derived from the particular form in which this was communicated to the prophets. These names are חזה and ראה, differing only in the former being more poetical and solemn. From 1 Sam. ix. 9, some expositors have inferred that the name נביא sprang up after the age of Samuel, and that before this the name ראה had been exclusively in use. But that this view is wrong has been proved in Hengstenberg's 'Contributions towards an Introduction to the Old Testament' (*Beiträge zur Einleitung ins A. T.*, vol. iii. p. 335). Other names, as 'man of God,' &c., do not belong to the prophets as such, but only in so far as they are of the number of servants and instruments of God.

II. *Duration of the Prophetic office.*—Although we meet with cases of prophesying as early as the age of the patriarchs, still the roots of prophetism among Israel are properly fixed in the Mosaic economy. Moses instilled into the congregation of Israel those truths which form the foundation of prophecy, and thus prepared the ground from which it could spring up. In the time of Moses himself we find prophesying growing out of those things which through him were conveyed to the minds of the people. The main business of Moses was not that of a prophet; but sometimes he was in the state of prophetic elevation. In such a state originated his celebrated song (Deut. xxxii.), which Eichhorn justly calls the Magna Charta of prophecy; and his blessings (Deut. xxxiii.). Miriam, the sister of Aaron, is called a prophetess (Exod. xv. 20; comp. Num. xii. 2, 6), when she took a timbrel and sang to the Lord, who had overthrown the enemy of the children of Israel. The seventy elders are expressly stated to have been impelled by the spirit of God to prophesy. In the age of the Judges, prophecy, though existing only in scattered instances, exerted a powerful influence. Those who would deny this, in spite of the plain evidence of history, do not consider that the influential operation of prophets, flourishing in later times, requires preparatory steps. 'Now only,' says Ewald justly, 'we are able to perceive how full of strength and life was the ground in which prophecy, to attain such an eminence, must have sprung up.' The more conspicuous prophetic agency begins with Samuel, and the prophets' schools which he founded. From this time to the Babylonian exile, there happened hardly any important event in which the prophets did not appear as performing the leading part. But although the influential operation of the prophets begins with Samuel, none of the prophets up to the year B.C. 800 left any written prophecies. This was certainly not a mere accident. Only when the more important and extensive divine judgments approached, it became necessary, by their announcement, to arouse the impious from their slumber of listlessness, and to open to the faithful the stores of consolation and hope. Before this time, the living oral speech of the prophets was the most important thing; but now, when the Lord revealed to them more extensive prospects, when their calling was not restricted to present events merely, but forthcoming momentous changes were conveyed to their notice and consideration, their written words became equally important. About a hundred years after the return from the Babylonian exile, the prophetic profession ceased. The Jewish tradition uniformly states that Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi were the last prophets. In the first book of the Maccabees (ch. ix. 17) the discontinuance of the prophetic calling is considered as forming an important era in Jewish history; while at the same time an expectation of the renewal in future ages of prophetic gifts is avowed (iv. 46; xiv. 41). After the Babylonian exile the sacred writings were collected, which enabled every one to find the way of salvation; but the immediate revelations to the people of Israel were to cease for awhile, in order to raise a stronger longing for the appearance of the Messiah, and to prepare for him a welcome reception. For the same reason the ark of the covenant had been taken away from the people. The danger of a complete apostacy, which in earlier times might have been incurred by this withdrawal, was not now to be apprehended. The external worship of the Lord was so firmly established, that no extraordinary helps were wanted. Taking also into consideration the altered character of the people, we may add that the time after the exile was more fit to produce men learned in the law than prophets. Before this period, the faithful and the unbelieving were strongly opposed to each other, which excited the former to great exertions. These relaxed when the opposition ceased, and pious priests now took the place of prophets. The time after the exile is characterized by weakness and dependance; the people looked up to the past as to a height which they could not gain; the earlier writings obtained unconditional authority, and the disposition for receiving prophetic gifts was lost.

III. *Manner of Life of the Prophets.*—The prophets went about poorly and coarsely dressed (2 Kings i. 8), not as a mere piece of asceticism, but that their very apparel might teach what the people ought to do; it was a 'sermo propheticus realis.' Compare 1 Kings xxi. 27, where Ahab does penance in the manner figured by the prophet: 'And it came to pass, when Ahab heard these words, that he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted.' Generally the prophets were not anxious of attracting notice by ostentatious display; nor did they seek worldly wealth, most of them living in poverty and even want (1 Kings xiv. 3; 2 Kings iv. 1,

38, 42; vi. 5). The decay of the congregation of God deeply chagrined them (comp. Micah vii. 1, and many passages in Jeremiah). Insult, persecution, imprisonment, and death, were often the reward of their godly life. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says (ch. xi. 37): 'They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented' (comp. Christ's speech, Matt. xxiii. 29, sq.; 2 Chron. xxiv. 17, sq.). The condition of the prophets, in their temporal humiliation, is vividly represented in the lives of Elijah and Elisha in the books of the Kings; and Jeremiah concludes the description of his sufferings in the 20th chapter, by cursing the day of his birth. Repudiated by the world in which they were aliens, they typified the life of Him whose appearance they announced, and whose spirit dwelt in them. They figured him, however, not only in his lowness, but in his elevation. The Lord stood by them, gave evidence in their favour by fulfilling their predictions, frequently proved by miracles that they were his own messengers, or retaliated on their enemies the injury done them. The prophets addressed the people of both kingdoms: they were not confined to particular places, but prophesied where it was required. For this reason they were most numerous in capital towns, especially in Jerusalem, where they generally spoke in the temple. Sometimes their advice was asked, and then their prophecies take the form of answers to questions submitted to them (Isa. xxxvii., Ez. xx., Zech. vii.). But much more frequently they felt themselves inwardly moved to address the people without their advice having been asked, and they were not afraid to stand forward in places where their appearance, perhaps, produced indignation and terror. Whatever lay within or around the sphere of religion and morals, formed the object of their care. They strenuously opposed the worship of false gods (Isa. i. 10, sq.), as well as the finery of women (Isa. iii. 16, sq.). Priests, princes, kings, all must hear them—must, however reluctantly, allow them to perform their calling as long as they spoke in the name of the true God, and as long as the result did not disprove their pretensions to be the servants of the invisible King of Israel. (Jer. xxxvii. 15-21). There were institutions for training prophets; the senior members instructed a number of pupils and directed them. These schools had been first established by Samuel (1 Sam. x. 8; xix. 19); and at a later time there were such institutions in different places, as Bethel and Gilgal (2 Kings ii. 3; iv. 38; vi. 1). The pupils of the prophets lived in fellowship united, and were called 'sons of the prophets;' whilst the senior or experienced prophets were considered as their spiritual parents, and were styled fathers (comp. 2 Kings ii. 12; vi. 21). Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, are mentioned as principals of such institutions. From them the Lord generally chose his instruments. Amos relates of himself (vii. 14, 15), as a thing uncommon, that he had been trained in no school of prophets, but was a herdsman, when the Lord took him to prophesy unto the people of Israel. At the same time, this example shows that the bestowal of prophetic gifts was not limited to the schools of the prophets. Women also might come forward as prophetesses, as instanced in Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah, though such cases are of comparatively rare occurrence. We should also observe, that only as regards the kingdom of Israel we have express accounts of the continuance of the schools of prophets. What is recorded of them is not directly applicable to the kingdom of Judah, especially since, as stated above, prophecy had in it an essentially different position. We cannot assume that the organization and regulations of the schools of the prophets in the kingdom of Judah should have been as settled and established as in the kingdom of Israel. In the latter, the schools of the prophets had a kind of monastic constitution: they were not institutions of general education, but missionary stations; which explains the circumstance that they were established exactly in places which were the chief seats of superstition. The spiritual fathers travelled about to visit the training schools; the pupils had their common board and dwelling, and those who married and left, ceased not on that account to be connected with their colleges, but remained members of them. The widow of such a pupil of the schools of prophets, who is mentioned in 2 Kings iv. 1, sq., considered Elisha as the person bound to care for her. The offerings which, by the Mosaic law, were to be given to the Levites, were by the pious of the kingdom of Israel brought to the schools of the prophets (2 Kings iv. 42). The prophets of the kingdom of Israel stood in a hostile position to the priests. These points of difference in the situation of the prophets of the two kingdoms must not be lost sight of; and we further add, that prophecy in the kingdom of Israel was much more connected with extraordinary events than in the kingdom of Judah: the history of the latter offers no prophetical deeds equalling those of Elijah and Elisha. Prophecy in the kingdom of Israel not being grounded on a hierarchy venerable for its antiquity, consecrated by divine miracles, and constantly favoured with divine protection, it needed to be supported more powerfully, and to be legitimized more evidently. In conclusion, it may be observed, that the expression 'schools of the prophets' is not exactly suited to their nature, as general instruction was not their object. The so-called prophets' schools were associations of men endowed with the spirit of God, for the purpose of carrying on their work, the feeble powers of junior members being directed and strengthened by those of a higher class. To those who entered these unions the Divine Spirit had been already imparted, which was the imperative condition of their reception.

IV. *Symbolic Actions of the Prophets.*—In the midst of the prophetic declarations symbolic actions are often mentioned, which the prophets had to perform. The opinions of interpreters on these are divided. Some assert that they always, at least generally, were really done; others assert that they had existence only in the mind of the prophets, and formed part of their visions. The latter view, which was espoused by Calvin, is proved to be correct by a considerable number of such symbolic actions as are either impossible, or inconsistent with decorum. Thus Hosea relates (i. 2-11) of himself 'that the Lord had ordered him to take a wife of whoredoms, for the land had committed great whoredom, de-

parting from the Lord;' and that he then had taken Gomer, by whom he had several children. That this is not to be taken as a real fact, is proved by Hengstenberg's (*Christologie*, vol. iii.); where it is shown that the prophet intended only symbolically to depict the idolatrous disposition of his nation. Another symbolic action of Jeremiah prefigures the people's destruction. He says (xiii. 1-10) he had been by the Lord directed to get a linen girdle, to put it on his loins, to undertake a long tour to the Euphrates, and to hide the girdle there in a hole of the rock. He does so, returns, and after many days the Lord again orders him to take the girdle from the place where it was hidden, but 'the girdle was marred and good for nothing.' In predicting the destruction of Babylon and a general war (xxv. 12-38), he receives from the Lord a wine-cup, to cause a number of kings of various nations, among whom the sword would be sent, to drink from it till they should be overcome. He then goes with this cup to the kings of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Media, and many other countries. When the prophet Ezekiel receives his commission and instructions to prophesy against the rebellious people of Israel, a roll of a book is presented to him, which he eats by the direction of the Lord (Ezek. ii. 9; iii. 2, 3). He is next ordered to lie before the city of Jerusalem on his left side three hundred and ninety days; and when he had accomplished them, on his right side forty days. He must not turn from one side to the other, and he is ordered to bake with dung of man the bread which he eats during this time (Ezek. iv. 4, 8, 12). Isaiah is ordered to walk naked and barefoot, for a sign upon Egypt and Ethiopia (Isa. xx. 2, 3). Many other passages of this kind might be adduced from the books of the prophets, which compel us to admit that they state internal, not external facts. This may also further be supported by other reasons. In the records of the prophets, their seeing the Lord, hearing him speak, and addressing him, are, no doubt, inward acts. Why, then, not likewise their symbolic representations? The world in which the prophets moved was quite different from the ordinary one; it was not the sensible, but the spiritual world. Vision and symbolic action are not opposed; the former is the general class, comprehending the latter as a species. We must, however, not refer all symbolic actions to internal intuition; at least, of a false prophet we have a sure example of an externally performed symbolic action (1 Kings xxii. 11), and the false prophets always aped the true ones (comp. Jer. xix. 1, sq.). Inward actions were sometimes, when it was possible and proper, materialized by external performance; they are always at the bottom, and form the regular, natural explanation of the symbolic actions of the prophets. To attain the intended object, external performance was not always required; the internal action was narrated, and committed to writing. It made a naked statement more intuitive and impressive, and by presenting the subject in a concentrated form, it was preferable to external performance, which could only take place when the sphere of internal action was circumscribed, and did not extend over long periods of time.

V. *Criteria by which True and False Prophets were distinguished.*—As Moses had foretold, a host of false prophets arose in later times among the people, who promised prosperity without repentance, and preached the Gospel without the law. The writings of the prophets are full of complaints of the mischief done by these impostors. Jeremiah significantly calls them 'prophets of the deceit of their own heart;' *i. e.* men who followed the suggestions of their own fancy in prophesying (Jer. xxiii. 26; comp. ver. 16, and ch. xiv. 14). All their practices prove the great influence which true prophetism had acquired among the people of Israel. But how were the people to distinguish true and false prophets? In the law concerning prophets (Deut. xviii. 20; comp. xiii. 7-9), the following enactments are contained.

1. The prophet *who speaks in the name of other Gods—i. e.* professes to have his revelations from a God different from Jehovah—is to be considered as false, and to be punished capitally; and this even though his predictions should come to pass.

2. The same punishment is to be inflicted on him who speaks in the name of the true God, but *whose predictions are not accomplished.*

These enactments established a peculiar right of the prophets. He who prophesied in the name of the true God, was, even when he foretold calamity, entitled to be tolerated, until it happened that a prediction of his failed of accomplishment. He might then be imprisoned, but could not be put to death, as instanced in Jeremiah (xxvi. 8-16), who is apprehended and arraigned, but acquitted: 'Then said the princes and the people unto the priests and the prophets, This man is not worthy to die, for he has spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God.' Ahab is by false prophets encouraged to attack Ramoth-gilead, but Micaiah prophesied him no good; on which the king becomes angry, and orders the prophet to be confined (1 Kings xxii. 1-27): 'Take Micaiah and put him in prison, and feed him with bread of affliction, and with water of affliction, until I come in peace.' Micaiah answers (ver. 28), 'If thou return at all in peace, the Lord has not spoken by me.' Until the safe return of the king, Micaiah is to remain in prison; after that, he shall be put to death. The prophet agrees to it, and the king goes up to Ramoth-gilead, but is slain in the battle.

3. From the above two criteria of a true prophet, flows the third, that *his addresses must be in strict accordance with the law.* Whoever departs from it cannot be a true prophet, for it is impossible that the Lord should contradict himself.

4. In the above is also founded the fourth criterion, that *a true prophet must not promise prosperity without repentance;* and that he is a false prophet, 'of the deceit of his own heart,' who does not reprove the sins of the people, and who does not inculcate on them the doctrines of divine justice and retribution.

In addition to these negative criteria, there were positive ones to procure authority to true prophets. First of all, it must be assumed that the prophets themselves received, along with the divine revelations, assurance that these were really divine. Any true communion with the Holy Spirit affords the assurance of its divine nature; and the prophets could, therefore, satisfy *themselves* of their divine mission. There was nothing

to mislead and delude them in this respect, for temporal goods were not bestowed upon them with the gift of prophesying. Their own native disposition was often much averse to this calling, and could be only conquered by the Lord forcibly impelling them, as appears from Jer. xx. 8, 9: 'Since I spake, the word of the Lord was made a reproach unto me, and a derision daily. Then I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name: but his word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay.' Now, when the prophets themselves were convinced of their divine mission, they could in various ways prove it to others, whom they were called on to enlighten.

(*a.*) To those who had any sense of truth, the Spirit of God gave evidence that the prophecies were divinely inspired. This *testimonium spiritus sancti* is the chief argument for the reality of a divine revelation, and he who is susceptible of it does not, indeed, disregard the other proofs suiting the wants of unimproved minds, but lays less stress on them.

(*b.*) The prophets themselves utter their firm conviction that they act and speak by divine authority, not of their own accord; (comp. the often recurring phrase נאם יהוה, Jer. xxvi. 12, &c.) Their pious life bore testimony to their being worthy of a nearer communion with God, and defended them from the suspicion of intentional deception; their sobriety of mind distinguished them from all fanatics, and defended them from the suspicion of self-delusion; their fortitude in suffering for truth proved that they had their commission from no human authority.

(*c.*) Part of the predictions of the prophets referred to proximate events, and their accomplishment was divine evidence of their divine origin. Whoever had been once favoured with such a testimonial, his authority was established for his whole life, as instanced in *Samuel*. Of him it is said (1 Sam. iii. 19): 'The Lord was with him, and let none of his words fall to the ground (*i.e.* fulfilled them); and all Israel knew (from this) that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord.' Of the divine mission of Isaiah no doubt could be entertained after, for instance, his prophecies of the overthrow of Sennacherib before Jerusalem had been fulfilled. The credentials of the divine mission of Ezekiel were certified when his prediction was accomplished, that Zedekiah should be brought to Babylon, but should not see it, for the king was made prisoner and blinded (Ezek. xii. 12, 13); they were further confirmed by the fulfilment of his prediction concerning the destruction of the city (Ezek. xxiv.). Jeremiah's claims were authenticated by the fulfilment of his prediction that Shallum, the son of Josiah king of Judah, should die in his prison, and see his native country no more (Jer. xxii. 11, 12).

(*d.*) Sometimes the divine mission of the prophets was also proved by miracles, but this occurred only at important crises, when the existence of the kingdom of Israel was in jeopardy, as in the age of Elijah and Elisha. Miracles are mentioned as criteria of true prophets (Deut. xiii. 2), still with this caution, that they should not be trusted alone, but that the people should inquire whether the negative criteria were extant.

(*e.*) Those prophets whose divine commission had been sufficiently proved, bore testimony to the divine mission of others. It has been observed above, that there was a certain gradation among the prophets; the principals of the colleges of prophets procured authority to the 'sons' of prophets. Thus the deeds of Elijah and Elisha at the same time authenticated the hundreds of prophets whose superiors they were. Concerning the relation of the true prophets to each other, the passage 2 Kings ii. 9 is remarkable; Elisha says to Elijah, 'I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.' Here Elisha, as the first-born of Elijah in a spiritual sense, and standing to him in the same relation as Joshua to Moses, asks for a double portion of his spiritual inheritance, alluding to the law concerning the hereditary right of the lawfully-begotten first-born son (Deut. xxi. 17). This case supposes that other prophets also of the kingdom of Israel took portions of the fulness of the spirit of Elijah. It is plain, then, that only a few prophets stood in immediate communion with God, while that of the remaining was formed by mediation. The latter were spiritually incorporated in the former, and on the ground of this relation, actions performed by Elisha, or through the instrumentality of one of his pupils, are at once ascribed to Elijah, *e. g.* the anointing of Hazael to be king over Syria (1 Kings xix. 15; comp. 2 Kings viii. 13); the anointing of Jehu to be king over Israel (1 Kings xix. 16, comp. 2 Kings ix. 1, sq.); the writing of the letter to Joram, &c. Thus in a certain sense it may be affirmed, that Elijah was in his time the only prophet of the kingdom of Israel. Similarly of Moses it is recorded, during his passage through the desert, that a portion of his spirit was conveyed to the seventy elders. The history of the Christian church itself offers analogies; look, *e. g.* at the relation of the second class reformers to Luther and Calvin.

VI. *Promulgation of the Prophetic Declarations.*—Usually the prophets promulgated their visions in public places before the congregated people. Still some portions of the prophetic books, as the entire second part of Isaiah and the description of the new temple (Ezek. xl.-xlviii.), probably were never communicated orally. In other cases the prophetic addresses first delivered orally were next, when committed to writing, revised and improved. Especially the books of the lesser prophets consist, for the greater part, not of separate predictions, independent of each other, but form, as they now are, a whole, that is, give the quintessence of the prophetic labours of their authors. In this case it is certain that the authors themselves caused the collection to be made. But it is so likewise in some cases where their books really consist of single declarations, and in others it is at least highly probable. Further particulars concerning the manner in which prophetic rolls were collected and published, we have only respecting Jeremiah, who, being in prison, called Baruch, 'to write from his mouth his predictions, and to read them in the ears of the people' (Jer. xxxviii. 4-14). There is evidence to prove that the later prophets sedulously read the writings of the earlier, and that a prophetic canon existed before the present was formed. The predictions of Jeremiah throughout rest on the writings of earlier prophets, as Kuper has established in his *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, Ber-

lin, 1837. Zechariah explicitly alludes to writings of former prophets; 'to the words which the Lord has spoken to earlier prophets, when Jerusalem was inhabited and in prosperity' (Zech. i. 4; vii. 7, 12). In all probability we have complete those predictions which were committed to writing; at least the proofs which Dr. Ewald gives (p. 43, sq.) for his opinion, of prophecies having been lost, do not stand trial. The words 'as the Lord hath said,' in Joel ii. 32, refer to the predictions of Joel himself. In Isa. ii. and Micah iv. nothing is introduced from a lost prophetic roll, but Isaiah borrows from Micah. Hosea alludes (ch. viii. 12), not to some unknown work, but to the Pentateuch. In Isa. xv. and xvi. the prophet repeats, not another's prediction, but his own, previously delivered, to which he adds a supplement. Obadiah and Jeremiah do not avail themselves of the written address of a former prophet, but Jeremiah makes the prophecy of Obadiah the groundwork of his own. The opinion that in Isa. lvi. 10; lvii. 11, there was inserted, unaltered, a long remnant of an older roll, is founded on erroneous views respecting the time of its composition. The same holds good of Isa. xxiv., where Ewald would find remnants of several older rolls. The very circumstance, that in the prophets there nowhere occurs a tenable ground for maintaining that they referred to rolls lost and unknown to us, but that they often allude to writings which we know and possess, clearly proves that there is no reason for supposing, with Ewald, that a *great number* of prophetic compositions has been lost, 'and that of a large tree, only a few blossoms have reached our time.' In consequence of the prophets being considered as organs of God, much care was bestowed on the preservation of their publications. Ewald himself cannot refrain from observing (p. 56), 'We have in Jer. xxvi. 1-19 a clear proof of the exact knowledge which the better classes of the people had of all that had, a hundred years before, happened to a prophet, of his words, misfortunes, and accidents.'

The collectors of the Canon arranged the prophets chronologically, but considered the whole of the twelve lesser prophets as one work, which they placed after Jeremiah and Ezekiel, inasmuch as the three last lesser prophets lived later than they. Daniel was placed in the Hagiographa, because he had not filled the prophetic office. The collection of the lesser prophets themselves was again chronologically disposed; still Hosea is, on account of the extent of his work, allowed precedence before those lesser prophets, who, generally, were his contemporaries, and also before those who flourished at a somewhat earlier period.

On the general subject of prophecy no comprehensive or altogether satisfactory treatise has yet been produced. Some good remarks will be found in the essay of John Smith, *On Prophecy* (*Select Discourses*, disc. vi. p. 181, 8vo. ed. Lond. 1821), which was translated into Latin and reprinted at the end of Le Clerc's *Commentary on the Prophets*, Amsterdam, 1731. It contains interesting passages on the nature of the predictions in the Old Testament, extracted from Jewish authors, of whom Maimonides is the most distinguished. Of less importance is the essay of Hermann Witsius, *De Prophetia et Prophetis*, in vol. i. of his *Miscellan. Sacra*, Utrecht, 1692, pp. 1-392: he digresses too much and needlessly from the main question, and says little applicable to the point; but he still supplies some useful materials. The same remark also applies in substance to Knibbe's *History of the Prophets*. Some valuable remarks, but much more that is arbitrary and untenable, will be found in Crusius's *Hypomnemata ad Theologiam Prophet.*, 3 vols. Lips. 1764. In the *Treatise on Prophecy*, inserted by Jahn in his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, he endeavours to refute the views of the Rationalists, but does not sift the subject to the bottom. Kleuker's work *De Nexu Proph. inter utrumque Fœdus*, possesses more of a genuine theological character. The leader of the Rationalists is Eichhorn, in his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, and in his dissertation, *De Prophet. Poes. Hebr.* Their views on this subject are most fully explained by Knobel, in his *Prophetismus der Hebræer vollständig dargestellt*, Breslau, 1837, 2 vols.: the work contains, however, little original research, and is valuable only as a compilation of what the Rationalists assert concerning prophecy. The work of Köster, *Die Propheten des A. und N. T.*, Leipzig, 1838, bears a higher character: on many points he approaches to sounder views; but he is inconsistent and wavering, and therefore cannot be said to have essentially advanced the knowledge of this subject. Of considerable eminence is the treatise by Ewald on prophecy, which precedes his work on the prophets, published in 1840 at Stuttgart. But to the important question, whether the prophets enjoyed supernatural assistance or not? an explicit answer will here be sought for in vain. His view of the subject is in the main that of the Rationalists, though he endeavours to veil it: the Spirit of God influencing the prophets is in fact only their own mind worked up by circumstances; their enthusiasm and ecstacy are made to explain all. Finally, the work of Hoffmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung im A. und N. T.*, Nördlingen, 1841, vol. i., is chargeable with spurious and affected originality: his views are often in their very details forced and strained; and it is to be regretted that the subject has by this work gained less than from the author's talent might have been expected.

English works on Prophecy, besides those of Smith and Knibbe above mentioned:—Sherlock, *Discourses on the Use and Intent of Prophecy*, 8vo. 1755; Hurd, *Introd. to the Study of the Prophecies*, &c. 8vo. 1772; Apthorp, *Discourses on Prophecy*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1786; Davison, *Discourses on Prophecy, in which are considered its Structure, Use, and Inspiration*, 8vo. 1824; Smith (J. Pye), *Principles of Interpretation as applied to the Prophecies of Holy Scripture*, 8vo. 1829; Brooks, *Elements of Prophetical Interpretation*, 12mo. 1837; Horne, *Introduction*, vol. ii. p. 534; iv. p. 140; Alexander, *Connection of the Old and New Testaments*, Lect. iv.-vii. pp. 168-382, 8vo. 1841.—E. W. H.

PROSELYTE (προσήλυτος), the name applied in the New Testament and the Septuagint to converts from heathenism to Judaism (προσήλυτος· οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν προσεληλυθότες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θείους πολιτευόμενοι νόμους, Suidas, *in voc.*). In the Old Testament such persons are called גרים, *strangers*, *advenæ*, and תשבים, *settlers*, *incolæ*. For the reception and treatment of these, provision was made in the law of Moses (Exod. xii. 48; Lev.

xvii. 8; Num. xv. 15, &c.); and the whole Jewish state was considered as composed of the two classes, Jews, and strangers within their gates, or proselytes. In later years this distinction was observed even to the second generation; a child of pure Jewish descent on both sides being designated עברי בן עברי, Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων (Phil. iii. 5), whilst the son of a proselyte was denominated בן־גר; and if both parents were proselytes he was styled by the Rabbins, בגבן, a contraction for בן־גר ובן־גרה (*Pirke Avoth*, cap. 5).

It has been customary to make a distinction between two classes of Jewish proselytes, the one denominated proselytes of the gate, and the other proselytes of the covenant, or of righteousness. Under the former have been included those converts from heathenism who had so far renounced idolatry as to become worshippers of the one God, and to observe, generally, what have been called the seven Noachic precepts, viz., against idolatry, profanity, incest, murder, dishonesty, eating blood, or things strangled, and allowing a murderer to live, but had not formally enrolled themselves in the Jewish state. The latter is composed of those who had submitted to circumcision, and in all respects become converts to Judaism. The accuracy of this distinction, however, has been called in question by several, especially by Lardner, whose arguments appear decisive of the question (*Works*, vol. vi. pp. 522-533; vol. xi. pp. 313-324, 8vo. edit. 1788). That there were, in later times especially, many among the Jews who had renounced the grosser parts of heathenism without having come over entirely to Judaism, is beyond all doubt; but that these were ever counted *proselytes* admits of question. Certain it is that the proselytes mentioned in the New Testament were all persons who had received circumcision, and entered the pale of the Jewish community; they were persons who, according to the phraseology of the Old Testament, had become Jews (מתיהדים, Esth. viii. 17; Lardner, *loc. cit.*). It is probable that the distinction above mentioned was introduced by the later Rabbins for the sake of including among the conquests of their religion those who, though indebted probably to the Jewish Scriptures for their improved faith, were yet not inclined to submit to the ritual of Judaism, or to become incorporated with the Jewish nation. That this, however, was not the ancient view is clearly apparent from a passage in the Babylonian Gemara, quoted by Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb. et Talm. in Matt.* iii. 6), where it is said expressly that 'No one is a proselyte until such time as he has been circumcised.' Fürst, himself a Jew, confirms our suggestion; for in a note upon the word גר, in his *Concordantiæ Libb. V. T.*, he says: 'Judæi, interpretatione magis *dogmatica* quam *historica*, de eo interpretantur qui superstitiones barbaras repudiavit.'

The rites by which a proselyte was initiated are declared by the Rabbins to have been, in the case of a man, three, viz., *circumcision*, *baptism*, and a *free-will sacrifice* (במילה ובטבילה ובהוצאת דמים של קרבן); in the case of a woman the first was of necessity omitted. As to the first and last of these, their claim to be regarded as accordant with the ancient practice of the Jews has been on all hands admitted without scruple; but it has been matter of keen question whether the second can be admitted to have been practised before the Christian era. The substance of much learned discussion on this head we shall attempt summarily to state.

There is no *direct* evidence that this rite was practised by the Jews before the second or third century of the Christian era; but the fact that it was practised by them then necessitates the inquiry: when and how did such a custom arise among them? That they borrowed it from the Christians is an opinion which, though supported by De Wette (in his Treatise *De Morte Christi expiatoriâ*), cannot be for a moment admitted by any who reflect on the implacable hatred with which the Jews for many centuries regarded Christianity, its ordinances, and its professors. Laying aside this view, there are only two others which have been suggested. The one is that proselyte baptism was practised among the Jews from a period long anterior to the birth of Christ; the other is that the custom of baptizing proselytes arose gradually out of the habit which the Jews had of purifying by ablution whatever they deemed unclean, and came to be raised for the first time to the importance of an initiatory ordinance after the destruction of the temple service, and when, in consequence of imperial edicts, it became difficult to circumcise converts. This latter opinion is that of Schneckenburger (*Ueb. das Alter d. Jüd. Proselytentaufe*, Berlin, 1828), and has been espoused by several eminent German scholars. To us, however, it appears exceedingly unsatisfactory. The single fact adduced in support of it, viz., the difficulty of circumcising converts in consequence of the imperial edicts against proselytism is a singularly infelicitous piece of evidence; for, as the question to be solved is: how came the later Rabbins to prescribe *both* baptism and circumcision as initiatory rites for proselytes?—it is manifestly absurd to reply that it was, because they could only baptize and could not circumcise: such an answer is a contradiction, not a solution of the question. Besides, this hypothesis suggests a source of proselyte baptism which is equally available for that which it is designed to supersede; for, if the practice of baptizing proselytes on their introduction into Judaism had its rise in the Jewish habit of ablution, why might not this have operated in the way suggested, two hundred years before Christ, as well as two hundred years after Christ? And in fine, this hypothesis still leaves unremoved the master difficulty of that side of the question which it is designed to support, viz., the great improbability of the Jews adopting for the first time subsequently to the death of Christ, a religious rite which was well known to be the initiatory rite of Christianity. Assuming that they practised that rite before, we can account for their not giving it up simply because the Christians had adopted it; but, trace it as we please to Jewish customs and rites, it seems utterly incredible that *after* it had become the symbol and badge of the religious party which of all others, perhaps, the Jews most bitterly hated, any consideration whatever should have induced them to *begin* to practise it. On the other hand we have, in favour of the hypothesis that proselyte baptism was practised anterior to the time of our Lord, some strongly corroborative evidence. We have, in the first place, the unanimous tradition of the Jewish Rabbins, who impute

to the practice an antiquity commensurate almost with that of their nation. 2dly. We have the fact that the baptism of John the Baptist was not regarded by the people as aught of a novelty, nor was represented by him as resting for its authority upon any special divine revelation. 3dly. We have the fact that the Pharisees looked upon the baptism both of John and Jesus as a mode of proselyting men to their religious views (John iv. 1-3), and that the dispute between the Jews and some of John's disciples about purifying was apparently a dispute as to the competing claims of John and Jesus to make proselytes (John iii. 25 sq.). 4thly. We have the fact, that on the day of Pentecost Peter addressed to a multitude of persons collected from several different and distant countries, Jews and proselytes, an exhortation to 'Repent and be baptized' (Acts ii. 38), from which it may be fairly inferred that they all knew what baptism meant, and also its connection with repentance or a change of religious views. 5thly. We have the fact, that according to Josephus, the Essenes were in the habit, before admitting a new convert into their society, solemnly and ritually to purify him with waters of cleansing (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 7), a statement which cannot be understood of their ordinary ablutions before meals (as Mr. Stuart proposes in his *Essay on the Mode of Baptism*, p. 67); for Josephus expressly adds, that even after this lustration two years had to elapse before the neophyte enjoyed the privilege of living with the Proficients. And, 6thly. We have the mode in which Josephus speaks of the baptism of John, when, after referring to John's having exhorted the people to virtue, righteousness, and godliness, as preparatory to baptism, he adds, 'For it appeared to him that baptism was admissible not when they used it for obtaining forgiveness of some sins, but for the purification of the body when the soul had been already cleansed by righteousness' (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2); which seems to indicate the conviction of the historian that John did not *introduce* this rite, but only gave to it a peculiar meaning. A passage has also been cited from Arrian's *Discourses of Epictetus* (ii. 9), in which, after stating that some who called themselves Jews yet played a double part, he adds, 'But if any one assume the condition (or endure the suffering, ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος) of one who has been baptized and convicted (ᾑρημένου, instead of which some have conjectured that περιῃρημένου, *circumcised*, is the true reading), then is he indeed a Jew, and is called such.' Were one sure that in this passage Arrian did not confound Jews with Christians, his testimony would be of great value in regard to the antiquity of Jewish baptism; but the doubt attaching to this point, and the general obscurity of the passage (which we have translated somewhat differently from the usual rendering, but as the words seem to us to require), make it unsafe to lay much stress upon it.

On these grounds we adhere to the opinion that proselyte baptism was known as a Jewish rite anterior to the birth of Christ. The reader will find the whole subject amply discussed in the following works: Selden, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* ii. 2; Otho, *Lex. Rab.* p. 65; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. et Talm. in Matt.* iii. 6; Danz in Meuschenii *Nov. Test. ex Talm. Illust.* p. 233 sq., 287 sq.; Witsius, *Oecon. Foed.* iv. 15; Kuinoel, *Comm. in Libros N. T. Histor. ap. Matt.* iii. 6; and Dr. Halley's recent volume on the *Sacraments*, Lond. 1844, p. 114 ff., all of whom contend for the antiquity of Jewish proselyte baptism, whilst the following take the opposite side: Wernsdorff, *Controv. de Bapt. Recent.* § 18; Carpzov, *Apparat.* p. 47 sq.; Paulus, *Comment.* i. 279; Bauer, *Gottesdienst. Verfassung der Alten Heb.* ii. 392; Schneckenburger, *Lib. sup. cit.*; and Moses Stuart, *do.* (*American Bib. Rep.* No. X.).

From the time of the Maccabees the desire to make proselytes prevailed among the Jews to a very great extent, especially on the part of the Pharisees, whose intemperate zeal for this object our Lord pointedly rebuked (Matt. xxiii. 15). The greater part of their converts were females, which has been ascribed to the dislike of the males to submit to circumcision. Josephus tells us that the Jews at Antioch were continually converting great numbers of the Greeks (*De Bell. Jud.* vii. 3. 3), and that nearly all the women at Damascus were attached to Judaism (*Ibid.* ii. 20. 2; comp. *Antiq.* xvii. 11; xx. 2; *De Bell. Jud.* 2. 18, &c.; Tacit. *Hist.* 5. 5; Dion Cass. 37. p. 21).

On the subject of this article generally, besides the works of Carpzov, Bauer, and Otho, already referred to, the reader may consult Jahn, *Archaeologie*, iii. 215 ff.; Leusden, *Phil. Hebr. Mixt.* p. 142 sq.; Alting, *Diss. de Proselytis*, Thes. 27 sq.; Horne's *Introduction*, vol. iii. p. 265 ff.—W. L. A.

PROSEUCHA (προσευχή), a word signifying 'prayer,' and always so translated in the Auth. Version. It is, however, applied, *per meton.*, to a place of prayer,—a place where assemblies for prayer were held, whether a building or not. In this sense it seems also to be mentioned in Luke vi. 12, where it is said that our Saviour went up into a mountain to pray, and continued all night ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ, which can hardly bear the sense our translators have put upon it, 'in prayer to God.' This is admitted by Whitby and others, who infer, from the use of parallel phrases, such as 'the mount of God,' 'the bread of God,' 'the altar of God,' 'the lamp of God,' &c., which were all things consecrated or appropriated to the service of God, that the phrase προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ might here signify 'an oratory of God,' or a place that was devoted to his service, especially for prayer. In the same sense the phrase must, still more certainly, be understood in Acts xvi. 13, where we are informed that Paul and his companions, on the sabbath day, went out of the city, by the river side, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι, which the Auth. Vers. renders 'where prayer was wont to be made.' But the Syriac here has, 'because there was perceived to be *a house of prayer*;' and the Arabic, 'a certain place which was supposed to be *a place of prayer*.' In both these versions due stress is laid upon οὗ ἐνομίζετο, where there was taken, or supposed to be; or where, according to received custom, there was; or where there was allowed by law,—a proseucha, or oratory; and where, therefore, they expected to meet an assembly of people. Bos contends (*Exercit. Philol.* in loc.), however, that the word ἐνομίζετο is redundant, and that the passage ought

simply to be, 'where there was a proseucha;' but in this he is ably opposed by Elsner (*Observ. Sacr.* in loc.).

That there really were such places of devotion among the Jews is unquestionable. They were mostly outside those towns in which there were no synagogues, because the laws or their administrators would not admit any. This was, perhaps, particularly the case in Roman cities and colonies (and Philippi, where this circumstance occurred, was a colony); for Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 296) speaks of proseuchæ, not synagogues, at Rome:

'Ede, ubi consistas; in qua te quæro prosucha!'

They appear to have been usually situated near a river, or the sea-shore, for the convenience of ablution (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10, 23). Josephus repeatedly mentions proseuchæ in his Life, and speaks of the people being gathered εἰς τὴν προσευχήν (*Vita*, § 44, 46). Sometimes the proseucha was a large building, as that at Tiberias (*l. c.* § 54), so that the name was sometimes applied even to synagogues (Vitringa, *Synag. Vet.* p. 119). Proseuchæ are frequently mentioned as buildings by Philo, particularly in his oration against Flaccus, where he complains that the προσευχαί of the Jews were pulled down, and that no place was left them in which to worship God and pray for Cæsar (Philo, *in Flacc. Opera*, p. 752). But, for the most part, the proseuchæ appear to have been places in the open air, in a grove, or in shrubberies, or even under a tree, although always, as we may presume, near water, for the convenience of those ablutions which with the Jews always preceded prayer, as, indeed, they did among the pagans, and as they do among the Moslems at the present day. The usages of the latter exhibit something answering to the Jewish proseuchæ, in the shape of small oratories, with a niche indicating the direction of Mecca, which is often seen in Moslem countries by the side of a spring, a reservoir, or a large water-jar, which is daily replenished for the use of travellers (Whitby, De Dieu, Wetstein, Kuinoel, on Acts xvi. 13; Jennings's *Jewish Antiquities*, pp. 379-382; Prideaux's *Connection*, ii. 556).

PROVERBS, THE BOOK OF. That Solomon was the author of the Book of Proverbs has never been questioned. Some have indeed thought that he composed a part only of the Proverbs included in that book, and collected the others from various sources. It is probable, indeed, that he availed himself of any sayings already current which he regarded as useful and important. Whether he ever made any *collection* of his proverbs in writing is, however, doubtful. From the twenty-fifth chapter to the end, we are expressly informed, was written out and added to the previous portion, by order of King Hezekiah. The divine authority of the book is sufficiently proved by the quotations made from it in the New Testament (Rom. xii. 16; Heb. xii. 5, 6; 1 Pet. iv. 8; 1 Thess. v. 15). Each of the books attributed to Solomon is *sui generis*, both as to matter and manner. In reference to the remarkable poem called 'The Song of Solomon,' this is evident at a glance. Ecclesiastes, abounding in seeming contradictions, proposing the most startling paradoxes, and holding alternately the language of the Epicurean and the Stoic, has proved scarcely less a stone of stumbling to the commentators. The book of Proverbs, if less obscure than these two, is not less strikingly marked by peculiarities of form and diction, and not less worthy of attentive study.

It has in all ages, indeed, been regarded as a great storehouse of practical wisdom. The early fathers were accustomed to call it παν̀άρκετος σοφία. Modern writers have been equally filled with admiration of the profound knowledge of human nature displayed in it, its accurate delineations of character, and the wonderful richness and appropriateness of its instructions. 'Truly,' says one of the most eminent men of our age, 'in all points of prudence, public and private, we may accommodate to the Royal Preacher his own words (Eccles. ii. 12), *What can the man say that cometh after the king? Even that which hath been said already.*'

The Hebrew word rendered *proverb*, מֹשָׁל *maushal*, is derived from a root which means, 1. *to resemble, to compare;* 2. *to rule;* and signifies primarily *a similitude* or *comparison* of two objects. Many of the proverbs of Solomon are of this nature, *e. g.* x. 26; xxv. 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 28. Hence the meaning of the word may have been gradually extended so as to embrace any apophthegm or brief pithy saying. Or we may consider this meaning to have been derived from the other signification of מֹשָׁל, viz., *to rule;* whence *authoritative maxims.* The idea of *resemblance*, however, seems to be the prominent one, and may refer to the figurative style common in proverbs, even when no direct comparison is instituted. And as highly figurative language belongs to poetry, it came to pass that *maushal* was used to indicate any composition expressed in a highly ornamented and poetic style. Thus the prophecy of Balaam is called *maushal* (Num. xxiii. 7).

The characteristics of the proverbial style (in the more restricted sense of the word) are, according to Bishop Lowth, 1. Brevity; 2. Obscurity; 3. Elegance. The first of these is, however, the only one that can be considered at all universal. Many of the Proverbs of Solomon can hardly lay claim to elegance, according to the most liberal application of the term, and comparatively few of them are at all obscure as to meaning. The same remark applies with even greater force to the proverbs of every day life, *e. g. Time and tide wait for no man. Haste makes waste. We must make hay while the sun shines. A fool and his money are soon parted.* We should be rather inclined to name, as a characteristic of the proverb, a *pointed* and sometimes *antithetical* form of expression; and this, in addition to *brevity* or *sententiousness*, constitutes perhaps the only universal distinction of this species of composition. Conciseness indeed enters into the very essence of the proverb; and this fact is probably indicated by the word itself; *proverbia, for*, or *instead of words, i. e.* one word for many.

We were about to adduce examples from the book of Proverbs, of these two excellencies—sententiousness and point—but it is impossible to select, where almost every verse is an illustration. Nor should it be forgotten that the structure of the Hebrew language admits of a much higher degree of excellence in this particular than is

possible in the English tongue. We give two examples taken at random. '*A man's heart deviseth his way: but the Lord directeth his steps.*' Here are twelve words; in the original seven only are employed. '*When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.*' Eighteen words; in the Hebrew eight.

From what has been said of the characteristics of the proverbial or parabolic style, it is obvious that it possesses peculiar advantages as a medium of communicating truth. The proverb once heard remains fixed in the memory. Its brevity, its appositeness, its epigrammatic point, often aided by antithesis or paronomasia, not only ensure its remembrance, but very probably its recurrence to the mind at the very time when its warning voice may be needed. It utters in a tone of friendly admonition, of gentle remonstrance, of stern reproof, or of vehement denunciation, its wholesome lesson in the ear of the tried, the tempted, and the guilty. Such words are emphatically 'as goods and as nails fastened in a sure place.'

Another reason why the mode of conveying truth by apophthegms is peculiarly fitted to impress the mind, is the same which explains the fact, that mere outline sketches, executed with grace and spirit (Retzsch's for instance), please more than finished and elaborate drawings, viz., they leave more to the imagination. No man likes to have everything done for him. The exercise of the imagination, kindled by the lips or the pencil of genius, creates a far higher pleasure than arises from merely beholding what another has wrought. It is because the proverb exerts this awakening effect on the mind, because it suggests more than it expresses, that it pleases.

The same effect is produced by the obscurity observable in some proverbs; an obscurity consequent in part on their sententiousness, and in part on their figurative dress. It is true that obscurity may become a source of annoyance instead of pleasure; but this is only when it exists in such a degree as to baffle the efforts made to dispel it. When the difficulty is one which a slight exertion of thought and ingenuity is sufficient to surmount, it attracts rather than repels.

The advantages above specified apply to the proverbial mode of writing in any age and among any people. But Solomon must have had other reasons for selecting it, peculiar to the age and country in which he lived. The Hebrews have been called a nation of children. The mode of teaching by aphorisms is especially adapted to men in an early stage of culture, who have not yet learned to arrange and connect their various *knowledges* into a system. The deductions of their experience lie in their minds in the form of detached and disconnected maxims. Not being able to trace the philosophical connection between different facts, and caring not to investigate causes, they are more impressed by the bold assertion, the energetic command, or the brief warning, than by amplified and elaborate discourses. Accordingly we find this mode of writing employed in the most remote ages; and *wise sayings*, maxims, apophthegms, constitute a large part of the early literature of most nations. Especially is this true of the Oriental nations. The fondness of the people of the East for parables, enigmas, allegories, and pithy sayings, has itself become a proverb. It is recorded as a proof of the wisdom of Solomon, that 'he spoke three thousand proverbs' (1 Kings iv. 32); and Solomon himself says, that in his time, such sayings formed the chief study of the learned. A wise man will seek

'To understand a proverb and the interpretation;
The words of the wise and their dark sayings.'

Recent travellers in the East assure us that this reverence for proverbs still exists there; and that nothing gives a man so much advantage in an argument as the ability to quote one of them on his side. We may therefore conclude that the wise king could have found no better mode of impressing truth on the minds of his countrymen than the one he has here chosen.

Let us examine more particularly the style and contents of the book. As to its style we find it to be marked by those characteristics which distinguish the *poetry* of the Hebrews from their prose compositions. Of these, one of the most obvious and important is what, since Bishop Lowth's day, has been termed *Parallelism*. This consists in a certain resemblance or correspondence, either as to thought or form, or both, between the members of a period. The two most simple kinds of parallelism, and the only two we shall notice here, are when the period contains but two members, and the last either repeats the thought contained in the first, or presents an antithetical assertion, beginning generally with the adversative *but*. The first kind of parallelism is called by Lowth *synonymous*, the second *antithetic*. The following passage is a beautiful example of Synonymous Parallelism:—

'My son, if thou wilt receive my words,
And hide my commandments with thee;
So that thou incline thine ear to wisdom,
And apply thy heart to understanding;
Yea, if thou criest after knowledge,
And liftest up the voice for understanding;
If thou seekest her as silver,
And searchest for her as for hid treasures;
Then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord,
And find the knowledge of God.'
Prov. ii. 1-5.

As an instance of Antithetic Parallelism, take these verses.

'The fear of the Lord prolongeth days;
But the years of the wicked shall be shortened.
The hope of the righteous shall be gladness;
But the expectation of the wicked shall perish.
The way of the Lord is strength to the upright;
But destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity.' Prov. x. 27-29.

It will be perceived that there is a continuity in the former of these passages, which does not belong to the latter. In fact the first nine chapters of the book of Proverbs are remarkably distinguished from the remainder, and constitute a sort of proem or exordium to the work. This portion was probably committed to writing, while the disconnected aphorisms which compose the greater part of the remaining portion were only *uttered*. It is a continuous discourse, written in the highest style of poetry, adorned with apt and beautiful illustrations, and with various and striking figures. The personification of Wisdom

in these chapters is universally regarded as one of the most beautiful examples of Prosopopeia to be found in the Bible, and possesses an indescribable grace and majesty. What can be finer than the passage (ch. viii. 22-31), where many eminent critics are of opinion that the Son of God is to be understood as speaking. In the next chapter the word Wisdom has a feminine termination; and Wisdom and Folly are personified as females. The contrast between their respective pretensions and invitations may be made more evident than it is in our version by arranging the passages in apposition to each other.

Wisdom hath builded her house,
She hath hewn out her seven pillars,
She hath killed her beasts,
She hath mingled her wine,
She hath also furnished her table,
She hath sent forth her maidens,
She crieth upon the highest places of the city;
'Whoso is simple let him turn in hither.'

To him who wanteth understanding she saith:

'Come, eat of my bread;
And drink of the wine I have mingled.
Forsake the foolish and live;
And go in the way of understanding;
For by me thy days shall be multiplied,
And the years of thy life shall be increased.'
Folly is clamorous;
She is simple and knoweth nothing.
She sitteth at the door of her house,
On a seat in the high places of the city,
To call passengers who go right on their ways;
'Whoso is simple let him turn in hither.'

To him who wanteth understanding she saith:

'Stolen waters are sweet,
And bread eaten in secret is pleasant.'
But he knoweth not that the dead are there,
And that her guests are in the depths of the grave.

At the tenth chapter a different style commences. From ch. x. to ch. xxii. 17. is a series of pithy disconnected maxims, on various subjects, and applicable to the most diverse situation. From ch. xxii. 17 to ch. xxv. a style resembling that of the exordium, though inferior in elegance and sublimity, prevails; and at the twenty-fifth chapter the separate maxims recommence. These compose the remainder of the book, with the exception of the thirtieth chapter, which is ascribed to Agur, and the thirty-first, which is said to be the advice given to king Lemuel by his mother. Who these persons are is not known. The supposition that Lemuel is another name of Solomon does not appear to be supported by proof.

The thirtieth chapter affords an example of another species of writing, closely allied to the proverb, and equally in favour among the Orientals. It is that of riddles or enigmas, designed to exercise the wit and ingenuity of the hearer, and to impart instruction through the medium of amusement. Of this kind is the riddle proposed by Samson (Judg. xiv. 12-18). The seventeenth chapter of Ezekiel contains a very beautiful riddle or parable, in which the king of Babylon is spoken of under the figure of a great eagle with spreading wings. Many of the symbolical acts enjoined by God upon the prophets, which perhaps appear to modern readers of Scripture extremely childish and ridiculous, are of the same nature; and thus, however unsuited to our times, were perfectly well adapted to impress and interest the Hebrews (*e. g.* Jer. xiii. 1-11; xviii. 1-6; xxiv. 1-10). Sometimes these riddles assumed the form of a brief narration, and were called fables or parables. See the beautiful fable related by Jotham to the men of Shechem; and the touching story of the one ewe-lamb of the poor man, by which Nathan reproved David.

But to return to Agur and his riddles. The introductory verses at first view appear obscure, from the absence of any apparent connection with what follows. But the explanation given by Herder appears satisfactory. 'The sage Agur,' he says, 'is to discourse lofty sentiments to his pupils; but he begins with modesty, that too exalted wisdom may not be expected from him.' How shall he who confesses that he is not versed in human wisdom, be supposed to possess that knowledge which belongs to the holy? Wisdom for man consists in obeying 'every word of God' (ver. 5). We subjoin Herder's version of one of these riddles, with the accompanying remarks.

FOUR SMALL BUT VERY ACTIVE THINGS.

Four things are little on the earth,
But wiser than the wisest.
The ant race are a people without strength,
Yet they prepare their meat in summer;
The conies are a feeble race,
Yet build their houses in the rocks;
The locusts have no king to rule them,
Yet all of them go forth by bands;
The lizard,—one may seize it with his hand,
And yet it dwells in royal palaces.

The whole comparison was perhaps made on account of the last, where an animal of that sort (which, in warm climates, lives in the walls, and is very annoying) made its appearance; for the Orientals are fond of such conceits and involved propositions, especially in company, and they often, indeed, assemble for the purpose of enjoying them.

The concluding chapter, containing the counsels addressed to King Lemuel by his mother, needs no elucidation. It presents a beautiful picture of female excellence in an age and country where modesty, industry, submission, and the domestic and matronly virtues, were esteemed the only appropriate ornaments of woman.

If we turn our attention to the maxims which compose the greater part of the book of Proverbs, we shall find enough to excite our wonder and admiration. Here are not only the results of the profoundest human sagacity, the counsels and admonitions of the man who excelled in wisdom all who went before, and all who came after him, but of such a man writing under divine inspiration. And how numerous, how various, how profound, how important are his instructions!

These directions are adapted to the wants of every class and rank of men, and to every relation of life. The rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, the master and the servant, the monarch and the subject, may here find the counsels they need. 'Apples of gold in baskets of silver' are fit emblems of such prudent and wholesome counsels, clothed in such an attractive garb.

[The boundless variety of these instructions

has indeed led some authors (such as De Wette, *Introduction*, § 281), who look too much to the human sources of the Sacred Scriptures, to allege that there is much in this book too remote from the experience of Solomon for him to have been the author. The writer just cited says: 'These proverbs, judging from their number and variety, seem rather the productions of a whole nation than of a single man. Many of them relate to private and rustic life; with one of which Solomon was not sufficiently acquainted, and in the other he could not participate.' So again with reference to the introduction contained in the nine first chapters, the same writer says:—'Their didactic and admonitory tone, and their strict injunction of chastity, agree better with the character of a teacher of youth, a prophet, or priest, than a king like Solomon.' This is surely precarious reasoning; for a state life is often better described by a keen observer than by one who is actually subject to its conditions. It is, however, not necessary to contend that the whole of the Proverbs were by Solomon; and De Wette himself is constrained to admit that a large share in the composition of the Proverbs must be ascribed to the wise king, 'especially in the first part,' *i. e.* ch. i.—xxii. 16. There is, in fact, no person historically known to us from Scripture to whom, taken as a whole, they could with equal reason be ascribed, even apart from the express declarations of the book itself (ch. i. 1; x. 1; xxv. 1). In one remarkable passage of Scripture, Solomon is said to have 'uttered three thousand proverbs' (1 Kings iv. 32), a large proportion of which may be presumed to have been preserved in the present book. Indeed, it has been often supposed that this very statement has express reference to the proverbs contained in it. On the authority of this conclusion, Jerome (*Præfat. in Prov.*) erroneously states the number of the proverbs to be three thousand.

The literature of the book of Proverbs is contained chiefly in the following works (besides the preliminary dissertations in the various Commentaries): — Melanchthon, *Explicatio Provv.* 1555; Mercer, *Comment. in Provv. Salom.*; Geiero, *Provv. Salom.* 1669; Schultens, *Proverbia Salom.* 1748; Hirtz, *Vollst. Erklär. der Sprüche Salom.* 1768; Hunt, *Observations on the Book of Proverbs*, 1775; Hodgson, *On the Book of Proverbs*, 1778; Jager, *Observatt. in Provv. Salom. Versionem Alexand.* 1788; Lawson, *Exposition of Proverbs*, 1821; Umbreit, *Philol. Krit. u. Philosoph. Comm. ü. d. Sprüche Salom.* 1826. There are also translations, mostly with notes, by J. D. Michaelis, 1778; Doederlein, 1786; Streunsee, 1783; Kleuker, 1786; Reichard, 1790; Ziegler, 1791; Muntinghe, 1800, 1802; Dahler, 1810; Holden, 1819; Gramberg, 1828; Böckel, 1829; and Ewald, in his *Poetischen Bücher*, vol. iv.]—L. P. H.

PROVIDENCE. The word Providence is derived from the Latin (*providentia*, *pro-videre*), and originally meant *foresight*. The corresponding Greek word (*πρόνοια*) means *forethought*. By a well-known figure of speech, called metonymy, we use a word denoting the means by which we accomplish anything to denote the end accomplished; we exercise care over anything by means of foresight, and indicate that care by the word foresight. On the same principle the word Providence is used to signify the *care* God takes of the universe. As to its inherent nature, *it is the power which God exerts, without intermission, in and upon all the works of his hands.* In the language of the schoolmen, it is a continual creation (*creatio continua*). But defined as to its visible manifestations, it is God's preservation and government of all things. As a thing is known by its opposites, the meaning of Providence is elucidated by considering that it is opposed to fortune and fortuitous accidents.

Providence, considered in reference to all things existing, is termed by Knapp *universal;* in reference to moral beings, *special;* and in reference to holy or converted beings, *particular*. Everything is an object of Providence in proportion to its capacity. The disciples, being of more value than many sparrows, were assured of greater providential care. By Providence being universal is intended, not merely that it embraces classes of objects or greater matters, but that nothing is too minute or insignificant for its inspection. To Providence considered in this relation the term *particular* is also commonly applied.

Providence is usually divided into three divine acts, preservation, co-operation, and government. 1. By preservation is signified the causing of *existence* to continue. 2. Co-operation is the act of God which causes the *powers* of created things to remain in being. It is not pretended that the existence and the powers of things are ever separated, but only that they are distinguishable in mental analysis. Co-operation varies with the nature of the objects towards which it is exercised. 3. Government, as a branch of Providence, is God's controlling all created things so as to promote the highest good of the whole. To this end every species of being is acted upon in a way conformable to its nature; for instance, inanimate things by the laws of physical influence, brutes according to the laws of instinct, and free agents according to the laws of free agency. Moreover, as Providence has respect to the nature which God has been pleased to assign to its various objects, so, in common with every other divine act, it is characterized by divine perfections. It displays omnipresence, omniscience, omnipotence, holiness, justice, and benevolence.

It has been sometimes contended that Providence does not extend to all things, or to unimportant events, and chiefly for four reasons. Such an all-embracing Providence, it is said, would (1.) be distracting to the mind of God; or (2.) would be beneath his dignity; or (3.) would interfere with human freedom; or (4.) would render God unjust in permitting evil to exist. In reply to these objections against a Providence controlling all things without exception, it may be observed that the third and fourth suggest difficulties which press equally, in fact, upon all hypotheses, not only as to Providence, but as to creation, and which shall be more fully explained in the sequel.

As to the first objection, that the minutiæ of the creation are so multifarious as to confuse the mind of God, we are content to let it refute itself in every mind which has any just sense of the divine knowledge and wisdom. The second objection, that some things are beneath God's notice, if it be not a captious cavil, must result from pushing too far the analogy between earthly

kings and the King of kings. It is an imperfection in human potentates that they need vicegerents; let us not then attribute such a weakness to God, fancying him altogether such a one as ourselves. Again, it is to this day doubtful whether the microscope does not display the divine perfections as illustriously as the telescope; there is therefore no reason to deny a Providence over animalcula which we admit over the constellated heavens. What is it that we dare call insignificant? The least of all things may be as a seed cast into the seed-field of time, to grow there and bear fruits, which shall be multiplying when time shall be no more. We cannot always trace the connections of things—we do not ponder those we can trace—or we should tremble to call anything beneath the notice of God. It has been eloquently said that, where we see a trifle hovering unconnected in space, higher spirits can discern its fibres stretching through the whole expanse of the system of the world, and hanging on the remotest limits of the future and the past.

In reference to the third and fourth objections before mentioned, namely, that an all-embracing Providence is incompatible with divine justice and human freedom, it should be considered that, in contemplating God's Providence, the question will often arise, why was moral evil allowed to exist? But as this question meets us at every turn, and, under different forms, may be termed the one and the only difficulty in theology, it must often be considered in the progress of this work, and may therefore require the less notice in the present article. We should in all humility preface whatever we say on the permission of evil with a confession that it is an inscrutable mystery, which our faith receives, but which our reason could not prove either to be or not to be demanded by the perfections of God. But, in addition to the vindication of God's ways which may be found in the overruling of evil for good, the following theories deserve notice:—

1. *Occasionalism*, or the doctrine that God is the *immediate* cause of all men's actions. It is so called, because it maintains that men only furnish God an *occasion* for what he does. It degrades all second causes to mere occasions, and turns men into passive instruments.

2. *Mechanism*. Many, alarmed at the consequences which occasionalism would seem to involve, have embraced an opposite scheme. They criticise the definition of the laws of nature on which Emmons builds, and contend that occasionalism derives all its plausibility from adroitly availing itself of the ambiguities of language. They would have us view the creation as a species of clock, or other machine, which, being once made and wound up, will for a time perform its movements without the assistance or even presence of its maker. But such reasoners press too far the analogy between the Creator and an artisan. So excellent a man as Baxter was misled by this hypothesis, which evidently is as derogatory to God as occasionalism is fatal to the moral agency of man.

3. The authors of the third scheme respecting the mode in which Providence permits sin sought to be 'eclectics,' or to find a path intermediate between mechanism and occasionalism. In their judgment man is actuated by God, and yet is at the same time active himself. God gives men the *powers* of action, and preserves these powers every moment, but he is not the efficient cause of free actions themselves. This, they say, is involved in the very idea of a moral being, which would cease to be *moral* if it were subjected to the control of necessity, and not suffered to choose and to do what it saw to be best according to the laws of freedom. But it is asked, why did God create men free, and therefore *fallible?* It were presumption to think of answering this question adequately. It belongs to the deep things of God. But, among the possible reasons, we may mention, that if no fallible beings had been created, there could have been no virtue in the universe; for virtue implies probation, and probation a liability to temptation and sin. Again, if some beings had not become sinful, the most glorious attributes of God would never have been so fully exerted and displayed. How could his wisdom and mercy and grace have been adequately manifested, except by suffering a portion of his creatures to become such as to demand the exercise of those attributes? How else could he have wrought the miracle of educing good from evil? In this connection we may allude to the 3rd chapter of Romans, where, as in other passages, it is declared, that the good which evil may be overruled to produce, cannot palliate, much less excuse, the guilt of sinners, or of those who say, 'let us do evil that good may come.'

Among the *proofs* of divine *Providence* may be reckoned the following:—

One argument in proof of Providence is analogous to one mode of proving a *creation*. If we cannot account for the existence of the world without supposing its coming into existence, or beginning to be; no more can we account for the world *continuing* to exist, without supposing it to be *preserved;* for it is as evidently absurd to suppose any creature *prolonging* as *producing* its own being.

A *second* proof of Providence results from the admitted fact of *creation*. Whoever has made any piece of mechanism, therefore takes pains to preserve it. Parental affection moves those who have given birth to children to provide for their sustentation and education. It is both reasonable and Scriptural to contemplate God as sustaining the universe because he made it. Thus David, having premised that the world was made by God, immediately descends to the course of his Providence (Ps. xxiii. 6; comp. ver. 13). The creation also evinces a Providence by proving God's right to rule, on the admitted principle that every one may do what he will with his own.

A *third* proof of Providence is found in the *divine perfections*. Since, among the divine perfections, are all power and all knowledge, the non-existence of Providence, if there be none, must result from a want of will in God. But no want of will to exercise a Providence can exist, for God wills whatever is for the good of the universe, and for his own glory; to either of which a Providence is clearly indispensable. God therefore has resolved to exercise his power and knowledge so as to subserve the best ends with his creation. 'He that denies Providence,' says Charnock, 'denies most of God's attributes; he denies at least the exercise of them; he denies his omniscience, which is the eye of Providence;

mercy and justice, which are the arms of it; power, which is its life and motion; wisdom, which is the rudder whereby Providence is steered; and holiness, which is the compass and rule of its motion.' This argument for a Providence might be made much more impressive, did our limits allow us to expand it, so as to show, step by step, how almost every attribute, if not directly, yet by implication, demands that God put forth an unceasing sovereignty over all his works.

A *fourth* proof of God's Providence appears in the *order* which *prevails* in the universe. We say the order which *prevails*, aware of the occasional apparent disorder that exists, which we have already noticed, and shall soon treat of again. That summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, day and night, are fixed by a law, was obvious even to men who never heard of God's covenant with Noah. Accordingly the ancient Greeks designated the creation by a word which means *order* (κόσμος). But our sense of order is keenest where we discern it in apparent confusion. The motions of the heavenly bodies are eccentric and intervolved, yet are most regular when they seem most lawless. They were therefore compared by the earliest astronomers to the discords which blend in a harmony, and to the wild starts which often heighten the graces of a dance. Modern astronomy has revealed to us so much miraculous symmetry in celestial phenomena, that it shows us far more decisive proofs of a Ruler seated on the circle of the heavens, than were vouchsafed to the ancients. Moreover, many discover proofs of a Providence in such facts as the proportion between the two sexes, the diversities of the countenance, as well as human nature and the nature of all things continuing always the same; since such facts show that all things are controlled by an unchanging power.

An objection to proofs of Providence, derived from the order of the universe, is thought to spring from the seeming disorders to which we cannot shut our eyes. Much is said of plagues and earthquakes, of drought, flood, frost, and famine, with a thousand more natural evils. But it deserves consideration whether, if there were no Providence, these anomalies would not be the rule instead of the exception;—whether they do not feelingly persuade us that the course of nature is upheld by a power above nature, and without which it would fall to nothing;—whether they may not be otherwise necessary for more important ends than fall within the scope of our knowledge.

A *fifth* proof of a Providence is furnished by the fact that so many men are here rewarded and punished according to a righteous law. The wicked often feel compunctious visitings in the midst of their sins, or smart under the rod of civil justice, or are tortured with natural evils. With the righteous all things are in general reversed. The miser and envious are punished as soon as they begin to commit their respective sins; and some virtues are their own present reward. But we would not dissemble that we are here met with important objections, although infinitely less, even though they were unanswerable, than beset such as would reject the doctrine of Providence. It is said, and we grant, that the righteous are trodden under foot, and the vilest men exalted; that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; that virtue starves, while vice is fed; and that schemes for doing good are frustrated, while evil plots succeed. But we may reply, 1. The prosperity of the wicked is often apparent, and well styled *a shining misery*. Who believes that Nero enthroned was happier than Paul in chains? 2. We are often mistaken in calling such or such an afflicted man good, and such or such a prosperous man bad. 3. The miseries of good men are generally occasioned by their own fault, since they have been so fool-hardy as to run counter to the laws by which God acts, or have aimed at certain ends while neglecting the appropriate means. 4. Many virtues are proved and augmented by trials, and not only proved, but produced, so that they would have had no existence without them. Many of David's noblest qualities would never have been developed but for the impious attempts of Saul. Job's integrity was not only tested, but strengthened, by Satan's being permitted to sift him as wheat. Patience, experience, and hope were brought as ministering angels to men, of whom the world was not worthy, through trials of cruel mockings and scourgings. 5. The unequal distribution of good and evil, so far as it exists, carries our thoughts forward to the last judgment, and a retribution according to the deeds done in the body, and can hardly fail of throwing round the idea of eternity a stronger air of reality than it might otherwise wear. All perplexity vanishes as we reflect that, 'He cometh to judge the earth.' 6. Even if we limit our views to this world, but extend them to all our acquaintance, we cannot doubt that the *tendencies*, though not always the effects, of vice are to misery, and those of virtue to happiness. These tendencies are especially clear if our view embraces a whole lifetime, and the clearer the longer the period we embrace. The Psalmist (Ps. lxxiii.) was at first envious at the foolish, when he saw the prosperity of the wicked; but as his views became more comprehensive, and he understood their end, his language was, 'How are they brought into desolation as in a moment! they are utterly consumed with terrors!' The progressive tendency of vice and virtue to reap each its appropriate harvest is finely illustrated by Bishop Butler—best of all perhaps in his picture of an imaginary kingdom of the good, which would peacefully subvert all others, and fill the earth. Indeed, as soon as we leave what is immediately before our eyes, and glance at the annals of the world, we behold so many manifestations of God, that we may adduce as

A *sixth* proof of Providence the *facts of history*. The giving and transmission of a revelation, it has been justly said,—the founding of religious institutions, as the Mosaic and the Christian,—the raising up of prophets, apostles, and defenders of the faith,—the ordering of particular events, such as the Reformation,—the more remarkable deliverances noticed in the lives of those devoted to the good of the world, &c.—all indicate the wise and benevolent care of God over the human family. But the historical proof of a Providence is perhaps strongest where the wrath of man has been made to praise God, or where efforts to dishonour God have been con-

strained to do him honour. Testimony in favour of piety has fallen from the impious, and has had a double value, as coming from the unwilling. They who have fought against the truth have been used by God as instruments of spreading the knowledge of it, awakening an interest in it, or stimulating Christians to purify it from human additions, and to exhibit its power. The scientific researches also with which infidels have wearied themselves to overthrow a revelation have proved at last fatal to their darling scepticism. Too many histories, like Gibbon's, have been written as if there were no God in the heavens, swaying the sceptre of the earth. But a better day is approaching; and it is exhilarating to observe that Alison, the first British historian of the age, writes in the spirit which breathes in the historical books of the Bible, where the free actions of man are represented as inseparably connected with the agency of God. If we may judge of the future by the past, as the scroll of time unrolls, we, or our posterity, and some think glorified spirits in a yet higher degree, shall see more and more plainly the hand of God operating, till every knee shall bow. Judgments, now a great deep, shall become as the light that goeth forth. The tides of ambition and avarice will all be seen to roll in subserviency to the designs of God. To borrow the illustration of another, 'We shall behold the bow of God encircling the darkest storms of wickedness, and forcing them to manifest his glory to the universe.'

As a *seventh* ground for believing in Providence, it may be said that Providence is the necessary basis of all religion. For what is religion? One of the best definitions calls it the belief in a superhuman Power, which has great influence in human affairs, and ought therefore to be worshipped. But take away this *influence in human affairs*, and you cut off all motive to worship. To the same purpose is the text in Hebrews: 'He that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of such as diligently seek him.' If then the religious sentiments thrill us not in vain,—if all attempts of all men to commune with God have not always and everywhere been idle,—there must be a Providence.

In the *eighth* place, we may advert for a moment to the proof of Providence from the common consent of mankind, with the single exception of atheists. The Epicureans may be classed with atheists, as they are generally thought to have been atheists in disguise, and a god after their imaginations would be, to all intents and purposes, no god. The Stoics were also atheists, believing only in a blind fate arising from a perpetual concatenation of causes contained in nature. The passages acknowledging a Providence in Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and all the ancient moralists, are numerous and decisive, but too accessible or well known to need being quoted.

In the *last* place, the doctrine of Providence is abundantly proved by the Scriptures. Sometimes it is declared that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will; as much as to say that nothing can withstand his power. Again, lest we may think some things beneath his notice, we read that *he numbereth the hairs of our heads, careth for lilies, and disposeth all the lots which are cast*. The care of God for man is generally argued, *a fortiori*, from his care for inferior creatures. One Psalm (xci.) is devoted to show the providential security of the godly: another (xciii.) shows the frailty of man; and a third (civ.) the dependence of all orders in creation on God's Providence for food and breath. In him, it is elsewhere added, we live, and move, and have our being. He, in the person of Christ, sustaineth all things by the word of his power, and from him cometh down every good and perfect gift. But nowhere perhaps is a Providence so pointedly asserted and so sublimely set forth as in some of the last chapters of Job; and nowhere so variously, winningly, and admirably exhibited as in the history of Joseph.

The principal writers on this important subject are:—Gomarus, *Explicatio Doct. Orthod. de Providentia*, 1597; Sander, *Ueber die Vorsehung*, 1780; Bormann, *Die Christl. Lehre d. Vorsehung*, 1820; Feldmann, *Moira, oder ü. d. Gottl. Vorsehung*, 1830; Leibnitz, *Essais de Theodicée*, 1840; Rougemont, *Du Monde dans ses Rapports avec Dieu*, 1841; and the *Treatises* and *Discourses* on Providence by Charnock, Flavel, Hopkins, Hunter, Sherlock, and Fawcett. —J. D. B.

PRUNING-HOOK. [Vine.]

PSALMS, BOOK OF. This collection of sacred poetry received its name, Ψαλμοί, in consequence of the *lyrical* character of the pieces of which it consists, as intended to be sung to stringed and other instruments of music. The word (from ψάλλω, to *touch* or *strike* a chord) is thus aptly defined by Gregory of Nyssa (*Tract.* ii. *in Psalmos*, cap. 3): ψαλμός ἐστιν ἡ διὰ τοῦ ὀργάνου τοῦ μουσικοῦ μελῳδία. Another name, *Psalter*, was given to this book from the Greek ψαλτήριον, the *stringed instrument* to which its contents were originally sung. The Hebrew title תְּהִלִּים (Rabbinic form, with ה elided, תלים or תלין) signifies *hymns* or *praises*, and was probably adopted on account of the use made of the collection in divine service, though only a part can be strictly called songs of praise, not a few being lamentations and prayers. There is evidently no proper correspondence between the titles in the two languages, though each is suitable. The word answering to תהלים is ὕμνοι, and not ψαλμοί, which rather corresponds to מִזְמוֹרִים, *lyrical odes*,—a name which, though so plainly appropriate, does not appear to have been generally given to the book, at least so far as the Hebrew usage can now be ascertained. This is the more singular, inasmuch as no fewer than sixty-five of the songs distinctly bear the title of מזמור, while only one (Ps. cxlv. 1) is styled תהלה. That the name מזמורים did, however, obtain in ancient times, rather than the present title תהלים, may be presumed from the use of ψαλμοί in the Septuagint and the New Testament, and of ܡܙܡܘܪ̈ in the Peshito.

In Ps. lxxii. 20 we find all the preceding compositions (Ps. i.-lxxii.) styled *Prayers of David*, because many of them are strictly prayers, and all are pervaded by the spirit and tone of supplication.

All the best judges, as Lowth, Herder, De Wette, Ewald, Tholuck, and others, pronounce the poetry

of the Psalms to be of the *lyric* order. 'They are,' says De Wette (*Einleitung in die Psalmen*,* p. 2), 'lyric in the proper sense; for among the Hebrews, as among the ancients generally, poetry, singing, and music were united, and the inscriptions to most of the Psalms determine their connection with music, though in a way not always intelligible to us. Also as works of taste these compositions deserve to be called lyric. The essence of lyric poetry is the immediate expression of feeling; and feeling is the sphere in which most of the Psalms move. Pain, grief, fear, hope, joy, trust, gratitude, submission to God, everything that moves and elevates the heart, is expressed in these songs. Most of them are the lively effusions of the excited susceptible heart, the fresh offspring of inspiration and elevation of thought; while only a few are spiritless imitations and compilations, or unpoetic forms of prayer, temple hymns, and collections of proverbs.' For fuller information on this subject see POETRY.

TITLES. All the Psalms, except thirty-four, bear superscriptions. According to some there are only twenty-five exceptions, as they reckon הללויה a title in all the Psalms which commence with it. To each of these exceptions the Talmud (*Babyl. Cod. Avoda Sarah*, fol. 24, col. 2) gives the name מזמורא יתומא, *Orphan Psalm.*

The *authority* of the titles is a matter of doubt. By most of the ancient critics they were considered genuine, and of equal authority with the Psalms themselves, while most of the moderns reject them wholly or in part. They were wholly rejected at the close of the fourth century by Theodore of Mopsuestia, one of the ablest and most judicious of ancient interpreters (Rosenmüller, *Hist. Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum*, P. iii., p. 256). On the other hand it deserves to be noticed that they are received by Tholuck and Hengstenberg in their works on the Psalms. Of the *antiquity* of the inscriptions there can be no question, for they are found in the Sept. They are supposed to be even much older than this version, since they were no longer intelligible to the translator, who often makes no sense of them. Their obscurity might, however, have been owing not so much to their antiquity as to the translator's residence in Egypt, and consequent ignorance of the Psalmody of the Temple service in Jerusalem. At any rate the appearance of the titles in the Sept. can only prove them to be about as ancient as the days of Ezra. Then it is argued by many that they must be as old as the Psalms themselves, since it is customary for Oriental poets to prefix titles to their songs. Instances are found in Arabic poems, but these are very unlike the Hebrew inscriptions. Much more important traces of the custom appear in Isa. xxxviii. 9, in Hab. iii. 1, and in 2 Sam. i. 17, 18 (Tholuck's *Psalmen*, p. xxiv.). The other instances commonly appealed to in Exod. xv. 1, Deut. xxxi. 30, Judg. v. 1, 2 Sam xxii. 1, furnish no evidence, since they are not proper titles of the songs so much as brief statements connecting them with the narrative. But in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, and Num. xxiv. 3, there is strong proof of the usage, if, with Tholuck, we take the verses as inscriptions, and not as integral parts of the songs, which most hold them justly to be from their poetical form.

The following considerations militate against the authority of the titles. 1. The analogy between them and the *subscriptions* to the Apostolical Epistles. The latter are now universally rejected: why not the former? 2. The Greek and Syriac versions exhibit them with great and numerous variations, often altering the Hebrew (as in Ps. xxvii.), and sometimes giving a heading where the Hebrew has none (as in Ps. xciii.-xcvii.). Would the ancient translators have taken such liberties, or could such variations have arisen, if the titles had been considered sacred like the Psalms themselves? At any rate the existence of these glaring variations is sufficient to induce a distrust of the titles in their present form, even though they had been once sanctioned by inspired authority. If ever Ezra settled them, the variations in versions and manuscripts (Eichhorn's *Einleitung*, iii., pp. 490, 495) have tended since to make them doubtful. 3. The inscriptions are occasionally at variance with the contents of the Psalms. Sometimes the author is incorrectly given, as when David is named over Psalms referring to the captivity, as in Ps. xiv. 7; xxv. 22; li. 20, 21; lxix. 36. It is not unlikely, however, as Tholuck thinks, that these references to the exile were added during that period to the genuine text of the royal singer. Others, as Calvin and Hengstenberg, with far less probability take these passages in a figurative or spiritual sense. Also Ps. cxxxix. cannot well be David's, for its style is not free from Chaldaisms. Then sometimes the occasion is incorrectly specified, as in Ps. xxx., unless indeed this refers to the dedication of the *site of the Temple* (1 Chron. xxii. 1), as Rosenmüller, Tholuck, and Hengstenberg, think after Venema.

On the whole, as the result of this investigation, it seems the part of sober criticism to receive the titles as historically valid, except when we find strong internal evidence against them.

The *design* of these inscriptions is to specify either the author, or the chief singer (never the latter by name, except in Ps. xxxix.), or the historical subject or occasion, or the use, or the style of poetry, or the instrument and style of music. Some titles simply designate the author, as in Ps. xxv., while others specify several of the above particulars, as in Ps. li. The longest and fullest title of all is prefixed to Ps. lx., where we have the author, the chief musician (not by name), the historical occasion (comp. 2 Sam. viii.), the use or design, the style of poetry, and the instrument or style of music. It is confessedly very difficult, if not impossible, to explain all the terms employed in the inscriptions; and hence critics have differed exceedingly in their conjectures. The difficulty, arising no doubt from ignorance of the Temple music, was felt, it would seem, as early as the age of the Sept.; and it was felt so much by the translators of our Authorized Version, that they generally retained the Hebrew words, even though Luther had set the example of translating them to the best of his ability. It is worth observing that the difficulty appears to have determined Coverdale, 1535, to

* Of this valuable *Einleitung* a translation, rather too free to be faithful, is given in the American *Biblical Repository*, vol. iii.

omit nearly all except names of authors; thus, in Ps. lx., which is lix. in his version, he gives only—*a Psalme of David.*

Of the terms left *untranslated* or *obscure* in our Bible, it may be well to offer some explanation in this place, taking them in alphabetical order for the sake of convenience. On this subject most commentators offer instruction, but the reader may especially consult Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Comp. Redacta*, vol. iii. 14-22; De Wette, *Commentar über die Psalmen*, pp. 27-37, and Ewald, *Poet. Bücher*, i. 169-180, 195.

Aijeleth shahar, אילת השחר, *hind of the morning*, *i. e.* the sun, or the dawn of day. This occurs only in Ps. xxii., where we may best take it to designate a song, perhaps commencing with these words, or bearing this name, to the melody of which the psalm was to be sung. So most of the ablest critics after Aben-Ezra. Yet Tholuck and Hengstenberg, after Luther, suppose it to denote the subject of the psalm, meaning David himself, or typically the Messiah.

Alamoth, עלמות, Ps. xlvi., probably signifies *virgins*, and hence denotes music for female voices, or the *treble*. So Gesenius, Tholuck, and Hengstenberg, after Gusset, who, in *Comment. Ling. Hebr.* sub voce עלם, explains it—*vox clara et acuta, quasi virginum* (see below under *Sheminith*).

Al-tasehith, אל-תשחת, *destroy thou not*, is found over Ps. lvii., lviii., lix., lxxv., and signifies, by general consent, some well-known ode beginning with the expression, to the tune of which these compositions were to be sung.

Degrees, המעלות, appears over fifteen Psalms (cxx.-cxxxiv.), called *Songs of Degrees*, and has been explained in various ways, of which the following are the chief. 1. The ancients understood by it *stairs* or *steps*, as appears from the Sept. version of the title, ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, and the Vulgate, *carmen graduum, song of the steps;* and in accordance with this, Jewish writers relate (Mishna, *Sueah*, cap. v. 4), that these Psalms were *sung on fifteen steps*, leading from the court of Israel to the court of the women. This explanation is now exploded, though Fürst, in his *Concordance*, sanctions it. 2. Luther, whom Tholuck is inclined to follow, renders the title *a song in the higher choir*, supposing the Psalms to have been sung from an elevated place or ascent, or with elevated voice. 3. Gesenius and De Wette think the name refers to a peculiar rhythm in these songs, by which the sense advances by *degrees*, and so *ascends* from clause to clause. Thus in Ps. cxxi. :—

1. I will lift up my eyes to the hills,
   From whence *cometh my help.*
2. *My help cometh* from the Lord,
   The maker of heaven and earth.
3. He will not suffer thy foot to be moved,
   Thy *keeper* will not *slumber:*
4. Behold, he will neither *slumber* nor sleep,
   The *keeper* of Israel.
5. *Jehovah* is thy *keeper*,
   Jehovah, thy shade on thy right hand.

* * * *

7. Jehovah will *keep* thee from all evil,
   He will *keep* thy soul:
8. Jehovah will *keep* thy going out and thy coming in,
   From this time even for evermore.

To this very ingenious and not improbable explanation it is objected, that this *rhythm by gradation* (as De Wette calls it) is not obvious in the structure of all these songs, and therefore could hardly suggest the name. 4. According to the most prevalent and probable opinion, the title signifies *song of the ascents*, or *pilgrim song*, meaning a song composed for, or sung during the journeyings of the people up to Jerusalem, whether as they returned from Babylon, or as they statedly repaired to the national solemnities. So Herder (*Geist der Ebr. Poesie*, ii. 353-357) and Ewald (*Poet. Bücher*, i. 195). Journeys to Jerusalem are generally spoken of as *ascents*, on account of the elevated situation of the city and temple (see Ezra vii. 9, and especially Ps. cxxii. 4). This explanation of the name is favoured by the brevity and the contents of these songs, and by the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, who render מעלות by ἀναβάσεις.

Gittith, הגתית, appears over Ps. viii., lxxxi., lxxxiv., and is of very uncertain meaning, though not improbably it signifies an instrument or tune brought from the city of *Gath*. So Rosenmüller, De Wette, Ewald, Hengstenberg, and Tholuck. In the opinion of not a few the word comes from גת, *wine-press*, and denotes either an instrument or a melody used in the vintage. So the Sept. renders it ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν. The new Lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst give other explanations [Musical Instruments].

Higgaion, הגיון, is found over Ps. ix. 16, and probably means either *musical sound*, according to the opinion of most, and the Sept. ᾠδή; or *meditation* according to Tholuck and Hengstenberg (see more below under *Selah*).

Jeduthun, ידותון, is found over Ps. xxxix., lxii., lxxvii., and is generally taken for the name of choristers descended from Jeduthun, of whom we read in 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 3, as one of David's three chief musicians or leaders of the Temple music. This use of the name Jeduthun for Jeduthunites is just like the well-known use of Israel for the Israelites. It is most probable that in Ps. xxxix. Jeduthun himself is meant, and not his family. So Rosenmüller and Hengstenberg [Jeduthun].

Jonath-elem-reehokim, יונת אלם רחקים, *the mute dove among strangers*, found only over Ps. lvi., may well denote the subject of the song, viz., David himself, 'when the Philistines took him in Gath;' or it is the name or commencement of an ode to the air of which this psalm was sung.

Leannoth, לענות, in the title of Ps. lxxxviii. means *to sing*, denoting that it was to be sung in the way described.

Mahaluth, מחלת, occurs in Ps. liii. and lxxxviii., and denotes, according to some, a sort of *flute*, according to Gesenius in his last edition of his *Thesaurus*, a *lute*, but in the opinion of Fürst, a *tune*, named from the first word of some popular song. *Upon Mahalath Leannoth*, Ps. lxxxviii., is accordingly a direction to chaunt it to the instrument or tune called *mahalath*.

Maschil, משכיל, is found in the title of thirteen

psalms. According to Gesenius, De Wette, and others, it means a *poem*, so called either for its *skilful* composition or for its *wise and pious* strain. The common interpretation, which Tholuck and Hengstenberg follow, makes it a *didactic poem*, from השכיל, *to teach* or *make wise*. There seems very little to choose between the two opinions.

Michtam, מכתם, is prefixed to Ps. xvi., lvi.-lx., and is subject to many conjectures. Many, after Aben-Ezra, derive it from כתם, *gold*, and understand *a golden psalm*, so called either on account of its *excellence*, or because written in *golden letters*. Hengstenberg understands *mystery*, and supposes that these Psalms, more than others, have a deep or *occult* sense. Others, after the Sept., which gives στηλογραφία, fancy that the word means *a poem engraved on a pillar* or monument. But the true explanation is most likely that offered by Gesenius, De Wette, Rosenmüller, and Tholuck, who hold מכתם to be only another form of מכתב, by the familiar interchange of the kindred letters ם and ב, and to signify a *writing* or *poem*. It is actually found in this form over Hezekiah's song in Isa. xxxviii. 9.

Muth-labben (Ps. ix.) presents a perfect riddle, owing to the various readings of MSS., and the contradictory conjectures of the learned. Besides the common reading על-מות לבן, *upon death to the son*, we have עַלְמוּת and עֲלָמוֹת, the same word that is used in Ps. xlvi. (see above *Alamoth*). Some explain it as the *subject* or *occasion* of the song, but most refer it to the music. Gesenius, in his last edition, renders it—*with virgins' voice for the boys, i. e.* to be sung by a choir of boys in the *treble*.

Neginoth, נגינות, Ps. iv. and four others; over Ps. lxi. *neginah* in the singular, though some MSS. give *neginoth* here also. This name, from נגן, *to strike* a chord, like ψάλλω, clearly denotes *stringed instruments* in general.

Nehiloth, נחילות (Ps. v.), comes most likely from חלל, *to perforate*, and denotes *pipes* or *flutes*. Hengstenberg, however, fancies it means *lots* or *heritages*, from נחל, *to possess*, and points out the subject of the Psalm.

Selah, סלה, is found seventy-three times in the Psalms, generally at the end of a sentence or paragraph; but in Ps. lv. 19 and lvii. 3 it stands in the middle of the verse. While most authors have agreed in considering this word as somehow relating to the *music*, their conjectures about its precise meaning have varied greatly. But at present these two opinions chiefly obtain. Some, including Herder, De Wette, and Ewald (*Poet. Bücher*, i. 179), derive it from סלה or סלל, *to raise*, and understand a *raising* of the voice or music; others, after Gesenius, in *Thesaurus*, derive it from סלה, *to be still* or *silent*, and understand a *pause* in the singing. So Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, and Tholuck. Probably *selah* was used to direct the singer to be silent, or to pause a little, while the instruments played an interlude or symphony. In Ps. ix. 16 it occurs in the expression *higgaion selah*, which Gesenius, with much probability, renders *instrumental music, pause, i. e.* let the instruments strike up a symphony, and let the singer pause. By Tholuck and Hengstenberg, however, the two words are rendered *meditation, pause*, i. e. let the singer meditate or reflect while the music stops.

Sheminith, שמינית (Ps. vi. and xii.), means properly *eighth*, and denotes either, as some think, an instrument with *eight* chords, or, more likely, music in the lower notes, or *bass*. So Gesenius, De Wette, Tholuck, and Hengstenberg. This is strongly favoured by 1 Chron. xv. 20, 21, where the terms *alamoth* and *sheminith* clearly denote different *parts* of music: the former answering to our *treble*, and the latter to the *bass*, an *octave* below.

Shiggaion, שגיון (Ps. vii.), denotes, according to Gesenius and Fürst, a *song* or *hymn;* but Ewald and Hengstenberg derive it from שגה, *to err* or *wander;* and hence the former understands *a song uttered in the greatest excitement*, but the latter, *error* or *wandering*, supposing that the *aberrations* of the wicked are the subject of the Psalm. According to Rosenmüller, De Wette, and Tholuck, it means a *plaintive song* or *elegy*.

Shushan, שושן (Ps. lx.), and in plural *shoshannim* (Ps. xlv., lxix., lxxx.). This word commonly signifies *lily*, and probably denotes either an instrument bearing some resemblance to a lily (perhaps *cymbal*), or a melody named lily for its pleasantness. Hengstenberg contends that it expresses the subject, *i. e.* some delightful theme. *Eduth*, עדות, is joined to it in Ps. lx. and lxxx., giving the sense *lily of testimony*, the name of a tune, according to Tholuck; or *lily of song*, according to Gesenius, who understands a *lyric pipe*.

Authors.—Many of the ancients, both Jews and Christians, maintained that all the Psalms were written by David: which is one of the most striking proofs of their *uncritical* judgment. So the Talmudists (*Cod. Pesachim*, c. x. p. 117); Augustine, who is never a good critic (*De Civ. Dei*, xvii. 14); and Chrysostom (*Prol. ad Psalmos*). But Jerome, as might be expected, held the opinion which now universally prevails (*Epist. ad Sophronium*). The titles and the contents of the Psalms most clearly show that they were composed at different and remote periods, by several poets, of whom David was only the largest and most eminent contributor. In the titles the author is indicated by ל, *to*, i. e. 'belonging to,' prefixed to his name, hence called *lamed auctoris*. Some suppose, without good reason, that ל prefixed to a musician's name, *e. g.* Asaph, indicates, not the author, but simply the head singer. According to the inscriptions we have the following list of authors:—

1. *David*, 'the sweet Psalmist of Israel' (2 Sam. xxiii. 1). To him are ascribed seventy-three Psalms in the Hebrew text (not seventy-four, as De Wette and Tholuck state; nor seventy-one, as most others have counted); and at least eleven others in the Sept., namely, xxxiii., xliii., xci., xciv.-xcix., civ., cxxxvii.; to which may be added Ps. x., as it forms part of Ps. ix. in that version. From what has been advanced above respecting the authority of the titles, it is obviously injudicious to maintain that David composed all that have his name prefixed in the Hebrew, or to suppose that he did not compose some of the eleven ascribed to him in the Sept., and of the others which stand without any author's name at all.

We cannot feel sure that Ps. cxxxix. is David's, for its Chaldaisms (ver. 2, 8, 16, 17) betray a later age; and Ps. cxxii. can scarcely be his, for its style resembles the later Hebrew, and its description of Jerusalem can hardly apply to David's time. Besides, it is worthy of notice that the Sept. gives this and the other Songs of Degrees without specifying the author. Of those which the Sept. ascribes to David, it is not improbable that Ps. xcix. and civ. are really his; and of those which bear no name in either text, at least Ps. ii. appears to be David's.

When we consider David's eminence as a poet, and the delight he took in sacred song, we cannot wonder that he should be the author of so many of the Psalms,—no fewer, in all likelihood, than half the collection: the wonder rather should be, that we do not find more of his fine odes, for it is certain he wrote some which are not in this book; see, in 2 Sam. i. 19-27, his lament over Saul and Jonathan, and in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-7, his last inspired effusion.

His character and merit as the father of Hebrew melody and music—for it was in his hands and under his auspices that these flourished most*—are thus set forth by the Son of Sirach (ch. xlvii. 8-10), 'In all his work he gave thanks. To the Holy and Most High he sang songs with all his heart, in words of praise (ῥήματι δόξης), and he loved his Maker. He set singers also before the altar, and from their music (ἤχου) sweet melody resounded. He gave splendour to the feasts, and adorned the solemn times unto perfection (μέχρι συντελείας), in that they praised His holy name, and the sanctuary pealed with music from early morn.'

David's compositions are generally distinguished by sweetness, softness, and grace; but sometimes, as in Ps. xviii., they exhibit the sublime. His prevailing strain is plaintive, owing to his multiplied and sore trials, both before and after his occupation of the throne. How often was he beset with dangers, harassed by foes, and chastised of God! And, under these circumstances, how was his spirit bowed down, and gave vent to its plaints and sorrows on the saddened chords of the lyre! But in the midst of all he generally found relief, and his sorrow gave place to calm confidence and joy in God. What wonder, that a soul so susceptible and devout as his should manifest emotions so strong, so changeful, and so various, seeing that he passed through the greatest vicissitudes of life. God took him from the sheepfolds to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance (Ps. lxxviii. 70, 71). See Herder's *Geist der Ebr. Poesie*, ii. 297-301; and especially Tholuck (*Psalmen, Einleitung*, § 3), who gives a most admirable exhibition of the Psalmist's history and services.

The example and countenance of the king naturally led others to cultivate poetry and music. It appears from Amos vi. 5, that lovers of pleasure took David's compositions as a model for their worldly songs: how much more would the lovers of piety be induced to follow him by producing sacred songs and hymns! The fine psalm in Hab. iii. is an exact imitation of his style as seen in Ps. xviii. And the celebrated singers of his day were men, like himself, moved by the divine afflatus not only to excel in music but also to indite hallowed poetry. Of these Psalmists the names of several are preserved in the titles.

2. *Asaph* is named as the author of twelve Psalms, viz. l., lxxiii.-lxxxiii. He was one of David's chief musicians [ASAPH]. All the poems bearing his name cannot be his; for in Ps. lxxiv., lxxix., and lxxx. there are manifest allusions to very late events in the history of Israel. Either, then, the titles of these three Psalms must be wholly rejected, or the name must be here taken for the 'sons of Asaph;' which is not improbable, as the family continued for many generations in the choral service of the Temple. Asaph appears from Ps. l., lxxiii., and lxxviii., to have been the greatest master of didactic poetry, excelling alike in sentiment and in diction.

3. *The sons of Korah* was another family of choristers (see KORAH, at the end), to whom eleven of the most beautiful Psalms are ascribed. The authorship is assigned to the Korahites in general, not because many of them could have been engaged in composing one and the same song, but because the name of the particular writer was unknown or omitted. However, in Ps. lxxxviii. we find, besides the family designation, the name of the individual who wrote it, viz.—

4. *Heman* was another of David's chief singers (1 Chron. xv. 19): he is called the Ezrahite, as being descended from some Ezrah, who appears to have been a descendant of Korah; at least Heman is reckoned a Kohathite (1 Chron. vi. 33-38), and was therefore probably a Korahite; for the Kohathites were continued and counted in the line of Korah; see 1 Chron. vi. 22, 37, 38 [HEMAN]. Thus Heman was both an Ezrahite and of the sons of Korah. That Ps. lxxxviii. was written by him is not unlikely, though many question it.

5. *Ethan* is reputed the author of Ps. lxxxix. He also is called the Ezrahite, but this is either a mistake, or he as well as Heman had an ancestor named Ezrah, of whom nothing is known. The Ethan intended in the title is doubtless the Levite of Merari's family whom David made chief musician along with Asaph and Heman (1 Chron. vi. 44; xxv. 1, 6). The Psalm could not, however, be composed by him, for it plainly alludes (ver. 38-44) to the downfall of the kingdom.

6. *Solomon* is given as the author of Ps. lxxii. and cxxvii., and there is no decided internal evidence to the contrary, though most consider him to be the subject, and not the author, of Ps. lxxii.

7. *Moses* is reputed the writer of Ps. xc., and there is no strong reason to doubt the tradition. But the Talmudists, whom Origen, and even Jerome, follow, ascribe to him also the ten succeeding Psalms (xci.-c.), on the principle that the anonymous productions belonged to the last-named author. This principle is manifestly false, since in several of these Psalms we find evidence that Moses was not the author. In Ps. xcv. the forty years' wandering in the wilderness is referred to as past; in Ps. xcvii. 8, mention is made of Zion and Judah, which proves that it cannot be dated earlier than the time of David; and in Ps. xcix. 6, the prophet Samuel is named, which also proves that Moses could not be the writer.

Jeduthun is sometimes, without just ground,

* It was he, as Herder observes, that collected the scattered wild field-flowers and planted them as a royal parterre on Mount Zion.

held to be named as the author of Ps. xxxix. (see above, under that head). Many conjectures have been formed respecting other writers, especially of the anonymous psalms. The Sept. seemingly gives, as authors, Jeremiah (Ps. cxxxvii.), and Haggai and Zechariah (Ps. cxxxviii.).* But these conjectures are too uncertain to call for further notice in this place.

The *dates* of the Psalms, as must be obvious from what has been stated respecting the authors, are very various, ranging from the time of Moses to that of the Captivity—a period of nearly 1000 years. In the time of king Jehoshaphat (about B.C. 896) Ps. lxxxiii.; setting forth the dangers of the nation, as we read in 2 Chron. xx. 1-25, was composed either by himself, as some suppose, or most likely, according to the title, by Jahaziel, 'a Levite of the sons of Asaph,' who was then an inspired teacher (see 2 Chron. xx. 14). In the days of Hezekiah, who was himself a poet (Isa. xxxviii. 9-20), we may date, with great probability, the Korahitic Psalms xlvi. and xlviii., which seem to celebrate the deliverance from Sennacherib (2 Kings xix. 35). In the period of the Captivity were evidently written such laments as Ps. xliv., lxxix., cii., and cxxxvii.; and after its close, when the captives returned, we must manifestly date Ps. lxxxv. and cxxvi. Some have maintained that several psalms, especially lxxiv., were written even in the days of the Maccabees; but this is contrary to every probability, for, according to all accounts, the Canon had been closed before that time [CANON].

COLLECTION AND ARRANGEMENT.—As the Psalms are productions of different authors in different ages, we are led to inquire *how* and *when* they were collected. The book has been styled by some moderns *the Anthology of Hebrew lyric poetry*, as if it consisted of a selection of the most admired productions of the sacred muse; but the name is not altogether appropriate, since several pieces of the highest poetic merit are, to our knowledge, not included, namely, the songs of Moses in Exod. xv. and Deut. xxxii.; the song of Deborah in Judg. v.; the prayer of Hannah in 1 Sam. ii. 1-10; and even David's lament over Saul and Jonathan in 2 Sam. i. 18-27. To these may be added the song of Hezekiah in Isa. xxxviii. 9-20; and the prayer of Habakkuk in Hab. iii. The truth seems to be, as Ewald and Tholuck maintain, *that the collection was made not so much with reference to the beauty of the pieces as to their adaptation for devotional use in public worship.* This view sufficiently accounts for omitting most of the above pieces, and many others, as being either too individual or too secular in their application. It may account for not including the lament over Jonathan, and for the fact that only two of Solomon's compositions (Ps. lxxii. and cxxvii.) are professedly given, though 'his songs were a thousand and five' (1 Kings iv. 32, 33). His themes were secular, and therefore not suitable for this collection.

When the Psalms were collected and *by whom*, are questions that cannot be confidently answered. The Talmudists most absurdly considered David the collector (*Cod. Beracoth*, c. i. p. 9). It is certain that the book, as it now stands, could not have been formed before the building of the second temple, for Ps. cxxvi. was evidently composed at that period. In all probability it was formed by Ezra and his contemporaries, about B.C. 450 (Ewald's *Poet. Bücher*, ii. 205). But in the arrangement of the book there is manifest proof of its gradual formation out of several smaller collections, each ending with a kind of doxology.

The Psalter is divided in the Hebrew into five books, and also in the Sept. version, which proves the division to be older than B.C. 200. Some have fancied that this five-fold division did not originally exist, but that it arose simply from a desire to have as many parts in the Psalms as there are in the law of Moses. But strong reasons demand the rejection of such a fancy. Why should this conformity to the Pentateuch be desired and effected in the Psalms, and not also in Proverbs or in the Prophets? The five books bear decided marks of being not arbitrary divisions, but distinct and independent collections by various hands.

The *first book* (i.-xli.) consists wholly of David's songs, his name being prefixed to all except i., ii., x., and xxxiii.; and it is evidently the first collection, having been possibly made in the time of Hezekiah, who is known to have ordered a collection of Solomon's proverbs (Prov. xxv. 1), and to have commanded the Levites to sing the words of David (2 Chron. xxix. 30).

The *second book* (xlii.-lxxii.) consists mainly of pieces by the sons of Korah (xlii.-xlix.), and by David (li.-lxv.), which may have been separate minor collections. At the end of this book is found the notice—'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended;' and hence some have thought that this was originally the close of a large collection comprising Ps. i.-lxxii. (Carpzov, *Introductio*, &c. ii. 107). But that the second was *originally* distinct from the first book, is proved by the repetition of one or two pieces; thus Ps. liii. is plainly the same as Ps. xiv., with only a notable variation in the Divine name, *God*, אלהים, being used in the former wherever *Lord*, יהוה, is found in the latter. So also Ps. lxx. is but a repetition of Ps. xl. 13-17, with the same singular variation in the Divine name. It is not likely that this collection was made till the period of the Captivity, if interpreters are right in referring Ps. xliv. to the days of Jeremiah.

The *third book* (lxxiii.-lxxxix.) consists chiefly of Asaph's psalms, but comprises apparently two smaller collections, the one Asaphitic (lxxiii.-lxxxiii.), the other mostly Korahitic (lxxxiv.-lxxxix.). The collector of this book had no intention to bring together songs written by David, and therefore he put the above notice at the end of the second book (see De Wette's *Psalmen, Einleitung*, p. 21). The date of this collection must be as late as the return from Babylon, for Ps. lxxxv. implies as much.

The *fourth book* (xc.-cvi.) and the *fifth* (cvii.-cl.) are made up chiefly of anonymous liturgic pieces, many of which were composed for the service of the second temple. In the last book we have the Songs of Degrees (cxx.-cxxxiv.), which seem to have been originally a separate collection. The five books may, with some propriety, be thus distinguished: the first *Davidic*, the second *Ko-*

* Hitzig (*Comment. über die Psalmen*) ascribes to Jeremiah a large number of the elegiac or plaintive psalms.

rahitic, the third *Asaphitic*, and the two remaining *Liturgic*.

In the mode of dividing and numbering the Psalms, some Hebrew MSS. vary from the printed text. In some, Ps. i. and ii. are given as one, the first being reckoned as only introductory; which accounts for the various reading in Acts xiii. 33. So also Ps. xlii. and xliii. are sometimes joined into one, as they evidently ought to be. In the Septuagint also, which the Vulgate follows, the arrangement varies from the common order, for it joins Ps. ix. and x. together, and thus its numbering falls one behind the Hebrew as far as Ps. cxlvii., which it cuts into two at ver. 12, and thus returns to the common enumeration. There is also in the Sept. an apocryphal Psalm, numbered cli., on David's victory over Goliath.

Various *classifications* of the Psalms have been proposed (Carpzov, *Introductio*, &c., ii. 132-134). Tholuck would divide them, according to the matter, into songs of *praise*, of *thanksgiving*, of *complaint*, and of *instruction*. De Wette suggests another method of sorting them (*Einleitung*, p. 3), into—1. *Hymns* (תהלים in the proper sense), as viii. xviii.; 2. *National Psalms*, as lxxviii. cv.; 3. *Psalms of Zion and the Temple*, as xv. xxiv.; 4. *Psalms respecting the King*, as ii. cx.; 5. *Psalms of complaint*, as vii. xxii.; and 6. *Religious Psalms*, as xxiii., xci. It is obvious, however, that no very accurate classification can be made, since many are of diversified contents and uncertain tenor.

Canonicity and Use.—The inspiration and canonical authority of the Psalms are established by the most abundant and convincing evidence. They never were, and never can be, rejected, except by impious impugners of all divine revelation. Not to mention other ancient testimonies [Canon], we find complete evidence in the New Testament, where the book is quoted or referred to as divine by Christ and his apostles *at least seventy times*. No other writing is so frequently cited; Isaiah, the next in the scale of quotation, being cited only about fifty-five times. Twice (Luke xx. 42 and Acts i. 20) we find distinct mention of the *Book of Psalms* (*βίβλος ψαλμῶν*). Once, however (Luke xxiv. 44), the name *Psalms* is used not simply for this book, but for the Hagiographa, or the whole of the third division of the Hebrew Scriptures [Hagiographa], because in it the Psalms are the first and chief part; or possibly, as Hävernick suggests (*Einleitung*, § xiv. p. 78), because the division consists mainly of *poetry*. It deserves notice that in Heb. iv. 7, where the quotation is taken from the anonymous Ps. xcv., the book is indicated by *David*, most likely because he was the largest and most eminent contributor, and also the patron and model of the other Psalmists. For the same reasons many ancient and modern authors often speak of the book as the *Psalms of David* (Carpzov, *Introd.* ii. 98), without intending to ascribe all the productions to him.

In every age of the church the Psalms have been extolled for their excellence and their use for godly edifying (Carpzov, *l. c.* pp. 109-116). Indeed, if Paul's estimate of ancient inspired Scripture (2 Tim. iii. 15-17) can be justly applied to any single book, that book must be the Psalms. Even in the New Testament there is scarcely a work of equal practical utility. Basil the Great and Chrysostom, in their homilies (see Suiceri *Thes. Eccles.* sub *ψαλμός*), expatiate most eloquently, and yet judiciously, on its excellence. The close of Basil's eulogy is to this effect: 'In it is found a perfect theology (*ἐνταῦθα ἔνι θεολογία τελεία*); prophecy of Christ's sojourn in the flesh, threatening of judgment, hope of resurrection, fear of retribution, promises of glory, revelations of mysteries,—all things are treasured in the book of Psalms, as in some great and common storehouse.' Among the early Christians it was customary to learn the book by heart, that psalmody might enliven their social hours, and soften the fatigues and soothe the sorrows of life. They employed the Psalms not only in their religious assemblies, of which use we find probable mention in 1 Cor. xiv. 26, but also at their meals and before retiring to rest, as Clement of Alexandria testifies: *θυσία τῷ θεῷ ψαλμοὶ καὶ ὕμνοι παρὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν, πρό τε τῆς κοίτης*. Of their use at meals we find an example also in the institution of the Lord's supper (Matt. xxvi. 30).

The great doctrines and precepts embodied in the Psalms, what views they give of God and his government, of man and his sinfulness, of piety and morals, of a future state, and of the Messiah, are most ably set forth by Tholuck in his *Einleitung*, § 4.

It may be well here to notice what are called the vindictive Psalms, namely, those which contain expressions of wrath and imprecations against the enemies of God and his people, such as Ps. lix., lxix., lxxix., and which in consequence are apt to shock the feelings of some Christian readers. In order to obviate this offence, most of our pious commentators insist that the expressions are not maledictions or imprecations, but simple declarations of what will or may take place. But this is utterly inadmissible; for in several of the most startling passages the language in the original is plainly imperative, and not indicative (see Ps. lix. 14; lxix. 25, 28; lxxix. 6). The truth is, that only a morbid benevolence, a mistaken philanthropy, takes offence at these Psalms; for in reality they are not opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, or to that love of enemies which Christ enjoined. Resentment against evil-doers is so far from being sinful, that we find it exemplified in the meek and spotless Redeemer himself (see Mark iii. 5). If the emotion and its utterance were essentially sinful, how could Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 22) wish the enemy of Christ to be accursed (*ἀνάθεμα*), or say of his own enemy, Alexander the coppersmith, 'the Lord reward him according to his works' (2 Tim. iv. 14); and, especially, how could the spirits of the just in heaven call on God for vengeance (Rev. vi. 10)? See a good article on this subject (*The Imprecations in the Scriptures*) in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra* for February, 1844.

The following are among the chief and best exegetical helps for explaining this book:—Poli *Synopsis*; Venema, *Comment. in Psalmos*; De Wette's *Commentar über die Psalmen*, 1836; Rosenmülleri *Scholia in Epit. Redacta*, vol. iii.; Maureri *Comment. Crit. Grammaticus*, vol. iii.; Hitzig's *Comment. und Uebersetzung*; Ewald's *Poet. Bücher*, vol. ii.; Tholuck's *Uebersetzung und Auslegung der Psalmen*; and Hengsten-

berg's *Commentar ueber die Psalmen.* The works of Tholuck and Hengstenberg form *together* the very best helps, leaving nothing to be desired by the critical and devout student of the Psalms.

The principal English works on the Book of Psalms are the translations (mostly with notes) of Mudge, 1744; Edwards, 1755; Fenwick, 1759; Green, 1762; Street, 1790; Wake, 1793; Geddes, 1807; Horsley, 1815; Fry, 1819; French and Skinner, 1830; Noyes, 1831 (Boston, U.S.); Walford, 1837; Bush, 1838 (New York): and the Commentaries of Ainsworth, 1639; Hammond, 1659; Merrick, 1768; Horne, 1771; and Dimock, 1791.—B. D.

PSALTERY. [Musical Instruments.]

PTOLEMAIS. [Accho.]

PTOLEMY. This common name of the Greek kings of Egypt does not occur in the canonical Scripture, but is frequent in the books of Maccabees and in Josephus (see the article Egypt).

PUBLICAN (Gr. τελώνης; among the Romans *publicanus*), a person who farmed the taxes and public revenues. This office was usually held by Roman knights, an order instituted as early as the time of Romulus, and composed of men of great consideration with the government, 'the principal men of dignity in their several countries,' who occupied a kind of middle rank between the senators and the people (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 4). Although these officers were, according to Cicero, the ornament of the city and the strength of the commonwealth, they did not attain to great offices, nor enter the senate, so long as they continued in the order of knights. They were thus more capable of devoting their attention to the collection of the public revenue.

The publicans were distributed into three classes: the farmers of the revenue, their partners, and their securities, corresponding to the Mancipes, Socii, and Prædes. They were all under the Quæstores Ærarii, who presided over the finances at Rome. Strictly speaking, there were only two sorts of publicans, the Mancipes and the Socii. The former, who were generally of the equestrian order, and much superior to the latter in rank and character, are mentioned by Cicero with great honour and respect (*Orat. pro Plancio*, 9); but the common publicans, the collectors or receivers of the tribute, as many of the Socii were, are covered both by heathens and Jews with opprobrium and contempt.

The name and profession of a publican were, indeed, extremely odious among the Jews, who submitted with much reluctance to the taxes levied by the Romans. The Galileans or Herodians, the disciples of Judas the Gaulonite, were the most turbulent and rebellious (Acts v. 37). They thought it unlawful to pay tribute, and founded their refusal to do so on their being the people of the Lord, because a true Israelite was not permitted to acknowledge any other sovereign than God (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2). The publicans were hated as the instruments by which the subjection of the Jews to the Roman emperor was perpetuated; and the paying of tribute was regarded as a virtual acknowledgment of his sovereignty. They were also noted for their imposition, rapine, and extortion, to which they were, perhaps, more especially prompted by having a share in the farm of the tribute, as they were thus tempted to oppress the people with illegal exactions, that they might the more speedily enrich themselves. Theocritus considered the bear and the lion the most cruel among the beasts of the wilderness; and among the beasts of the city the publican and the parasite. Those Jews who accepted the office of publican were execrated by their own nation equally with heathens: 'Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican' (Matt. xviii. 17). It is said they were not allowed to enter the temple or synagogues, to engage in the public prayers, fill offices of judicature, or even give testimony in courts of justice. According to the Rabbins, it was a maxim that a religious man who became a publican was to be driven out of the religious society (Grotius, *ad Matt.* xviii.; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. ad Matt.* xviii.). They would not receive their presents at the temple any more than the price of prostitution, of blood, or of anything wicked and offensive.

There were many publicans in Judæa in the time of our Saviour, of whom Zacchæus was probably one of the principal, as he is called 'chief among the publicans' (Luke xix. 2), a phrase supposed to be equivalent to our Commissioner of the Customs. Matthew appears to have been an inferior publican, and is described as 'sitting at the receipt of custom' (Luke v. 27). Jesus was reproached by the Jews as the friend of publicans and sinners, and for eating with them (Luke vii. 34); but such was his opinion of the unbelieving and self-righteous chief-priests and elders who brought these accusations, that he replied unto them, 'The publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you' (Matt. xxi. 31). The parable of the Pharisee and the Publican who went up in to the temple to pray (Luke xviii. 10) is a beautiful illustration of the distinction between hypocrisy and true piety. When Jesus visited the house of Zacchæus, who appears to have been eminently honest and upright, he was assured by him that he was ready to give one half of his goods to the poor; and if he had taken anything from any man by false accusation, to 'restore him fourfold' (Luke xix. 8). This was in reference to the Roman law, which required that when any farmer was convicted of extortion, he should return four times the value of what he had fraudulently obtained. There is no reason to suppose that either Zacchæus or Matthew had been guilty of unjust practices, or that there was any exception to their characters beyond that of being engaged in an odious employment. Some other examples of this occur. Suetonius (*Vesp.*) mentions the case of Sabinus, a collector of the fortieth penny in Asia, who had several statues erected to him by the cities of the province, with this inscription, 'To the honest tax-farmer.'

It has been imagined by some commentators that, by the Jewish laws, it was forbidden to pay tribute to foreigners, or to be employed as publicans under them (Deut. xvii. 15); but publicans that were Jews are so often mentioned in the New Testament, that Dr. Lardner inclines to think the Roman tribute was collected chiefly by Jews. He conceives that in most provinces the natives were employed in the towns as under-collectors, and that the receivers-general, or superior officers, only were Romans. As the office was so ex-

tremely odious, the Romans might deem it prudent to employ some natives in collecting the taxes; and there is little doubt that in every district they would find Jews willing to profit by the subjection of their country, and to accept appointments from their conquerors.—G. M. B.

PUBLIUS (Πόπλιος), governor of Melita at the time of Paul's shipwreck on that island (Acts xxviii. 7, 8). Paul having healed his father, probably enjoyed his hospitality during the three months of his stay in the island. An inscription found in Malta designates the governor of the island by the same title (πρῶτος, 'first' or 'chief'), which Luke gives to Publius [Melita].

PUDENS (Πούδης), one of the persons whose salutations Paul, writing from Rome, sends to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 21). Nothing is really known of him; but the martyrologies make him to have been a person of figure at Rome, of the senatorial order, and father of two pious virgins, Praxis and Pudentia. Yet, by a strange incongruity, he is also deemed to have been one of the seventy disciples. A female disciple, of the name of Claudia (Κλαυδία), is mentioned in the same verse; and as a poet of the time, Martial, speaks of the marriage of a Pudens and Claudia, the same persons are supposed to be intended. But this sort of identification requires little notice; and if Pudens and Claudia were husband and wife, it is unlikely that the apostle would have interposed another name between theirs.

PUL, king of Assyria [Assyria].

PULSE. [Pol.]

PUNISHMENTS. This subject is properly restricted to the penalty imposed on the commission of some crime or offence against law. It is thus distinguished from private retaliation or revenge, cruelty, torture, popular violence, certain customs of war, &c. Human punishments are such as are inflicted immediately on the person of the offender, or indirectly upon his goods, &c. For the leading points in the literature of the question concerning future and divine punishment see Soul. *Capital punishment* is usually supposed to have been instituted at the deluge (Gen. ix. 5, 6): 'At the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man: whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man.' Arnheim, however, contends that the, words איש אחיו, must be rendered *his kinsman*, or near relative (compare xiii. 8, אנשים אחים, or margin), and thus explains the precept: if האדם, one stranger slay another, the kinsmen of the murdered man are the avengers of blood; but if he be slain by איש אחיו, one of his own kindred, the other kinsmen must not spare the murderer, for if they do, then divine providence will require the blood—that is, will avenge it. Certainly capital punishment for murder was not inflicted on Cain, who was purposely preserved from death by divine interposition (iv. 14, 15), and was simply doomed to banishment from the scene of his crime to a distant country, to a total disappointment in agricultural labour, and to the life of a fugitive and a vagabond, far from the manifested presence of the Lord (11, 14); although the same reason existed in equal force in his case, namely, the creation of man in the image of God. We are inclined to regard the whole of the 'blessing' pronounced upon the *Noachidæ*, including this precept, as intended to encourage them to re-people the earth, by promises, &c., corresponding to the misgivings which were naturally created by the catastrophe they had just escaped; such as a *continuation* of the dread of man in the inferior creatures, a reinstatement of man in dominion over them (comp. i. 28), an assurance of God's high regard for human life, notwithstanding his late destruction of all but themselves, and the institution of the most natural and efficient mode of preserving it, by assigning the punishment of homicide to the nearest of kin, no doubt, however, under the superintendence of the head of every family, who appears to have been the legislator till the reconstitution of things, spiritual and civil, at Sinai, when this among other ancient laws was retained, perhaps unavoidably, but at the same time regulated (Num. xxxv. 9-34). This interpretation would account for the custom of blood-revenge among all the ancient and Asiatic nations. Certainly those who *generalize* this precept into an authority for capital punishment by courts of law in *Christian* nations, ought, by parity of reason, to regard the prohibition of blood (Gen. ix. 4) of equal obligation. The punishment of death appears among the legal powers of Judah, as the head of his family, and he ordered his daughter-in-law, Tamar, to be burnt (xxxviii. 24). It is denounced by the king of the Philistines, Abimelech, against those of his people who should injure or insult Isaac or his wife (xxvi. 11, 29). Similar power seems to have been possessed by the reigning Pharaoh in the time of Joseph (xli. 13).

In proceeding to consider the punishments enacted by Moses, reference will be made to the Scriptures only, because, as Michaelis observes, the explanation of the laws of Moses is not to be sought in the Jewish commentators. Nor will it be necessary to specify the punishments ordered by him for different offences, which will be found under their respective names [Adultery, Idolatry, &c.]. The extensive prescription of capital punishment by the Mosaic law, which we cannot consider as a dead letter, may be accounted for by the peculiar circumstances of the people. They were a nation of newly-emancipated slaves, and were by nature perhaps more than commonly intractable; and if we may judge by the laws enjoined on them, which Mr. Hume well remarks are a safe index to the manners and disposition of any people, we must infer that they had imbibed all the degenerating influences of slavery among heathens. Their wanderings and isolation did not admit of penal settlements or remedial punishments. They were placed under immediate divine government and surveillance. Hence, wilful offences evinced an incorrigibleness, which rendered death the only means of ridding the community of such transgressors; and which was ultimately resorted to in regard to all individuals above a certain age, in order that a better class might enter Canaan (Num. xiv. 29, 32, 35). If capital punishment in Christian nations be defended from the Mosaic law, it ought in fairness to be extended to all the cases sanctioned by that law, and among the rest, as Paley argues, to the doing of any work on the Sabbath-day (*Mor. Phil.*, b. v. ch. 7). We have the highest authority for saying, that the Mosaic law of divorce

was a condescension to circumstances (Matt. xix. 8)—a condescension which may have extended somewhat further.

The *mode of capital punishment*, which constitutes a material element in the character of any law, was probably as humane as the circumstances of Moses admitted. It was probably restricted to lapidation or stoning, which, by skilful management, might produce instantaneous death. It was an Egyptian custom (Exod. viii. 26). The public effusion of blood by decapitation cannot be proved to have been a Mosaic punishment, nor even an Egyptian; for, in the instance of Pharaoh's chief baker (Gen. xl. 19), 'Pharaoh shall lift up thine head from off thee,' the marginal rendering seems preferable, 'shall reckon thee and take thine office from thee.' He is said to have been 'hanged' (xli. 13); which may possibly mean posthumous exposure, though no independent evidence appears of this custom in ancient Egypt (Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, vol. ii. p. 45). The appearance of decapitation, 'slaying by the sword,' in later times (2 Sam. iv. 8, 20, 21, 22; 2 Kings x. 6-8) has no more relation to the Mosaic law than the decapitation of John the Baptist by Herod (Matt. xiv. 8-12); or than the hewing to pieces of Agag before the Lord by Samuel, as a punishment *in kind* (1 Sam. xv. 33); or than the office of the Chereth-ites, כרתי (2 Sam. viii. 18; xv. 18; xx. 7, 23), or headsmen, as Gesenius understands by the word, from כרת, 'to chop off' or 'hew down' (executioners belonging to the body-guard of the king); whereas execution was ordered by Moses, probably adopting an ancient custom, to be begun first by the witnesses, a regulation which constituted a tremendous appeal to their moral feelings, and afterwards to be completed by the people (Deut. xiii. 10; xvii. 7; Josh. vii. 25; John viii. 7). It was a later innovation that immediate execution should be done by some personal attendant, by whom the office was probably considered as an honour (2 Sam. i. 15; iv. 12). Stoning therefore was, probably, the only capital punishment ordered by Moses. It is observable that neither this nor any other punishment was, according to his law, attended with insult or torture (comp. 2 Macc. vii.). Nor did his laws admit of those horrible mutilations practised by other nations. For instance, he prescribed stoning for adulterers (comp. Lev. xx. 10; Ezek. xxiii. 25; xvi. 38, 40; John viii. 5); but the Chaldæans cut off the noses of such offenders (Ezek. xxiii. 25). According to Diodorus, the Egyptian monarch, Actisanes, punished robbers in like manner, and banished them to the confines of the desert, where a town was built called Rhinocolura, from the peculiar nature of their punishment, and where they were compelled to live by their industry in a barren and inhospitable region (i. 60). Mutilation of such a nature amounts to a perpetual condemnation to infamy and crime. It will shortly be seen that the *lex talionis*, 'an eye for an eye,' &c., was adopted by Moses as the *principle*, but not the mode of punishment. He seems also to have understood the true end of punishment, which is not to gratify the antipathy of society against crime, nor moral vengeance, which belongs to God alone, but prevention. 'All the people shall hear and fear, and do no more so presumptuously' (Deut. xvii. 13; xxix. 20). His laws are equally free from the characteristic of savage legislation, that of involving the family of the offender in his punishment. He did not allow parents to be put to death for their children, nor children for their parents (Deut. xxiv. 16), as did the Chaldæans (Dan. vi. 24), and the kings of Israel (comp. 1 Kings xxi.; 2 Kings ix. 26). Various punishments were introduced among the Jews, or became known to them by their intercourse with other nations,—viz., *precipitation*, or throwing, or causing to leap, from the top of a rock: to which ten thousand Idumæans were condemned by Amaziah, king of Judah (2 Chron. xxv. 12). The inhabitants of Nazareth intended a similar fate for our Lord (Luke iv. 29). This punishment resembles that of the Tarpeian rock among the Romans. *Dichotomy*, or *cutting asunder*, appears to have been a Babylonian custom (Dan. ii. 5; iii. 29; Luke xii. 46; Matt. xxiv. 51); but the passages in the Gospels admit of the milder interpretation of scourging with severity, discarding from office, &c. *Beating to death*, τυμπανισμός, was a Greek punishment for slaves. It was inflicted on a wooden frame, which probably derived its name from resembling a drum or timbrel in form, on which the criminal was bound and beaten to death (2 Macc. vi. 19, 28; comp. v. 30). In Josephus (*de Macc.*) the same instrument is called τροχός, or 'wheel' (§§ 5, 9). Hence to beat upon the tympanum, to drum to death, is similar to 'breaking on the wheel' (Heb. xi. 35). David inflicted this among other cruelties upon the inhabitants of Rabbath-ammon (1 Chron. xx. 3). *Fighting with wild beasts* was a Roman punishment, to which criminals and captives in war were sometimes condemned (Adam, *Roman Antiq.*, p. 344; 2 Tim. iv. 17; comp. 1 Cor. xv. 32). *Drowning* with a heavy weight around the neck, was a Syrian, Greek, and Roman punishment. This, therefore, being the custom of the enemies of the Jews, was introduced by our Lord to heighten his admonitions (Matt. xviii. 6). Josephus records that the Galileans, revolting from their commanders, drowned the partizans of Herod (*Antiq.* xiv. 15. 20). The Persians had a singular punishment for great criminals. A high tower was filled a great way up with ashes, the criminal was thrown into it, and the ashes by means of a wheel were continually stirred up and raised about him till he was suffocated (2 Macc. xiii. 4-6. *The lion's den* was a Babylonian punishment (Dan. vi.), and is still customary in Fez and Morocco (see accounts of by Hoest. c. ii. p. 77). *Bruising and pounding to death in a mortar* is alluded to in Prov. xxvii. 22. For crucifixion, see the Article.

Posthumous insults offered to the dead bodies of criminals, though common in other nations, were very sparingly allowed by Moses. He *permitted* only hanging on a tree or gibbet; but the exposure was limited to a day, and burial of the body at night was commanded (Deut. xxi. 22). Such persons were esteemed 'cursed of God' (comp. Josh. viii. 29; x. 26; 2 Sam. iv. 12)—a law which the later Jews extended to crucifixion (John xix. 31, &c.; Gal. iii. 13). *Hanging alive* may have been a Canaanitish punishment, since it was practised by the *Gibeonites* on the sons of Saul (2 Sam. xxi. 9). Another posthumous insult in later times consisted in heaping stones on the body or grave

of the executed criminal (Josh. vii. 25, 26). To 'make heaps' of houses or cities is a phrase denoting complete and ignominious destruction (Isa. xxv. 2; Jer. ix. 11). *Burning the dead body* seems to have been a very ancient posthumous insult: it was denounced by Judah against his daughter-in-law, Tamar, when informed that she was with child (Gen. xxxviii. 24). Selden thinks that this means merely branding on the forehead (*De Jure N. et G.*, vii. 5). Moses retained this ancient ignominy for two offences only, which from the nature of things must have been comparatively rare, viz., for *bigamy* with a mother and her daughter (Lev. xx. 4), and for the case of a priest's daughter who committed whoredom (xxi. 9). Though 'burning' only be specified in these cases, it may be safely inferred that the previous death of the criminals, probably by lapidation, is to be understood (comp. Josh. vii. 25). Among the heathens this merciful preliminary was not always observed, as for instance in the case of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (Dan. iii.).

Among the *minor corporal punishments* ordered by Moses, was scourging; or the infliction of blows on the back of an offender with a rod. It was limited by him to forty stripes, a number which the Jews in later times were so careful not to exceed, that they inflicted but thirty-nine (2 Cor. xi. 24). It was to be inflicted on the offender lying on the ground, in the presence of a judge (Lev. xix. 20; Deut. xxii. 18; xxv. 2, 3). We have abundant evidence that it was an ancient Egyptian punishment. Nor was it unusual for Egyptian superintendents to stimulate labourers to their work by the persuasive powers of the stick. Women received the stripes on the back, while sitting, from the hand of a man; and boys also, sometimes with their hands tied behind them. The modern inhabitants of the valley of the Nile retain the predilection of their forefathers for this punishment. The Moslem say 'Nezel min e'semma e'nebóot báraka min Allah:' 'The stick came down from heaven a blessing from God.' Corporal punishment of this kind was allowed by Moses, by masters to servants or slaves of both sexes (Exod. xxi. 20). Scourging was common in after times among the Jews, who associated with it no disgrace or inconvenience beyond the physical pain it occasioned, and from which no station was exempt (Prov. xvii. 26; comp. x. 13; Jer. xxxvii. 15-20). Hence it became the symbol for correction in general (Ps. lxxxix. 32). Solomon is a zealous advocate for its use in education (Prov. xiii. 24; xxiii. 13, 14; comp. Eccles. xxx. 1). In his opinion 'the blueness of a wound cleanseth away evil, and stripes the inward parts of the belly' (Prov. xx. 30). It was inflicted for ecclesiastical offences in the synagogue (Matt. x. 17; Acts xxvi. 11). The Mosaic law, however, respecting it, affords a pleasing contrast to the extreme and unlimited scourging known among the Romans, but which, according to the Porcian law, could not be inflicted upon a Roman citizen (Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, 3; *ad Famil.* x. 32; *in Verrem*, v. 53; comp. Acts xvi. 22-37; xxii. 25). Reference to the scourge with scorpions, *i. e.* a whip or scourge armed with knots or thorns, occurs in 1 Kings xii. 11. So in Latin, scorpio means 'virga nodosa vel aculeata.'

Retaliation, the lex talionis of the Latins, and the ἀντιπεπονθὸς of the Greeks, is doubtless the most natural of all kinds of punishment, and would be the most just of all, if it could be instantaneously and universally inflicted. But when delayed it is apt to degenerate into revenge. Hence the desirableness that it should be regulated and modified by law. The one-eyed man, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (xii.), complained that if he lost his remaining eye, he would then suffer more than his victim, who would still have one left. Phavorinus argues against this law, which was one of the twelve tables, as not admitting literal execution, because the same member was more valuable to one man than another; for instance, the right hand of a scribe or painter could not be so well spared as that of a singer. Hence that law, in later times, was administered with the modification, 'Ni cum eo pacet,' except the aggressor came to an agreement with the mutilated person, *de talione redimenda*, redeem the punishment by making compensation. Moses accordingly adopted the principle, but lodged the application of it in the judge. 'If a man blemish his neighbour, as he hath done, so shall it be done to him. Life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, wound for wound, stripe for stripe, breach for breach' (Exod. xxi. 23-25; Lev. xxiv. 19-22). His system of compensations, &c., occurs in Exod. xxi. He, however, makes wilful murder, even of a slave, always capital, as did the Egyptians. Roman masters had an absolute right over the life of their slaves (Juvenal, vi. 219). The Egyptians doomed the false accuser to the same punishment which he endeavoured to bring on his victim, as did Moses (Deut. xix. 19). Imprisonment, not as a punishment, but custody, till the royal pleasure was known, appears among the Egyptians (Gen. xxxix. 20, 21). Moses adopted it for like purposes (Lev. xxvi. 12). In later times, it appears as a punishment inflicted by the kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chron. xvi. 10; 1 Kings xxii. 27; Jer. xxxvii. 21); and during the Christian era, as in the instance of John (Matt. iv. 12), and Peter (Acts xii. 4). Murderers and debtors were also committed to prison; and the latter 'tormented' till they paid (Matt. xviii. 30; Luke xxiii. 19). A common prison is mentioned (Acts v. 18); and also an inner prison or dungeon, which was sometimes a pit (Jer. xxxviii. 6), in which were 'stocks' (Jer. xx. 2; xxix. 26; Acts xvi. 24). Prisoners are alluded to (Job iii. 18), and stocks (xiii. 27). Banishment was impracticable among the Jews. It was inflicted by the Romans on John (Rev. i. 9). *Cutting or plucking off the hair* is alluded to (Isa. l. 6; Nehem. xiii. 25). *Excision*, or 'cutting off from his people,' is denounced against the uncircumcised as early as the covenant with Abraham (Gen. xvii. 14). This punishment is expressed in the Mosaic law by the formulæ—'that soul shall be destroyed from its people' (Lev. xvii. 20, 21); 'from Israel' (Exod. xii. 15); 'from the midst of the congregation' (Num. xix. 20); 'it shall be destroyed' (Lev. xvii. 14; xx. 17); which terms sometimes denote capital punishment (Exod. xxxi. 14; comp. xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32, &c.) [ANATHEMA].

Ecclesiastical punishments are prescribed, as might be expected, under a theocracy, but these were moderate. Involuntary transgressions of the

Levitical law, whether of omission or commission, were atoned for by a sin-offering (Lev. iv. 2, &c.; v. 1, 4-7). This head embraced a rash or neglected oath, keeping back evidence in court (Lev. iv. 2, &c.; v. 1; iv. 7), breach of trust, concealment of property when found, or theft, even when the offender had already cleared himself by oath, but was now moved by conscience to make restitution. By these means, and by the payment of twenty per cent. beyond the amount of his trespass, the offender might cancel the crime as far as the church was concerned (Lev. vi. 1-7; Num. v. 6-10). Adultery with a slave was commuted from death to stripes and a trespass-offering (Lev. xix. 20-22). All these cases involved public confession, and the expenses of the offering.

Future punishment.—Though the doctrine of a future state was known to the ancient Hebrews, yet temporal punishment and reward were the immediate motives held out to obedience. Hence the references in the Old Testament to punishment in a future state are obscure and scanty. See HADES; HEAVEN; HELL.—J. F. D.

PUNON, one of the stations of the Israelites in the desert [WANDERING].

PURIFICATIONS [ABLUTIONS, UNCLEANNESS].

PURIM (פּוּרִים, Esther iii. 7; ix. 24, sq., from פּוּר, supposed to be the Persic for a 'lot'), a celebrated Jewish festival instituted by Mordecai, at the suggestion of Esther, in the reign of Ahasuerus, king of Persia, to commemorate the deliverance of the Jews from the designs of Haman [ESTHER; HAMAN; MORDECAI]. It derived its name from the *lots* cast every day for twelve months in presence of Haman, with the view of discovering an auspicious day for the destruction of all the Jews in the Persian dominions; when the lot fell on the 13th day of Adar (February and part of March) [FESTIVALS].

The celebration of this festival is next referred to in 2 Macc. xv. 36, where it is denominated Mordecai's day (ἡ Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα) [MACCABEES]. It is also mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 6), who, having observed that the Jews in Shushan feasted on the fourteenth day (of Adar), and that which followed it, says, 'Even now all the Jews in the habitable world keep these days festival, and send portions one to another;' and after referring to the deliverance of the Jews by Divine protection, he adds, 'for which cause the Jews keep the forementioned days, calling them Phruræan days (ἡμέραι φρουραίαι).' It is disputed whether the word employed by Josephus (φρουραίαι) arose from an error of transcription, or whether the historian may not have confounded the name Purim with פְּרוּרִים, which, according to some, implies *protection*. The Talmud makes frequent mention of this feast. In the *Jerusalem Megillah* (p. 704) it is observed that 'there were seventy-five elders, above thirty of whom were prophets, who made exceptions against the feast of Purim ordained by Esther and Mordecai, as some kind of innovation against the law' (see Lightfoot, on John x. 22). Maimonides remarks that it is forbidden to weep or fast on this day.

It has been sharply contested whether there is any reference in the New Testament to this feast. It is recorded in St. John's Gospel (v. 1), that 'after these things was the feast of the Jews (ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων)', or rather, perhaps, *a* feast, as the article is wanting in several manuscripts. It has been held by Outrein, Lamy, and Hug, and still more recently by Tholuck and Lücke, that the feast of Purim is here meant. The reasons on which this opinion is grounded will be found fully detailed in Hug's *Introd.* (part ii. § 64), and in Lücke's *Comment. on St. John's Gospel* (see the English translation of Lücke's *Dissertation* in the appendix to Tittmann's *Meletemata Sacra, or a Commentary on St. John's Gospel*, in *Bib. Cabinet*, vol. xlv. Hengstenberg, on the other hand (*Christology*, vol. ii., 'On the Seventy Weeks of Daniel,' pp. 408-414, Engl. transl., Washington (U. S.), 1839), opposes this hypothesis by many ingenious arguments, and holds it to be inconceivable that our Lord, 'who never mentions the book of Esther, whose apostles nowhere appeal to it, should have sought this feast consecrated to the remembrance of an event described in this book.' Not that he wishes to 'impugn the authority of the book of Esther, but because, in regard to the true standard, its reference to Christ, it undoubtedly holds the lowest place among all the books in the Old Testament.' It would appear from this, that Professor Hengstenberg follows Luther's 'touchstone' of canonicity [DEUTEROCANONICAL]. Those who do not consider Purim to be the feast referred to in John v. 1, are divided between the Passover, the Feast of Dedication, and that of Pentecost: Hengstenberg, with the majority of commentators, supports the last. Lücke concludes his able dissertation by observing that all sure grounds of deciding between Purim and the Passover are wanting.

The particulars of the mode in which the Jews observe this festival will be found detailed by Buxtorf (*Synag. Jud.*) and Schikford (*De Synagoga*, in the *Critici Sacri*, vol. ii. p. 1185). We shall select a few of the most striking. The book of Esther, written on a separate roll of parchment, called on this account Megillah Esther, or simply Megillah, is read from beginning to end; and even the reading of the law is on this day postponed to it. It may be also read in any language which the reader understands. When Mordecai's name occurs, the whole congregation exclaim, *Blessed be Mordecai!* and, on mention of that of Haman, they say, *May his name perish!* and it is usual for the children to hiss, spring rattles, strike the walls with hammers, and make all sorts of noises. These noisy portions of the ceremony have, however, been long discontinued in England, except in the synagogues of some foreign Jews. The remainder of the day is spent in festivity, in commemoration of Esther's feast; upon which occasion the Jews send presents to each other, the men to the men, and the women to the women. They also bestow alms on the poor, from the benefit of which Christians and other Gentiles are not excluded. Plays and masquerades follow; nor is it considered a breach of the law of Moses on this occasion, for men and women to assume the garb of the other sex. It is even written in the Talmud (*Tract. Megill.* vii. 2), that a man should drink until he cannot discern the words 'Cursed be Haman' from 'Blessed be Mordecai.' But these injunctions are certainly not considered as binding; and the modern Jews, both at the feast of Purim and in their general habits, are remarkable for their temperance and sobriety. Hatach (Esther iv.

and v.) is considered by the Jews to be the same with Daniel. Purim is the last festival in the Jewish ecclesiastical year, being succeeded by the next Passover.—W. W.

PURPLE, BLUE, CRIMSON, SCARLET. 1. *Purple* (ארגמן) occurs in Exod. xxv. 4; xxvi. 1, 31, 36; xxvii. 16; xxviii. 5, 6, 8, 15, 33; xxxv. 6, 23, 25, 35; xxxvi. 8, 35, 37; xxxviii. 18, 23; xxxix. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 24, 29; Num. iv. 13; Judg. viii. 26; 2 Chron. ii. 7, 14; iii. 14; Est. i. 6; viii. 15; Prov. xxxi. 22; Cant. iii. 10; vii. 5; Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16; Ecclus. xlv. 10; Bar. vi. 12, 72; 1 Macc. iv. 23; viii. 14; x. 20, 62; 2 Macc. iv. 38; Mark xv. 17, 20; Luke xvi. 19; John xix. 2, 5; Acts xvi. 14; Rev. xvii. 4; xviii. 12, 16. Chald. ארגון, occurs in 2 Chron. ii. 7; ארגונא, Dan. v. 7, 16, 29; Sept. and Greek Test., πορφύρα; Vulg. *purpura*. In many of these passages, the word translated 'purple' means 'purple cloth,' or some other material dyed purple, as wool, thread, &c.; but no reference occurs to the means by which the dye was obtained, except in 1 Macc. iv. 23, where we have πορφύρα θαλλασσία, 'purple of the sea' (comp. Diod. Sic. iii. 68; Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 4). There is, however, no reason to doubt that it was obtained, like the far-famed Tyrian purple, from the juice of certain species of shell-fish. Different accounts are given by the ancients respecting the date and origin of this invention. Some place it in the reign of Phœnix, second king of Tyre, B.C. 500. Others at the time that Minos the First reigned in Crete, B.C. 1439, and consequently before the Exodus (Suidas, *s. v.* Ἡρακλῆς, tom. ii. p. 73). But the person to whom the majority ascribe it, is the Tyrian Hercules, whose dog, it is said, instigated by hunger, broke a certain kind of shell-fish on the coast of Tyre, and his mouth becoming stained of a beautiful colour, his master was induced to try its properties on wool, and gave his first specimens to the king of Tyre, who admired the colour so much that he restricted the use of it by law to the royal garments (Pollux, *Onom.* i. 4; Achilles Tatius, *De Clitoph.*; Palæphat. in *Chron. Paschal.*, p. 43). It is remarkable, that though the Israelites, as early as the first construction of the tabernacle in the wilderness, appear to have had purple stuff in profusion (Exod. xxv. 1-4), which they had most likely brought with them out of Egypt, yet no instance occurs in the pictorial language of the Egyptians, nor in Wilkinson's *Ancient Manners and Customs*, of the actual manufacture of dyeing either linen or woollen, although dyes similar to the Tyrian were found among them. These facts agree, at least, with the accounts which ascribe the invention to the earliest of these two periods, and the pre-eminent trade in it to the Tyrians. The Greeks attributed its first introduction among themselves to the Phœnicians (Eurip. *Phœn.* 1497). Their word φοίνιξ means both a 'Phœnician' and 'purple.' The word πορφύρα is, according to Martinius, of Tyrian origin. Though purple dyes were by no means confined to the Phœnicians (comp. Ezek. xxvii. 7, 'purple from the isles of Elisha,' supposed to mean Elis, 'and from Syria,' ver. 16), yet violet purples and scarlet were nowhere dyed so well as at Tyre, whose shores abounded with the best kind of purples (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 60, p. 524, ed. Harduin), and who were supplied with the best wool by the neighbouring nomads. The dye called purple by the ancients, and its various shades, were obtained from many kinds of shell-fish, all of which are, however, ranged by Pliny under two classes: one called 'buccinum,' because shaped like a horn, found, he says, in cliffs and rocks, and yielding a sullen blue dye, which he compares to the colour of the angry raging sea in a tempest; the other called 'purpura,' or 'pelagia,' the proper purple shell, taken by fishing in the sea, and yielding the deep red colour which he compares to the rich, fresh, and bright colour of deep-red purple roses—'nigrantis rosæ colore sublucens'—and to coagulated blood, and which was chiefly valued. 'Laus ei summa in colore sanguinis concreti' (*Ibid.* cap. 61, 62). It is the *Murex trunculus* of Linnæus and Lamarck (see *Syst. Nat.* p. 1215, and *Animaux sans Vertebres*, Paris, 1822, t. vii. p. 170). Both sorts



464. [Murex trunculus.]

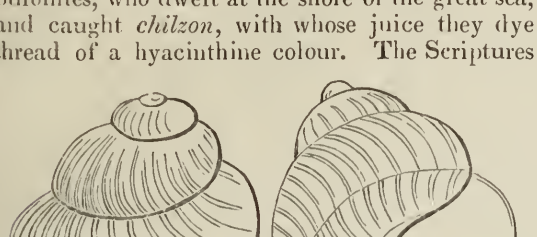
were supposed to be as many years old as they had spirals round. Michaelis thinks that Solomon alludes to their shape, when he says (Cant. vii. 5), 'The hair of thine head is like purple;' meaning that the tresses (πλόκιον κεφαλῆς, Sept.; *comæ capitis*, Vulg.) were tied up in a spiral or pyramidal form on the top. Others say that the word 'purple' is here used like the Latin *purpureus*, for beautiful, &c., and instance the 'purpurei olores,' 'beautiful swans' of Horace (*Carm.* iv. 1. 10), and the 'purpureus capillus' of Virgil (*Georg.* i. 405); but these phrases are not parallel. The juice of the whole shell-fish was not used, but only a little thin liquor called the flower, contained in a white vein or vessel in the neck. The larger purples were broken at the top to get at this vein without injuring it, but the smaller were pressed in mills (Aristot. *Hist. An.*, v. 13. 75; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 60). The *Murex trunculus* has been demonstrated to be the species used by the ancient Tyrians, by Wilde, who found a concrete mass of the shells in some of the ancient dye-pots sunk in the rocks of Tyre (*Narrative*, Dublin, 1840, vol. ii. p. 482). It is of common occurrence now on the same coasts (Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, p. 418), and throughout the whole of the Mediterranean, and even of the Atlantic. In the Mediterranean, the countries most celebrated for purples were the shores of Peloponnesus and Sicily, and in the Atlantic, the coasts of Britain, Ireland, and France. Horace alludes to the African (*Carm.* ii. 16. 35). There is, indeed, an essential difference in the colour obtained from the purples of different coasts. Thus the shells

from the Atlantic are said to give the darkest juice; those of the Italian and Sicilian coasts, a violet or purple; and those of the Phœnician, a crimson. It appears from the experiments of Reaumur and Duhamel, that the tinging juice is perfectly white while in the vein; but upon being laid on linen, it soon appears first of a light green colour, and if exposed to the air and sun, soon after changes into a deep green, in a few minutes into a sea green, and in a few more into a blue: thence it speedily becomes of a purple red, and in an hour more of a deep purple red, which, upon being washed in scalding water and soap, ripens into a most bright and beautiful crimson, which is permanent. The ancients applied the word translated 'purple,' not to one colour only, but to the whole class of dyes manufactured from the juices of shell-fish, as distinguished from the vegetable dyes (*colores herbacei*), and comprehending not only what is commonly called purple, but also light and dark purple, and almost every shade between. Various methods were adopted to produce these different colours.

Thus, a sullen blue was obtained from the juice of the buccinum alone; a plain red, yet too deep and brown, from the pelagia; a dark red by dipping the wool, &c., first in the juice of the purpura, and then in that of the buccinum; a violet (which was the amethyst colour so much valued by the Romans) by reversing the process; and another, the most valued and admired of all, the Tyriamethystus, by again dipping the amethyst in the juice of the pelagia. This Pliny calls *dibapha Tyria;* so named he says, because 'bis tincta' (*Hist. Nat.* ix. 39). No reference to this process occurs in the Scriptures, but it is often alluded to in Roman authors. Thus Horace (*Epod.* xii. 21): Muricibus Tyriis iteratæ vellera lanæ. 'The wools with Tyrian purple double dyed.' Other varieties of colour may have been produced by the use of various species of mollusca, and of those from different coasts. The Phœnicians also understood the art of throwing a peculiar lustre into this colour, by making other tints play over it, and producing what we call a shot colour, which seems to have been wonderfully attractive (Pliny, ix. 41). Purple was employed in religious worship both among Jews and Gentiles. It was one of the colours of the curtains of the tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 1); of the vail (31); of the curtain over the grand entrance (36); of the ephod of the high priest (xxviii. 5, 6), and of its girdle (8); of the breast-plate (15); of the hem of the robe of the ephod (33); (comp. Ecclus. xlv. 10); of cloths for divine service (Exod. xxxix. 1; comp. Num. iv. 13); resumed when the temple was built (2 Chron. ii. 7, 14; iii. 14). Pliny records a similar use of it among the Romans: 'Diis advocatur placandis' (*Hist. Nat.* ix. 60; Cicero, *Epist. ad Atticum*, ii. 9). The Babylonians arrayed their idols in it (Jer. x. 9; Baruch xii. 72). It was at an early period worn by kings (Judg. viii. 26). Homer speaks as if it were almost peculiar to them (*Il.* iv. 144; 1 Macc. viii. 14). Pliny says it was worn by Romulus and the succeeding kings of Rome, and by the consuls and first magistrates under the republic. Suetonius relates that Julius Cæsar prohibited its use by Roman subjects, except on certain days; and that Nero forbade it altogether, upon pain of death. The use of it was bestowed by kings upon favorites, &c.; Josephus says by Pharaoh on Joseph (*Antiq.* ii. 5. 7). It was given by Ahasuerus to Mordecai (Esth. viii. 15); to Daniel by Belshazzar (Dan. v. 7, 16, 29). It was the dress of an ethnarch or prince, and as such given by Alexander to Jonathan (1 Macc. x. 20, 62, 64, 65; comp. 2 Macc. iv. 38). In the last chapter of the Proverbs it is represented as the dress of a matron (ver. 22). It was at one time worn by Roman ladies and rich men (Livy, xxxiv. 7, and Valerius Max. ii. 1). See also the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19). In Esther i. 6, it appears as part of the royal furniture of Ahasuerus; and in Cant. iii. 10, as the covering of the royal chariot; and Pliny refers to its general use, not only for clothes, but carpets, cushions, &c. (39). The robe in which the Prætorian guard arrayed the Saviour, called χλαμὺς κοκκίνη by Matthew (xxvii. 28), and πορφύρα by Mark (xv. 17, 20), and ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν by John (xix. 2), and which appears to have been the cast-off sagum of one of their officers, was no doubt scarlet—that is, proper *crimson*, as will hereafter appear—of a deeper hue and finer texture than the sagum or chlamys of the common soldier, but inferior in both respects to that of the emperor, which was also of this colour in the time of war, though purple during peace. The adjectives used by the Evangelists are, however, often interchanged. Thus a vest, which Horace (*Sat.* ii. 6. 102) calls 'rubro cocco tincta,' in l. 106, he styles 'purpurea.' Braunius shows that the Romans gave this name to any colour that had a mixture of red (*De Vestitu Sacerdotum*, i. 14, Ludg. Bat. 1680). Ovid applies the term purpureus to the cheeks and lips (*Amor.* i. 3). In Acts x. 14, reference is found to Lydia, of the city of Thyatira, a seller of purple cloth. The manufacture seems to have decayed with its native city. A colony of Jews, which was established at Thebes in Greece in the twelfth century, carried on an extensive manufactory for dyeing purple. It ultimately became superseded by the use of indigo, cochineal, &c., whence a cheaper and finer purple was obtained, and free from the disagreeable odour which attended that derived from shell-fish (Martial, i. 50. 32). The method of the ancients in preparing and applying it, and other particulars respecting its history, uses, and estimation, are most fully given by Pliny (*Hist.Nat.* ix. 36-42). The best modern books are Amati, *De Restitutione Purpurarum*, 3rd ed., Cesena, 1784; the treatise by Capelli, *De Antiqua et Nupera Purpura*, with notes; and Don Michaele Rosa, *Dissertazione delle porpore*, &c. 1768. See also *Dictionnaire des Sciences Naturelles*, tom. xliii. p. 219, &c.; Bochart, edit. Rosenmüller, tom. iii. p. 675, &c.; Heeren's *Historical Researches*, translated, Oxford, 1833, vol. ii. p. 85, &c.

2. *Blue* (תכלת), almost constantly associated with purple, occurs in Exod. xxv. 4; xxvi. 1, 4, 31, 36; xxvii. 16; xxviii. 5-8, 15, 33, 37; xxxv. 25; xxxvi. 11; xxxix. 1-5, 22, 31; Num. iv. 6, 7, 9, 11, 12; xv. 38; 2 Chron. ii. 7, 14; Esth. i. 6; viii. 15; Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxiii. 6; xxvii. 7, 24; Sept. generally ὑάκινθος, ὑακινθίνος; and in Ecclus. xl. 4; xlv. 10; 1 Macc. iv. 23; and so Josephus, Philo, Aquila, Symmachus,

Theodotion, Vulgate, and Jerome. This colour is supposed to have been obtained from another purple shell-fish of the Mediterranean, the *conchylium* of the ancients, the *Helix ianthina* of Linnæus (*Syst. Nat.* tom. i. part 7, p. 3645; and see Forskal's *Descriptio Animal.* p. 127), called חלזון by the ancient Jews. Thus the pseudo-Jonathan, in Deut. xxxiii. 19, speaks of the Zebulonites, who dwelt at the shore of the great sea, and caught *chilzon*, with whose juice they dye thread of a hyacinthine colour. The Scriptures



465. [Helix ianthina.]

afford no clue to this colour; for the only passages in which it seems, in the English version, to be applied to something that might assist our conceptions, are mistranslated, namely, 'The blueness of a wound' (Prov. xx. 30), and 'A blue mark upon him that is beaten' (Ecclus. xxiii. 10), there being no reference to colour in the original of either. The word in the Sept. and Apocrypha refers to the hyacinth; but both the flower and stone, so named by the ancients, are disputed, especially the former. Yet it is used to denote dark-coloured and deep purple. Virgil speaks of *ferrugineos hyacinthos*, and Columella compares the colour of the flower to that of clotted blood, or deep, dusky red, like rust (*De Re Rust.* x. 305). Hesychius defines *ὑακίνθινον· ὑπομελανίζον, πορφυρίζον.* It is plainly used in the Greek of Ecclus. xl. 4 for the royal purple. Josephus evidently takes the Hebrew word to mean 'sky-colour;' for in explaining the colours of the vail of the temple, and referring to the blue (Exod. xxvi. 31), he says that it represented the air or sky (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 4): he similarly explains the vestment of the high-priest (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 7; and see Philo, *Vita Mosis*, iii. p. 148, tom ii. ed. Mangey). These statements may be reconciled by the fact, that in proportion as the sky is clear and serene, it assumes a dark appearance, which is still more observable in an eastern climate. The chief references to this colour in Scripture are as follows:—The robe of the high-priest's *ephod* was to be all of blue (Exod. xxviii. 31); so the loops of the curtains to the tabernacle (xxvi. 4); the riband for the breastplate (xxviii. 28), and for the plate for the mitre (ver. 37; comp. Ecclus. xlv. 10); blue cloths for various sacred uses (Num. iv. 6, 7, 9, 11, 12); the people commanded to wear a riband of blue above the fringe of their garments (Num. xv. 38); it appears as a colour of furniture in the palace of Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 6), and part of the royal apparel (viii. 15); array of the idols of Babylon (Jer. x. 9); of the Assyrian nobles, &c. (Ezra xxiii. 6; see Braunius, *De Vestitu*, &c., i. 9 and 13; Bochart, tom. iii. p. 670).

3. *Crimson*, ברמיל, occurs in 2 Chron. ii. 7-14; iii. 14; Sept. *κόκκινος*; Vulg. *coccinum.* This word is by some supposed to signify another kind of shell-fish, yielding a crimson dye, so called because found on the shore near Mount Carmel. If so, those words (Cant. vii. 5), 'thine head upon thee is like Carmel,' may contain another reference to the shape of some sort of *purpura* (Bochart, vol. iii. p. 661, &c.). Gesenius says it is a word belonging to later Hebrew, and most probably of Persian or Armenian origin.

4. *Scarlet*, often associated with purple and blue. The words so translated occur in the following forms:—1. שני and שנים, alone, Gen. xxxviii. 28-30; Josh. ii. 18-21; 2 Sam. i. 24; Prov. xxxi. 21; Cant. iv. 3; Jer. iv. 30; Sept. *κόκκινον*; Vulg. *coccinum*; Isa. i. 18, *φοινικοῦν*, *coccinum.* 2. שני תולעת, Exod. xxv. 4; xxvi. 1, 31, 36; xxvii. 16; xxviii. 5, 6, 8, 15; xxxv. 6, 23, 25; xxxviii. 18, 23; xxix. 3; Num. iv. 8; *κόκκινον* and *κόκκινον* with *διπλοῦν, κεκλωσμένον, κλώτον, διανενησμένον*; Vulg. *bis tinctus*, *coccus bis tinctus*, and *vermiculus.* 3. תולעת שני, Lev. xiv. 4, 6, 49, 51, 52; Num. xix. 6; Sept. *κοκκίνον*, with *κεκλωσμένον*, and *κλωστόν*; *vermiculus*, *coccus*, and with *bis tinctus.* 4. תולע, alone, Isa. i. 8, *κόκκινον*, *vermiculus*; Lam. iv. 5; Vulg. *croccis*; Nah. ii. 3, *coccineis.* In the New Testament, Matt. xxvii. 28; Heb. ix. 19; Rev. xvii. 3, 4; xviii. 12, 16; *κόκκινος*, *coccineus.* The first of these words, שני, is by some derived from שנה, 'to repeat,' and is thus interpreted to mean 'double dyed,' *δίβαφον*, but which Gesenius observes is applicable only to the Tyrian purple (see Braunius, *De Vest.* i. 15, § 214, p. 237; Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 3, p. 525-7). Gesenius prefers the Arabic root سنى *splenduit*, because scarlet garments were admired for their brightness: but Jerome asserts that the word means *coccinum* (*Epist. ad Fabiolam*). It is certain that תולע denotes a worm, grub, or insect, and the Sept. and Vulg. plainly understood by it the *coccus*, from which the ancients procured a blood red crimson dye, the *coccus ilicis* of Linnæus, class iv., tetragynia, the قرمز *kermez* of the Arabians, whence used to be derived the French word *cramoisi*, and our *crimson*; but Kilian gives *carmensinum*, because made from a worm, which, in the Phœnician tongue, is called *carmen.* Hesychius defines *κόκκος· ἐξ οὗ φοινικοῦν βάπτεται τὸ χρωμα.* It was the female of this remarkable insect that was employed; and though supplanted by the cochineal (*coccus cacti*), it is still used for the purpose in India and Persia. It attains the size and form of a pea, is of a violet black colour, covered with a whitish powder, adhering to plants, chiefly various species of oak, and so closely resembling grains, that its insect nature was not generally known for many centuries. According to Beckman, the epithet *vermiculatus* was applied to it during the middle ages, when this fact became generally understood, and that hence is derived the word *vermilion.* Hence the Hebrew words mean both the *coccus* itself, and the deep red or bright rich *crimson* which was derived from it (as in Cant. iv. 3, 'thy lips are like a thread of scarlet'); and so the word '*scarlet*' *signified in the time of our translators*, rather than the colour now called by that name, and which *was*

unknown in the time of James I. This insect is widely distributed over many of the south-eastern countries of the ancient world. It occurs abundantly in Spain (Kirby and Spence, *Introduction to Entomology*, 1828, vol. i. pp. 319-20). It is found on the *quercus coccifera*, or *kermes* oak, in Palestine (Kitto's *Physical History*, p. 219). Pliny speaks of the *coccus* as a red colour much esteemed, which he distinguishes from purple (*Hist. Nat.* ix. 65), and describes as a gay, red,



466. [Coccus ilicis, on a branch.]

lively bright, approaching the colour of fire (*ibid.* and xxi. 22). All the ancients concur in saying that this dye was made from a sort of little grains which were gathered from the holm-oak (Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* iii. 16; Pliny, xvi. 12; Dioscorides, iv. 48; Pausan. x. 36). They not only call them grains, but speak of them as the vegetable productions of the oak itself, πρίνου καρπόν (Plut. *Thes.* p. 7); and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xvi. 12) calls them *cusculia*, from the Greek κοσκύλλειν, which signifies 'to cut little excrescences,' because they cut or scrape off these *small grains of the oak.* Yet he was not entirely ignorant of their insect character, for he says, 'coccum ilicis celerrime in vermiculum se mutans' (xxiv. 4). It seems, however, that the colour, thus obtained, was not durable (xxii. 3). It was known at a very early period in Canaan (Gen. xxxviii. 28); it was one of the colours of the high-priest's *ephod* (Exod. xxviii. 6), and of its girdle (ver. 8), of the breastplate (ver. 15), and of cloths for sacred uses (Num. iv. 8); it was used in cleansing the leper (Lev. xiv. 4), to indicate, as Abarbanel thinks, that a healthy complexion was restored to him. It was the dress of females in the time of Saul (2 Sam. i. 24); of opulent persons in later times (Lam. iv. 5); of the Babylonian and Median soldiers, who also wore red shields (Nahum ii. 4; comp. *Scuta lectissimis coloribus distinguunt*, Tacit. *De Mor. Germ.* c. 6; and Philostratus, *Epist. de Laccdæmoniis.* Three mistranslations of the word occur in our version, 'She is not afraid of the snow for her household; for all her household are clothed with scarlet' (Prov. xxxi. 21). Since there is no connection between the colour and a defence from the cold, it would be better rendered, as in the margin, 'double garments;' Sept. ἐνδεδυμένοι; Vulg. *vestiti duplicibus.* The next verse of the Sept. begins δισσὰς χλαίνας ἐποίησε τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς. In Isa. i. 18, and Jer. iv. 30, the word should be rendered 'scarlet' and not 'crimson.' The final reference to scarlet, is in regard to *Pagan* Rome, which, like all cities, is represented as a female; and since everybody wore scarlet in Rome, and especially during war, she is described as being arrayed in that colour. In Exod. xxxix. 3, it is said, 'they did beat gold into their plates, and cut into wires, to work in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen;' which is explained to mean that these five kinds, blue, purple, scarlet, fine linen, and gold, were twisted into one thread; thus, a thread of gold with six threads of blue, and so with the rest, after which they twisted all these threads into one (Braunius, i. 17. 26). It seems plain from Exod. xxxv. 25, that the blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen were spun by hand from wool already dyed of these colours. Wilkinson remarks that the colour was in like manner imparted by the Egyptians to the thread, &c., that is, cloth was not dyed after being wove (*Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 125). It will have been perceived that great difficulty attends the attempt to determine the precise distinctions of colours known to the ancients by the various preceding names. The only possible method whereby they could have conveyed them to our minds, would have been by comparing them to the colours of natural objects, whose appearance was immutable, and whose identity was beyond question. Such an attempt has been made by Bishop Wilkins in his *Real Character.* We may illustrate the utility of these requisites by the colour blue, which is defined to mean 'the colour produced or exposed to the view by the *blowing* away, or clearing away or dispersing of the clouds' (*Enc. Metropolitana*). But, as is well known, the shades of ethereal blue vary in different countries, and even in different altitudes of the same country. Hence the word blue, if illustrated by this standard, would convey a different idea to the inhabitants of different regions. It is most likely that all our ideas of sensible impressions are liable to errors of association. It is, however, satisfactory to know, that like all other dubious matters, these are of minor importance. We add a further reference to Goguet's *Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 95, &c. Edin. 1764.—J. F. D.

PUTEOLI (Ποτίολοι), a maritime town of Campania, in Italy, on the north shore of the bay of Naples, and about eight miles north-west from the city of that name, where it still exists under the name of Pozzuoli. It derived its name from its tepid baths, whence the district in which it exists is now called Terra di Lavoro. The ancient Greek name of the place was Δικαιάρχεια. It was a favourite watering-place of the Romans, as its numerous hot-springs were judged efficacious for the cure of various diseases. It was also the port where ships usually discharged their passengers and cargoes, partly to avoid doubling the promontory of Circeium, and partly because

there was no commodious harbour nearer to Rome. Hence the ship in which Paul was conveyed from Melita, landed the prisoners at this place, where the apostle staid for a week (Acts xxviii. 13). The harbour was protected by a celebrated mole, the remains of which are still to be seen.

Q.

QUAIL (שְׂלָו *selav;* Sept. ὀρτυγομήτρα; Vulg., *coturnix*) occurs in Exod. xvi. 13; Num. xi. 31, 32; Ps. cv. 40. Quails form a subdivision of the *Tetraonidæ*, or grouse family, being distinguished from partridges by their smaller size, finer bill, shorter tail, and the want of a red naked eyebrow and of spurs on the legs. There are several species, whereof the common, now distinguished by the name of *Coturnix dactylisonans*, is abundant in all the temperate regions of Europe and Western Asia, migrating to and from Africa in the proper season. Thus it crosses the Mediterranean and Black Seas twice a-year in vast multitudes; but being by nature a bird of heavy flight, the passage is partially conducted by way of intermediate islands, or through Spain; and in the East, in still greater numbers, along the Syrian desert into Arabia, forming, especially at the spring season, innumerable flocks. They alight exhausted with fatigue, and are then easily caught. Guided by these facts, commentators have been led to identify the Hebrew שלו with the quail; although other species of partridges, and still more of *Pterocles* ('sand grouse'), abound in Western Asia; in particular *Pterocles Alchata*, or *Attagen*, which is found, if possible, in still greater numbers on the deserts, and has been claimed by Hasselquist as the *selav* of Exodus. But the present Arabic name of the quail is *selwa;* and the circumstances connected with the bird in question—found on two occasions by the people of Israel in and around the camp so abundantly as to feed the whole population in the desert (Exod. xvi. 3-13), and at Kibroth-Hattaavah, both times in the spring—are much more applicable to flights of quail alighting in an exhausted state during their periodical migration, than to the pterocles, which does not proceed to so great a distance, has very powerful wings, is never seen fatigued by migration, is at all times a tenant of the wilderness far from water, and which, strictly taken, is perhaps not a clean bird, all the species subsisting for the most part on larvæ, beetles, and insects. We regard these considerations as sufficient to establish the accuracy of the Authorized Version.

Of a bird so well known no figure or further particular description appears to be necessary, beyond mentioning the enormous flights which, after crossing an immense surface of sea, are annually observed at the spring and fall to take a brief repose in the islands of Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, Crete, in the kingdom of Naples, and about Constantinople, where on those occasions there is a general shooting-match, which lasts two or three days. This occurs always in the autumn. The birds, starting from the Crimea about seven at night, and with a northerly wind, before dawn accomplish a passage of above sixty leagues in breadth, and alight on the southern shore to feed and repose. In the vernal season the direction of the flight is reversed, and they arrive in similar condition on the Russian coast. The same phenomena occur at Malta, &c.; and as gregarious birds of passage are known to guide their course by given landmarks, which they distinguish with unerring precision, and which, unless they have been driven out of their usual direction by storms of wind, they invariably arrive at or over, before they take a new flight, so also quails congregate in Arabia in numbers proportionate to the surface of Western Asia, whither they are proceeding. The providential nature of their arrival within and around the camp of the Israelites, in order that they might furnish meat to a murmuring people, appears from the fact of its taking place where it was not to be expected: the localities, we presume, being out of the direction of the ordinary passage; for, had this not been the case, the dwellers in that region, and the Israelites themselves, accustomed to tend their flocks at no great distance from the spot, would have regarded the phenomenon as a well-known periodical occurrence.—C. H. S.

QUARTUS (Κούαρτος), a Christian, resident at Corinth, and, from his name, apparently a Roman, whose salutations Paul communicated to the Church of Rome in his epistle thereto (Rom. xvi. 23). In the old church books he is alleged to have been one of the seventy disciples, which is altogether unlikely; and it is on the same authority stated that he was eventually bishop of the church at Berytus.

QUATERNION (τετράδιον), 'a quaternion of soldiers' (Acts xii. 4), was a detachment of four men, which was the usual number of a Roman night-watch. Peter, therefore, was guarded by four soldiers, two within the prison, and two outside the doors; and as the watch was usually changed every three hours, it was necessary that the 'four quaternions' mentioned in the text should be appointed for the purpose (Veget. *De Re Milit.* iii. 8; Philo, *In Flacc.*, p. 98).

QUEEN. The Hebrews had no word properly answering to our term 'queen,' which is the feminine of 'king;' neither had they the dignity which that word denotes. The Hebrew word usually translated 'queen' is גְּבִירָה *gebirah*, which means 'mistress,' or 'lady,' being the feminine of גְּבִיר *gebir*, 'master,' or 'lord.' The feminine is to be understood by its relation to the masculine; which is not applied to kingly power, or to kings, but to general authority and dominion. It is in fact the word which occurs twice with reference to Isaac's blessing of Jacob:—'Be *lord* over thy brethren;' and, 'I have made him thy *lord*' (Gen. xxvii. 29—37).

The limited use which is made even of the restricted term *gebirah*, is somewhat remarkable. It is only employed twice with reference to *the wife* of a king: in one of these two cases it is applied to the wife of the king of Egypt, where the condition of the royal consort was more *queenly* than in Palestine (1 Kings xi. 19; comp. Wilkinson, *A. Egypt.* ii. 59; iii. 64; v. 28); and in the other to Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, who, as the daughter of a powerful king, appears to have enjoyed peculiar privileges in her matrimonial state (2 Kings x. 13). In two other places, it is

not clear whether the king's wife or mother is intended (Jer. xiii. 18; xxix. 2); and in the remaining passages it is pointedly referred to the king's mother, in such terms as clearly show that the state which *she* held was one of positive dignity and rank (1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Chron. xv. 16).

There is another word, שֵׁגַל *shegol*, also translated 'queen,' which simply denotes the king's wife or (in the plural) his wives, as distinguished from his concubines. It occurs in Ps. xlv. 9; Neh. ii. 6; Dan. v. 2; iii. 23.

The result of all inquiry into the subject seems to show that among the Jewish kings the usages bearing on this point were not different from those which are still exhibited in Western Asiatic courts. Where woman never becomes the head of the state, there can be no queen regnant; and where polygamy is allowed or practised, there can be no queen consort. There will, however, be a chief wife in the harem; and this is no doubt the rank indicated in the Bible by the words which we render 'queen.' This rank may be variously acquired. The *first* wife of the king, or the first whom he took *after his accession*, usually obtained it; and if she is both of high birth and becomes the mother of the first son, her position is tolerably secure: but if she possesses neither of these advantages, she may be superseded in her position as head of the harem by a wife of higher birth and connections, subsequently espoused; or by one who becomes the mother of the heir apparent. The king, however, will sometimes act according to his own pleasure in this matter, promote any favourite lady to this dignity, and also remove her from it at his pleasure; but more generally he finds it convenient to follow the established routine. The king of Egypt's daughter was, doubtless, from her high rank, the chief wife of Solomon; as was Jezebel, for the same reason, the chief wife of Ahab. In like manner the high-born mother of Absalom was probably the chief wife of David, although it is possible that the mother of the eldest son Amnon at first enjoyed that distinction, which, we may safely presume, eventually devolved on Bathsheba, after her son Solomon had been recognised as the heir.

In one of Mr. Morier's amusing books (*Hajji Baba in England*) there is a passage which strikingly illustrates this matter. The court of Persia is there represented as being perplexed how to answer a letter which, in ignorance of Eastern customs, had been addressed by the queen consort of England 'to the queen of Persia.' The cause of the dilemma thus created was that —'Although the shah's principal wife is called the banou harem, or head of the seraglio, yet her situation in the state bears as little affinity to that of the queen of England as one may say the she buffalo kept in the enclosure for food and milk has to the cow fed and worshipped by the Hindoo as his god. Our shah can kill and create banous at pleasure, whereas the queen of England maintains her post till the hand of fate lays her in the grave' (Comp. Chardin, *Voyages*, edit. Langles, vi. ch. xii.; Thornton's *Turkey*, ii. 264-286.)

Very different was, and is to this day, in Western Asia, the position of the king's mother, whose state is much the nearest to that of an European queen of any with which the East is acquainted. It is founded on that essential principle of Oriental manners which in all cases considers the mother of the husband as a far superior person to his wife, and as entitled to more respect and attention. This principle should be clearly understood; for it extends throughout the Bible, and is yet entirely different from our own social arrangements, under which the mother, as soon as she becomes widowed, abandons her place as head of the family to the daughter-in-law. Mr. Urquhart has admirably illustrated and developed this principle in his *Spirit of the East* (ii. 387, sq.), and his remarks, although primarily illustrative of Turkish manners, are, with some unessential limitations, applicable to the ancient and modern East. In p. 389 there is an anecdote of the present Ibrahim Pasha, who is represented as staying a whole week in the harem of his mother, waiting to find a favourable opportunity of pressing a request upon her; and when admitted, kissing her feet, refusing to be seated, and standing an hour and a half before her with his arms crossed, without after all succeeding in the suit which he—the conqueror of Syria and the victor of Konieh — preferred to an aged woman.

The arrangement in the seraglios of the more magnificent Hebrew monarchs was probably similar to that of Turkey, with this difference, that the chief women in the harems of the Jewish sovereigns entered it as wives, and not as slaves. The grand signior, from an indeterminate number of female slaves, selects his favourites, who are distinguished by the title of *cadun*, which, as it means 'lady of the house,' seems nearly equivalent to the Hebrew *gebirah*. The number of these is said to be limited to seven, and their rank seems to correspond to that of the 'wives' of the Hebrew seraglio, whose number was unlimited. The mother of a boy is called *hasseky*, unless the boy die, in which case she descends to her former rank. The caduns or wives of a deceased or deposed sultan are all removed from the imperial harem to a separate palace, with the single exception of the validé sultan, the mother of the reigning sultan, who has her liberty, a palace, and revenues to support a suitable establishment. But the hassekies, or those who have a son living, are treated with marked respect, as in the natural course of events they may become *validé*. The title of *sultan* (for the Turkish has no distinction of gender), though from courtesy it may be given to the hassekies, is, strictly speaking, appropriate only to the sovereign's mother, and to the sons and daughters of the imperial family (Thornton, ii. 276; Urquhart, ii. 433). This statement, especially the last point of it, strikingly illustrates the view we have taken as to the more *queenly* position of the king's mother than of his wife in the Jewish and other Asiatic courts. It must be clearly understood that this position is by no means peculiar to the modern east, or to the Jews among the ancient Orientals. Heeren, indeed, thinks that the power of 'the queen-mother' was even more considerable among the ancient Persians than among the modern Turks (*Hist. Researches*, i. 400); and the narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias respecting the tyrannical influence exercised by Parysatis, Amestris, and others, bear

ample testimony to this fact. The careful reader of Scripture will easily be able to trace the same ideas respecting the position of the king's mother among the Israelites. In how marked a manner does the mother of Solomon come forward at the end of her husband's and the beginning of her son's reign! She takes an active part in securing her son's succession; it is in the conviction of her commanding influence that Adonijah engages her to promote his suit, alleging 'he will not say thee nay;' and then, when Bathsheba appears before her son, the monarch rises from his place, advances to meet her, bows himself before her, and seats her on the right hand of his throne (1 Kings i., ii.). That the king's mother possessed high dignity is further evinced by the fact that Asa found it necessary to remove his mother Maachah 'from being queen,' on account of her abuse of the power which that character conferred (1 Kings xv. 13). Jezebel was, as already stated, very powerful in the life-time of her husband; but it is only under her son that she is called 'the queen' (*gebirah*); and the whole history of his reign evinces the important part which she took in public affairs (2 Kings ix. 22, 30, 37; x. 13). Still more marked was the influence which her daughter Athaliah exercised in Judah during the reign of her son Ahaziah, which was indeed such as enabled her at his death to set the crown on her own head, and to present the anomaly in Jewish history of a regnant queen (2 Kings xi.).

QUEEN OF HEAVEN. [Ashtoreth.]

QUEEN OF SHEBA. [Sheba.]

QUICKSAND (*σύρτις*). In Acts xxvii. 17, it is mentioned that when the ship in which Paul was embarked was driven past the Isle of Clauda on the south, the mariners, as would now be said, struck the sails and scudded under bare poles, lest they 'should fall into the quicksands.' The original word *syrtis* denotes a sandbank or shoal, dangerous to navigation, *drawn*, or supposed to be *drawn* (from *σύρω*, 'to draw') together by the currents of the sea. Two syrtes, or gulfs with quicksands, were particularly famous among the ancients; one called Syrtis Major, between Cyrene and Leptis, and the other, Syrtis Minor, near Carthage. Both then lay nearly to the south-west of the west end of Cyprus, adjoining which, on the south, lay the isle of Clauda. These Syrtes were the great dread of those who navigated the seas in which the vessel was driven, and one of them was probably in this case the object of alarm to the mariners. The danger was not so imaginary in this case, we apprehend, as Dr. Falconer (*Dissert. on St. Paul's Voyage*, p. 13) conceives. For the apprehension does not appear to have been entertained till the ship had been driven *past* the isle of Clauda; which, as we take it, is mentioned merely as the last point of land which had been seen till the ship was wrecked on the isle of Melita. The position of that island must be regarded as indicating the course in which they were driven; and if that were Malta, it is clear that, had that course not been arrested by the intermediate shipwreck, they would in all probability have been driven upon the Syrtis Minor, which we may therefore conclude to have been the subject of their apprehension. That apprehension only becomes 'imaginary' when Meleda in the Adriatic is taken, as Dr. Falconer himself takes it, for the Melita of Scripture. It may therefore be added to the arguments in favour of Malta, that its identification with Melita gives reality to the fear entertained by the mariners, which under the other alternative must be supposed to have been imaginary [Malta].

QUIVER. [Armour, Arms.]

QUIRINUS. [Cyrenius.]

R.

RAAMAH (רַעְמָה; Sept. Ῥέγμα), a city of the Cushites, or of Cushite origin (Gen. x. 7; 1 Chron. i. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 22). Its situation is not clearly known, but the Ῥέγμα with which the Sept. identifies it was a city on the Persian Gulf, mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geog.* vi. 7), and Stephan. Byzant. (See Bochart, *Phaleg.* iv. 5.)

RAAMSES. [Rameses.]

RABBAH (רַבָּה; Sept. Ῥαββάθ). This name, which properly denotes a great city or metropolis, is given in Scripture to the capital of the Ammonites (Josh. xiii. 25; 2 Sam. xi. 1; xii. 27; 1 Chron. xx. 1; Jer. xlix. 3); the full name of which, however, as given in Deut. iii. 11, appears to have been Rabbath-beni-Ammon. It was in this place that the great iron bedstead of Og king of Bashan was preserved (Deut. iii. 11). Here also, during the siege of the place by Joab, the unsuspecting Uriah was slain, through the contrivance of David, that he might possess himself of his wife Bathsheba; after which the king went in person and took the city, the importance of which is shown by the solicitude of the monarch thus to appropriate to himself the glory of its subjugation (2 Sam. xi., xii.). After this Rabbah was included in the tribe of Gad. After the separation of the ten tribes, Rabbah, with the whole territory beyond the Jordan, adhered to the kingdom of Israel, till it was ravaged by the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser, and the inhabitants expatriated to Media. The Ammonites then recovered possession of Rabbah and the other cities and territories which had in former times been taken from them by the Israelites (Jer. xlix. 3; Ezek. xxv. 2-5) [Ammonites]. Some centuries later, when these parts were subject to Egypt, Rabbah was restored or rebuilt by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and called by him Philadelphia (Euseb. *Onomast.* s. v. Ῥαμάθ and Ἀμμάν), and under this name it is often mentioned by Greek and Roman writers (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 16; Ptol. *Geog.* v. 15), by Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* i. 6. 3; i. 19. 5; ii. 18. 1), and upon Roman coins (Eckhel, iii. 351; Mionnet, v. 335), as a city of Arabia, Cœlesyria, or Decapolis. The old name was not, however, altogether superseded, for Polybius (*Hist.* v. 7, 4) calls it Ῥαββατάμανα.

Rabbah appears to have consisted, like Aroer, of two parts; the city itself, and 'the city of waters,' or royal city, which was probably a detached portion of the city itself, insulated by the stream on which it was situated. The 'city of waters' was taken by Joab; but against

the city itself he was obliged to call for the assistance of David with a reinforcement (2 Sam. xii. 29).

The ancient name has been preserved among the natives of the country. Abulfeda calls it *Amman*, and by that name it is still known. It was in ruins in his time (*Tab. Syr.* p. 19). The ruins stand about 19 miles south-east of Szalt, in a long valley traversed by a stream, the Moiet Amman, which at this place is arched over, the bed as well as the banks being paved. The ruins are extensive, but there remains nothing of much interest, excepting the theatre, which is very large and perfect, and a small odeum close to it. There are also an ancient castle and some vestiges of Roman buildings and of Christian churches. The Prophet Ezekiel foretold that Rabbah should become 'a stable for camels,' and the country 'a couching place for flocks' (Ezek. xxv. 5). This has been literally fulfilled, and Burckhardt actually found that a party of Arabs had stabled their camels among the ruins of Rabbah. Too much stress has however been laid upon this minute point by Dr. Keith and others (*Evidence from Prophecy*, p. 150). What the prophet meant to say was that Ammon and its chief city should be desolate; and he expressed it by reference to facts which would certainly occur in any forsaken site in the borders of Arabia; and which are now constantly occuring not in Rabbah only, but in many other places. Seetzen, *in Zach's Monat. Corresp.* xviii. p. 428; Burckhardt's *Syria*, p. 356, sq.; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 474.

The Rabbah of Josh. xv. 60 was in the tribe of Judah.

RABBATH-AMMON. [Rabbah.]

RABBATH-MOAB. [Ar.]

RABBI ('Ραββί), a title of honour given to the teachers of the law in the time of Christ, and for which there is no exact equivalent in our language, though perhaps in purport and usage it comes near to 'doctor' or 'master:' a word combining *both* these significations would fairly represent it. In Matt. xxiii. 8, 'Ραββί is explained by καθηγητής, a leader, or guide (in the sense of a teacher or master), and in John i. 39, by διδάσκαλος, a teacher, or master. This, however, seems to have been the acquired or conventional usage of the term. The actual signification of רב *rab* in Hebrew is 'a great one,' *i. e.* a chief, a master; and would as a title be probably represented by the 'Excellenza' of southern Europe, which is perhaps as common as Rabbi was among the Jews. It was there employed as a title in the Jewish schools in a threefold form, indicating as many degrees, which might without much impropriety be compared, in the stricter sense, to the progressive academical degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor. The lowest of these degrees of honour was רב *rab*. This with the relative suffix became רבי, 'Ραββί, *Rabbi*, 'my master,' which was of higher dignity; and beyond that was רבן *Raban*, 'great master;' or with the suffix 'Ραββονί, *Rabboni*, 'my great master,' which was the highest of all. It is not certain, however, that this graduation of terms existed in the time of Christ. The teachers and professors of the law were distinguished by the title of Rabbi both by the people and by their own disciples (Matt. xxiii. 7). Jesus was so called by his disciples (Matt. xxvi. 25-49; Mark ix. 5; xi. 2; John i. 38; iv. 31) as well as by the people (Matt. x. 51; John xx. 16).

RABBINICAL LITERATURE. [Kabbalah, Talmud.]

RABBONI ('Ραββονί or 'Ραββωνί), the title of highest honour applied by the Jews to the teachers of the law [Rabbi]. In Mark x. 51 (translated 'Lord'), John xx. 16, it is applied to Christ; but, as it seems to us, rather in its literal acceptation, than with reference to the conventional distinction which it implied (if such distinction *then* existed) in the Jewish schools. There were but seven great professors, all of the school of Hillel, to whom the title was publicly given. There is some difference as to their names, and even the Talmud varies in its statements. But the only one there whose name occurs in Scripture is Gamaliel, unless, indeed, as some suppose, the aged Simeon, who blessed the infant Saviour (Luke ii. 25), was the same as the Rabban Simeon of the Talmud [Simeon].

RAB SARIS (רַב־סָרִיס; Sept. 'Ραφίς), one of the three Assyrian generals in command of the army which appeared before Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 17) [Rab-shakeh]. The word means 'chief of the eunuchs;' which could scarcely have been a proper name; but whether his office was really that which the title imports, or some other great court office, must be determined by the considerations which have been offered under the article Eunuch. The chief of the eunuchs is an officer of high rank and dignity in the Oriental courts: and his cares are not confined to the harem, but many high public functions devolve upon him. In the Ottoman Porte the Kislar Aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, is one of the principal personages in the empire, and in an official paper of great solemnity is styled by the sultan, the most illustrious of the officers who approach his august person, and worthy of the confidence of monarchs and of sovereigns' (D'Ohsson, *Tab. Gén.* iii. 308). It is, therefore, by no means improbable that such an office should be associated with a military commission; perhaps not for directly military duties, but to take charge of the treasure, and to select from the female captives such as might seem worthy of the royal harem.

RAB-SHAKEH (רַבְשָׁקֵה; Sept. 'Ραψάκης). This name is Aramaic, and signifies *chief-cupbearer*. Notwithstanding its seemingly official significance, it appears to have been used as a proper name, as Butler with us; for the person who bore it was a military chief in high command, under Sennacherib king of Assyria. Yet it is not impossible, according to Oriental usages, that a royal cup-bearer should hold a military command; and the office itself was one of high distinction. He is the last named of three Assyrian generals who appeared before Jerusalem; and was the utterer of the insulting speeches addressed to the besieged. 'He stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language;' perhaps because he was the only one of the three who could speak that language freely. 2 Kings xviii. 17, 19, 26, 28, 37; xix. 4, 8; Isa. xxxvi. 2, 4, 12, 13, 22; xxxvii. 4, 8.

RACA (Ῥακά), a word which occurs in Matt. v. 22, and which remains untranslated in the Authorized Version. It is expressive of contempt, from the Chaldee רֵיקָא, and means an empty, worthless fellow. Jesus, contrasting the law of Moses, which could only take notice of overt acts, with his own, which renders man amenable for his motives and feelings, says in effect; 'Whosoever is rashly angry with his brother is liable to the judgment of God; whosoever calls his brother Raca, is liable to the judgment of the Sanhedrim; but whosoever calls him fool (Μωρέ) becomes liable to the judgment of Gehenna.' To apprehend the higher criminality here attached to the term fool, which may not at first seem very obvious, it is necessary to observe that while 'raca' denotes a certain looseness of life and manners, 'fool' denotes a wicked and reprobate person: foolishness being in Scripture opposed to spiritual wisdom.

RACE. [Games.]

RACHAM (רָחָם; Sept. κύκνον; Vulg. *porphyrio;* Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 17) is now admitted to be the white carrion vulture of Egypt, *Percnopterus Neophron Ægyptiacus.* It would lead us beyond the limits prescribed to this article to enter into a disquisition on the manners of cranes, storks, swans, and pelicans, all in some degree confounded in the mind of Orientals when they describe the marvellous love, parental affection, and filial gratitude of birds: consequently they have names for certain species which are claimed as derivatives from roots expressive of the affections. For although the incessant warfare of man upon brute animals in their native haunts has, at least in the populous west, well nigh obliterated all their more generous instincts, and we are consequently not well acquainted with the natural attributes of their character, the swan alone can claim pretension to an ultra-maternal feeling, from her practice of supporting her young brood between her wings when she gives them their first lesson in swimming. All other tales of that nature recorded in the poets and historians of antiquity may be regarded as absolute fictions; and among the rest, that in Horus Apollo, representing the Racham tearing the flesh of her thighs to feed her young, is evidently an invention of the Egyptian priesthood, fabricated in order to enhance the character of a useful bird, which, notwithstanding that it was sanctified in their mystical superstitions, and protected by the king as 'Pharaoh's fowl' (an ancient appellation), is perhaps the most revoltingly filthy bird in existence. With respect to the original imposition of the name Racham, as connected with any unusual affection for its young, there is no modern ornithologist who assigns such a quality to Percnopteri more than to other birds, although it is likely that as the pelican empties its bag of fish, so this bird may void the crop to feed her brood. Gesner had already figured (*De Aquila quem Percnopterum vocant,* p. 199) the Barbary variety, and pointed out the Racham of Scripture as the identical species, but Bruce first clearly established the fact. The Rachama of that writer is apparently the Akbobha ('white father') of the Turks, and forms one of a small group of Vulturidæ, subgenerically distinguished by the name of *Percnopterus* and *Neophron,* differing from the other vultures in the bill being longer, straight, more attenuated, and then uncinated, and in the back of the head and neck being furnished with longish, narrow, suberectile feathers, but, like true vultures, having the pouch on the breast exposed, and the sides of the head and throat bare and livid. The great wing-coverts are partly, and the quill-feathers entirely, of a black and blackish ash-colour; those of the head, nape, smaller wing-coverts, body, and tail, in general white, with tinges of buff and rufous; the legs are flesh-colour, and rather long; and the toes are armed with sharp claws. The females are brownish. In size the species is little bulkier than a raven, but it stands high on the legs. Always soiled with blood and garbage, offensive to the eye and nose, it yet is protected in Egypt both by law and public opinion, for the services it renders in clearing the soil of dead carcases putrefying in the sun, and the cultivated fields of innumerable rats, mice, and other vermin. Pious Moslems at Cairo and other places, bestow a daily portion of food upon them, and upon their associates the kites, who are seen hovering conjointly in great numbers about the city. The Racham extends to Palestine in the summer season, but becomes scarce towards the north, where it is not specially protected; and it accompanies caravans, feasting on their leavings and on dead camels, &c.



467. [Vultur percnopterus.]

Gesner's figure represents the Barbary variety; but there are two other species besides, viz., the *Percnopterus Angolensis,* and *Percnopterus Hypoleucus,* both similarly characterized by their white livery, and distinguished from the Egyptian by a different arrangement of colour, a shorter bill, and more cleanly habits.

In our version the name of Gier-eagle is certainly most improper, as such a denomination can apply only to a large species, and is most appropriate to the bearded vulture of the Alps. The Lämmer-geyer of the Swiss (*Gypaetus Barbatus*), which in the shape of varieties, or distinct species, frequents also the high snowy ranges of Spain, Macedonia, Asia Minor, Crete, Abyssinia, Caffraria, Barbary, and most likely of Libanus, was no doubt the bird intended by our

translators to represent the Racham; nor was the application unreasonable, as will be shown in Vulture. The *Percnopterus* is somewhat singularly classed both in Lev. and Deut., along with aquatic birds; and it may be questioned whether any animal will eat it, since, in the parallel case of *Vultur aura*, the turkey-buzzard or carrion-crow of America, we have found even the ants abstaining from its carcase, and leaving it to dry up in the sun, though swarming around and greedy of every other animal substance [Vulture].—C. H. S.

RACHEL (רָחֵל, *a ewe;* Sept. Ῥαχήλ), one and the most beloved of the two daughters of Laban, whom Jacob married (Gen. xxix. 16, seq.), and who became the mother of Joseph and Benjamin, in giving birth to the latter of whom she died near Bethlehem, where her sepulchre is shown to this day (Gen. xxx. 22; xxxv. 16). For more minute particulars see Jacob, with whose history Rachel's is closely involved.

RAGUEL, or Reuel (רְעוּאֵל, *friend of God;* Sept. Ῥαγουήλ). 1. A son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 4, 10). 2. The father of Jethro (Exod. ii. 18; Num. x. 29). Some confound him with Jethro; but in the text last cited, he is called the father of Hobab, who seems to have been the same as Jethro. In the same passage, indeed, the daughters of the 'priest of Midian' relate to 'Reuel their father' their adventure with Moses: which might seem to support his identity with Jethro; but it is quite a Scriptural usage to call a grandfather 'father,' and a granddaughter, 'daughter' (Gen. xxxi. 43; 2 Sam. xix. 25; 1 Kings xiv. 3; xvi. 2; xviii. 3). The Targum in this place reads, 'They came to Reuel their father's father.' [Hobab.] 3. Another person of this name occurs in 1 Chron. ix. 8.

1. RAHAB (רַהַב; Sept. Ῥαάβ), a name, signifying 'sea-monster,' which is applied as an appellation to Egypt in Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14; lxxxvii. 4; lxxxix. 10; Isa. li. 9 (and sometimes to its king, Ezek. xxix. 3; xxxiii. 3, comp. Ps. lxviii. 31); which metaphorical designation probably involves an allusion to the crocodiles, hippopotami, and other aquatic creatures of the Nile.

2. RAHAB, properly Rachab (רָחָב, *large;* Sept. Ῥαχάβ), a woman of Jericho who received into her house the two spies who were sent by Joshua into that city; concealed them under the flax laid out upon the house-top, when they were sought after; and, having given them important information, which showed that the inhabitants were much disheartened at the miracles which had attended the march of the Israelites, enabled them to escape over the wall of the town, upon which her dwelling was situated. For this important service Rahab and her kindred were saved by the Hebrews from the general massacre which followed the taking of Jericho (Josh. ii. 1-21; vi. 17; comp. Heb. xi. 31).

In the narrative of these transactions Rahab is called זוֹנָה *zonah*, which our own, after the ancient versions, renders 'harlot.' The Jewish writers, however, being unwilling to entertain the idea of their ancestors being involved in a disreputable association at the commencement of their great undertaking, chose to interpret the word 'hostess,' one who keeps a public house, as if from זוּן, 'to nourish' (Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 1; ii. and vii.; comp. the Targum, and Kimchi and Jarchi on the text). Christian interpreters also are inclined to adopt this interpretation for the sake of the character of a woman of whom the Apostle speaks well, and who would appear from Matt. i. 4 to have become by a subsequent marriage with Salmon prince of Judah, an ancestress of Jesus. But we must be content to take facts as they stand, and not strain them to meet difficulties; and it is now universally admitted by every sound Hebrew scholar that זוֹנָה means 'harlot,' and not 'hostess.' It signifies harlot in every other text where it occurs, the idea of 'hostess' not being represented by this or any other word in Hebrew, as the function represented by it did not exist. There were no inns; and when certain substitutes for inns eventually came into use, they were never, in any Eastern country, kept by women. On the other hand, strangers from beyond the river might have repaired to the house of a harlot without suspicion or remark. The Bedouins from the desert constantly do so at this day in their visits to Cairo and Baghdad. The house of such a woman was also the only one to which they, as perfect strangers, could have had access, and certainly the only one in which they could calculate on obtaining the information they required without danger from male inmates. This concurrence of analogies in the word, in the thing, and in the probability of circumstances, ought to settle the question. If we are concerned for the morality of Rahab, the best proof of her reformation is found in the fact of her subsequent marriage to Salmon: this implies her previous conversion to Judaism, for which indeed her discourse with the spies evinces that she was prepared. The Jewish writers abound in praises of Rahab, on account of the great service she rendered their ancestors. Even those who do not deny that she was a harlot, admit that she eventually became the wife of a prince of Israel, and that many great persons of their nation sprang from this union. The general statement is, that she was ten years of age at the time the Hebrews quitted Egypt, that she played the harlot during all the forty years they were in the wilderness, that she became a proselyte when the spies were received by her, and that after the fall of Jericho no less a personage than Joshua himself made her his wife. She is also counted as an ancestress of Jeremiah, Maaseiah, Hanameel, Shallum, Baruch, Ezekiel, Neriah, Seriah, and Huldah the prophetess. (See *T. Babyl.* tit. *Megilla*, fol. 14, col. 2; *Juchasin*, x. 1; *Shalshalet Hakabala*, vii. 2; Abarbanel, Kimchi, &c., on Josh. vi. 25; *Mitzvoth Toreh.* p. 112; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* ad Matt. i. 4; Meuschen, *N. T. Talmud.* p. 40.)

RAIN. See under the head *Climate*, in art. Palestine.

RAM. [Sheep.]

RAMAH (רָמָה, *a high place, height;* Sept. Ῥαμά), the name of several towns and villages in Palestine, which it is not in all cases easy to distinguish from one another.

1. RAMAH, a town of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 25), in the vicinity of Gibeah and Geba (Judg.

xix. 13; Isa. x. 29; Hos. v. 8; Ezra ii. 26; Neh. vii. 30, xi. 33); on the way from Jerusalem to Bethel (Judg. iv. 5), and not far from the confines of the two kingdoms (1 Kings xv. 17; xxi. 22). It is also mentioned in Jer. xxxi. 15; xl. 1. Jerome places it six Roman miles north of Jerusalem, and Josephus, who calls it 'Ραμαθών, places it forty stadia from Jerusalem (*Antiq.* viii. 12. 3). In accordance with all these intimations, at the distance of two hours' journey north of Jerusalem, upon a hill a little to the east of the great northern road, a village still exists under the name of *Er-Ram*, in which we cannot hesitate to recognise the representative of the ancient Ramah. This is one of the valuable identifications for which Biblical geography is indebted to Dr. Robinson (*Researches*, ii. 315-317). The difficult text (Jer. xxxi. 15), 'A voice was heard in Ramah ... Rachel weeping for her children,' which the Evangelist (Matt. ii. 8) transfers to the massacre at Bethlehem, has been thought to require a southern Ramah not far from that place, near which indeed is Rachel's sepulchre. But no such Ramah has been found; and Dr. Robinson thinks that the allusion of the prophet was originally applicable to *this* Ramah. The context refers to the exiles carried away captive by Nebuzar-adan to Babylon, who passed by way of Ramah, which was perhaps their rendezvous (Jer. xl. 1). As Ramah was in Benjamin, the prophet introduces Rachel, the mother of that tribe, bewailing the captivity of her descendants.

2. RAMAH, of Samuel, so called, where the prophet lived and was buried (1 Sam. i. 19; ii. 11; vii. 17; viii. 4; xv. 34; xvi. 13, 19; xviii. 19, 22, 23; xxv. 1; xxviii. 3). It is probably the same with the Ramathaim-Zophim to which his father Elkanah belonged (1 Sam. i. 1, 19). The position of this Ramah was early lost sight of by tradition, and a variety of opinions have prevailed since the time of Eusebius and Jerome, who regard it as the Arimathea of the New Testament, and place it near Lydda, where a Ramah anciently existed. Hence some have held the site to be that of the present Ramleh, which is itself a modern town [ARIMATHEA]. Many writers have, however, been disposed to seek Samuel's Ramah in the Ramah of Benjamin (Pococke, ii. 71, 72; Bachiene, i. 155; Raumer, *Paläst.* p. 146; Winer, s. v.); but this was only half an hour distant from the Gibeah where Saul resided, which does not agree with the historical intimation (comp. 1 Sam. ix. 10). Again, general opinion has pointed to a place called Neby Samuêl, a village upon a high point two hours north-west of Jerusalem, and which was, indeed, also usually supposed to be the Ramah of Benjamin, till Dr. Robinson established the separate claims of er-Ram to that distinction. But this appropriation does not agree with the mention of Rachel's sepulchre in 1 Sam. x. 2, for that is about as far to the south of Jerusalem as Neby Samuêl is to the north-west. The like objection applies, though in a somewhat less degree, to the modern Sôba, west of Jerusalem, which Robinson points out as possibly the site of Ramathaim-*Zoph*im and Ramah (*Researches*, ii. 330-334). The chief difficulties in connection with this matter arise of course out of the account given of Saul's journey after his father's asses. The city in which Saul found Samuel is not named, but is said to have been 'in the land of Zuph' (1 Sam. ix. 5), and is assumed to have been Ramah-*Zoph*im. In dismissing him from this place, Samuel foretells an adventure that should befal him near Rachel's sepulchre. Now, as this sepulchre was near Bethlehem, and as Saul's abode was in Benjamin, the southern border of which is several miles to the north thereof, it is manifest that if Saul in going home was to pass near Rachel's sepulchre, the place where Samuel was must have been to the south of it. Gesenius contends that if we allow weight to the mention of Rachel, we can only seek for this Ramah in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem; where also Eusebius speaks of a Ramah. Not far south-east of Bethlehem is the Jebel Fureidis, or Frank Mount, which Robinson has identified as the site of the ancient city and fortress of Herod, called Herodium; and Gesenius contends that if we fix here the site of Ramah, all the circumstances mentioned in 1 Sam. ix. 10 are sufficiently explained. But then the Ramah-Zophim of 1 Sam. i. 1 must have been a different place (*Thesaurus*, p. 1276). To this Dr. Robinson himself, in his edition of Gesenius, objects that the difference assumed in the last sentence is inadmissible. 'Besides, no one who had seen the Frank mountain would suppose for a moment that a city ever lay upon it. It was indeed occupied by Herod's fortress; but the city Herodium lay at its foot.' He adds that Eusebius, in the passage referred to, obviously places Ramah *of Benjamin* near Bethlehem, for the purpose of helping out a wrong interpretation of Matt. ii. 18. Another, and the most recent hypothesis in this vexed question, would place this Ramah at a site of ruins now called er-Rameh, two miles north of Hebron (*Biblioth. Sacra*, No. I. pp. 46-51). But this also assumes that the Ramathaim-Zophim, the place of the prophet's birth, was different from the place of his residence and burial, contrary to the testimony of Josephus (*Antiq.* vi. 4, 6; vi. 13, 5), and to the conclusion deducible from a comparison of 1 Sam. i. 1 with verses 3, 19. In the midst of all this uncertainty, Dr. Robinson thinks that interpreters may yet be driven to the conclusion that the city where Saul found Samuel (1 Sam. ix. 10), was *not* Ramah his home.

3. RAMAH, a city of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36).

4. RAMAH, a town of Gilead (2 Kings viii. 29), the name of which is given more fully in Josh. xiii. 26, as Ramoth-Mizpeh.

RAMESES (רַעַמְסֵס; Sept. 'Ραμεσσῆ), an Egyptian city in the land of Goshen, built, or at least fortified, by the labour of the Israelites (Gen. xlvii. 11; Exod. i. 11; xii. 37; Num. xxxiii. 3-5). The name of the city seems to have been sometimes given to the whole province (Gen. xlvii. 11), by which it would appear to have been the chief city of the district. It was probably situated on the water-shed between the Bitter Lakes and the Valley of the Seven Wells, not far from Heroöpolis, but not identical with that city (See Robinson's *Bibl. Researches*, i. 70, 547-550). In Exod. i. 11, the name is by a difference in the points spelt Raamses. The name means 'son of the sun,' and was borne by

several of the ancient kings of Egypt, one of whom was probably the founder of the city.

RAMOTH (רָמוֹת or רָאמוֹת; *heights*, pl. of Ramah). There were several places of this name, usually with some addition to distinguish them from one another.

1. RAMOTH-GILEAD, called also Ramoth-Mizpeh, or simply Ramoth, a town in Gilead, within the borders of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26), which belonged to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 38; 1 Chron. vi. 65, 80). It was one of the cities of refuge (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8), and one of the towns in which an intendant was stationed by Solomon (1 Kings iv. 13). It was the last of their conquests which the Syrians held; and Ahab was killed (1 Kings xxii. 1-37; 2 Chron. xviii.), and fourteen years after, his son Joram was wounded (2 Kings viii. 28), in the attempt to recover it. The strength of the place is attested by the length of time the Syrians were enabled to hold it, and by Ahab and Joram having both been solicitous to obtain the aid of the kings of Judah when about to attack it; these being two of the only three expeditions in which the kings of Judah and Israel ever co-operated. It was here also that Jehu was proclaimed and anointed king (2 Kings ix. 1-6); but it is not very clear whether the army was then still before the town, or in actual possession of it. Eusebius (*Onomast.* s. v.) places Ramoth-Gilead on the river Jabbok, fifteen Roman miles west of Philadelphia (Rabbah). At about this distance, W.N.W. from Philadelphia, and about eight miles south of the Jabbok, are the ruins of a town, bearing the name of Jelaad, which is merely a different orthography of the Hebrew גִּלְעָד Gilead (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 348). Buckingham is, however, more disposed to seek the site of Ramoth-Gilead in a place now called Ramtha, or Rameza, which is about twenty-three miles N.W.N. from Philadelphia, and about four miles *north* of the Jabbok, where he noticed some ruins which he could not examine. As Ramoth in Gilead is called sometimes Ramoth alone, but never Gilead alone, the analogy of name is perhaps in favour of the latter conclusion; but the bearing and distance from Philadelphia are both in favour of the other. We are not disposed to rely upon either of these alternatives, although nothing better has yet been offered.

RAMATH-LEHI. This name, which means *height of the jawbone*, belonged to a place on the borders of Philistia, and is referred by the sacred writer to the jaw-bone with which Samson slaughtered the Philistines (Judg. xv. 17).

RAMOTH-NEGEB (*Ramoth of the south*), a city in the tribe of Simeon (Josh. xix. 8; 1 Sam. xxx. 27).

RAMS' HORNS. [Musical Instruments.]

RAMS' SKINS, RED, as Dr. M. Harris quotes it (עֹרֹת אֵילִם מְאָדָּמִים, *oroth eylim meaddamim*), occurs in Exod. xxv. 5, and xxxv. 7. There is little doubt that the red rams' skins here noticed are to be understood as the produce of the African Aoudad, the *Ovis tragelaphus* of naturalists, whereof the bearded sheep are a domesticated race. The tragelaphus is a distinct species of sheep, having a shorter form than the common species, and incipient tear-pits. Its normal colour is *red*, from bright chestnut to rufous chocolate; which last is the cause of the epithet *purple* being given to it by the poets. Far to the south, or within the tropics, the species is densely clothed with coarse short hair, but longer on the neck, and pendant in great abundance beneath the throat. From a specimen now living in our possession, it has been observed that on the first approach of autumn a very fine grey wool crops out everywhere from beneath the hair. In Spain, and in the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, and Crete, the most ancient zoology seems to have had greater affinity to that of Africa than of Europe. Hence the Homeric purple sheep, and the *Musmon* and *Cervus Barbarus* of the two first-mentioned islands. We agree with Dr. Mason Harris, that the skins in question were most likely tanned and coloured crimson; for it is well known that what is now termed red morocco was manufactured in the remotest ages in Libya, especially about the Tritonian Lake, where the original ægis, or goat-skin breastplate of Jupiter and Minerva, was dyed bright red; and the Egyptians had most certainly red leather in use, for their antique paintings show harnessmakers cutting it into slips for the collars of horses and furniture of chariots.—C. H. S.

RAVEN (עֹרֵב *oreb*; Chald. עוֹרְבָא; Syr. ܥܘܪܒܐ; Latin, *corvus*; Sept. κόραξ; also Luke xii. 24, only). The Hebrew word occurs in Gen. viii. 7; Lev. xi. 15; Deut. xiv. 14; 1 Kings xvii. 4-6; Job xxxviii. 41, &c. The raven is so generally confounded with the carrion crow, that even in the works of naturalists the figure of the latter has been sometimes substituted for that of the former, and the manners of both have been mixed up together. They are, it is true, very similar, belonging to the same Linnæan genus, *Corvus*, and having the same intensely black colour; but the raven is the larger, weighing about three pounds; has proportionably a smaller head, and a bill fuller and stouter at the point. Its black colour is more iridescent, with gleams of purple passing into green, while that of the crow is more steel-blue; the raven is also gifted with greater sagacity; may be taught to articulate words; is naturally observant and solitary; lives in pairs; has a most acute scent; and flies to a great height. Unlike the crow, which is gregarious in its habits, the raven will not even suffer its young, from the moment they can shift for themselves, to remain within its haunt; and therefore, though a bird found nearly in all countries, it is nowhere abundant.

Whether the raven of Palestine is the common species, or the *Corvus Montanus* of Temminck, is not quite determined; for there is of the ravens, or greater form of crows, a smaller group including two or three others, all similar in manners, and unlike the carrion crows (*Corvus Corone*, Linn.), which are gregarious, and seemingly identical in both hemispheres. Sometimes a pair of ravens will descend without fear among a flight of crows, take possession of the carrion that may have attracted them, and keep the crows at a distance till they themselves are gorged. The habits of the whole genus, typified by the name *oreb*, render it unclean in the Hebrew law; and the malignant, ominous expression of the raven,

together with the colour of its plumage, powers of voice, and solitary habits, are the causes of that universal and often superstitious attention with which mankind have ever regarded it. This bird is the first mentioned in the Bible, as being sent forth by Noah out of the ark on the subsiding of the waters; and in 1 Kings xvii. 4, ravens bring flesh and bread at morning and eve to the prophet Elijah. Here the *orebim* are manifestly true ravens, whereof a pair would be sufficient to carry the scanty meal of an Oriental abstemious man; for, independently of the different mode of writing the name, if the word had implied persons residing at a village called Aorabi or Orbo, as presumed by some critics, there would have been no miraculous interposition of the Lord to feed the concealed prophet, but a common, and on this occasion merely a secret resolution on the part of a few pious men, to give food to a proscribed person.

In the mythological history of the Gentiles, we find the appellation of Ravens bestowed upon an oracular order of priesthood. In Egypt, it seems, the temples of Ammon were served by such—perhaps those priests that occur in the catacombs playing on harps, and clothed in black. More than one temple in Greece had similar raven priests. It was the usual symbol of slaughter among the Scandinavians; and a raven banner belonged to the Danes, and also to the Saxons: one occurs among the ensigns of the Normans in the Bayeux tapestry; and it was formerly a custom in the Benedictine abbeys on the continent to maintain in a very large cage a couple of ravens, where several are recorded to have lived above fifty years. The Raven of the Sea, that ominous bird in northern mythology, is properly the cormorant—the *morvran* of the Celtæ.—C. H. S.

REBEKAH (רִבְקָה, *a noosed cord;* Sept. Ῥεβέκκα), daughter of Bethuel, and sister of Laban, who became the wife of Isaac, and the mother of Jacob and Esau. The particulars of her history and conduct, as given in Scripture, chiefly illustrate her preference of Jacob over Esau, and have been related in the article Jacob: see also Isaac.

RECENSION. After the critical materials lying at the basis of the New Testament text had accumulated in the hands of Mill and Wetstein, they began to be surveyed with philosophic eye. Important readings in different documents were seen to possess resemblances more or less striking. Passages were found to present the same form, though the testimonies from which they were singled out belonged to various times and countries. The thought suggested itself to Bengel, that the mass of materials might be divided and classified in conformity with such peculiarities. The same idea also occurred to Semler. Both, however, had but a feeble and dim apprehension of the entire subject as it was afterwards disposed. But, by the consummate learning and skill of Griesbach, it was highly elaborated, so as to exhibit a new topic for the philosophical acumen and the historic researches of the erudite inquirer. To the different phases of the text existing in the MSS., quotations made by the fathers, and in the ancient versions, the name *recension* was given by Griesbach and Semler. Yet the appellation was not happily chosen. *Family* (which Bengel used), *class*, or *order*, would have been much more appropriate. *Recension* ordinarily suggests the idea of an actual revision of the text; but this is inapplicable to the greater part of Griesbach's own system. If, however, it be remembered that recension simply denotes a certain class of critical testimonies characterized by distinctive peculiarities, it matters little what designation be employed; though *family* is less likely to originate misconception.

We shall first state the recension-systems of Griesbach, Hug, Eichhorn, and Scholz; then the chief objections to which they are exposed; concluding with some observations on the real state of the question. As to the systems of Michaelis and Nolan, it is unnecessary to allude to them, since they are obviously incorrect. The latter, indeed, never attracted notice in this or any other country, having soon fallen into merited neglect.

In Griesbach's system there are *three* recensions: 1. The Occidental; 2. The Alexandrine, or Oriental; 3. The Constantinopolitan, or Byzantine. The first two are the most ancient, and are assigned by him to the time in which the two collections —εὐαγγέλιον and ὁ ἀπόστολος, were made. The Oriental, springing from the edition, as we should say in regard to a printed book, of the ὁ ἀπόστολος, selected readings most conformable to pure Greek, and made slight alterations in the text where the language did not appear to be classical. The Occidental, based on the most ancient MSS., viz. such as were made before the epistles had been collected together, preserved with greater care than the Oriental the Hebraisms of the New Testament, but made explanatory additions, and frequently preferred a more perspicuous and easy reading to another less facile. The Constantinopolitan arose from the intermingling of the other two. A senior and a junior Constantinopolitan are distinguished. The former belongs to the fourth century, and is marked, to a still greater extent than the Alexandrine, by its rejection of readings that seemed less classical, as well as by its reception of glosses; the latter originated in the fifth and sixth centuries, in consequence of the labours of the learned men belonging to the Syrian church. According to this system, the leading characteristic of the Occidental recension is its *exegetical*, that of the Oriental its *grammatical* tendency; while the Constantinopolitan bears a *glossarial* aspect.

The Occidental recension is exhibited by eight Greek MSS. of the Gospels, D. E. F. G. of the Pauline epistles, the Latin versions made before Jerome, the Sahidic and Jerusalem-Syriac versions, and by the quotations of Tertullian, of Irenæus as translated into Latin, of Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine.

The Alexandrine recension is found in the documents B. C. L. in the Gospels, with three others, in A. B. C. in the epistles, with three codices besides; in the Memphitic, Harclean or Philoxenian, Ethiopic and Armenian versions; and in the writings of the fathers belonging to the Alexandrian school, especially those of Clement, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, and Isidore of Pelusium.

The senior Constantinopolitan is found in A. E. F. G. H. S. of the Gospels, and in the Moscow codices of Paul's epistles, in the Gothic

and Sclavonic versions, in the quotations of the fathers that lived during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries in Greece, Asia Minor, and the neighbouring countries; while the junior Constantinopolitan is exhibited by the greater number of those MSS. which were written since the seventh century.

Somewhat different from Griesbach's system is that of Hug, first proposed in his Introduction to the New Testament.

1. The κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, *i. e.* the most ancient text, unrevised, conformed to no recension, exhibiting diversities of readings of mixed origin, but containing particular glosses and interpolations intended to explain the sense. This text is found in five MSS. of the Gospels, in four of Paul's epistles, in the most ancient Latin versions and in the Sahidic, in the oldest of the fathers down to the time of Origen, and in Origen himself. Such a phase of the text is seen till the middle of the third century, and agrees with the Occidental recension of Griesbach. In reference to the old Syriac, Griesbach afterwards conceded to Hug that it approached nearer the Occidental than the Alexandrian.

2. About the middle of the third century, Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, undertook a revision of the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις. But he was too fond of such readings as contained purer and more elegant Greek. To this Hesychian revision, which obtained ecclesiastical authority only in Egypt, belong B. C. L. of the Gospels, and A. B. C. of the Epistles, the Memphitic version, with the quotations of Athanasius, Macarius, and Cyril of Alexandria. Thus the Hesychian recension of Hug coincides with the Alexandrian of Griesbach.

3. About the same time, Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch in Syria, revised the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις as it appeared in the Peshito, comparing different MSS. current in Syria. In this way he produced a text that did not wholly harmonize with the Hesychian, because he was less studious of elegant Latinity. This third form of the text is found in codd. E. F. G. H. S. V. of the Gospels, in G. of Paul's epistles, in the Moscow MSS., the Sclavonic and Gothic versions, and the ecclesiastical writers of those countries that adopted it, from the middle of the third century.

4. A fourth form of the text he attributes to Origen during his residence at Tyre. This revision was based on the Vulgate edition current in Palestine, and in many places differs both from the Hesychian and Lucianian. It is found in the codd. A. K. M. of the Gospels, in the Philoxenian or Harclean Syriac, and in the writings of Chrysostom and Theodoret. Here Hug and Griesbach are at variance, the latter believing the alleged Origenian recension to be nothing more than a branch of the Constantinopolitan or Lucianian.

Eichhorn's system is substantially the same as that of Hug, with one important exception. That distinguished critic admitted a twofold form of the text before it had received any revision; the one peculiar to Asia, the other to Africa. This unrevised text may be traced in its two forms as early as the second century. Hesychius revised the first; Lucian, the second. Accordingly, from the conclusion of the third century, there was a threefold phase of the text; the African or Alexandrian; the Asiatic or Constantinopolitan; and a mixed form composed of the other two. Eichhorn denies that Origen made a new recension.

Scholz makes only two classes or families of documents, the Alexandrian, which he also absurdly calls *the Occidental*, and the Constantinopolitan, which, with equal perversity, he designates *the Oriental*. The Occidental class of Griesbach is thus merged into the Alexandrian. The Alexandrian embraces the MSS. that were made in Egypt and Western Europe, most of the Coptic and Latin versions, the Ethiopic, and the ecclesiastical writers belonging to Egypt and Western Europe. To the Constantinopolitan he refers the codices belonging to Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Eastern Europe, especially Constantinople, with the Harclean or Philoxenian, the Gothic, Georgian, and Sclavonic versions; as also the ecclesiastical fathers of these regions. To the latter documents he gives a decided preference, because of their mutual agreement, and because they were written with great care agreeably to the most ancient exemplars; whereas the Alexandrian were arbitrarily altered by officious grammarians. Indeed, he traces the Constantinopolitan codices directly to the autographs of the original writers of the New Testament.

Rinck agrees with Scholz in assuming two classes of MSS., the Occidental and the Oriental; the former exhibited by A. B. C. D. E. F. G. in the epistles; the latter, by MSS. written in the cursive character. The occidental he subdivides into two families, the African (A. B. C.) and the Latin codices (D. E. F. G.).

Matthæi, as is well known, rejected the entire theory of recensions; and Lachmann, the latest editor of the Greek Testament, has no regard to such a basis for his new text.

It remains for us to make a few remarks on the systems thus briefly stated. To Griesbach all concede the praise of ingenuity and acuteness. His system was built up with great tact and ability. However rigidly scrutinized, it exhibits evidences of a most sagacious mind. But it was assailed by a host of writers, whose combined attacks it could not sustain. In this country, Dr. Laurence shook its credit. In Germany, Michaelis, Matthæi, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hug, Schulz, Scholz, Gabler, Schott, and others, have more or less made objection to it. The venerable scholar in his old age himself modified it to some extent, chiefly in consequence of Hug's investigations. By far the ablest opponent of it is Mr. Norton, who, after it had been assailed by others, finally stepped forth to demolish it beyond the possibility of revival. Bold indeed must be the man who shall undertake to defend it after such a refutation. The great point in which it fails is, that the line of distinction between the Alexandrian and Western classes cannot be proved. Origen and Clement of Alexandria are the principal evidences for the Alexandrian form of the text, yet they coincide with the Western recension. Griesbach's allegations as to the origin of the Eastern and Western recensions are also visionary; while it is not difficult to see that the text followed by the old Syriac presents a formidable objection to the whole scheme.

The system of Hug, in so far as it materially differs from its predecessor, is as faulty as that of Griesbach. It puts Clement and Origen in the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις. But Origen employed an Occi-

dental MS. only in his commentary on Matthew; in his commentary on Mark he uniformly quotes an Alexandrian codex; and his usual text certainly agrees with the Alexandrian recension. As to Clement, he frequently agrees with the Alexandrian in opposition to the Western recension, and therefore he cannot be properly reckoned as belonging to the latter, in a system where there are two distinct recensions agreeing with the Occidental and the Alexandrian. The Hesychian revision does not seem to have had much authority, or to have been widely circulated even in the country where it was made. Besides, the form of the text ascribed to Hesychius appears to be older, even as old as Clement's time. Hesychius, therefore, probably did nothing more than revise the Alexandrian recension. The historical basis on which Lucian's recension of the text rests is also insecure. The MSS. which he revised were not numerous; neither did they obtain authority. The testimony of Jerome, so far from supporting Hug's view, goes indirectly to refute it. Again, it is very improbable that Origen undertook to revise the *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*. The passage in Jerome on which Hug founds this opinion does not really support it. The Alexandrian father used copies of the New Testament selected with care and purged from errors; but he did not attempt in his old age the laborious task of making a peculiar revision. Such are the chief objections that may be urged against the recension-system of this learned critic. Unsustained by historical data, subsequent critics have refused to yield it their approbation. Griesbach, De Wette, Schott, and Rinck, especially the last, have assailed it with more or less ability; while, in America, Mr. Norton has also opposed it with great plausibility. In short, it cannot stand the test of an enlightened, impartial examination.

With regard to Scholz's system, it commends itself to our approbation only in so far as it insists upon two families of documents, the Alexandrine and the Constantinopolitan. There is no definite line of demarcation between the Alexandrian and the Western, as was long since shown by Laurence; although Tischendorf has recently re-asserted it. Egypt and the Western world were supplied with Biblical MSS. from Alexandria, some of them revised, others untouched and unpurged by the hand of a corrector. Thus the Alexandrian and Occidental MSS. of Griesbach were the productions of one country and one age; differing, indeed, from one another in many respects, but that discrepancy owing to the caprice of transcribers, and to the varying tastes which they found it advantageous to please. But although we look upon Scholz's system as simpler and better supported than any other, in so far as it asserts no more than two families, yet it is otherwise pressed by fatal objections. It is based on *assertions*, instead of *arguments* solid and sufficient. The framer of it has failed to prove that the particular form of the text current during the first three centuries in Asia Minor and Greece was the same as that exhibited by the Constantinopolitan manuscripts of a much later date. He has failed to show that the Byzantine family was derived in a very pure state from the autographs of the inspired writers. Besides, he is obliged to admit, that the text which obtained at Constantinople in the reigns of Constantine and Constans, was collated with the Alexandrian, which would naturally give rise to a commingling of readings belonging to both. Eusebius states that, at the request of Constantine, he made out fifty copies of the New Testament for the use of the churches at Constantinople; and as we know that he gave a decided preference to Alexandrian copies, it cannot be doubted that he followed those sanctioned by Origen's authority. On the whole, it can never be made out on historic grounds, that the Constantinopolitan codices have descended from the autographs in a pure state. They differ, indeed, in characteristic readings from the Alexandrian, but that the preference should be given to the former is a most questionable position. Why should junior be set in value above much older documents? What good reason can be assigned for the predilection of Matthæi and Scholz? None truly. Antiquity may be outweighed by other considerations, and certainly the Alexandrine MSS. are neither faultless nor perfect; but in the case of the Byzantine family there is *no sufficient ground* for arbitrarily placing it above the other. In the present day, numbers will not be considered as decisive of genuine readings, in opposition to weighty considerations founded on antiquity; and yet it is possible that numbers may have had an undue influence on the mind of Scholz. Such as desire to see a thorough refutation of the system may read Rinck's *Lucubratio Critica*, &c., but especially Tischendorf's Preface to his edition of the Greek Testament, where it is dissected with great ability, and the foundation on which it professedly rests demonstrated to be feeble and futile. In fact, the historical proofs of the industrious Scholz are no better than fictions, which genuine ecclesiastical history will never sanction.

Perhaps the data are not sufficient to warrant or support any one system of recensions. Our knowledge of the manner in which the text was early corrupted, of the innumerable influences to which it was exposed, the revisions it underwent in different countries at different times, the modes in which transcribers dealt with it, and of the principles, if any such there were, on which they proceeded, is too scanty to allow of any definite superstructure. The subject must, therefore, be necessarily involved in obscurity. Its genius is such as to give rise to endless speculation, without affording solid satisfaction. It is vague and undefined, awakening curiosity, but not appeasing it with conviction. Yet we are not disposed to reject the entire system of classification as visionary and fanciful. It is highly useful thus to arrange the materials; it saves a world of labour after the distribution has once been made. The existence of certain characteristic readings may be clearly traced as pervading various memorials of the text, however much we may speculate on their causes. It is quite true, that in several cases it is very difficult to distinguish the family to which a particular reading belongs, because its characteristics may be almost equally divided between two classes. Or, they may be so slightly marked, that it is almost impossible to detect the family with which it should be united. The evidences of its relationship may be so obscure as to render the determination of its appropriate recension a subtle problem. It is also unquestionable, that no one MS., version, or father, exhibits a recension

in a pure state; but that each form of the text appears more or less corrupted. Add to these circumstances the frequent commixture of readings from causes accidental or designed. Hence the various attempts that have been made to rear up systems have been unsatisfactory and unsuccessful; so much so, that we should not be surprised to find the majority of the learned, at no great distance of time, regarding them as airy and unsubstantial speculations 'signifying nothing.' The intricacy of the subject may hereafter induce critics to say in their haste that it is unworthy of their serious attention. We have seen that Matthæi cast aside the whole thing as a useless and silly speculation. Professor Lee has employed language equally strong, though not equally scurrilous as that of Matthæi—language of the same import, and tending to the same result. So too, Granville Penn. We doubt, however, if the learning or the sagacity of these English scholars is of such a kind as to warrant in them the employment of terms so vehement. It is more ominous for the fate of the recension-system to find it discarded in practice by Lachmann; yet when we consider that he has gone to the extreme of resting on *mere antiquity*, sometimes on a *single testimony*, he will not be thought competent to do away with the labours of so many eminent critics who have preceded. In short, the theme is such as to disallow a *rigid division* of the critical materials into peculiar families, or even a geographical distribution of them. The MSS., numerous though they be, are not sufficiently so to warrant safe results, with the exception of a single class. As regards versions, their testimony is rather *indirect;* and in the Scripture quotations made by the fathers there is a fragmentary aspect. Both these circumstances counterbalance most of the advantages resulting from our ability to identify versions and quotations, *à priori*, with some local text.

The preceding observations may serve to account for the varying, and, in some cases, contradictory schemes of different critics. Some are inclined to look for greater nicety and distinctness than others; and it may be presumed that they will find more families in consequence of their mental bias; others, with less delicate perceptibility, will be disposed to rest satisfied with classes more strongly marked by the number of single documents they embrace, or by the breadth of territory over which they circulated. Thus there is no possibility of arriving at mathematical precision or demonstrative evidence, because the historic furniture is so meagre as to afford room for almost boundless speculation; while the commingling of *all* readings in the progress of time has obliterated many well-defined landmarks.'

The term *recension* is sometimes applied to the Old Testament as well as the New. There, all the materials hitherto collated belong to one recension or family, viz., the Masoretic. Some, indeed, have divided them into Masoretic and Ante-Masoretic; but the existence of the latter is fictitious. At present we know of no more than one great family, though it is probable that partial recensions of several portions of the Old Testament preceded the labours of the Masoretic doctors. (Bengel's *Introductio in Crisin N. T.*, prefixed to his edition of the Greek Testament, Tübingen, 1734, 4to.; Semler's *Vorbereitungen zur Hermeneutik*, Halle, 1760-69, 8vo.; Griesbach's *Opuscula*, as edited by Gabler, with the Preface of the latter, Jena, 1824, 2 vols. 8vo.; Griesbach's *Commentarius Criticus in Textum Græcum*, &c. Jena, 1811, 8vo.; Griesbach's *Prolegomena* to the second edition of his Greek Testament; Eichhorn's *Einleitung*, vol. iv., Göttingen, 1827, 8vo.; Bertholdt's *Einleitung*, vol. i. Erlangen, 8vo.; Schulz's *Prolegomena* to the third edition of Griesbach, Berlin, 1827, 8vo.; Hug's *Einleit.* vol. i. Stuttgart, 1826, 8vo.; De Wette's *Einleit. in das Neues Testament*, Berlin, 1842, 8vo.; Schott's *Isagoge Historico-Critica*, Jena, 1830, 8vo.; Matthæi, *Ueber die Sogenannten Recensionen*, u.s.w. Leipzig, 1804, 8vo.; Scholz's *Biblisch-Kritische Reise*, u.s.w. Leipzig, 1823, 8vo.; Scholz's *Prolegomena* to the New Testament; Laurence's remarks on Griesbach's *Systematic Classification of MSS.*, Oxford, 1814, 8vo.; Rinck's *Lucubratio Critica in Acta Apost., Epp. Cathol., et Paulin.*, u. s. w. Basel, 1830, 8vo.; Tischendorf's *Prolegomena* to his edition of the Greek Testament, Lipsiæ, 1841, 8vo.; Reuss's *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*, Halle, 1842, 8vo.; Guerike's *Historisch-Kritische Einleit.* Leipzig, 1843, 8vo.; Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. Boston, 1837, 8vo.; Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*, Edinb. 1839, 8vo.)—S. D.

RECHAB (רֵכָב, *rider;* Sept. Ῥηχάβ), son of Hemath the Kenite, and probably a descendant of Jethro [KENITES]: he is only known as the father of Jonadab, the founder of the sect of Rechabites, which took from him its name (2 Kings x. 15; 1 Chron. ii. 55; Jer. xxxv. 6).

RECHABITES. The tribe or family of Kenites, whom Jonadab, the son of Rechab, subjected to a new rule of life; or rather bound to the continued observance of ancient usages which were essential to their separate existence, but which the progress of their intercourse with towns seemed likely soon to extinguish. By thus maintaining their independent existence as a pastoral people, they would keep themselves from being involved in the distractions and internal wars of the country, would be in no danger of becoming objects of jealousy and suspicion to the Israelites, and would be able at all times to remove from a country in which they were strangers. The Rechabites found so much advantage in these rules, that they observed them with great strictness for about 300 years, when we first become aware of their existence. Jeremiah brings some Rechabites into one of the chambers of the Temple, and sets before them pots full of wine, and cups, saying, 'Drink ye wine;' on which it is well observed by Gataker and others that the prophet omits the usual formula, 'Thus saith the Lord,' which would have constrained obedience in men so pious as the Rechabites, even at the expense of infringing their rule of life. But now they answer, 'We will drink no wine; for Jonadab, the son of Rechab, our father, commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents, that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers' (Jer. xxxv. 6, 7). They added that to the present time they had observed

these injunctions, although they had been constrained to take refuge in Jerusalem when the Chaldæan armies swept the face of the land. The Vulgate, by *translating* all the proper names in 1 Chron. ii. 55, has given currency to an impression that the Rechabites were employed in some of the inferior offices of the temple; and has led to the inference that they were taken as captives to Babylon, from which they returned, and resumed their duties under the second temple, Jabesh in Gilead being the chief place of their residence. There is no shade of authority, beyond this assumption of proper names as appellatives, for a statement every point in which is contrary to the probabilities of the case. The Septuagint, though prone to regard Hebrew proper names as appellatives, does not do so in this text, with the exception of Sopherites, which it renders by 'scribes,' in which it is followed by the Auth. Version. But there is no apparent ground for thus taking one only as an appellative in a list of proper names, unless an intelligible sense could not be otherwise obtained. But the sense is better with this also as a proper name than as an appellative. We may then read, much as in Geddes' version, 'But the Sopherite families who inhabited Jabesh, the Tirathites, the Shimathites, and the Suchathites, were Kenites who came from Hemath Abi-Beth-Rechab.' The translator remarks on the last words, 'I do not translate these words, because I do not understand them.' There is probably some corruption of the text. The literal version would be, 'Hemath, father of the house of Rechab.' *This* Rechab was doubtless the same from whom the Rechabites took their name; and it appears to us that the text is far from meaning to say that the families at Jabesh (whether 'scribes' or not) were Rechabites in the limited sense; their residence at Jabesh being indeed conclusive against that notion: but that these families were Kenites descended from the Hemath who was *also* the progenitor of that Rechab from whom the Rechabites took their name. We doubt if a clearer explanation of this difficult text can be obtained: and if so, it conveys no other information concerning the Rechabites than that their progenitor was a descendant of Hemath, who was likewise the founder of other Kenite families.

What eventually became of the Rechabites is not known. The probability is that, when they found themselves no longer safe among the Hebrews, they withdrew into the desert from which they at first came, and which was peopled by men of similar habits of life, among whom, in the course of time, they lost their separate existence. The various attempts to identify them with the Assideans, mentioned in the books of Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 42; vii. 17; 2 Macc. xiv. 6), and with the later Jewish sect of Essenes, will not bear examination. We can as little recognise as Rechabites the body of people in Arabia of whom Benjamin of Tudela (*Itinerary*, i. 112-114, ed. Asher), Niebuhr, Wolf (*Journals*, ii. 276, 331-334; iii. 17), and others, have given hearsay accounts. The details, however, whether correct or not, apply to Talmudical Jews more than to Rechabites. They are described as living in caverns and low houses, not in tents—and this in Arabia, where Bedouin habits would cease to be singular; nor are any of the Rechabite rules observable in them except that of refraining from wine—an abstinence which ceases to be remarkable in Arabia, where no one does drink wine, and where, among the strongholds of Islam, it could probably not be obtained without danger and difficulty. There were large numbers of Talmudical Jews in Arabia in the time of Mohammed, and these supposed Rechabites are probably descended from a body of them. It is to be hoped that some competent traveller will penetrate to the spot which they are said to inhabit, and bring back some more satisfactory accounts than we yet possess. (See Witsius, *Dissert. de Rechabitis*, in *Miscell. Sacra*, ii. 176, sqq.; Carpzov, *Apparat.*, p. 148; Calmet, *Dissert. sur les Réchabites*, in *Commentaire Littéral*, vi. 18-21.)

RECORDER (מַזְכִּיר; Sept. ἀναμιμήσκων or ὑπομνηματογράφος), the title of a high officer in the court of the kings of Judah (2 Sam. viii. 16; 1 Kings iv. 3; 2 Kings xviii. 18). As the idea of memory, memorials, is prevalent in the etymology of the word, 'remembrancer' would perhaps be a more exact translation of it. We have no office with which it can be compared; for the functions of the Master of the Rolls do not sufficiently correspond with the title to warrant the parallel which it might suggest. The Hebrew *mazkir* seems to have been not only the grand custodier of the public records, but to have kept the responsible registry of the current transactions of the government. This was an employment of the very first rank and dignity in the courts of the ancient East.

RED SEA. [Sea.]

RED SEA, PASSAGE OF. [Exodus.]

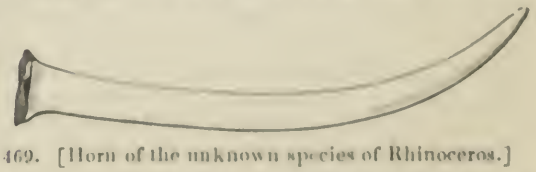
REED. [Kaneh.]

REEM (רְאֵם; Sept. μονοκέρως; Vulg. *rhinoceros*; and in several versions of the Bible, *unicorn*. The radical meaning of the Hebrew word



468. [Bibos cavifrons.]

furnishes no evidence that an animal such as is now understood by 'unicorn' was known to exist, or that a rhinoceros is thereby absolutely indicated;



469. [Horn of the unknown species of Rhinoceros.]

and there is no authority whatever for the inference that either was at any time resident in Western Asia. The general structure and figurative and symbolical character of the Hebrew, in

common with all the Semitic languages, seem more naturally to suggest that the word *reem* conveys an image of loftiness, exaltation, power, and pre-eminence—a form of expression of which there are many parallel instances; nor is the root confined to the Hebrew, but is found in the Sanscrit, Etrusco-Latin, Erse, and Teothisc dialects. It can be traced in the names Abram, Abraham, and Ramah, in Rom and Roma: all bearing the meaning of Robur, Valentia, &c. Ram, in Indian mythology, one of the titles of Mahadeo, appears in the compounds Rama-deva, Rama-Chandra, and numerous other titles. It is found again in the Teothistic Ram; the Ram being the opener of the solar year, or first sign of the zodiac. These figures, metaphorical and pictorial, while phonetic writing was as yet unknown or imperfect, were abundantly used in early antiquity, and often represented very definite ideas in both cases; but more particularly when they were embodied in sculptural forms, and were embellished with colours; for then a complex definition was attainable by the assemblage of heterogeneous members and tints to form one body; such as serpents with wings, with four legs, a row of teats, winged quadrupeds, beasts with human heads, winged globes entwined by serpents, &c., constituting by their unnatural juxta-position complex, yet perfectly intelligible, abstractions. The ruins of Persepolis, Nineveh, and the so-called Babylonian cylinders, as well as the figures published by Sir J. G. Wilkinson in his works on Egypt offer numerous examples. So deeply rooted were these notions in the Oriental mind, that we find them spoken of as visible bodies in the prophetic, and other parts of Scripture; and they even occur among other symbols of the Evangelists. In the poetical language of the Bible some of these images stand at one time as typical of realities in nature, at others as symbolical of abstractions, and ראם may be found in both characters. Although the medallic history of the kings of Macedon (Havercampius, *Gen. Hist.* in the Dutch language) furnishes no coins bearing a single-horned goat, it is still asserted by Maillot and others that such was to be found among their ensigns: but this was most probably after the Macedonian conquest; for a single-horned ibex appears on the bas-reliefs of Che-el-Minar; another occurs on a cylinder; and one cast in brass, supposed to have been the head of a Macedonian standard, was found in Asia Minor, and presented to the Antiquarian Society of London. If mysterious names were resolvable by the canons of pictorial definition, the practice of imagining horns to be affixed to the most sublime and sacred objects would be most evident from the radical meaning of the word cherub, where the notion of horns is everywhere blended with that of 'power and greatness' [Cherubim]. There were also horns at the corners of altars—the beast with ten horns in Daniel, &c. (chap. vii.). In profane history we have the goat-head ornament on the helmet of the kings of Persia, according to Ammianus, more probably Ammon horns: such Alexander the Great had assumed; and his successors in Egypt and in Persia continued a custom, even now observed by the chief cabossiers of Ashantee, who have a similar ram-head of solid gold on the front of their plumy war-caps. Indeed, from early antiquity, Greek and Ionian helmets were often adorned with two horns; among others the head of Seleucus I. (Nicator) appears thus on his coins: the practice extended to metal horns being affixed to the masks or chaffrons of war-horses (see coin of Seleucus Nicator), and of elephants (Antiochus Soter); and they form still, or did lately, a part of the barbed horse-armour in Rajahstan. Triple-horned and bicorned helmets are found on early Gallic and Iberian coins; they were again in use during the chivalrous ages; but the most remarkable, the horn of strength and dominion, is seen elevated on the front of the helmet, impressed on the reverse of the coins of the tyrant Tryphon, who, in his endeavours to obtain Syria, was at war with Antiochus Sidetes, during the æra of the Maccabees, and was not likely to omit any attribute that once belonged to its ancient kings [Horn]. These examples, together with the cornuted crown of Abyssinian chiefs, and the horned female head-attire prized by the present generation in Libanus and Palestine, are sufficient to show the extent and duration of a symbol, which, it is evident, is implied in the word *reem*, in several places of the Bible, notwithstanding that literally it signifies also a real or fictitious creature, at one time alluded to as possessed of a single horn, while in other instances this characteristic is scarcely, or not at all, admissible.

Now this may be regarded as the natural consequence of assuming as a typical form an animal of a remote country, or a generic term for several more or less different in their characters. In profane history, from the time of Ctesias (B.C. 400) to the present day, India, the Himalayas, and Tibet, are reported to have produced unicorns; whereof the most recently pointed out was the *Chiru* of Bootan, a species of antelope with two horns: and anciently Ælian's Cartazon was similarly designated, though with a slight change of letters, *carcand*, *carcaddan* (in Bochart); *kargadan*, *kargazan* (in Wilson); *al-chercheden* (in Belunensis); and all related to the Sanskrit *kharga*, 'a horn' (?), being the Persian and Arabic names for the true *Monoceros*, or Indian rhinoceros, which, like the rest of the genus, is essentially a tropical animal. For the Asiatic *Rhinocerotes*, constituting three species, belong all to the south-eastern states of the continent and the Great Austral Islands; and there is no indication extant that in a wild state they ever extended to the west of the Indus. Early colonies and caravans from the East most probably brought rumours of the power and obstinacy of these animals to Western Asia, and it might have been remarked that under excitement the rhinoceros raises its head and horn on high, as it were in exultation, though it is most likely because the sense of smelling is more potent in it than that of sight, which is only lateral, and confined by the thickness of the folds of skin projecting beyond the eye-balls. The rhinoceros is not absolutely untameable—a fact implied even in Job. Thus we take this species as the original type of the unicorn; but the active invention of Arabic minds, accidentally, perhaps, in the first instance, discovered a species of *Oryx* (generically bold and pugnacious ruminants), with the loss of one of its long, slender, and destructive horns. In this animal the ראם of the Hebrews and the far East became personified; ريم *rim*, being most probably an *Oryx Leucoryx*,

since individuals of that species have been repeatedly exhibited in subsequent ages as unicorns, when accident or artifice had deprived them of one of their frontal weapons, notwithstanding that the *rim* is well known to Arabian hunters as a two-horned animal. The spirit of appropriation in Persia and Macedonia, as we have before noticed, was similarly engaged, and for the same purpose an *Ibex*, *Bouquetin*, or mountain goat was taken, but showing only one horn [Goat]. In Africa, however, among three or four known species of rhinoceros, and vague rumours of a *Bisulcate* species of unicorn, probably only the repetition of Arabian reports, there appears to exist between Congo, Abyssinia, and the Cape, precisely the *terra incognita* of Africa, a real pachydermous animal, which seems to possess the characteristics of the poetical unicorn. It is known in Congo, according to Cavassi, quoted by Labat, by the name of *Abada;* it is the *Nillekma* and *Arase*, that is, *unicorn*, in Kordofan, mentioned by Rüppell; and appears again to be the South African *Ndzoo-dzoo*, a one-horned horse-like beast of considerable speed, and very destructive propensities, which Mr. Freeman was informed is by no means rare about Makova. In the narratives of the natives of the different regions in question there is certainly both exaggeration and error; but they all incline to a description which would make the animal indicated a pachyderm of the rhinoceros group, with a long and slender horn proceeding from the forehead, perhaps with another incipient behind it, and in general structure so much lighter than other rhinocerotes, that it may possibly be the link or intermediate form between these and the *Equine genera*. Sir J. Barrow, in his *Travels*, has figured the head of such an animal, copied by the artist Daniell from a Caffre drawing, sketched with coal on the surface of a rock within a cave. Similar drawings are not unfrequent, and we remember to have seen among the papers of the same artist, in the hands of his late brother, another drawing, likewise copied from a cave in the interior of South Africa, and representing, with exceedingly characteristic fidelity, a group of Elands, *Boselaphus Oreas*, Hartebeest, *Acronotus Caama*, and Spring Bock, *Antilope Euchore;* among which was placed, with head and shoulders towering above the rest, a *Rhinocerotine* animal, in form lighter than a wild bull, having an arched neck and a long nasal horn protruding in the form of a sabre. This drawing is no doubt still extant, and should be published; but in confirmation of the opinion that truth exists to a certain extent in the foregoing remarks, it may be observed that we have seen, we believe in the British Museum, a horn brought from Africa, unlike those of any known species of rhinoceros: it is perfectly smooth and hard, about thirty inches in length, almost equally thick throughout, not three inches in its greatest diameter, nor less than two in its smaller, and rather sharp-pointed at top: from the narrowness of the base, its great length and weight, the horn must evidently stand moveably on the nasal bones, until excitement renders the muscular action more rigid, and the coriaceous sole which sustains it more firm—circumstances which may explain the repeated assertion of natives, that the horn, or rather the agglutinated hair which forms that instrument, is flexible.

This short review of the present state of our knowledge respecting a physical unicorn, together with the symbols that have emanated from one or more of the foregoing sources, we trust are sufficient to explain the poetical bearings of most of the Scriptural texts where the word ראם is introduced: it shows when the texts clearly point to a single-horned species; indicates when by a poetical figure human power and violence may be personified under the character of an unicorn; and, lastly, when the same word appears to denote huge horned animals, as in the case of the bulls of Bashan, where it is fair to presume that not only *feral* species of great fierceness would exist, but that most likely an *urus* or a *bison* still resided in the forests bordering on Libanus, while the lion was abundant in the same locality; for, notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, the *urus* and the *bison* were spread anciently from the Rhine to China, and existed in Thrace and in Asia Minor; while they, or allied species, are still found in Siberia, and the forests both of northern and southern Persia. Finally, though the buffalo was not found anciently farther west than Arachosia, the gigantic *gaur*, and several congeners, are spread over all the mountain wildernesses of India, and the Sheriff-al-Wady; and a further colossal species roams with other wild bulls in the valleys of Atlas. We figure *Bibos cavifrons*, a species which is believed to be still found southwest of the Indus, and is not remote from that of the Atlas valleys.—C. H. S.

REFINER. [Metals.]

REFUGE, CITIES OF. [Cities of Refuge.]

REHOB (רְחוֹב; Sept. Ῥοόβ, Ῥαάβ), called also Beth-Rehob, a town on the northern border of Palestine (Num. xiii. 22), not far from Dan (Judg. xviii. 27-29). It was assigned to the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 28), and was a Levitical city (Josh. xxi. 31; 1 Chron. vi. 73). It does not, however, appear that the Israelites ever had it in actual possession (comp. Judg. i. 31; 2 Sam. x. 6, 8).

REHOB, the father of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, in Syria (2 Sam. viii. 3).

REHOBOAM (רְחַבְעָם, *he enlarges the people;* Sept. Ῥοβοάμ), only son of Solomon, born of an Ammonitess, called Naamah (1 Kings xiv. 21, 31). His reign commenced B.C. 975, when he was at the age of forty-one, and lasted seventeen years. This reign was chiefly remarkable for the political crisis which gave rise to it, and which resulted in the separation of the previously single monarchy into two kingdoms, of which the smaller, which took the name of Judah, adhered to the house of David. All the points involved in this important event, and its immediate results, have been considered in the articles Israel, Jeroboam, Judah, and little remains to be added in this place. It is highly probable, from the considerations adduced in those articles, that the imprudent and imperious answer of the misguided son of Solomon to the public cry for redress of grievances, only precipitated a separation which would in any case have occurred, and could not have been long delayed. The envy of Ephraim at the sceptre being in the house of Judah naturally led to this result; and the popular voice was, moreover, represented by

a man whose presence was an insult to Rehoboam, and whose interest and safety lay in widening the difference, and in producing the separation. Although this consideration may relieve Rehoboam from the sole responsibility of the separation, it cannot excuse the unwise and foolish answer which threatened a heavier yoke to those who sought to have their existing burdens lightened (1 Kings xii. 1-16). Rehoboam at first thought of nothing less than of bringing back the revolted tribes to their obedience by force of arms; but the disastrous war thus impending was arrested by the interference of a prophet (1 Kings xii. 21-24); and the ample occupation which Jeroboam found in settling his own power, left the king of Judah some years of peace, which he employed in fortifying his weakened kingdom. Concerning this, and the invasion of the land in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, by Shishak, king of Egypt, see JUDAH, KINGDOM OF. Jeroboam, king of Israel, being in alliance with Egypt, not only escaped this storm, but may possibly have instigated the invasion as the most effectual means of weakening his adversary. The treasures which David and Solomon had laid up in, or lavished on, the temple of God and the royal palaces, offered an adequate temptation to the Egyptian king, and they became his prey. The brass with which Rehoboam replaced the plundered gold of Solomon, furnished no inapt emblem of the difference between his own power and that of his glorious predecessors (1 Kings xiv. 27). Idolatry, and the worshipping in high places, which had grown up in the last years of Solomon, gained strength in the early years of his son's reign, and were not discouraged by the example or measures of the king (1 Kings xiv. 22-24); and it is probably for the sake of indicating the influence of early education, in producing this culpable indifference, that it is so pointedly recorded in connection with these circumstances, that his mother was Naamah, an Ammonitess (2 Chron. xii. 13). The invasion of the land by Shishak seems to have been intended as a punishment for these offences, and to have operated for their correction; which may account for the peace in which the subsequent years of this king's reign appear to have been passed.

REHOBOTH (רְחֹבוֹת; Sept. Εὐρυχωρία), a name meaning 'wide places,' or 'ample room,' as is indicated by Isaac in giving it to some of the wells which he dug in the south of Palestine (Gen. xxvi. 22).

REHOBOTH-IR (רְחֹבוֹת עִיר; Sept. Ῥωβὼθ πόλις, *Rehoboth-city*), a town of ancient Assyria (Gen. x. 11), the site of which has not been ascertained.

REHOBOTH-HANNAHAR (רְחֹבוֹת הַנָּהָר; Sept. Ῥωβὼθ τῆς παρὰ ποταμόν), or, *Rehoboth of the river*, the birth-place of one of the Edomitish kings, named Saul (Gen. xxxvi. 37). The river is, doubtless, the Euphrates, and the place is probably represented by the modern er-Rahabeh, upon the west bank of that river, between Rakkah and Anah (Rosenmüller, *Geog.* ii. 365; Winer, *B. Real-wörterb.*, s.v.).

REMPHAN, or REPHAN (Ῥεμφάν, Ῥεφάν), a name quoted in Acts vii. 43, from Amos v. 26, where the Septuagint has Ῥαιφάν, for the Hebrew כִּיּוּן *Chiun*. It is clear that, although thus changing the letter כ into ר, the Sept. held the original to be a proper name, in which interpretation our own and most other versions have concurred. But this is by no means clear; for, according to the received pointing, it would better read, 'Ye bore the tabernacle of your king (idol), and *the statue* (or statues) of your idols, the star of your god, which ye make to yourselves;' and so the Vulgate, which has 'Imaginem idolorum vestrorum.' According to this reading, the name of the idol so worshipped by the Israelites is, in fact, not given, although the mention of a star still suggests that some planet is intended. Jerome supposes it may be Lucifer or Venus. But the Syriac renders the Hebrew by حلم لمحمم, '*Saturn your idol*,' who was worshipped by the Semitic nations along with Mars as an evil demon to be propitiated with sacrifices. This now seems to be the general conclusion, and Winer, indeed, treats the subject under the head Saturn. It has been alleged, but not satisfactorily proved, that Remphan and Rephan were Egyptian names of the planet Saturn. They, indeed, occur as such in the Coptic-Arabic Lexicon of Kircher (*Ling. Ægypt. Restit.*, p. 49; *Œdip. Ægypti*, i. 386); but Jablonsky has long since shown that this and other names of planets in these lexicons are of Greek origin, and drawn from the Coptic versions of Amos and the Acts (Jablonsky, *Remphan Ægyptior.*, in *Opusc.*, ii. 1, sq.; Schrœder, *De Tabernac. Molochi et Stella Dei Remph.*, 1745; Maius, *Dissert. de Kium et Remphan*, 1763; Harenberg, *De Idolis Chium et Remphan*, 1723; Wolf, *Dissert. de Chium et Remph.*, 1741; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, pp. 669, 670).

REPHAIM (רְפָאִים; Sept. γίγαντες), an ancient people of unusual stature, who, in the time of Abraham, dwelt in the country beyond the Jordan, in and about Ashtoreth-Karnaim (Gen. xiv. 5). Subsequently, however, two of their southern tribes, the Emim and Zamzummim, were repressed and nearly annihilated by the Moabites and Ammonites; so that at the time of the ingress of the Israelites under Joshua, none of the Rephaim were left save in the dominion of Og, king of Bashan, who was himself of this race (Deut. iii. 11; Josh. xii. 4; xiii. 12). There seems reason to think that the Rephaim were the most ancient or aboriginal inhabitants of Palestine prior to the Canaanites, by whom they were gradually dispossessed of the regions west of the Jordan, and driven beyond that river. Some of the race remained in Palestine Proper so late as the invasion of the land by the Hebrews, and are repeatedly mentioned as 'the sons of Anak,' and 'the remnant of the Rephaim' (Num. xiii. 28; Deut. ix. 2; Josh. xv. 14), and a few families existed in the land so late as the time of David (2 Sam. xxi. 16). [GIANTS.]

REPHAIM, VALLEY OF, a valley beginning adjacent to the valley of Hinnom, southwest of Jerusalem, and stretching away southwest on the right of the road to Bethlehem (Josh. xv. 8; xvii. 5; xviii. 6; 2 Sam. v. 18, 22). This name corroborates the presumption that the Rephaim were originally west of the Jordan.

REPHIDIM, a station of the Israelites in proceeding to Sinai. [SINAI.]

RESEN (רֶסֶן; Sept. Δασή), an ancient town of Assyria, described as a great city lying between Nineveh and Calah (Gen. x. 12). Biblical geographers have been disposed to follow Bochart (*Phaleg.* iv. 23) in finding a trace of the Hebrew name in Larissa, which is mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4. 9) as a desolate city on the Tigris, several miles north of the Lycus. The resemblance of the names is too faint to support the inference of identity; but the situation is not irreconcilable with the Scriptural intimation. Ephrem Syrus (*Comment. in loc.*) says that ܪܣܥ Rassa, which he substitutes for Resen (the Peshito has ܪܣܝ Ressin), was the same as ܪܫ ܥܝܢ Rish-Ain (*fountain-head*); by which Assemanni understands him to mean, not the place in Mesopotamia so called, but another Rish-Ain in Assyria, near Saphsaphre, in the province of Marga, which he finds noticed in a Syrian monastic history of the middle age (Assemanni, *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. 2. p. 709). It is, however, still uncertain if Rassa is the same with Rish-Ain; and whether it is so or not, a name so exceedingly common (corresponding to the Arabic Ras-el-Ain) affords a precarious basis for the identification of a site so ancient.

RESURRECTION OF CHRIST. After our Lord had completed the work of redemption by his death upon the cross, he rose victorious from the grave, and to those who through faith in him should become members of his body, he became ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς, 'the prince of life.' Since this event, however, independently of its importance in respect to the internal connection of the Christian doctrine, was manifestly a miraculous occurrence, the credibility of the narrative has from the earliest times been brought into question (Celsus, apud Origen. *cont. Cels.* i. 2; Woolston, *Discourses on the Miracles*, disc. vi.; Chubb, *Posth. Works*, i. 330; Morgan, *The Resurrection Considered*, 1744). Others who have admitted the facts as recorded to be beyond dispute, yet have attempted to show that Christ was not really dead; but that, being stunned and palsied, he wore for a time the appearance of death, and was afterwards restored to consciousness by the cool grave and the spices. The refutation of these views may be seen in detail in such works as Less, *Ueber die Religion*, ii. 372; Less, *Auferstehungsgeschichte, nebst Anhang*, 1799; Döderlein, *Fragmente und Antifragmente*, 1782. The chief advocates of these views are Paulus (*Hist. Resurrect. Jes.* 1795), and, more recently, Henneberg (*Philol. Histor. Krit. Commentar. üb. d. Gesch. d. Begrabn. d. Auferstehung u. Himmelfahrt Jesu*, 1826).

Objections of this nature do not require notice here; but a few words upon the apparent discrepancies of the Gospel narratives will not be misplaced. These discrepancies were early perceived; and a view of what the fathers have done in the attempt to reconcile them has been given by Niemeyer (*De Evangelistarum in Narrando Christi in Vitam reditu dissensione*, 1824). They were first collocated with much acuteness by Morgan, in the work already cited; and at a later date, by an anonymous writer, whose fragments were edited and supported by Lessing; the object of which seems to have been to throw uncertainty and doubt over the whole of this portion of Gospel history. A numerous host of theologians, however, rose to combat and refute this writer's positions; among whom we find the names of Döderlein, Less, Semler, Teller, Maschius, Michaelis, Plessing, Eichhorn, Herder, and others. Among those who have more recently attempted to reconcile the different accounts is Griesbach, who, in his excellent *Prolusio de Fontibus unde Evangelistæ suas de Resurrectione Domini narrationes hauserunt*, 1793, remarks that all the discrepancies are trifling, and not of such moment as to render the narrative uncertain and suspected, or to destroy or even diminish the credibility of the Evangelists; but rather serve to show how extremely studious they were of truth, 'and how closely and even scrupulously they followed their documents.' Griesbach then attempts to show how these discrepancies may have arisen; and admits that, although unimportant, they are hard to reconcile, as is indeed evinced by the amount of controversy they have excited.

Lately, Professor Bush has ingeniously maintained the opinion, that the body of Christ which was raised was not the identical body which was crucified, but another and spiritual body. This view was forced upon him by the general argument of his book (*Anastasis; or, the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body rationally and scripturally considered*, 1845); but it will not be readily admitted by those who remember the fresh prints of the nails, and the wound in the side of the risen Saviour, coupled with his manifest anxiety to impress the fact of his *personal* identity upon the minds of his disciples. It may indeed be asked, 'In what does personal identity consist?' but that is a question we cannot here argue.

The three first Gospels agree in this, that the women who went to the grave saw angels, by whom they were informed that Jesus had risen, and who commanded them to give the apostles immediate information of the fact. But as Mary Magdalene was among those women according to these Gospels, there seems a striking contradiction to John's narrative, which speaks of her alone. The writers above named, however, harmonise these accounts by supposing that Mary did indeed set out for the sepulchre with the other women; but that running before them, and finding the stone rolled away, she was overcome by a sudden impulse of feeling, and hastened back to communicate the intelligence to the apostles, as related by John. In the meantime the other women had arrived at the sepulchre, and there witnessed what is recorded by the other evangelists. Mary Magdalene returns to the grave with Peter and John; and after they had gone away hopeless, she continued to stand weeping in the same place; and while thus engaged, perceived the angels, and immediately after our Lord himself. From Him she receives the same commission which the angels had previously given to the other women, namely, to inform the apostles of his resurrection. Matthew (xxviii. 9, 10) seems to relate of all the women what strictly belongs to Mary alone; while Mark (xvi. 9) is more precise in his account. According to this mode of reconciling the Gospel narratives, we are to suppose that the other women were prevented from communicating to the apostles what the angels had given them in

charge; and Hess renders it probable, on topographical grounds, that those who were returning from the grave may have missed the apostles, who were hastily approaching it.

If this explanation be admitted, the only remaining difficulty is that which arises from the Gospel of Luke, which appears to state that the apostles did not visit the sepulchre till all the intelligence had been communicated to them by the women (Luke xxiv. 9-12). We will not attempt to get over this difficulty by rejecting the verse which creates it (xxiv. 12), on the ground of its being wanting in one Greek and some ancient Latin manuscripts; but would rather suppose that in this, as in some other passages, Luke has neglected the order of time, and inserted the incident somewhat out of place. Besides the works already referred to, see Sherlock, *Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus*, 1729; Benson's *Life of Christ*, p. 520, sq.; West, *On the Resurrection;* Macknight's *Harmony of the Gospels;* Lardner, *Observations on Dr. Macknight's Harmony*, 1764; Newcome's *Harmony of the Gospels*, 1778; Tholuck, *Comment. zu Johan*, xx.; Neander, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1839; Hase, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1840. Since the above was in type we have seen an excellent paper by Professor Robinson, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for Feb. 1845, in which the writer, with his usual perspicuity, discusses the alleged discrepancies in the Gospel narratives of 'The Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord.'

RESURRECTION OF THE BODY. This expression is used to denote the revivification of the human body after it has been forsaken by the soul, or the re-union of the soul hereafter to the body which it had occupied in the present world. It is admitted that there are no traces of such a doctrine in the earlier Hebrew Scripture. It is not to be found in the Pentateuch, in the historical books, or in the Psalms; for Ps. xlix. 15, does not relate to this subject; neither does Ps. civ. 29, 30, although so cited by Theodoret and others. The celebrated passage of Job xix. 25, sq., has, indeed, been strongly insisted upon in proof of the early belief in this doctrine; but the most learned commentators are agreed, and scarcely any one at the present day disputes, that such a view of the text arises either from mistranslation or misapprehension, and that Job means no more than to express a confident conviction that his then diseased and dreadfully corrupted body should be restored to its former soundness; that he should rise from the depressed state in which he lay to his former prosperity; and that God would manifestly appear (as was the case) to vindicate his uprightness. That no meaning more recondite is to be found in the text, is agreed by Calvin, Mercier, Grotius, Le Clerc, Patrick, Warburton, Durell, Heath, Kennicott, Döderlein, Dathe, Eichhorn, Jahn, De Wette, and a host of others. That it alludes to a resurrection is disproved thus:—1. The supposition is inconsistent with the design of the poem and the course of the argument, since the belief which it has been supposed to express, as connected with a future state of retribution, would in a great degree have solved the difficulty on which the whole dispute turns, and could not but have been often alluded to by the speakers. 2. It is inconsistent with the connection of the discourse; the reply of Zophar agreeing, not with the popular interpretation, but with the other. 3. It is inconsistent with many passages in which the same person (Job) longs for death as the end of his miseries, and not as the introduction to a better life (iii.; vii. 7, 8; x. 20-22; xiv.; xvii. 11-16). 4. It is not proposed as a topic of consolation by any of the friends of Job; nor by Elihu, who acts as a sort of umpire; nor by the Almighty himself in the decision of the controversy. 5. The later Jews, who eagerly sought for every intimation bearing on a future life which their Scriptures might contain, never regarded this as such; nor is it once referred to by Christ or his apostles.

Isaiah may be regarded as the first Scripture writer in whom such an allusion can be traced. He compares the restoration of the Jewish people and state to a resurrection from the dead (ch. xxvi. 19, 20); and in this he is followed by Ezekiel at the time of the exile (ch. xxxvii.). From these passages, which are, however, not very clear in their intimations, it may seem that in this, as in other matters, the twilight of spiritual manifestations brightened as the day-spring from on high approached; and in Dan. xii. 2, we at length arrive at a clear and unequivocal declaration, that 'Those who lie sleeping under the earth shall awake, some to eternal life, and others to everlasting shame and contempt.'

In the time of Christ, the belief of a resurrection, in connection with a state of future retribution, was held by the Pharisees and the great body of the Jewish people, and was only disputed by the Sadducees. Indeed, they seem to have regarded the future life as incomplete without the body; and so intimately were the two things—the future existence of the soul and the resurrection of the body—connected in their minds, that any argument which proved the former, they considered as proving the latter also (see Matt. xxii. 31; 1 Cor. xv. 32). This belief, however, led their coarse minds into gross and sensuous conceptions of the future state, although there were many among the Pharisees who taught that the future body would be so refined as not to need the indulgences which were necessary in the present life; and they assented to our Lord's assertion, that the risen saints would not marry, but would be as the angels of God (Matt. xxii. 30; comp. Luke xx, 39). So Paul, in 1 Cor. vi. 13, is conceived to intimate that the necessity of food for subsistence will be abolished in the world to come.

In further proof of the commonness of a belief in the resurrection among the Jews of the time of Christ, see Matt. xxii., Luke xx., John xi. 24, Acts xxiii. 6-8. Josephus is not to be relied upon in the account which he gives of the belief of his countrymen (*Antiq.* xviii. 2; *De Bell. Jud.*, ii. 7), as he appears to use terms which might suggest one thing to his Jewish readers, and another to the Greeks and Romans, who scouted the idea of a resurrection. Many Jews believed that the wicked would not be raised from the dead; but the contrary was the more prevailing opinion, in which St. Paul once took occasion to express his concurrence with the Pharisees (Acts xxiv. 15).

But although the doctrine of the resurrection was thus prevalent among the Jews in the time of Christ, it might still have been doubtful and obscure to us, had not Christ given to it the sanc-

tion of his authority, and declared it a constituent part of his religion (*e. g.*, Matt. xxii.; John v., viii., xi.). He and his apostles also were careful to correct the erroneous notions which the Jews entertained on this head, and to make the subject more obvious and intelligible than it had ever been before. A special interest is also imparted to the subject from the manner in which the New Testament represents Christ as the person to whom we are indebted for this benefit, which, by every variety of argument and illustration, the apostles connect with him, and make to rest upon him (Acts iv. 2; xxvi. 3; 1 Cor. xv.; 1 Thess. iv. 14, &c.).

The principal points which can be collected from the New Testament on this subject are the following:—1. The raising of the dead is every where ascribed to Christ, and is represented as the last work to be undertaken by him for the salvation of man (John v. 21; xi. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 22, sq.; 1 Thess. iv. 15; Rev. i. 18). All the dead will be raised, without respect to age, rank, or character in this world (John v. 28, 29; Acts xxiv. 15; 1 Cor. xv. 22). 3. This event is to take place not before the end of the world, or the general judgment (John v. 21; vi. 39, 40; xi. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 22-28; 1 Thess. iv. 15; Rev. xx. 11). 4. The manner in which this marvellous change shall be accomplished is necessarily beyond our present comprehension; and, therefore, the Scripture is content to illustrate it by figurative representations, or by proving the possibility and intelligibility of the leading facts. Some of the figurative descriptions occur in John v.; Matt. xxiv.; 1 Cor. 15. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16; Phil. iii. 21. The image of a trumpet-call, which is repeated in some of these texts, is derived from the Jewish custom of convening assemblies by sound of trumpet. 5. The possibility of a resurrection is powerfully argued by Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 32, sq., by comparing it with events of common occurrence in the natural world. (See also ver. 12-14, and compare Acts iv. 2.)

But although this body shall be so raised as to preserve its identity, it must yet undergo certain purifying changes to fit it for the kingdom of heaven, and to render it capable of immortality (1 Cor. xv. 35, sq.), so that it shall become a glorified body like that of Christ (ver. 49; Rom. vi. 9; Phil. iii. 21); and the bodies of those whom the last day finds alive, will undergo a similar change without tasting death (1 Cor. xv. 51, 53; 2 Cor. v. 4; 1 Thess. iv. 15, sq.; Phil. iii. 21).

The extent of change consistent with personal identity is so great, that its limits have been variously estimated, and can never be in this life clearly defined. We are, therefore, not disposed to enter into the subject here. The plain language of Scripture seems to suggest that it will be so great, that the old body will have little more relation to the new one than the seed has to the plant. But that there is *no* analogy—that the new body will have no connection with, and no relation to the old; and that, in fact, the resurrection of the *body* is not a doctrine of Scripture,—does not appear to us to have been satisfactorily proved by the latest writer on the subject (Bush, *Anastasis*, 1845); and we think so highly of his ingenuity and talent, as to believe that no one else is likely to succeed in an argument in which he has failed (Knapp, *Christian Theology*, translated by Leonard Woods, D.D., § 151-153; Hody, *On the Resurrection;* Drew, *Essay on the Resurrection of the Human Body;* Burnet, *State of the Dead;* Schott, *Dissert. de Resurrect. Corporis, adv. S. Burnetum*, 1763; Teller, *Fides Dogmat. de Resurr. Carnis*, 1766; Mosheim, *De Christ. Resurr. Mort.*, &c. in *Dissertatt.*, ii. 526, sq.; Dassov., *Diatr. qua Judæor. de Resurr. Mort. sentent. ex plur. Rabbinis*, 1675; Neander, *All. K. Geschichte*, i. 3, pp. 1088, 1096; ii. 3, pp. 1404-1410; Zehrt, *Ueber d. Auferstehung d. Todten*, 1835).

REUBEN (רְאוּבֵן, *behold a son;* Sept. Ῥουβήν), eldest son of Jacob by Leah (Gen. xxix. 32; xxxv. 23; xlvi. 8). His improper intercourse with Bilhah, his father's concubine wife, was an enormity too great for Jacob ever to forget, and he spoke of it with abhorrence even on his dying bed (Gen. xxxii. 22; xlix. 4). Yet the part taken by him in the case of Joseph, whom he intended to rescue from the hands of his brothers and restore to his father, and whose supposed death he so sincerely lamented, exhibits his character in an amiable point of view (Gen. xxxvii. 21, 22, 29, 30). We are, however, to remember, that he, as the eldest son, was more responsible for the safety of Joseph than were the others; and it would seem that he eventually acquiesced in the deception practised upon his father. Subsequently, Reuben offered to make the lives of his own sons responsible for that of Benjamin, when it was necessary to prevail on Jacob to let him go down to Egypt (Gen. xlii. 37, 38). The fine conduct of Judah in afterwards undertaking the same responsibility, is in advantageous contrast with this coarse, although well-meant, proposal. For his conduct in the matter of Bilhah, Jacob, in his last blessing, deprived him of the pre-eminence and double portion which belonged to his birthright, assigning the former to Judah, and the latter to Joseph (Gen. xlix. 3, 4; comp. ver. 8-10; xlviii. 5). The doom, 'Thou shalt not excel,' was exactly fulfilled in the destinies of the tribe descended from Reuben, which makes no figure in the Hebrew history, and never produced any eminent person. At the time of the Exodus, this tribe numbered 46,500 adult males, which ranked it as the seventh in population; but at the later census before entering Canaan, its numbers had decreased to 43,730, which rendered it the ninth in population (Num. i. 21; xxvi. 5). The Reubenites received for their inheritance the fine pasture land (the present Belka) on the east of the Jordan, which to a cattle-breeding people, as they were, must have been very desirable (Num. xxxii. 1 sq.; xxxiv. 14; Josh. i. 14; xv. 17). This lay south of the territories of Gad (Deut. iii. 12, 16), and north of the river Arnon. Although thus settled earlier than the other tribes, excepting Gad and half Manasseh, who shared with them the territory beyond the Jordan, the Reubenites willingly assisted their brethren in the wars of Canaan (Num. xxxii. 27, 29; Josh. iv. 12); after which they returned to their own lands (Josh. xxii. 15); and we hear little more of them till the time of Hazael, king of Syria, who ravaged and for a time held possession of their country (2 Kings x. 33). The Reubenites,

and the other tribes beyond the river, were naturally the first to give way before the invaders from the East, and were the first of all the Israelites sent into exile by Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, B.C. 773 (1 Chron. v. 26).

REVELATION, BOOK OF. The following topics in relation to this book demand examination :—

I. The person by whom it was written.

II. Its canonical authority, genuineness, and authenticity.

III. The time and place at which it was written.

IV. Its unity.

V. The class of writings to which it belongs.

VI. The object for which it was originally written.

VII. Its contents.

VIII. Some errors into which the interpreters of it have fallen.

I. The author styles himself John, but not an apostle (i. 4, 9; xxii. 8). Hence some have attributed the book to another John, usually designated the presbyter. Formerly, indeed, the existence of such a person was unknown or doubted, the historic grounds adduced in proof of his separate individuality being impugned or otherwise explained. (So Guerike in his *Beiträge zur Historisch-kritischen Einleit.*, 1831, 8vo.) But this writer has recently revoked his doubts, contented with affirming that the historic basis on which the existence of the Ephesian presbyter rests, is assuredly feeble. The chief argument for believing that there was another John besides the apostle, exists in a passage from Papias of Hierapolis, preserved in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39). In this fragment, several of the apostles, among whom is John, are mentioned; while, immediately after, the presbyter John is specified along with Aristion. Thus the presbyter is clearly distinguished from the apostle (see Wieseler, in the *Theol. Mitarbeiten*, iii. 4. 113, *sq.*). In addition to Papias, Dionysius of Alexandria (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 25), Eusebius himself (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 39), and Jerome (*Catal. Scriptor. Ecclesiast.*), allude to the presbyter. We must therefore believe, with Lücke, Bleek, Credner, Neander, Hitzig, and, indeed, all the ablest critics who have had occasion to speak of this point, that there were two Johns: one the apostle, the other the presbyter.

It has been much debated which of the two wrote the book before us. On the continent the prevailing current of opinion, if not in favour of the presbyter, is at least against the apostle. In England the latter is still regarded as the writer, more perhaps by a kind of traditional belief, than as the result of enlightened examination.

The arguments against assigning the authorship to the apostle John are the following.

1. The Apocalyptic writer calls himself John, while the Evangelist never does so. So Dionysius of Alexandria, as related by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 25). De Wette repeats the observation as deserving at least of attention. In addition to this circumstance, it has been affirmed by Ewald, Credner, and Hitzig, that in chaps. xviii. 20, and xxi. 14, the apostle expressly excludes himself from the number of the apostles.

2. The language of the book is entirely different from that of the fourth Gospel and the three epistles of John the Apostle. It is characterized by strong Hebraisms and ruggednesses, by negligences of expression and grammatical inaccuracies; while it exhibits the absence of pure Greek words, and of the apostle's favourite expressions. So De Wette.

3. The style is unlike that which appears in the Gospel and epistles. In the latter, there is calm, deep feeling; in the Apocalypse, a lively, creative power of fancy. In connection with this it has been asserted, that the mode of representing objects and images is artificial and Jewish. On the contrary, John the son of Zebedee was an *illiterate* man in the Jewish sense of that epithet; a man whose mental habits and education were Greek rather than Jewish, and who, in consequence of this character, makes little or no use of the Old Testament or of Hebrew learning. So De Wette.

4. It is alleged that the doctrinal aspect of the Apocalypse is different from that of the apostle's acknowledged writings. In the latter we find nothing of the sensuous expectations of the Messiah and the establishment of his kingdom on earth, which are so prominent in the former. Besides, the views inculcated or implied respecting spirits, demons, and angels, are foreign to John. A certain spirit of revenge, too, flows and burns throughout the Apocalypse, a spirit inconsistent with the mild and amiable disposition of the beloved disciple.

Such are the arguments advanced by De Wette. They are chiefly based on the investigations of Ewald and Lücke. Credner, who speaks with the same confidence respecting the non-apostolic origin of the book, has repeated, enlarged, and confirmed them. It will be observed, however, that they are all *internal*, and do no more than prepare the way for proving that John the Presbyter was the writer. Let us glance at the *external* evidence adduced for the same purpose.

In the third century, Dionysius of Alexandria ascribed the book to John the Presbyter, not to John the Apostle (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 25). The testimony of this writer has been so often and so much insisted on, that it is necessary to adduce it at length. 'Some who were before us have utterly rejected and confuted this book, criticising every chapter, showing it to be throughout unintelligible and inconsistent; adding, moreover, that the inscription is false, forasmuch as it is not John's; nor is it a revelation which is hidden under so obscure and thick a veil of ignorance; and that not only no apostle, but not so much as any holy or ecclesiastical man was the author of this writing; but that Cerinthus, founder of the heresy called after him Cerinthian, the better to recommend his own forgery, prefixed to it an honourable name. For this (they say) was one of his particular notions, that the kingdom of Christ should be earthly; consisting of those things which he himself, a carnal and sensual man, most admired,—the pleasures of the belly and of concupiscence; that is, eating and drinking and marriage; and for the more decent procurement of these, feastings and sacrifices, and slaughters of victims. But for my part, I dare not reject the book, since many of the brethren have it in high esteem: but allowing it to be above my understanding, I suppose it to contain throughout some latent and wonderful meaning; for though

I do not understand it, I suspect there must be some profound sense in the words; not measuring and judging these things by my own reason, but ascribing more to faith, I esteem them too sublime to be comprehended by me. Nor do I condemn what I have not been able to understand; but I admire the more, because they are above my reach. . . . . And having finished in a manner his prophecy, the prophet pronounceth those blessed that keep it, and also himself. For "blessed is every one," says he, "that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book; and I John, who saw and heard these things" (Rev. xxii. 7, 8). I do not deny then that his name is John, and that this is John's book, for I acknowledge it to be the work of some holy and divinely inspired person. Nevertheless I cannot easily grant him to be the apostle the son of Zebedee, brother of James, whose is the Gospel inscribed according to John and the Catholic epistle; for I conclude, from the manner of each, and the turn of expression, and from the conduct (or disposition) of the book, as we call it, that he is not the same person. For the Evangelist nowhere puts down his name, nor does he speak of himself either in the Gospel or in the epistle.' Then a little after he says again, 'John nowhere speaks as concerning himself nor as concerning another. But he who wrote the Revelation, immediately at the very beginning prefixeth his name: "the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass. And he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bare record of the word of God, and his testimony, the things which he saw" (Rev. i. 1, 2). And then he writes an epistle, "John unto the seven churches in Asia. Grace be unto you and peace" (ver. 4). But the Evangelist has not prefixed his name, no, not to his Catholic epistle; but without any circumlocution begins with the mystery itself of the divine revelation, "that which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes" (1 John i. 1). And for the like revelation the Lord pronounced Peter blessed, saying, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 17). Nor yet in the second or third epistle ascribed to John, though, indeed, they are but short epistles, is the name of John prefixed; for without any name he is called the elder. But this other person thought it not sufficient to name himself once and then proceed, but he repeats it again, "I, John, who am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle called Patmos for the testimony of Jesus" (Rev. i. 9). And at the end he says, "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book; and I, John, who saw and heard these things" (ch. xxii. 7, 8). Therefore, that it was John who wrote these things, ought to be believed because he says so. But who he was is uncertain; for he has not said, as in the Gospel often, that he is "the disciple whom the Lord loved;" nor that he is he "who leaned on his breast;" nor the brother of James; nor that he is one of them who saw and heard the Lord: whereas he would have mentioned some of these things if he had intended plainly to discover himself. Of these things he says not a word: but he calls himself our "brother and companion, and witness of Jesus," and "blessed," because he saw and heard those revelations. And I suppose there were many of the same name with John the apostle, who for the love they bore to him, and because they admired and emulated him, and were ambitious of being beloved of the Lord like him, were desirous of having the same name: even as many also of the children of the faithful are called by the names of Paul and Peter. There is another John in the Acts of the Apostles, surnamed Mark, whom Paul and Barnabas took for their companion: concerning whom it is again said, "and they had John for their minister" (Acts xiii. 5). But that he is the person who wrote this book, I would not affirm. But I think that he is another, one of them that belong to Asia; since it is said that there are two tombs at Ephesus, each of them called John's tomb. And from the sentiments and words, and disposition of them, it is likely that he is different (from him that wrote the Gospel and Epistle). For the Gospel and Epistle have a mutual agreement, and begin alike. The one says, "In the beginning was the word;" the other, "That which was from the beginning." The former says, "And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father." The latter has the same with a slight variation: "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the word of life. For the life was manifested." He is uniform throughout, and wanders not in the least from the points he proposed to himself, but prosecutes them in the same chapters and words, some of which we shall briefly observe: for whoever reads with attention will often find in both "life;" frequently "light," the "avoiding of darkness;" oftentimes "truth, grace, joy, the flesh and the blood of the Lord; judgment, forgiveness of sins, the love of God toward us, the commandment of love one toward another; the judgment of this world, of the devil, of anti-christ; the promise of the Holy Spirit, the adoption of the sons of God, the faith constantly required of us, the Father and the Son," everywhere. And, in short, throughout the Gospel and Epistle it is easy to observe one and the same character. But the Revelation is quite different and foreign from these, without any affinity or resemblance, not having so much as a syllable in common with them. Nor does the Epistle (for I do not here insist on the Gospel) mention or give any hint of the Revelation, nor the Revelation of the Epistle. And yet Paul, in his Epistles, has made some mention of his Revelations, though he never wrote them in a separate book. Besides, it is easy to observe the difference of the style of the Gospel and the Epistle from that of the Revelation; for they are not only written correctly, according to the propriety of the Greek tongue, but with great elegance of phrase and argument, and the whole contexture of the discourse. So far are they from all barbarism or solecism, or idiotism of language, that nothing of the kind is to be found in them; for he, as it seems, had each of those gifts, the Lord having bestowed upon him both these, knowledge and eloquence. As to the other, I will not deny that he saw the Revelation, or that he had received the gift of knowledge and prophecy. But I do

not perceive in him an accurate acquaintance with the Greek language: on the contrary, he uses barbarous idioms, and some solecisms, which it is necessary that I should now show particularly, for I do not write by way of ridicule; let none think so. I simply intend to represent in a critical manner the difference of these pieces.'

Here are critical arguments which the moderns have not failed to adduce and enlarge. Eusebius expresses himself in an undecided way respecting the Apocalypse (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 24, 25), for which it is difficult to account, on the supposition that prevalent tradition attributed it to the Apostle John.

Thus all the external evidence *directly* in favour of John the Presbyter resolves itself into the authority of Dionysius, who rested his proofs not on the testimony of his predecessors, but on internal argument. Eusebius speaks so hesitatingly, that nothing can be determined with respect to his real opinion.

On the whole, there is no *direct* evidence in favour of the opinion that John the Presbyter wrote the Apocalypse. Many internal considerations have been adduced to show that *John the Apostle was not* the author; but no *direct* argument has been advanced to prove that John the Presbyter was the writer. Indeed, our existing accounts of the presbyter are so brief, as to afford no data for associating the writing of this book with his name. All that we know from antiquity is, that both Johns were contemporary, that they are called disciples of the Lord, that they resided in Asia Minor, and that their tombs were shown at Ephesus. It is vain to appeal to the second and third epistles of John for comparing the Apocalypse with them, with Credner and Jachmann (Pelt's *Mitarbeiten*, 1839), who think that they proceeded from the presbyter; since, to say the least, the hypothesis that these epistles were written by John the Presbyter has not yet been established. Still, however, notwithstanding this deficiency of evidence, Bleek, Credner, and Jachmann, following Dionysius, attribute the book to John the Presbyter.

Others think that a disciple of John undertook to write on a subject which he had received from the apostle; and that he thought himself justified in introducing his instructor as the speaker, because he wrote in his manner. So Ewald, Lücke, Schott, and Neander.

Hitzig has lately written a treatise to prove that the writer is John Mark, the same from whom the second Gospel proceeded. His arguments are mainly based on parallelisms of language and construction (*Ueber Johannes Marcus und seine Schriften, oder welcher Johannes hat die Offenbarung verfasst?* Zurich, 8vo. 1843).

In stating the evidence in favour of the apostle as the writer, we begin with the external.

Justin Martyr is the earliest writer who attributes it to John the Apostle (*Dial. cum Tryph.*). Rettig, indeed, has endeavoured to impugn the genuineness of the passage containing this testimony, but he has been well answered by Lücke, and by Guerike (Tholuck's *Literarischer Anzeiger*, 1830). Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, ascribe it to the apostle; and, as De Wette candidly remarks, the testimony of the last two is the more important, as they were not millennarians. When Irenæus says that it was written by John *the disciple* of the Lord, it is uncertain whether he meant the apostle or the presbyter, although the former is far more probable.

Let us now consider the internal evidence in favour of John the Apostle, beginning with an examination of the arguments adduced on the other side by De Wette. These do not possess all the weight that many assign to them. We shall follow the order in which they have been already stated.

1. We attach no importance to this circumstance. Why should not a writer be at liberty to name himself or not as he pleases; above all, why should not a writer, under the immediate inspiration of the Almighty, omit the particulars which he was not prompted to record? How could he refrain from doing so? The Holy Spirit must have had some good reason for leading the writer to set forth his name, although curiosity is not gratified by assigning the reason. The Old Testament prophets usually prefixed their names to the visions and predictions which they were prompted to record; and John does the same. But instead of styling himself an apostle, which carries with it an idea of dignity and official authority, he modestly takes to himself the appellation of a *servant of Christ, the brother and companion of the faithful in tribulation.* This corresponds with the relation which he sustained to Christ in the receiving of such visions, as also with the condition of the Redeemer himself. In the Gospel, John is mentioned as *the disciple whom Jesus loved*, for then he stood in an intimate relation to Christ, as the *Son of man* appearing in the form of a servant; but in the book before us, Christ is announced as the glorified Redeemer who should quickly come to judgment, and John is *his servant*, entrusted with the secrets of his house. Well did it become the apostle to forget all the honour of his apostolic office, and to be abased before the Lord of glory. The resplendent vision of the Saviour had such an effect upon the seer, that he fell at his feet as dead; and therefore it was quite natural for him to be clothed with profound humility, to designate himself the servant of Jesus Christ, the brother and companion of the faithful in tribulation. Again, in ch. xviii. 20, the prophets are said to be represented as already in heaven in their glorified condition, and therefore the writer could not have belonged to their number. But this passage neither affirms nor necessarily implies that the saints and apostles and prophets were at that time in heaven. Neither is it stated that *all* the apostles had then been glorified. Chapter xxi. 14 is alleged to be inconsistent with the modesty and humility of John. This is a questionable assumption. The official honour inseparable from the person of an apostle was surely compatible with profound humility. It was so with Paul; and we may safely draw the same conclusion in regard to John. In describing the heavenly Jerusalem it was necessary to introduce the twelve apostles. The writer could not exclude himself (see Lücke, p. 389; and Guerike's *Beiträge*, p. 37, sq.).

2. To enter fully into this argument would require a lengthened treatise. Let us briefly notice the particular words, phrases, and expressions, to which Ewald, Lücke, De Wette, and Credner specially allude. Much has been written by

Ewald concerning the Hebraistic character of the language. The writer, it is alleged, strongly imbued with Hebrew modes of thought, frequently inserts Hebrew words, as in iii. 14; ix. 11; xii. 9, 10; xix. 1, 3, 4, 6; xx. 2; xxii. 20; while the influence of *cabbalistic artificiality* is obvious throughout the entire book, and particularly in i. 4, 5; iv. 2; xiii. 18; xvi. 14. The mode of employing the tenses is foreign to the Greek language, and moulded after the Hebrew (i. 7; ii. 5, 16, 22, 23, 27; iii. 9; iv. 9-11; xii. 2-4; xvi. 15, 21; xvii. 13, 14; xviii. 11, 15; xxii. 7, 12). So also the use of the participle (i. 16; iv. 1, 5, 8; v. 6, 13; vi. 2, 5; vii. 9, 10; ix. 11; x. 2; xiv. 1, 14; xix. 12, 13; xxi. 14); and of the infinitive (xii. 7). The awkward disposition of words is also said to be Hebraistic; such as a genitive appended like the construct state; the stringing together of several genitives (xiv. 8, 10, 19; xvi. 19; xviii. 3, 14; xix. 15; xxi. 6; xxii. 18, 19); and the use of the Greek cases, which are frequently changed for prepositions (ii. 10; iii. 9; vi. 1, 8; viii. 7; ix. 19; xi. 6, 9; xii. 5; xiv. 2, 7); incorrectness in appositions (i. 5; ii. 20; iii. 12; iv. 2-4; vi. 1; vii. 9; viii. 9; ix. 14; xiii. 1-3; xiv. 2, 12, 14, 20, &c.); a construction formed of an *αὐτός* put after the relative pronoun (iii. 8; vii. 2, 9; xiii. 12; xx. 8); frequent anomalies in regard to number and gender (ii. 27; iii. 4, 5; iv. 8; vi. 9, 10; ix. 13, 14; xi. 15; xiv. 1, 3; xvii. 16; xix. 14; and viii. 11; xi. 18; xv. 4; xvii. 12, 15; xviii. 14; xix. 21; xx. 12; xxi. 4, 24; also xvi. 10; xix. 1, 8, 9. In addition to this it is alleged by Credner, that the use made of the Old Testament betrays an acquaintance on the part of the writer with the Hebrew text (comp. vi. 13, 14 with Isa. xxxiv. 4; xviii. 2 with Isa. xiii. 21, xxi. 9, xxxiv. 14, Jer. l. 39; xviii. 4, 5 with Jer. li. 6, 9, 45; xviii. 7 with Isa. xlvii. 7, 8; xviii. 21-23 with Jer. xxv. 10, li. 63, 64). In contrast with all this, we are reminded of the fact that, according to Acts iv. 13, John was an unlearned and ignorant man.

The book is deficient in words and turns of expression purely Greek, such as *πάντοτε*, *πώποτε*, *οὐδέποτε*; compound verbs, as *ἀναγγέλλειν*, *παραλαμβάνειν*, *ἐπιβάλλειν*; the double negation; the genitive absolute; the attraction of the relative pronoun; the regular construction of the neuter plural with the verb singular (except viii. 3; ix. 20; xiv. 13; xviii. 24; xix. 14; xxi. 12); *ἀκούειν* with the genitive. Favourite expressions, such as occur in the Gospel and epistles, are seldom found, as *θεάομαι*, *θεωρέω*, *ἐργάζομαι*, *ῥήματα*, *πάλιν*, *φωνεῖν*, *μένειν*, *καθώς*, *ὡς* (an adverb of time), *οὖν*, *μέν*, *μέντοι*, *κόσμος*, *φῶς*, *σκοτία*, *δοξάζεσθαι*, *ὑψοῦσθαι*, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, *ἀπόλλυσθαι*, *οὗτος* (*τοῦτο*) *ἵνα*; the historic present. There are also favourite expressions of the writer of this book, such as do not occur in John's authentic writings: *οἰκουμένη*, *ὑπομονή*, *κρατεῖν τὸ ὄνομα*, *τὴν διδαχήν*, *παντοκράτωρ*, *θεὸς καὶ πατήρ*, *δύναμις*, *κράτος*, *ἰσχύς*, *τιμή*, *πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν*, *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ*, *ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*, *ὧδε* in the beginning of a sentence. The conjunction *εἰ*, so common in the Gospel, does not occur in the Apocalypse; but only *εἰ μή*, *εἰ δὲ μή*, and *εἴ τις*. The frequent joining of a substantive with *μέγας*, as *φωνὴ μεγάλη*, *θλῖψις μεγάλη*, *φόβος μέγας*, *σεισμὸς μέγας*, rather reminds one of Luke than John; *μείζων*, so frequent in the Gospel, is not found in the Revelation; and, on the contrary, *ἰσχυρός*, which occurs seven times in the Apocalypse, is foreign to the Gospel.

The following discrepancies between the language of the Gospel and that of the epistles have been noticed: *ἀληθινός* is used of God both in the Gospel and Apocalypse, but in different senses; so also *κύριος*, and *ἐργάζομαι*; instead of *ἴδε* the Apocalypse has only *ἰδού*; instead of *Ἱεροσόλυμα* only *Ἱερουσαλήμ*; instead of *ἐάν τις*, as in the Gospel, *εἴ τις*; *περί*, so often used by John, occurs only once in the Apocalypse, and that too in relation to place; *ὄχλος* is used in the plural. Words denoting *seeing* are differently used in the Gospel and Apocalypse; thus, for the present we find in the latter *βλέπειν*, *θεωρεῖν*, *ὁρᾶν*; for the aorist of the active *εἶδον*, *βλέπειν*, and *θεωρεῖν*; for the future *ὄπτεσθαι*, and for the aorist of the passive also *ὄπτεσθαι*; *μένειν* has a different meaning from that which it bears in the Gospel; instead of *ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου*, and *ὁ πονηρός*, we find *ὁ σατανᾶς*, *ὁ διάβολος*, *ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας*.

Such is a summary statement of an argument drawn out at great length by Lücke, De Wette, Ewald, and Credner.

Some have attempted to turn aside its force by resorting to the hypothesis that the book was originally written in Hebrew, and then translated into Greek. This, however, is contradicted by the most decisive internal evidence, and is in itself highly improbable. The Apocalyse was written in the Greek language, as all antiquity attests. How then are we to account for its Hebraistic idioms and solecisms of language, its negligences of diction, and ungrammatical constructions? One circumstance to be taken into account is, that the nature of the Gospel is widely different from that of the Apocalypse. The latter is a prophetic book—a poetical composition—while the former is a simple record in prose, of the discourses of Jesus in the days of his flesh. It is apparent, too, that John in the Apocalypse imitates the manner of Ezekiel and Daniel. The New Testament prophet conforms to the diction and symbolic features of the former seers. 'If the question should be urged, why John chose these models? the obvious answer is, that he conformed to the taste of the times in which he lived. The numerous apocryphal works of an Apocalyptic nature, which were composed nearly at the same time with the Apocalypse, such as the book of Enoch, the ascension of Isaiah, the Testament of the twelve patriarchs, many of the sibylline oracles, the fourth book of Ezra, the Pastor of Hermas, and many others which are lost—all testify to the taste and feelings of the times when, or near which, the Apocalyse was written. If this method of writing was more grateful to the time in which John lived, it is a good reason for his preferring it.'* In consequence of such imitation, the diction has an Oriental character; and the figures are in the highest style of imagery peculiar to the East. But it is said that John was an illiterate man. Illiterate, doubtless, he was as compared with Paul, who was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel; yet he may have been capable of reading the Old Testament books; and he was certainly inspired. Rapt in ecstasy, he saw wondrous

* Stuart, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 353, 354.

visions. He was *in the Spirit*. And when writing the things he beheld, his language was to be conformed to the nature of such marvellous revelations. It was to be adapted to the mysterious disclosures, the vivid pictures, the moving scenes, the celestial beings and scenery of which he was privileged to tell. Hence it was to be lifted up far above the level of simple prose or biographic history, so as to correspond with the sublime visions of the seer. Nor should it be forgotten that he was not in the circumstances of an ordinary writer. He was *inspired*. How often is this fact lost sight of by the German critics! It is therefore needless to inquire into his education in the Hebrew language, or his mental culture while residing in Asia Minor, or the smoothness of the Greek language as current in the place where he lived, before and after he wrote the Apocalypse. The Holy Spirit qualified him beyond and irrespective of ordinary means, for the work of writing. However elevated the theme he undertook, he was assisted in employing diction as elevated as the nature of the subject demanded. We place, therefore, little reliance upon the argument derived from *the time of life* at which the Apocalypse was composed, though Olshausen and Guerike insist upon it. Written, as they think, twenty years before the Gospel or epistles, the Apocalypse exhibits marks of inexperience in writing, of youthful fire, and of an ardent temperament. It exhibits the first essays of one expressing his ideas in a language to which he was unaccustomed. This may be true; but we lay far less stress upon it than these authors seem inclined to do. The strong Hebraized diction of the book we account for on the ground that the writer was a Jew; and, as such, expressed his Jewish conceptions in Greek; that he imitated the later Old Testament prophets, especially the manner of Daniel; and that the only prophetic writing in the New Testament naturally approaches nearer the Old Testament, if not in subject, at least in colouring and linguistic features.

These considerations may serve to throw light upon the language of the book, after all the extravagances of assertion in regard to anomalies, solecisms, and ruggednesses, have been fairly estimated. For it cannot be denied that many rash and unwarrantable assumptions have been made by De Wette and others relative to the impure Greek said to be contained in the Apocalypse. Winer has done much to check such bold assertions, but with little success in the case of those who are resolved to abide by a strong and prevalent current of opinion. We venture to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that there are books of the New Testament almost as Hebraizing as the Apocalypse; and that the anomalies charged to the account of the Hebrew language may be paralleled in other parts of the New Testament or in classical Greek. What shall be said, for instance, to the attempt of Hitzig to demonstrate from the language of Mark's Gospel, as compared with that of the Apocalypse, that both proceeded from one author, viz., John Mark? This author has conducted a lengthened investigation with the view of showing that all the peculiarities of language found in the Apocalypse are equally presented in the second Gospel, particularly that the Hebraisms of the one correspond with those of the other. Surely this must lead to new investigations of the Apocalyptic diction, and possibly to a renunciation of those extravagant assertions so often made in regard to the harsh, rugged, Hebraized Greek of the Apocalypse. Who ever dreamed before of the numerous solecisms of Mark's language? and yet Hitzig has demonstrated its similarity to the Apocalyptic as plausibly as Ewald, Lücke, and others have proved the total dissimilarity between the diction of the Apocalypse and that of John's Gospel.

The length allotted to this article will not allow the writer to notice every term and phrase supposed to be peculiar. This can only be done with success by him who takes a concordance to the Greek Testament in his hand, with the determination to test each example; along with a good syntax of classical Greek, such as Bernhardy's. In this way he may see whether the alleged Hebraisms and anomalies have not their parallels in classical Greek. Some of the allegations already quoted are manifestly incorrect, *e. g.* that ἀκούω with the genitive is not found in the Apocalypse. On the contrary, it occurs eight times with the genitive. Other words are adduced on the principle of their not occurring so frequently in the book before us as in the Gospel and epistles. But by this mode of reasoning it might be shown, that the other acknowledged writings of the Apostle John, for instance his first epistle, are not authentic. Thus ῥήματα, one of the words quoted, though frequently found in the Gospel, is not in any of the three epistles; therefore, these epistles were not written by John. It is found *once* in the Apocalypse. Again, ἐργάζομαι, which is found seven times in the Gospel, and once in the Apocalypse, as also once in each of the second and third epistles, is not in the first epistle; therefore the first epistle proceeded from another writer than the author of the second and third. The same reasoning may be applied to θεωρέω. Again, it is alleged that the regular construction of neuters plural with singular verbs is not found, with the exception of six instances. To say nothing of the large list of exceptions, let it be considered, that the plural verb is joined with plural nouns where animate beings, especially persons, are designated. Apply now this principle, which regularly holds good in classical Greek, to the Apocalypse, and nothing peculiar will appear in the latter. Should there still remain examples of neuters plural designating things without life, we shall find similar ones in the Greek writers. Another mode in which the reasoning founded upon the use of peculiar terms and expressions may be tested, is the following. It is admitted that there are words which occur in the Gospel and epistles, but not in the Apocalypse. The adverb πάντοτε is an example. On the same principle and by virtue of the same reasoning, it may be denied, *as far as language is concerned*, that 1 Timothy was written by Paul, because πάντοτε, which is found in his other epistles, does not occur in it. In this manner we might individually take up each word and every syntactical peculiarity on which the charge of harshness, or solecism, or Hebraizing has been fastened. It is sufficient to state, that there are very few *real* solecisms in the Apocalypse. *Almost all* that have been adduced may be paralleled in Greek writers, or in those of the New

Testament. The words of Winer, a master in this department, are worthy of attention: 'The solecisms that appear in the Apocalypse give the diction the impress of great harshness, but they are *capable of explanation*, partly from anacoluthon and the mingling of two constructions, partly in another manner. Such explanation should have been always adopted, instead of ascribing these irregularities to the ignorance of the author, who, in other constructions of a much more difficult nature in this very book, shows that he was exceedingly well acquainted with the rules of grammar. For most of these anomalies too, analogous examples in the Greek writers may be found, with this difference alone, that they do not follow one another so frequently as in the Apocalypse' (*Grammatik*, fünfte Auflage, pp. 273, 4). Should the reader not be satisfied with this brief statement of Winer, he is referred to his *Exeget. Studien*, i. 154, sq., where the Professor enters into details with great ability.

The following linguistic similarities between John's Gospel and the Apocalypse deserve to be cited: μετὰ ταῦτα, Apoc. i. 19; iv. 1; vii. 1, 9; ix. 12; xv. 5; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xx. 3; Gosp. iii. 22; v. 1, 14; vi. 1; vii. 1; xix. 38; xxi. 1; μαρτυρία, Apoc. i. 2, 9; vi. 9; xi. 7; xii. 11, 17; xix. 10; xx. 4. Gosp. μαρτυρέω or μαρτυρία, i. 7, 8, 15, 19, 32, 34; ii. 25; iii. 11, 26, 28, 32, 33; iv. 3, 9, 44; v. 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39; 1 Epist. i. 2; iv. 14; v. 6-11. ἵνα, Apoc. ii. 10, 21; iii. 9, 11, 18; vi. 2, 4, 11; vii. 1, &c. &c. Gosp. vi. 5, 7, 12, 15, 28, 29, 30, 38, 39, 40, 50; xi. 4, 11, 15, 16, 19, 31, 37, 42, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57; xii. 9, 10, 20, 23, 35, &c. 1 Epist. of John, i. 3, 4, 9; ii. 1, 19, 27, 28. ὄψις, Gosp. vii. 24; xi. 44. Apoc. i. 16. πιάζειν, Apoc. xix. 20. Gosp. vii. 30, 32, 44; viii. 20; x. 39; xi. 57; xxi. 3, 10. τηρεῖν τὸν λόγον, τὰς ἐντολάς, or some similar expression, Apoc. iii. 8, 10; xii. 17; xiv. 12; xxii. 7, 9. Gosp. viii. 51, 55; xiv. 15; xxiii. 24, &c. ὁ νικῶν, Apoc. ii. 7, 11, 17, 26; iii. 5, 12, 21; xv. 2; xxi. 7. This verb is quite common in the first epistle, ii. 13, 14; iv. 4; v. 4, 5. Gosp. xvi. 33. ὕδωρ ζωῆς. Apoc. xxi. 6; xxii. 17; comp. Gosp. vii. 38. Compare also the joining together of the present and the future in Apoc. ii. 5 and Gosp. xiv. 3. The assertion of the same thing positively and negatively, Apoc. ii. 2, 6, 8, 13; iii. 8, 17, 21; Gosp. i. 3, 6, 7, 20, 48; iii. 15, 17, 20; iv. 42; v. 19, 24; viii. 35, 45; x. 28; xv. 5, 6, 7. 1 Epist. ii. 27, &c. In several places in the Apocalypse Christ is called the Lamb; so also in the Gospel, i. 29, 36. Christ is called ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, Apoc. xix. 3, and in the Gospel of John only has he the same epithet. τηρεῖν ἐκ τινός, Apoc. iii. 10. Gosp. xvii. 15. σφάττειν, Apoc. v. 6, 9, 12; vi. 4, 9; xiii. 3, 8; xviii. 24; only in the 1st Epist. of John, iii. 12. ἔχειν μέρος, Apoc. xx. 6. Gosp. xiii. 8. περιπατεῖν μετά τινος, Apoc. iii. 4. Gosp. vi 66. σκηνόω, Apoc. vii. 15; xii. 12; xiii. 6; xxi. 3. Gosp. i. 14. The expulsion of Satan from heaven is expressed thus in the Apoc. xii. 9: ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν; in the Gosp. it is said, νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω, xii. 31. (See Scholz, *Die Apokalypse des heilig. Johannes übersetzt, erklärt*, u. s. w. Frankfort am Main, 1828, 8vo.; Schulz, *Ueber den Schriftsteller, Character und Werth des Johannes*, Leipzig, 1803, 8vo.; Donker Curtius, *Specimen hermeneutico-theologicum de Apocalypsi ab indole, doctrina, et scribendi genere Johannis Apostoli non abhorrente*, Trajecti Batav. 1799, 8vo.; Kolthoff, *Apocalypsis Joanni Apostolo vindicata*, Hafniæ, 1834, 8vo.; Stein (in Winer and Engelhardt's *Kritisch. Journal*, v. i.), and the *Jena Literatur-Zeitung* for April, 1833, No. 61). It is true, that some of these expressions are said by Lücke, De Wette, and Credner, to be used in a different sense in the Apocalypse; others not to be *characteristic*, but rather accidental and casual; others not *original*, but borrowed. Such assertions, however, proceed more from *à priori* assumption than from any inherent truth they possess. In regard to the charge of *cabbalism*, especially in the use of numbers, it is easily disposed of. The cabbala of the Jews was widely different from the instances in the Apocalypse that have been quoted. Perhaps John's use of the number 666 comes the nearest to one kind of the cabbala; but still it is so unlike as to warrant the conclusion that the apostle did not employ the cabbalistic art. His mysterious indications of certain facts, and the reasons of their being in some measure involved in darkness, are explicable on other than Jewish grounds. There is no real cause for believing that the apostle had recourse to the artificial and trifling conceits of the Rabbins. In short, this argument is by no means conclusive. As far as the language is concerned nothing militates against the opinion that the Apocalypse proceeded from John, who wrote the Gospel. The contrary evidence is not of such a nature as to demand assent. When rigidly scrutinized, it does not sustain the conclusion so confidently built upon it.

But it is also affirmed, that the doctrinal views and sentiments inculcated in the Apocalypse are quite different from those found in the Gospel. This may be freely allowed without any detriment to their identity of authorship. How slow the Germans are in learning that a difference in the exhibition of truths substantially the same, is far from being a contradiction! A difference of subject in connection with a different plan, demands correspondent dissimilarity of treatment. Besides, there must be a gradual development of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God on earth. Sensuous expectations of the Messiah, such as are alleged to abound in the Apocalypse, may be perfectly consistent with the spirituality of his reign, though it appears to us that the representations so designated are figurative, shadowing forth spiritual realities by means of outward objects.

But what is to be said of the pneumatological, demonological, and angelogical doctrines of the book? The object for which John's Gospel was primarily written did not lead the apostle to introduce so many particulars regarding angels and evil spirits. The intervention of good and the malignant influence of evil spirits are clearly implied in the Old Testament prophets, particularly in Zechariah and Daniel. It is therefore quite accordant with the prophetic, Hebraistic character of the Apocalypse, to make angelic agency a prominent feature in the book. And that such agency is recognised in the Gospels, is apparent to the most cursory reader. The special object with which the fourth Gospel was written

was different from that which prompted the composition of the Apocalypse, and therefore the subject-matter of both is exceedingly diverse. But still there is no opposition in doctrine. The same doctrinal views lie at the foundation of all the representations contained in them. In the one, the Redeemer is depicted in his humble career on earth; in the other, in his triumphs as a king—or rather, in the victorious progress of his truth in the world, notwithstanding all the efforts of Satan and wicked men to suppress it. As to a spirit of revenge in the Apocalyptic writer, it is not found. The inspired prophet was commissioned to pronounce woes and judgments as soon to befal the enemies of Christ, in consequence of their persevering, malignant efforts. As well might an evil disposition be attributed to the blessed Saviour himself, in consequence of his denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees. The same John who wrote the Apocalypse says, in the second epistle, ver. 10, 'if there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed.' It must ever strike the simple reader of the Apocalypse as a positive ground for attributing the authorship to John the Apostle, that he styles himself THE *servant* of God by way of eminence, which none other at that time would have ventured to do; and that he employs the expression, *I John*, after the manner of Daniel, as if he were the only prophet and person of the name. Nor can it be well believed that a disciple of the apostle, or any other individual, should have presumed to introduce John as the speaker, thus deceiving the readers. The apostle was well known to the Christians of his time, and especially to the Asiatic churches. He did not therefore think it necessary to say John the Apostle for the sake of distinguishing himself from any other. (See Züllig's *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, Stuttgart, 1834, 8vo. p. 136.)

To enter further into the allegations of such critics as deny, on the ground of internal diversities between this writing and John's acknowledged productions, that the apostle was the author, would be a work of supererogation. Even Eichhorn and Bertholdt made many good remarks in reply, although they did not take the position which they were warranted to assume.

In view of the whole question, we are disposed to abide by the ancient opinion, that John the Apostle wrote the Apocalypse. Ecclesiastical tradition clearly favours this view; while the internal grounds so carefully drawn out and earnestly urged by recent German critics, do not appear sufficiently strong to overturn it. When such grounds are soberly examined, after being divested of all the extravagance with which they are associated; when the nature of the subjects discussed is seen to be such as the fourth Gospel does not present; an impartial critic will probably rest in the opinion that both writings proceeded from the same author. And yet there are phenomena in the Apocalypse, as compared with John's gospel, which strike the reader's attention and induce suspicions of a different origin. It exhibits peculiarities of language and of symbols, such as no other book exemplifies. In some respects it is unique. Hence an air of plausibility attaches to the arguments of recent German writers; although it is preposterous to look for a stereotyped uniformity in the writings of the same author. How different are the language and representations that characterize some of Paul's epistles, as compared with others! Place, for example, the epistle to the Ephesians by the side of that addressed to the Romans, and how dissimilar are their features!

But the entire question of authorship so much debated in Germany, is more curious than profitable. The book may not have been written by an apostle, and yet be equal in authority to any acknowledged production of an apostle. Luke was only an Evangelist; and yet his writings are infallibly true and correct in every particular, because they proceeded from the Holy Spirit. The question whether the Apocalypse was written by an apostle or not, is of trifling importance as long as its inspiration is maintained. It will not diminish the credit due to the work, though it be assigned to the Presbyter John, or to a disciple of the apostle, or to John Mark. If any imagine that, in attempting to destroy the *directly apostolic* authorship, they lessen the value or disturb the canonical credit of the book, they are mistaken. We are glad to perceive that this view, obvious as it is to the English mind, has not escaped the perception of *all* Germans, though it seems not to have been apprehended by many. Tinius says: 'There has been a needless strife of argument. Do we not plainly see from the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and from the apostolic history of the latter, that a biblical book may be esteemed canonical without having been written by one of the twelve apostles? The name of no writer is associated with the epistle to the Hebrews, and yet it is justly held to be a Christian production. Even Paul was only an extraordinary apostle. In all, says he, works one and the same spirit; and he that is not against us, said Jesus, is for us. Now the Apocalypse is not against, but for Him, and for Christianity, to preserve it. This indeed is its chief object; consequently, it is a Christian book, and has proceeded from the Spirit of God. Whoever was the John of our book, he was certainly a man of God, with a serious and honest intention in regard to the cause of Jesus.' (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, Leipzig, 1839, 8vo., Einleit. p. 37.)

The external evidence certainly preponderates in favour of the apostle, since it may be fairly presumed that the fathers who speak of it as *the writing of John*, and as a *divine writing*, generally meant John the Apostle. But we attach little weight to the testimonies of the fathers, discordant as these writers frequently are on topics that came before them. In many cases they adopted vague traditions, without inquiring whether such reports rested on any good foundation. They were for the most part incapable or undesirous of critical investigations—investigations demanding acuteness and discrimination. Hence they commonly followed their immediate predecessors, contented in ecclesiastical matters to glide down the stream of popular belief, without diligently inquiring whether such belief were correct and scriptural. A few noble exceptions there are; but how few, in comparison of the undiscerning number who appear to have possessed feeble abilities, while they exercised small discernment in theological matters!

II. *Its canonical authority, authenticity, and*

genuineness.—(*a.*) External testimonies adverse to its canonicity. (*b.*) Such as are favourable.

(*a*). The Alogi or Antimontanists in the second century, ascribed all John's writings, including the Apocalypse, to Cerinthus, as Epiphanius relates. It is obvious that no weight can be attached to these assertions. Caius of Rome, from opposition to Montanism, ventured to make the same statement, as we learn from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 28): Ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δ' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων, τετραλογίας ἡμῖν ὡς ὁ ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος, ἐπεισάγει λέγων, κ. τ. λ. This passage has given rise to much discussion, some affirming that the revelations spoken of do not mean the present Apocalypse of John, but *invented revelations* bearing some resemblance to it. We agree with Lücke and De Wette in their view of the meaning, in opposition to Twells, Paulus, Hartwig, and Hug. They refer it rightly to our present book. The 85th of the 'Apostolic Canons,' which are supposed to belong to the fourth century, does not mention the Apocalypse among the apostolic writings. In the 'Constitutions' also, which probably originated in Syria and the adjacent regions, there is no notice of the book. It has been inferred, from the circumstance of the Apocalypse being wanting in the Peshito, that it did not belong to the canon of the Syrian church. It has also been thought that the theologians of the Antiochenian school, among whom are Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, omitted it out of the catalogue of canonical writings. But in regard to the first, if we rely on the testimony of Suidas, he received the Apocalypse as divine; and as to Theodoret, there is no reason for assuming that he rejected it (Lücke, p. 348). Probably Theodore of Mopsuestia did not acknowledge it as divine. It appears also to have been rejected by the theological school at Nisibis, which may be regarded as a continuation of the Antiochenian. Junilius does not mention it in his list of prophetic writings. Cyril of Jerusalem has omitted it in his *Catecheses;* as also Gregory of Nazianzen, and the 60th canon of the Laodicean Synod. Amphilochius of Iconium says that some regarded it as a divine production, but that others rejected it. Eusebius' testimony respecting the Asiatics is, that some rejected the Apocalypse, while others placed it among the *acknowledged* (ὁμολογούμενα) books. Euthalius, when dividing parts of the New Testament stichometrically, says nothing whatever of the book; and Cosmas Indicopleustes excludes it from the list of the canonical. In like manner Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, appears to have placed it among the Antilegomena. The witnesses already quoted to remove the authorship from John the Apostle do not belong here, although many seem to have entertained the opinion of their present appropriateness.

At the time of the Reformation, the controversy respecting the Apocalypse was revived. Erasmus speaks suspiciously concerning it, while Luther expresses himself very vehemently against it. 'There are various and abundant reasons,' says he, 'why I regard this book as neither apostolical nor prophetic. First, the apostles do not make use of visions, but prophesy in clear and plain language (as do Peter, Paul, and Christ also, in the Gospel); for it is becoming the apostolic office to speak plainly, and without figure or vision, respecting Christ and his acts. Moreover, it seems to me far too arrogant for him to enjoin it upon his readers to regard this his own work as of more importance than any other sacred book, and to threaten that if any one shall take aught away from it, God will take away from him his part in the book of life (Rev. xxii. 19). Besides, even were it a blessed thing to believe what is contained in it, no man knows what that is. The book is believed in (and is really just the same to us) as though we had it not; and many more valuable books exist for us to believe in. But let every man think of it as his spirit prompts him. My spirit cannot adapt itself to the production, and this is reason enough for me why I should not esteem it very highly.' This reasoning is manifestly so inconsequential, and the style of criticism so bold, as to render animadversion unnecessary. The names of Haffenreffer, Heerbrand, and John Schröder, are obscure, but they are all ranged against the book. With Semler a new opposition to it began. That distinguished critic was unfavourable to its authenticity. He was followed by Oeder, Merkel, Michaelis, Heinrichs, Bretschneider, Ewald, De Wette, Schott, Bleek, Lücke, Neander, Credner, E. Reuss, Hitzig, Tinius, &c. It should, however, be distinctly observed, that most of these recent critics go no farther than to deny that John the Apostle was the writer; which may certainly be done without impugning its *indirectly apostolic* authority. They do not exclude it from the canon as a divinely inspired writing; although in attacking its *direct apostolicity*, some may imagine that they ruin its canonical credit.

(*b.*) We shall now allude to the evidence in favour of its canonicity. The earliest witness for it is Papias, as we learn from Andreas and Arethas of Cappadocia, in their preface to Commentaries on the Apocalypse. According to these writers, Papias regarded it as an inspired book. It is true that Rettig (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1831), followed by Lücke, has endeavoured to weaken their testimony; but since the publication, by Cramer, of an old scholion relating to the words of Andreas, it is indubitable that Papias's language refers to the present Apocalypse of John (Hävernick's *Lucubrationes Criticæ ad Apoc. spectantes*, Regiom. 1842, 8vo., No. 1, p. 4, sq.). Melito, Bishop of Sardis, one of the seven apocalyptic churches, wrote a work exclusively on this book. Eusebius thus speaks of his production (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 26): καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου. From these words Semler endeavours to show that the books concerning the devil and the Apocalypse were one and the same, a conclusion which, if it were valid, would go to weaken the testimony. But Melito calls it the Apocalypse of John, implying that he regarded it as such; for had he suspected the book, Eusebius would hardly have omitted that circumstance. Jerome, in his catalogue of illustrious men, explicitly distinguishes two works, one respecting the devil, the other relative to the Apocalypse. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (Euseb. iv. 24), in his book against Hermogenes, drew many proofs and arguments from the Revelation; so also Apollonius of Ephesus, according to the same ecclesiastical

historian (v. 18). The testimony of Irenæus is most important, because he was in early life acquainted with Polycarp, who was John's disciple, and because he resided in Asia Minor, where John himself abode during the latter part of his life. In one place he says, 'It was seen no long time ago, but almost in our age, towards the end of Domitian's reign;' while he frequently quotes it elsewhere as the *Revelation of John, the disciple of the Lord.* It is true that De Wette and Credner seek to cast suspicion on this father's testimony, because he states that it was written under Domitian, which they regard as incorrect; but this point shall be noticed hereafter. To these may be added the testimony of the martyrs at Lyons, of Nepos (Euseb. vii. 23), Methodius of Tyre, Didymus of Alexandria, Cyprian, Lactantius, Augustine, Athanasius, Basil the Great, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Jerome, Ephrem the Syrian, Rufinus the presbyter, Isidore of Pelusium, Hilary of Poictou, Cyril of Alexandria, Arethas and Andreas of Cappadocia, the Synod of Hippo, A.D. 393, canon 36, the Synod of Toledo, A.D. 633, the third council of Carthage, A.D. 397, Victorin of Pettaw in Pannonia, Dionysius the Areopagite, Sulpicius Severus, Joh. Damascenus, Œcumenius, Amphilochius, Novatus and his followers, the Manichees, the Donatists, the Arians, the latter Arnobius, Rhaban Maurus, Isidore of Spain, Commodian, and others.

It has been disputed whether Chrysostom rejected the book or not. The presumption is in favour of the latter, as Lücke candidly allows. A similar presumption may be admitted in the case of Theodoret, although nothing very decisive can be affirmed in relation to his opinion. Perhaps some may be inclined to dispute the testimony of Jerome in favour of the canonical authority, because he says in his annotations on the 149th Psalm, 'The Apocalypse which is read and received in the churches is not numbered among the apocryphal books, but the *ecclesiastical.*' 'In the strict sense of the term,' says Hug, 'an *ecclesiastica scriptura* is a book of only secondary rank. It is well known that a contemporary of Jerome divides the books of the Old and New Testament, together with those which make any pretensions to be such, into *canonici, ecclesiastici, et apocryphi.* Now if Jerome affixed the same meaning as this writer to the expression *liber ecclesiasticus*, we have here a very singular fact. The Latins then placed this book in the second class among the disputed books. Thus it will have been assigned to each of the three classes. But Jerome does not attach to this word the strict signification which it bears with his contemporary; for, in his Epistle to Dardanus, he says, "If the Latins do not receive the Epistle to the Hebrews among the canonical Scriptures, so, with equal freedom, the Greek churches do not receive John's Apocalypse. I, however, acknowledge both, for I do not follow the custom of the times, but the authority of older writers, who draw arguments from both, *as being canonical and ecclesiastical* writings, and not merely as apocryphal books are sometimes used." Here Jerome has so expressed himself, that we must believe he made no difference between canonical and ecclesiastical, and affixed no stronger signification to the one than to the other' (Hug's *Introd.*, translated by Fosdick, pp. 661-2).

It is also necessary to attend to the testimony of Ephrem definitely ascribing the Revelation to *John the Theologian*, in connection with the fact of the book's absence from the Peshito, and from Ebedjesu's catalogue of the books of Scripture received by the Syrians. Certainly its absence from this ancient version does not prove its want of canonicity; else the same might be affirmed of John's two epistles, and that of Jude, none of which is found in the same version. Probably the Peshito was made, not, as Lücke and others affirm, at the conclusion of the second or commencement of the third century, but *in the first*, before the Apocalypse was written. The words of Assemanni, in relation to one of the passages in which Ephrem attributes the Revelation to John, are striking: 'In hoc sermone citat s. doctor Apocalypsin Johannis tanquam canonicam Scripturam—quod ideo notavi, ut constaret Syrorum antiquissimorum de illius libri auctoritate judicium' (see Hävernick, p. 8, sq.). That the Syrian church did not reject the book, may be inferred from the fact that the inscription of the current Syriac version assigns it to John the Evangelist. The witnesses already adduced for ascribing the authorship to John the Apostle also belong to the present place, since in attesting the *apostolic*, they equally uphold the *divine* origin of the book.

At the period of the Reformation, Flacius strenuously upheld the authority of the Apocalypse, and since his day able defenders of it have not been wanting. Twells, C. F. Schmid, J. F. Reuss, Knittel, Storr, Lüderwald, Hartwig, Kleuker, Herder, Donker Curtius, Hänlein, Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Hug, Feilmoser, Kolthoff, Olshausen, J. P. Lange (Tholuck's *Lit. Anzeig.* 1838), Dannemann, Hävernick (*Evangel. Kirchenzeit*, 1834, and *Lucub. Criticæ*), Guerike, Schnitzer (*Allgem. Literaturzeit.* 1841), Zeller (*Deutsche Jahrb.*, 1841), and others. Most of these writers seem to rest all the credit and authority of the book on the fact of its being written by John the Apostle, while one or two of the later critics attribute it to the apostle, for the sake of invalidating and ruining the fourth Gospel. The external evidence in favour of its authenticity and genuineness is overwhelming. This is particularly the case in regard to the Latin church. In the Greek, doubts were more prevalent, until they were lost in the dark night of the middle ages. Montanism first aroused and drew attention to the question, for the adherents of that false system based their tenets almost exclusively on the Revelation. Hence we may account in some degree for the sentiments of Dionysius of Alexandria, who contended against the millennarian Nepos.

Thus the general tenor of the external evidence is clearly in favour of the canonical authority, while internal circumstances amply confirm it. The style, language, and manner of the book, cannot be mistaken. In dignity and sublimity it is equal to any of the New Testament writings, if not superior to them all. The variety and force of the images impress the mind of every reader with conceptions of a divine origin. Surely no uninspired man could have written in such a strain.

III. *The time and place at which it was written.*—In ascertaining these points there is

considerable difficulty. The prevalent opinion is, that the book was written A.D. 96 or 97, at Patmos or Ephesus, after Domitian's death, *i. e.* under Nerva. So Mill, Le Clerc, Basnage, Lardner, Woodhouse, and others. This is supposed to be in accordance with the tradition, that John was sent into Patmos towards the end of Domitian's reign, and that he there received the Revelation, agreeably to the statement in ch. i. 9. The fact that John was banished to Patmos is attested by antiquity, and seems to be hinted at in ver. 9, in which we must believe, in opposition to Neander, that there is a necessary reference to sufferings on account of the Gospel. It is mentioned by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome. *The time*, however, is very differently stated. Eusebius and Jerome attribute the exile to Domitian; the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, Theophylact, and the younger Hippolytus, assign it to Nero; Epiphanius to Claudius; while Tertullian, Clement, and Origen, give it no name. It has been conjectured that Domitius (Nero) and Domitian were early interchanged, and that even the testimony of Irenæus refers rather to Domitius (Nero) than to Domitian. The following is the passage in question; οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς (*Advers. Hær.* lib. v. p. 449, ed. Grabe). If Δομετιανοῦ be an adjective formed from the substantive Δομέτιος, it will mean 'belonging to Domitius' (see Guerike, *Historisch-Krit. Einleit.* pp. 285, 6). But whatever plausibility there be in this conjecture (and there seems to be none), the language of Tertullian, Clement, and Origen, is more appropriate to Nero than to Domitian. Besides, if Peter and Paul suffered from the cruel tyrant, it is difficult to conceive how John could have eluded notice or persecution. Indeed early ecclesiastical tradition is as favourable to the assumption that John was sent into banishment by Nero, as it is to the opinion that he was exiled by Domitian. Thus Eusebius, who in his *Chronicon* and *Ecclesiastical History* follows Irenæus, in his *Demon. Evangel.*, associates the Patmos-exile with the death of Peter and Paul who suffered under Nero. But we are not left to external grounds on the question before us, else the decision might be uncertain; for the tradition of the early church in regard to the banishment of John is neither consistent nor valuable: it will not stand the test of modern criticism. Hence the view of those who think that it was manufactured solely from chap. i. 9, is exceedingly probable. Taken from such an origin, it was shaped in various ways. The passage in question certainly implies that John had been a sufferer for the Gospel's sake, and that he either withdrew to Patmos before the fury of persecution burst upon him, or that he *was compelled* to betake himself to that lonely island in consequence of positive opposition. The language of the fathers in recording this tradition also shows, that they did not carefully distinguish between the time of *writing* the visions and the time when *they were received*. Sometimes it is said that the Apocalypse was *written* in Patmos, but much more frequently it is simply stated that *revelations were there made* to the seer.

In the absence of definite *external* evidence, *internal* circumstances come to our aid. These show that Jerusalem had not been destroyed. Had such a catastrophe already happened, it would scarcely have been left unnoticed. An event pregnant with momentous consequences to the cause of truth and the fortunes of the early church, would most probably have been mentioned or referred to. But there are distinct references to the impending destruction of the city. In chap. xi. 1, it is commanded to measure the temple, obviously pre-supposing that it still stood. In verse 2, the holy city is about to be trodden by the Gentiles forty-two months; and in the 13th verse of the same chapter, the same event is also noticed. Besides, the sixth emperor was still sitting on the throne when the writer was favoured with the visions (xvii. 10). Five kings or emperors had already fallen, one was then reigning, and the other had not come. The most natural interpretation of the sixth king is that which, beginning the series with Julius Cæsar, fixes upon Nero: so Bertholdt and Koehler. Galba is of course the seventh, and agreeably to the prophecy he reigned but seven months. That such was the usual mode of computation, Koehler has attempted successfully to show from the fourth book of Ezra and Josephus's *Antiquities;* which is confirmed by Suetonius's *Twelve Cæsars*, and by the *Sibylline oracles*, fifth book.* We are aware that Eichhorn reckons from Augustus, and makes the sixth Vespasian—Otho, Galba, and Vitellius being passed over; and that Ewald, Lücke, and others, beginning also with Augustus, make Galba the sixth, the emperor 'that is;' but it was contrary to the usual method of reckoning among the Jews and Romans to commence with that emperor. Yet the opinion that the sixth emperor was Nero, is liable to objection. The 8th and 11th verses appear to contradict it, for they state that 'he *was, and is not.*' It will be observed that in these verses an explanation respecting the beast is given, couched in the language of current report. The words amount to this—'The beast which thou sawest is the emperor, of whom it is commonly believed that he shall be assassinated, recover from the wound, go to the East, and return from it to desolate the church and inflict terrible punishments on his enemies.' Nero is described, according to the common belief—a belief *that prevailed before his death.*' In chap. xiii. 3, it is not implied that Nero *was then dead*, for the holy seer beheld things ἃ μέλλει γενέσθαι as well as things ἃ εἰσι; and the passage is descriptive of *a vision, not explanatory of one previously pourtrayed.* We conclude, therefore, that the apostle saw the visions during the reign of the bloody and cruel Nero. Still, however, he may have written the book not at Patmos, but immediately after his return to Ephesus, if so be that he *did* return thither before Nero ceased to live. It has been inferred that the book was written *after he had been* in Patmos, because ἐγενόμην is used in chap. i. 9, 10. The use of this tense, however, by no means militates against the view of those who assert that he *wrote* as well as *saw* the visions in Patmos, and consequently does not prove that

* See Lücke's objections to this view, which cannot be refuted here, at p. 251, notes 1 and 2.

the book was written at Ephesus. The verb in ver. 10 may aptly refer to *the commencement of that ecstatic state* into which he was thrown for the purpose of receiving mysterious disclosures—to the time when he first began to be ἐν πνεύματι; and in ver. 9 it may in like manner allude to *the commencement* of his exile. In view of all circumstances we are inclined to assume that the Apocalypse was written during the reign of Nero, *when persecution had commenced*, as many passages imply, and, therefore, at Patmos. It weighs nothing with us that Eichhorn, Bleek, and De Wette conjecturally assume that the place mentioned in i. 9 may be a poetical fiction: even Ewald opposes such a thought.

Before leaving this subject it is necessary to glance at the circumstances supposed to show that the book was not written till after Nero's death. The general expectation of his return (xvii. 11), and the allusions to the persecutions of Christians under him (vi. 9; xvii. 6), as also the pre-supposed fact of most of the apostles being dead (xviii. 20), are stated by De Wette. But in xvii. 11, the apostle merely describes Nero according to the common report—a report current *before* his death, the substance of which was, that after reigning a while he should appear again, and make an eighth, though one of the seven. The passages, vi. 9, and xvii. 6, allude to different events, the former to the souls of the martyrs that had been slain by *the Jews*, the latter to the persecutions of imperial Rome generically. According to the right reading of xviii. 20, it does not imply that most of the apostles were already dead.

In conformity with the testimony of Irenæus, understood in the ordinary acceptation, it has been very generally believed that the book was written under Domitian, A.D. 96 or 97. But the vague report of the apostle's banishment, current among early writers in different and varying forms, must not be allowed to set aside internal evidence, especially the clearly-defined chronological elements of the xi. and xvii. chapters.

The arguments adduced in favour of Domitian's reign are the following:—

1. Nero's persecution did not reach the provinces. 2. The Nicolaitans did not form a sect when the book was written, although they are spoken of as such. 3. The condition of the seven churches, as pourtrayed in the Apocalypse, shows that they had been planted a considerable time. 4. Mention is made of the martyr Antipas at Pergamos, who could not have suffered death in Nero's reign, because the persecution did not reach the provinces (Lenfant and Beausobre's *Preface sur l'Apoc. de S. Jean*, pp. 613-14; and Vitringa, *in Apoc.*, cap. i. v. 2, p. 9-11).

1. In order to account for John's banishment to Patmos, it is not needful to believe that the spirit of persecution raged at Ephesus. While it was so active at Rome, we may fairly infer that the Christians in the provinces trembled for their safety. Whatever affected the capital so fearfully, would naturally affect the distant parts of the empire to a greater or less extent; and John's retirement to Patmos does not necessarily pre-suppose the horrors of fire and sword. The storm was seen to lower; the heathen magistrates, as well as the Jews, put forth their enmity in various forms, even when the edicts of emperors forbade violence to the persons of Christians, and the apostle in consequence withdrew for a time from the scene of his labours.

2. The most probable interpretation is, that Nicolaitans is a symbolic name signifying *corrupters of the people*, equivalent to Balaam in Hebrew. It is true that Irenæus speaks of such a sect in his time, deriving the appellation from the deacon Nicolaus (Acts ii.), and representing the allusion in the Apocalypse as belonging to it. The sect called the Nicolaitans, spoken of by Clement, is probably not the same as that mentioned in the Apocalypse (Neander, *Kirchengesch.* i. 2, p. 775, sq.).

3. A close examination of the language addressed to each of the seven churches will show that it may have been appropriate in the year of our Lord 68. It does not by any means imply that there had been an open persecution in the provinces. About A.D. 61 the church of Ephesus is commended by Paul for their faith and love (Eph. i. 15), which is quite consistent with Rev. ii. 2, 3; while both are in agreement with the censure that the members had left their first love. In the lapse of a very few years, and especially in trying circumstances, the ardour of their love had cooled. The *patience* for which they are commended refers, as the context shows, to the temptations which they suffered from wicked and corrupting teachers, and the difficulties attendant upon the faithful exercise of discipline in the church. Similar was the case with the church at Smyrna, *their tribulation* having chief reference to the blasphemy of Satan's synagogue.

4. In regard to Antipas nothing is known. He suffered at Pergamos, but under what emperor, or in what circumstances, is uncertain. It is not at all necessary to our hypothesis to assume that he was put to death during Nero's persecution. Individual Christians were put to death even in the provinces before the time of Nero. On the whole, we see no good ground for believing that the book was written in the time of Claudius, or Galba, or Vespasian, or Domitian, or Trajan, or Adrian, though all these have been advocated; nor is there sufficient reason for separating the time of the writing from that of the receiving of the visions. In view of all circumstances we assign it to the time of Nero, and the locality of Patmos, A.D. 67 or 68. Sir Isaac Newton long ago fixed upon the same date.

IV. *Unity of the book.*—A few writers have thought that the Apocalypse was written at different times by the same author, as Grotius, Hammond, and Bleek; or by different authors, as Vogel. Such dismemberment is now abandoned. Even De Wette allows that no reasonable doubts can be entertained of its unity. The entire book is so regular in its structure, so intimately connected is one paragraph with another, that all must have proceeded from the same writer. If the nature of prophetic perspective be rightly understood, all will appear to be natural and easy. John saw things past, present, and future at once. He did not need to wait for the progress of events—for events were presented to his vision just as the Spirit willed. Hence the present tense is so much used in place of the future. The hypotheses of Grotius, Vogel, and Bleek, have been refuted by Lücke; and that of Hammond requires not now the like examination.

V. *The class of writings to which it belongs.*—Pareus seems to have been the first who started the idea of its being a *dramatic* poem. The same opinion was also expressed by Hartwig. But the genius of Eichhorn wrought out the suggestion into a theory pervaded by great symmetry and beauty. Hence the opinion that it forms a regular dramatic poem is associated with his name alone. According to him the divisions are: 1. The title, chap. i. 1-3. 2. The prologue, i. 4—iii. 22. 3. The drama, iv. 1—xxii. 5. Act 1. The capture of Jerusalem, or the triumph of Christianity over Judaism, vii. 6—xii. 17. Act 2. The capture of Rome, or the triumph of Christianity over Paganism, xii. 18—xx. 10. Act 3. The new Jerusalem descends from heaven, or the felicity which is to endure for ever, xx. 11—xxii. 5. 4. The epilogue, xxii. 6-21; (a) of the angel, xxii. 6; (b) of Jesus, xxii. 7-16; (c) of John, xxii. 16-20. The apostolical benediction, xxii. 21.

As this theory is now abandoned by all expositors, it needs no refutation. It is exceedingly ingenious, but without foundation. To represent the book as made up of little else than sublime scenery and fiction, is contrary to the analogy of such Old Testament writings as bear to it the greatest resemblance. Something more is intended than a symbolic description of the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and Paganism. The book contains historic narrative. It exhibits real prophecies, which must have had their accomplishment in distinct events and individuals. It consists of a prophetic poem. Its diction is, with some exceptions, the diction of poetry. It is not made up of a series of disjointed visions; it is regular in its structure and artificial in its arrangement. According to the rules of rhetoric, it nearly approaches an epopee. Those who thoroughly examine it with a view to discover the arrangement and connection of parts will observe unity and artificiality in the disposition of the whole. It bears an analogy to the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, especially to those of Daniel. It is obvious, therefore, that a deep and thorough study of the Old Testament prophets should precede the study of the Apocalypse. If it bear a close resemblance in many of its features to the inspired productions of a former dispensation; if the writer evidently imitated the utterances of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah; if his language be more Hebraistic than that of the New Testament generally, the interpreter of the book should be previously qualified by a familiar acquaintance with the symbols, imagery, diction, and spirit of the Old Testament poets and prophets.

VI. *The object for which it was originally written.*—The books of the New Testament, like those of the Old, were designed to promote the instruction of God's people in all ages. They were adapted to teach, exhort, and reprove all mankind. They do not belong to the class of ephemeral writings that have long since fulfilled the purpose for which they were originally composed. Their object was not merely a local or partial one. So of the Apocalypse. It is suited to all. 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy.' But this general characteristic is perfectly consistent with the fact that it arose out of specific circumstances, and was primarily meant to subserve a definite end. When first written, it was destined to suit the peculiar circumstances of the early Christians. The times were troublous. Persecution had appeared in various forms. The followers of Christ were exposed to severe sufferings for conscience sake. Their enemies were fierce against them. Comparatively few and feeble, the humble disciples of the Lamb seemed doomed to extinction. But the writer of the Apocalypse was prompted to present to them such views as were adapted to encourage them to steadfastness in the faith—to comfort them in the midst of calamity—and to arm them with resolution to endure all the assaults of their foes. Exalted honours, glorious rewards, are set before the Christian soldier who should endure to the end. A crown of victory—the approbation of the Redeemer—everlasting felicity;—these are prepared for the patient believer. In connection with such representations, the final triumph of Christianity and the Messiah's peaceful reign with his saints, form topics on which the writer dwells with emphatic earnestness (See chap. i. 1-3; ii. 1; iii. 22; xxii. 6, 7, 10-17). The suffering Christians of primitive times may have sorrowfully thought that they should never be able to stand the shock of their bitter and bloody assailants, the power and policy of the world being leagued against them—but the statements of the writer all tend to the conclusion that truth should make progress in the earth, and the church, emerging out of all struggles, wax stronger and stronger. If such be the primary and principal aim of the book, it follows that we should not look in it for a history of the kingdoms of the world. To compose a civil history did not comport with the writer's object. The genius of Christ's kingdom is totally different from that of the kingdoms of the world. It advances steadily and silently, independently of, and frequently in opposition to them. Hence the Apocalypse cannot contain a history of the world. It exhibits *a history of the church*, specially of its early struggles with the powers of darkness and the malice of superstition. This last remark leads to another of chief importance to the interpreter of the book before us, viz., that it principally relates to events past, present, and speedily to happen in connection with the Christian religion as viewed from the writer's stand-point. The glances at the past are brief, but references to the circumstances of the church at the time are numerous and diversified, while rapidly coming catastrophes and triumphs are pourtrayed in full and vivid colours. Trials impending over the church, and judgments over her enemies, in the time of the apostle,—these form the burden of the prophecy. This conclusion is fully sustained both by the prologue and epilogue, although, strange to say, it has been overlooked by the majority of expositors. What language can be more explicit than this: 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, *for the time is at hand.*' 'The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants *things which must shortly come to pass.*' 'He which testifieth these things saith, *Surely I come quickly.* Amen, even so, come Lord Jesus.'

VII. *Its contents.*—The body of the work is contained in chaps. iv.-xxii. 6, and is almost

entirely a series of symbolic representations. To this is prefixed a prologue (i.-iv). A brief epilogue is subjoined (xxii. 6-21). The prologue is of considerable length, embracing separate epistles to the seven churches in Asia Minor. John had lived and laboured for a time in the region where these churches were planted. Probably he was personally known to many of the believers of which they were composed. Now that the other apostles were dispersed or dead, the care of them devolved upon himself. As their spiritual superintendent, he naturally felt the most intense and lively interest in their growing prosperity and steadfastness in the faith. The storm of persecution had fallen upon the apostles and believers at Rome, striking fear into their brethren in the remote provinces of the empire. It is highly probable, from other sources, that the Christians in these regions had been already visited with such trials (see 1st Ep. of Peter). After the prologue or introduction, which is peculiarly fitted to admonish and console amid suffering, we come to the body of the work itself, commencing with the *fourth* chapter. This may be appropriately divided into three parts: (1.) iv.-xi.; (2.) xii.-xix.; (3.) xx.-xxii. 5. The first narrates the fortunes and fate of Christ's followers to the destruction of Jerusalem, when the *coming of the Saviour* took place. Here the triumph of Christianity over Judaism is exhibited, as the conclusion demonstrates. The following particulars are comprised in this portion.

A vision of the divine glory in heaven, analogous to the vision which Isaiah had, as recorded in the 6th chapter of his prophecies. An account of the sealed book, with seven seals, which none but the Lamb could open; and the praises of the Lamb sung by the celestial inhabitants. The opening of the first six seals. Before the opening of the seventh, 44,000 are sealed out of the tribes of the children of Israel, and an innumerable multitude with palms in their hands are seen before the throne. After the opening of the seventh, the catastrophe is delayed by the sounding of seven trumpets, the first six of which cause great plagues and hasten on the judgment. Yet, before the last trumpet sounds, a mighty angel, with a rainbow round his head, appears with an open book in his hand, announcing that the mystery of God should be finished when the seventh angel should begin to sound. On this he gives the book to the seer, commanding him to eat it up, and to prophesy hereafter concerning many people, countries, and kings. After this the interior of the temple, with its Jewish worshippers, is measured by the prophet, while the outer court is excepted and given over to the heathen for the space of forty-two months. But, notwithstanding the long-suffering mercy of God, the Jews continue to persecute the faithful witnesses, so that they are punished by the fall of a tenth part of the holy city in an earthquake. Hence 7000 men perish, and the remainder, affrighted, give glory to God. After this the seventh angel sounds, and the Lord appears, to inflict the final blow on Jerusalem and its inhabitants. The catastrophe takes place; the heavenly choir gives thanks to God for the victory of Christianity; and the temple of God is opened in heaven, so that he is accessible to all, being disclosed to the view of the whole earth as their God, without the intervention of priest or solemnity, as in the abrogated economy. Thus the Jewish ritual is done away; the Jews as a nation of persecutors are destroyed; and free scope is given to the new religion.

This portion, therefore, of the prophetic book depicts the downfall of Jerusalem, and the triumph of Christianity over Judaism. The Son of Man came in fearful majesty to punish the guilty nation, as had been predicted.

We are aware that some deny the existence of a catastrophe in the 11th chapter. Schott says that it is procrastinated, although the reader here expects it. But Grotius long ago saw the point in its true light, and remarked: 'Solet apostolus mala gravia brevibus verbis, sed efficacibus prætervehi, bona eloqui liberaliter.'

The 24th chapter of Matthew, with the corresponding paragraphs of the other two Gospels, treats of the same subject, though in much briefer compass. It may be regarded as the groundwork of chaps. iv.-xi. of the Apocalypse, and should be carefully compared by the interpreter.

The second division, chaps. xii.-xix., depicts the sufferings inflicted on the church by the heathen Roman power, and the triumph of Christianity over this formidable enemy also. Here the writer has special reference to the cruel Nero, as ch. xvii. 10, 11, which can only be consistently interpreted of *him*, demonstrates. This part commences with a description of the Saviour's birth, who is represented as springing from the theocracy or theocratic church, and of Satan's malignity against him. Cast out of heaven by Michael and the good angels, Satan turns his rage upon the followers of Christ on earth. Hitherto there is no account of the Romish persecuting power; and it is an inquiry worthy of attention, why John commences with the birth of the Saviour and Satan's opposition to the early church, thus *reverting* to a period prior to that which had been gone over already. Why does not the seer carry on the series of symbolic predictions from the destruction of the Jewish power? Why does he not commence at the point where, in the preceding chapter, he had left off? The question is not easily answered. It cannot well be doubted that the brief notice of the Saviour's birth, and of Satan's unsuccessful attempt upon heaven and the holy child, is merely introductory to the proper subject. Perhaps John carries the reader back to the origin of Christianity, when Satan was peculiarly active, in order to link his malignant opposition as embodied in the persecuting violence of heathen Rome, to his unceasing attacks upon the truth even from the very birth of Christ. This would serve to keep up in the reader's recollection the memory of Satan's past opposition to religion, and also prepare for a readier apprehension of symbols descriptive of his further malevolence. The second part therefore begins, properly speaking, with the 13th chapter, the 12th being simply preparatory.

A beast rises out of the sea with seven heads and ten horns. To it the dragon gives power. The heathen power of Rome, aided by Satan, makes war upon the saints and overcomes them. Presently another beast appears to assist the former, with two horns, as a lamb, but speaking as a dragon. This latter symbolizes the heathen priests assisting the civil power in its attempts to crush the Saviour's adherents. Then comes the vision of the Lamb and the 144,000 elect on

Mount Sion. Doubtless this vision is introduced at the present place to sustain and elevate the hopes of the struggling Christians during the dominance of this power. Such as had passed triumphant through the fiery trials sing a new song of victory, in the undisturbed possession of everlasting happiness. Three angels are now introduced with proclamations of the speedy downfall of heathenism, and of divine judgments on the persecuting power. The first announces that the everlasting Gospel should be preached; the second, that the great city Rome is fallen. The third speaks of tremendous judgments that should befall those who apostatized to heathenism; while, on the other hand, a voice from heaven proclaims the blessedness of such as die in the Lord. But the final catastrophe is yet delayed: it is not fully come. The Saviour again appears sitting on a white cloud, with a sharp sickle in his hand. Three angels also appear with sickles, and the harvest is reaped. The catastrophe rapidly approaches. Seven angels are seen with seven vials, which are successively poured out on the seat of the beast. The first six are represented as tormenting and weakening the Roman power in different ways, until it should be overthrown. At last the seventh angel discharges his vial of wrath, and heaven resounds with the cry, IT IS DONE, while voices, thunders, lightnings, and a mighty earthquake, conspire to heighten the terror and complete the catastrophe. Rome is divided into three parts; the cities of the heathen fall; the islands flee away, and the mountains sink. Men, tormented, blaspheme God. After this, the destruction of the Romish power is described more particularly. The writer enters into detail. An angel takes the seer to show him more closely the desolation of the church's enemy. The Roman power then reigning is indicated somewhat mysteriously, though in such a way as would be intelligible to the Christians whom John addressed. This power is embodied and personified in Nero, who, though not named, is yet not obscurely designated. He is the beast 'that was, and is not, and yet is.' 'The story that Nero was not really dead, but had retired to the Euphrates, and would return again from thence, appears here more fully delineated by a Christian imagination. He is the monster to whom Satan gave all his power, who returns as Antichrist and the destroyer of Rome, who will force all to worship his image. The Roman empire at that time is set forth as the representative of heathenism, and of ungodly power personified; and in this connection, under the image of the beast with seven heads (the seven emperors which would succeed one another till the appearance of Antichrist), Nero is signified as one of these heads (xiii. 3), which appeared dead, but whose deadly wound was healed, so that to universal astonishment he appeared alive again. Nero, re-appearing after it had been believed that he was dead, is the beast 'which was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit—and yet is' (Rev. xvii. 8), (Neander, *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, translated by Ryland, vol. ii. p. 58, note). After this, Babylon or the Roman power, is represented as fallen, and the few remaining believers are exhorted to depart out of her. A mighty angel casts a great stone into the sea, an emblem of the ruin of that power. At the catastrophe heaven resounds with praises. The marriage-supper of the Lamb is announced, and the church is permitted to array herself in fine linen. But the destruction is not yet completed. Another act in the great drama remains. A battle is to be fought with the combined powers of the empire. Heaven opens. The conqueror on the white horse appears again, and an angel calls upon the fowls to come and eat the flesh of the Lord's enemies, for the victory is certain. Accordingly, the beast and the false prophet are taken and cast alive into the lake of fire and brimstone. The congregated hosts are slain by the word of the Redeemer. Such is the second great catastrophe, the fall of the persecuting heathen power—the triumph of Christianity over paganism.

The third leading division of the book reaches from ch. xx. to xxii. 6, inclusive. This is the only portion that stretches to a period far remote from the time of the writer. It is added to complete the delineation of Christ's kingdom on earth. Though his main design was accomplished in the preceding chapters, John was reluctant, so to speak, to leave the sublime theme without glancing at distant times, when the triumphs of righteousness should be still more marked and diffusive, when Satan's power should be remarkably restrained, and the last great conflict of heathen and antichristian power with the Redeemer should terminate for ever the church's existence on earth: ushering in the general judgment, the everlasting woe of the wicked, and the glorified state of the righteous. Here the writer's sketches are brief and rapid. But when we consider the place in which they are introduced, the inconceivable nature of the happiness referred to, and the tendency of minds the most Christianized to attach sensuous ideas to figures descriptive of everlasting misery and endless felicity, their brevity is amply justified. A glorious period now commences, but how long after the preceding events is not affirmed. That a considerable interval may be assumed we deduce from the description itself. Satan is bound, or his influences restrained, a thousand years, throughout the seat of the beast. Christianity is spread abroad and prevails in the Roman empire. But after the thousand years are expired, Satan is set free and begins again to practise his deceptions. He incites Gog and Magog to battle. The camp of the saints and the beloved city are invaded by the assembled hosts. But fire from heaven devours the adversaries, while the devil is again taken and cast into the lake of fire. After this (how long is unknown) comes the general resurrection, the last judgment, and the doom of the wicked. For the righteous a new heaven and a new earth are prepared, in which they shall be perfectly free from sin and corruption. With this the visions end, and an epilogue closes up the book.

From the preceding outline it will be seen that the body of the work consists of three leading divisions, in which are pourtrayed the proceedings of God towards the Jews; the rise and progress of the Christian church, till through much struggling it possessed the Roman empire, partly by converting and partly destroying the heathen; the millennium, succeeded by the resurrection and judgment, and the glorious felicity of the saints in the heavenly Jerusalem.

In this summary view of the contents, it has

been found inconvenient to introduce any thing in the way of exposition beyond general remarks and hints. As to diversities of sentiment in regard to the interpretation of different portions, our limits will not admit of their statement, much less an examination of their respective merit.

In opposition to the majority of German writers, as Bleek, Schott, Lücke, Ewald, De Wette, and others, the existence of a catastrophe at the termination of the 11th chapter has been assumed. A primary reason for so doing is the mention of great thunderings (voices) in heaven (xi. 15), which are always the emblems of fearful judgments. Accordingly, in the parallel phrase (x. 3), it is said that seven thunders uttered their voices, denoting the signal and complete blow about to be inflicted on Jerusalem—the destruction consummated in the third and last woe (xi. 14). In like manner, at the destruction of heathen Rome there were 'voices and thunders and lightnings' (xvi. 18). It were useless to recount the different expositions of ch. xvii. 10. We have adopted the only one that appears to be tenable in connection with the surrounding context. Lücke's view is the most plausible, and has therefore gained the assent of Neander, Reuss, and others. Hug's must be regarded as unfortunate.

The position of the Millennium is a matter of great difficulty. Professor Bush contends that it should be regarded as commencing somewhere between A.D. 395 and A.D. 450, and terminating not far from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453. Not very dissimilar is the opinion of Hammond, viz., that the period in question reaches from Constantine's edict in favour of Christianity to the planting of Mohammedanism in Greece by Othman. In either case the Millennium is past.

To the hypothesis so ably supported by Bush we hesitate to accede, because the description given in the 20th chapter is *extravagantly* figurative as appropriated to any period of the church's history already past; and also because his interpretation of the *dragon* appears inconsistent with the second verse of the 20th chapter. According to this ingenious writer, the dragon is the *mystic name of Paganism in its leading character of idolatry and despotism combined*, an hypothesis apparently countenanced by the 12th chapter, which the reader is requested to examine. But it will be observed, that in the 20th chapter, the beast and the false prophet are expressly distinguished from the dragon; so that by the *dragon* Satan alone must be meant as distinct from the civil and ecclesiastical power of heathen imperial Rome. The beast had been already cast into the lake before Satan was thrown into the same place, and by the former is obviously meant the civil despotism of Paganism.

In regard to the period described in Rev. xxi., xxii., denoted by the *new heavens and the new earth*, we are quite aware of the opinion maintained by Hammond, Hug, Bush, and others, viz., that it comprises an *earthly* flourishing state of the church. Yet we must freely confess, notwithstanding the very able manner in which it has been advocated by Bush, that there is a degree of unsatisfactoriness about it. The parallelism instituted between John's description and Isaiah liv. 11, 12; lx. 3-11; lxv. 17, 18, 19, 20, is striking, but not demonstrative of that for which it is instituted. The imagery indeed is substantially the same, and probably the New Testament seer imitated Isaiah; but the strain of the former rises far higher than the sublime vision depicted by the ancient prophet.

VIII. *Some errors into which the expounders of the book have fallen.*—It would not be an easy task to enumerate all the mistakes committed by interpreters in the field of prophecy as unfolded in the Apocalypse. We shall cursorily glance at a few in connection with their causes.

1. When the historic basis is abandoned, imagination has ample range for her wildest extravagances. The Apocalyptic visions are based upon time and place—elements that ought never to be neglected by the exegetical inquirer. Thus we are informed that the things must shortly come to pass (i. 1), and that the time is at hand (ver. 3). So also in chap. xxii., it is stated, that the things must shortly be done (ver. 6), while the Saviour affirms, 'Behold, I come quickly' (ver. 7, 20). These notices are significant as to the period to which the visions principally refer; and the coming of Christ, announced to take place within a short time, denotes those remarkable judgments which impended over his enemies. There are also mentioned three cities forming the theatre of the sublime and terrible occurrences described. 1. Sodom, Egypt, designated as the place where our Lord was crucified, and the holy city. This can mean none other place than Jerusalem. 2. Babylon, built on seven hills. This is Rome. 3. The New Jerusalem. The first two are doomed to destruction. They also depict Judaism and heathenism; for when the capitals fell, the empires sank into feebleness and decay. The New Jerusalem, the kingdom of the blessed, succeeds the two former as a kingdom that shall never be moved. There are also historic personages that appear in the book. The seven Roman emperors are mentioned, while Nero in particular is significantly referred to. Now, except the interpreter keep to historic ground, he will assuredly lose himself in endless conjectures, as is exemplified in a remarkable manner by the anonymous author of *Hyponoia* (New York, 1844, 8vo.), who supposes the book to be 'an unveiling of the mysterious truths of Christian doctrine, with an exhibition of certain opposite errors—a revelation made by Jesus Christ of *himself*—an intellectual manifestation.'

2. Others have fallen into grievous error by seeking a detailed history of the church universal in the Revelation. Some even find an epitome of the church's entire history in the Epistles to the Seven Churches; others, in the rest of the book; others again in both. Agreeably to such a scheme, particular events are assigned to particular periods, persons are specified, peoples are characterized, and names assigned with the greatest particularity. The ablest interpreters after this fashion are Vitringa, Mede, and Faber; but the entire plan of proceeding is inconsistent with the writer's original purpose, and leads to endless mazes.

3. It is obvious that we should not look for a circumstance, event, or person, corresponding to every particular in the visions of the seer. 'It is unnecessary to remark,' says Hug, 'that all the particular traits and images in this large work

are by no means significant. Many are introduced only to enliven the representation, or are taken from the prophets and sacred books for the purpose of ornament; and no one who has any judgment in such matters will deny that the work is extraordinarily rich and gorgeous for a production of Western origin' (Fosdick's *Translation*, p. 668).

4. The principle of synchronisms has been largely adopted by interpreters since the times of Mede and Vitringa. For an explanation and defence of such a system, we refer the reader to Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (*Works*, fol. London, 1677, p. 419, sq.), where it is fully drawn out. The method so ingeniously devised by this learned writer has been followed by the great majority of English expositors, especially by Faber in his *Sacred Calendar of Prophecy*. In this way the same events are said to be represented by a succession of different series of symbols, the symbols being varied, but the things intended by them remaining the same. Instead, therefore, of the book being progressive continuously, it is progressive and retrogressive throughout. Such a plan, so unlike that of the other prophetic books of Scripture, is repugnant to the sober sense of every intelligent student of the Divine word. It introduces complication and enigma sufficient to ensure its rejection. Not a hint is given by John of any such method. It was left for the ingenuity of after ages to decipher; and when discovered by the 'father of prophetic interpretation,' as Mede is frequently called, it is difficult to be understood even by the learned reader. There is no good reason for supposing that the series of events symbolized does not progress. The representation is progressive, just as the events recorded by history are progressive.

5. On the designations of time which occur so frequently in the Apocalypse, this is not the place to enlarge. The entire subject is yet unsettled. Those who take a day for a year must prove the correctness and Scriptural basis of such a principle. This is quite necessary after the arguments advanced by Maitland and Stuart to show that a day means no more than a day, and a year a year. We do not suppose that all, or most of the numbers are to be taken arithmetically. The numbers seven and three, especially, recur so often as to suggest the idea of their being employed indefinitely for poetic costume alone. Yet there may be special reasons in the context of particular passages for abiding by the exact numbers stated.*

By far the greater number of works on the Apocalypse are of no value, the authors having failed to perceive the primary purpose of the apostle. We shall only mention a few; to enumerate all would be impossible.

(*a.*) Works on the literature of the book.

(*b.*) Commentaries.

(*a.*) The best book on the literature of the Apocalypse is that of Lücke, published in 1832. It is both copious and excellent. In addition to it may be mentioned the Introductions of Michaelis, Haenlein, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hug, Feilmoser, De Wette, Credner, Schott, Guerike; Bleek's *Beiträge zur Kritik der Offenbarung Johannis* (in the *Zeitschrift* of Schleiermacher, De Wette, and Lücke, ii. 252, sq.); Kleuker, *Ueber Ursprung und Zweck der Offenbar. Johannis;* Steudel, *Ueber die richtige Auffassung der Apocalypse* (in Bengel's *N. Archiv*, iv. 2); the Treatises of Kolthoff, Lange, and Dannemann, already referred to; Knittel's *Beiträge zur Kritik über Johannis Offenbarung;* Vogel's *Commentatio de Apoc. Johannis*, pt. i-vii.; Neander's *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church;* Olshausen's *Proof of the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament* (translated by Fosdick, Andover, 1838); Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*, vols. i. and iii. 4to. edition; Hävernick in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, and *Lucubrationes* already quoted.

(*b.*) Pareus, Grotius, Vitringa, Eichhorn, Heinrichs, Scholz, Ewald, Tinius, Bossuet, Alcassar, Hentenius, Salmeron, Herrenschneider, Hagen. Of English works Lowman's *Commentary* has been highly esteemed, though his scheme is wrong. Mede's *Clavis* and the *Commentary* attached to it, have had great influence on subsequent writers; Faber's *Sacred Calendar of Prophecy* is able and ingenious, but radically wrong; Sir Isaac Newton's *Observations on the Apocalypse*, and Bishop Newton's *Remarks*, are generally incorrect. Cunninghame has written various treatises illustrative of the Apocalypse, but his lucubrations are dark and doubtful. Woodhouse's *Commentary* is pervaded by commendable diligence and sobriety, though he has greatly deviated from the right mode of interpretation. We specially recommend Hammond and Lee (*Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, London, 1830, 8vo.), who have perceived the right principle lying at the basis of a correct exposition; to which may be added the Latin Notes of Grotius, and the perspicuous German Commentary of Tinius. The latest and largest work on the Apocalypse that has appeared in England is Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, in 3 vols. 8vo., characterised by great research and minute investigation, but proceeding on principles essentially and fundamentally erroneous.

Valuable suggestions in regard to the interpretation may be found in Stuart's *Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy;* Bush's *Hierophant;* or, *Monthly Journal of Sacred Symbols and Prophecy;* as also in the various Introductions and Treatises mentioned under (*a.*).—S. D.

REVELATIONS, SPURIOUS [Apocrypha]. The Apocalyptic character, which is occupied in describing the future splendour of the Messianic kingdom and its historical relations, presents itself for the first time in the book of Daniel,* which is thus characteristically distinguished from the former prophetical books. In the only prophetical book of the New Testament, the Apocalypse of St. John, this idea is fully developed, and the several apocryphal revelations are mere imitations, more or less happy, of these two canonical books, which furnished ideas to a

* Against the view of Maitland and Stuart, see Birk's *First Elements of Sacred Prophecy*, and Bush's *Hierophant*; compare also an article in the *Eclectic Review for December*, 1844, by the present writer.

* See the able remarks on the age of this book in the *Publication of the Christian Advocate* (W. H. Mill, D.D.) for 1841.

numerous class of writers in the first ages of the Christian church. The principal spurious revelations extant have been published by Fabricius, in his *Cod. Pseudep. V.T.*, and *Cod. Apoc. N. T.*; and their character has been still more critically examined in recent times by Archbishop Laurence (who has added to their number), by Nitzsch, Bleek, and others; and especially by Dr. Lücke, in his *Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johan. und die gesammte apocalyptische Litteratur.* To this interesting work we are in a great measure indebted for much of the information contained in the present article.

We shall first treat of the apocryphal revelations no longer extant, which are the following, viz. :—

1. The Apocalypse of Elias. 2. The Apocalypse of Zephaniah. 3. The Apocalypse of Zechariah. 4. The Apocalypse of Adam. 5. The Apocalypse of Abraham. 6. The Apocalypse of Moses. 7. The Prophecies of Hystaspes. 8. The Apocalypse of Peter. 9. The Apocalypse of Paul. 10. The Apocalypse of Cerinthus. 11. The Apocalypse of Thomas. 12. The Apocalypse of the proto-martyr Stephen.

The first three are referred to by St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Pammach.*), and cited as lost apocryphal books in an ancient MS. of the Scriptures in the Coislinian Collection (ed. Montfaucon, p. 194). The *Apocalypse of Adam*, and that of *Abraham*, are cited by Epiphanius (*Hæres.* xxxi. 8) as gnostic productions. The *Apocalypse of Moses*, mentioned by Syncellus (*Chronog.*) and Cedrenus (*Comp. Hist.*), fragments of which have been published by Fabricius (*ut supra*), is conjectured by Grotius to have been a forgery of one of the ancient Christians.

The *Prophecies of Hystaspes* were in use among the Christians in the second century. This was apparently a pagan production, but is cited by Justin Martyr, in his *Apology*, as agreeing with the Sibylline oracles in predicting the destruction of the world by fire. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* vi.) and Lactantius (*Instit.* vii. 15) also cite passages from these prophecies, which bear a decidedly Christian character.

The *Apocalypse of Peter* is mentioned by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 3. 25), and was cited by Clement of Alexandria, in his *Adumbrations*, now lost (Euseb. *l. c.* vi. 14). Some fragments of it have, however, been preserved by Clement, in his *Selections from the lost Prophecies of Theodotus the Gnostic*, and are published in Grabe's *Spicilegium* (vol. i. p. 74, sq.). From these we can barely collect that this Apocalypse contained some melancholy prognostications, which seem to be directed against the Jews, and to refer to the destruction of their city and nation. This work is cited as extant in the ancient fragment of the canon published by Muratori, a document of the second or third century, with this proviso, that 'some of us are unwilling that it be read in the church;' as is perhaps the signification of the ambiguous passage, 'Apocalypsis Johannis et Petri tantum recipimus; quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt.' Eusebius designates it at one time as 'spurious,' and at another as 'heretical.' From a circumstance mentioned by Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 19), viz., that it was read in some churches in Palestine on all Fridays in the year down to the fifth century, Lücke infers that it was a Jewish-Christian production (of the second century), and of the same family with the *Preaching of Peter*. It is uncertain whether this work is the same that is read by the Copts among what they call the apocryphal books of Peter. There was also a work under the name of the *Apocalypse of Peter by his Disciple Clement*, an account of which was transmitted to Pope Honorius by Jacob, bishop of Acre in the thirteenth century, written in the Saracenic language; but this has been conjectured to be a later work, originating in the time of the Crusades.

In the ancient Latin stichometry in Cotelerius (*Apostolic Fathers*), the Apocalypse of Peter is said to contain 2070 stichs, and that of John 1200. It is cited as an apocryphal book in the *Indiculus Scripturarum* after the *Quæstiones* of Anastasius of Nicæa, together with the Apocalypse of Ezra and that of Paul. There is in the Bodleian Library a MS. of an Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter*, of which Nicoll has furnished an extract in his catalogue, and which may possibly be a translation of the Greek Apocalypse.

The *Apocalypse of St. Paul* is mentioned by Augustine (*Tract.* 98 *in Ev. Joan.*), who asserts that it abounds in fables, and was an invention to which occasion was furnished by 2 Cor. xii. 2-4. This appears from Epiphanius (*Hæres.* xxxviii. 2) to have been an anti-Jewish Gnostic production, and to be identical with the ἀναβατικόν of Paul, used only by the anti-Jewish sect of Gnostics called Cainites. It is said by Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 19) to have been held in great esteem. It was also known to Theophylact and Œcumenius (on 2 Cor. xii. 4), and to Nicephorus in the ninth century (*Can.* 3, 4). Whether this is the same work which Du Pin (*Proleg.* and *Canon*) says is still extant among the Copts is rendered more than doubtful by Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc.* ii. p. 954) and Grabe (*Spicileg.* i. p. 85). The *Revelation of St. Paul*, contained in an Oxford MS., is shown by Grabe (*l. c.*) to be a much later work. Theodosius of Alexandria (Ἐρωτήματα περὶ προσωδιῶν) says that the Apocalypse of St. Paul is not a work of the apostle, but of Paul of Samosata, from whom the Paulicians derived their name. The *Revelation of Paul* is one of the spurious works condemned by Pope Gelasius, together with the Revelations of St. Thomas and St. Stephen.

The *Apocalypse of Cerinthus* is mentioned by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 28), and by Theodoret (*Fab. Hæret.* ii. 3). Eusebius describes it as a revelation of an earthly and sensual kingdom of Christ, according to the heresy of the Chiliasts.

Of the *Revelations of St. Thomas and St. Stephen*, we know nothing beyond their condemnation by Pope Gelasius, except that Sixtus of Sienna observes that, according to Serapion, they were held in great repute by the Manichees; but in the works of Serapion which we now possess there is no allusion to this. There is, however, an unpublished MS. of Serapion in the Hamburg Library, which is supposed to contain a more complete copy of his work.

We now proceed to treat of the extant spurious Revelations.

The Ascension and the Vision of Isaiah (Ἀναβατικὸν καὶ Ὅρασις Ἡσαΐου), although for a long time lost to the world, was a work well

known to the ancients, as is indicated by the allusions of Justin Martyr, Origen, Tertullian, and Epiphanius. The first of these writers (*Dial. c. Tryph.* ed. Par. p. 349) refers to the account therein contained of the death of Isaiah, who 'was sawn asunder with a wooden saw;' a fact, he adds, 'which was removed by the Jews from the sacred text.' Tertullian also (*De Patientiâ*), among other examples from *Scripture*, refers to the same event; and in the next (the third) century Origen (*Epist. ad African.*), after stating that the Jews were accustomed to remove many things from the knowledge of the people, which they nevertheless preserved in *apocryphal* or secret writings, adduces as an example the death of Isaiah, 'who was *sawn asunder*, as stated in a certain apocryphal writing, which the Jews perhaps corrupted in order to throw discredit on the whole.' In his *Comm. in Matt.* he refers to the same events, observing, that if this apocryphal work is not of sufficient authority to establish the account of the prophet's martyrdom, it should be believed upon the testimony borne to that work by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xi. 37); in the same manner as the account of the death of Zechariah should be credited upon the testimony borne by our Saviour to a writing not found in the common and published books (*κοίνοις καὶ δεδημευμένοις βιβλίοις*), but probably in an apocryphal work. Origen cites a passage from the apocryphal account of the *martyrdom of Isaiah*, in one of his *Homilies* (ed. De la Rue, vol. iii. p. 108). The *Apostolical Constitutions* also refer to the apocryphal books of Moses, Enoch, Adam, and *Isaiah*, as writings of some antiquity.

The first writer, however, who mentions the *Ascension of Isaiah* by name is Epiphanius, in the fourth century, who observes (*Hæres.* xl.) that the apocryphal *Ascension of Isaiah* was adduced by the Archonites in support of their opinions respecting the seven heavens and their *archons* or ruling angels, as well as by the Egyptian Hieracas and his followers in confirmation of their heretical opinions respecting the Holy Spirit, at the same time citing the passage from the Ἀναβατικόν to which they refer (*Ascens. of Isaiah*, ix. 27, 32-36; xi. 32, 33). Jerome also (*in Esai.* lxiv. 4) expressly names the work, asserting it to be an apocryphal production, originating in a passage in the New Testament (1 Cor. ii. 9). St. Ambrose (*Opp.* i. p. 1124) cites a passage contained in it, but only as a traditionary report, 'plerique ferunt' (*Ascens. Is.* v. 4-8); and the author of the *Imperfect Work on Matt.*, a work of the fifth century, erroneously attributed to St. Chrysostom (Chrysost. *Opp.* hom. l.), evidently cites a passage from the same work (*Ascens.* i. 1, &c.). After this period all trace of the book is lost until the eleventh century, when Euthymius Zigabenus informs us that the Messalian heretics made use of that 'abominable pseudepigraphal work, the *Vision of Isaiah*.' It was also used (most probably in a Latin version) by the *Cathari* in the West (P. Moneta, *Adv. Catharos*, ed. Rich. p. 218). The *Vision of Isaiah* is also named in a catalogue of canonical and apocryphal books in a Paris MS. (No. 1789), after the *Quæst. et Resp.* of Anastasius (Cotelerius, *P. P. Apost.* i. p. 197, 349). Sixtus of Sienna (*Bibl. Sanct.* 1566) states that the *Vision of Isaiah*, as distinct from the *Anavasis* (as he calls it), had been printed at Venice. Referring to this last publication, the late Archbishop Laurence observes that he had hoped to find in some bibliographical work a further notice of it, but that he had searched in vain; concluding at the same time that it must have been a publication extracted from the *Ascension of Isaiah*, or a Latin translation of the *Vision*, as the title of it given by Sixtus was, 'Visio admirabilis Esaiæ prophetæ in raptu mantis, quæ divinæ Trinitatis arcana, et lapsi generis humani redemptionem continet.' Dr. Laurence observes also that the mode of Isaiah's death is further in accordance with a Jewish tradition recorded in the Talmud (Tract *Jebammoth*, iv.); and he supposes that Mohammed may have founded his own journey through seven different heavens on this same apocryphal work. He shows at the same time, by an extract from the *Raboth*, that the same idea of the precise number of *seven* heavens accorded with the Jewish creed.

There appeared now to be little hopes of recovering the lost *Ascension of Isaiah*, when Dr. Laurence (then Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford) had the good fortune to purchase from a bookseller in Drury Lane an Ethiopic MS. containing the identical book, together with the canonical book of Isaiah and the fourth (called in the Ethiopic the *first*) book of Esdras. It is entitled the *Ascension of the Prophet Isaiah*, the first five chapters containing the martyrdom, and the six last (for it is divided in the MS. into chapters and verses) the *Ascension* or *Vision* of Isaiah. At the end of the canonical book are the words, 'Here ends the Prophet Isaiah;' after which follows 'The Ascension,' &c., concluding with the words, 'Here ends Isaiah the Prophet, with his Ascension.' Then follows a postscript, from which it appears that it was transcribed for a priest named Aaron, at the cost of a piece of fine cloth, twelve measures long and four broad. The *Ascension of Isaiah* was published by Dr. Laurence at Oxford in 1819, with a new Latin and an English version. This discovery was first applied to the illustration of Scripture by Dr. Gesenius (*Comm. on Isaiah*). Some time afterwards the indefatigable Dr. Angelo Mai (*Nova Collect. Script. Vet. e Vat. Codd.* Rom. 1828) published two Latin fragments as an appendix to his *Sermon. Arian. Fragment. Antiquiss.*, which he conjectured to be portions of some ancient apocryphal writings. Niebuhr, however, perceived them to be fragments of the Ascension and Vision of Isaiah; and Dr. Nitzsch (*Nachweisung zweyer Bruchstücke*, &c., in the *Theolog. Stud. und Kritik.* 1830) was enabled to compare them with the two corresponding portions (ii. 14-iii. 12; vii. 1-19) of the Ethiopic version. Finally, in consequence of the more complete notice of the Venetian edition of the Latin version given by Panzer (*Annal. Typog.* viii. p. 473), Dr. Gieseler had a strict search made for it, which was eventually crowned with success, a copy being discovered in the Library at Munich. This work, the date of whose impression was 1522, contained also the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the *Letter of Lentulus to the Roman Senate*. The Latin version contains the *Vision* only, corresponding to the last seven chapters of the Ethiopic version.

The subject of the first part is the martyrdom

of Isaiah, who is here said to have been sawn asunder in consequence of the visions which he related to Hezekiah, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of that monarch, and which are recorded in the first four chapters. These relate principally to the coming of 'Jesus Christ the Lord' from the seventh heaven; his being changed into the form of a man; the preaching of his twelve apostles; his final rejection and suspension on a tree, in company with the workers of iniquity, on the day before the Sabbath; the spread of the Christian doctrine; the last judgment; and his return to the seventh heaven. Before this, however, the arch-fiend Berial is to descend on earth, in the form of an impious monarch, *the murderer of his mother*, where, after his image is worshipped in every city for three years, seven months, and twenty-seven days, he and his powers are to be dragged into Gehenna.

The second portion of the work gives a prolix account of the prophet's ascent through seven heavens, each more resplendent and more glorious than the other. It contains distinct prophetical allusions to the miraculous birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary at Bethlehem; his crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension; and the worship of 'the Father, his beloved Christ, and the Holy Spirit.' The mode of the prophet's own death is also announced to him. The whole work, observes its learned translator, is 'singularly characterized by simplicity of narration, by occasional sublimity of description, and by richness as well as vigour of imagination.' Dr. Laurence conceives that the writer had no design of imposing upon the world a spurious production of his own as that of the prophet's, but rather of composing a work, avowedly fictitious, but accommodated to the character, and consistent with the prophecies, of him to whom it is ascribed.

As to the *age of this work*, Dr. Laurence supposes, from the obvious reference to Nero, and the period of three years, seven months, and twenty-seven days, and again of three hundred and thirty-two days, after which Berial was to be dragged to Gehenna, that the work was written after the death of Nero (which took place on the 9th June, A.D. 68), but before the close of the year 69. Lücke, however (*Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johan.*), looks upon these numbers as purely arbitrary and apocalyptical, and maintains that the dogmatical character of the work, the allusion to the corruptions of the church, the absence of all reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Chiliastic view, all point to a later period. All that can be considered as certain respecting its date is, that the first portion was extant before the time of Origen, and the whole before Epiphanius. It has been doubted whether the work does not consist of two independent productions, which were afterwards united into one, as in the Ethiopic version; but this is a question impossible to decide in the absence of the original. The Latin fragments discovered by Mai correspond literally with the Ethiopic, while they not only differ from the Venetian edition in single phrases, but the latter contains passages so striking as to induce the supposition that it is derived from a later recension of the original text.

The author was evidently a *Jewish* Christian, as appears from the use made of the Talmudical legend already referred to, as well as by his representing the false accuser of Isaiah as a Samaritan. The work also abounds in Gnostic, Valentinian, and Ophitic notions, such as the account of the seven heavens, and the presiding angels of the first five, the gradual transmutation of Christ until his envelopment in the human form, and finally the docetic conception of his history on earth. All this has induced Lücke (*ut supra*) to consider the whole to be a Gnostic production of the second or third century, of which, however, the martyrdom was first written. Dr. Laurence finds so strong a resemblance between the account of the seven heavens here, and in the Testament of Levi (*Twelve Patriarchs*), that he suspects the latter to 'betray a little plagiarism.' If this learned divine were right in his conjecture respecting the early age of this production, it would doubtless afford an additional testimony (if such were wanting) to the antiquity of the belief in the miraculous conception and the proper deity of Jesus, who is here called the Beloved, the Lord, the Lord God, and the Lord Christ. In respect, however, to another passage, in which the Son and Holy Spirit are represented as worshipping God, the learned prelate truly observes that this takes place only in the character of angels, which they had assumed.

Dr. Lücke observes that the drapery only of the apocalyptic element of this work is Jewish, the internal character being altogether Christian. But in both form and substance there is an evident imitation, if not of the Apocalypse of St. John, at least of the book of Daniel and of the Sibylline oracles. The use of the canonical Apocalypse Lücke (*l. c.* § 16) considers to be undeniable in viii. 45 (comp. Rev. xxii. 8, 9; vii. 21-23; Rev. xix. 10).

Of the ancient Greek poems called the SIBYLLINE ORACLES (written in hexameter verse), there was formerly a considerable number in use, of which but few have descended to our times. Servius, in the fifth century, mentions a hundred books (*sermones*, λόγοι); and Suidas, who lived most probably in the eleventh, speaks of twenty-four books of the Chaldæan sibyls alone. But eight only were known to the moderns, until the recent discoveries of Angelo Mai, who has recovered and published an eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth book from palimpsests in the Ambrosian and Vatican libraries (*Script. Vet. Nov. Collect.* vol. iii. p. 3). The first eight books have been shown to be the compositions of various writers from the commencement of the second century B.C. to A.D. 500. Of these, the earliest in point of date is supposed to be the *third book*, containing a series of connected predictions written by an Alexandrian Jew in the time of the Maccabees, but containing heathen poems of a still earlier period. The subject is continued by another Alexandrian Jew, who lived about forty years before the Christian era. Notwithstanding the later Christian interpolations by which this document has been disfigured, it forms a valuable collection of Sibylline oracles respecting the Messiah, anterior to the Christian era. It concludes with another addition, written partly in the third century and partly at a still later period. But before this period, the *fourth* and *fifth* books come in, the former of which was

written by a Christian about A.D. 80; the latter consists of several predictions from various authors, principally Egyptians, one of whom was an Alexandrian Jew, who wrote in the middle of the second century; another portion is by a Jew in Asia Minor, about A.D. 20; and certain parts by another Jewish author, about A.D. 70. But the whole book in its present form proceeds most probably from the Jewish Christians residing at Memphis in the commencement of Adrian's reign, who collected the greater portion of the oracles of the first part, and united them to the third and fourth books. At least the whole three books were formed into one collection in the middle of the second century, and ascribed to one and the same sibyl. But at the close of the next century these books were completely separated, and were, together with the subsequent books then written (sixth, seventh, and eighth), each attributed to a distinct prophetess. Of these, the earliest in point of date is the *eighth* book, part of which was composed about A.D. 170-180, and the entire finished at the end of the third century,—when it was united with the others, as we learn from Lactantius. The *seventh book*, separate from its later interpolations, was composed by a Judaizing Christian in the third century. The *sixth book* appears to have been written at the close of this century by a Christian, for he speaks of Christ as the second Adam. That part called the *Acrostics* was constructed in the fourth century from earlier Sibylline verses. Some portions of the *eighth book* were probably written at this period, and introduced at a still later among the Sibylline oracles. The latest of all are the *first and second books*, written by one and the same author, who lived in the West in the middle of the fifth century.

Of this motley group, the chief portions only are of an Apocalyptic character, others being purely epic, or in the form of hymns. The sibyl, as the oracle of God, predicts the destruction of paganism in its wars on both Judaism and Christianity. To this is annexed the Apocalyptic consolation and encouragement to the sufferer and oppressed among God's people. The poetic interest, which is a characteristic of Apocalyptic composition, both Jewish and Christian, is not lost sight of.

There have been three distinct periods traced in respect to the Sibylline Revelations. The first is the Jewish, commencing at the Maccabæan period. This, observes Lücke, 'belongs to the cycle of Daniel's Apocalypse.' The second period is the Jewish Christian, having a special relation to the Antichristian character of the persecuting Nero, with an admixture of Chiliastic elements. The third period is free from Chiliasm, and belongs to the Christian character of the third century, embracing a species of universal history in the Sibylline form, concluding with the end of all things at the final judgment.

It is impossible to deny the resemblance between the Apocalypse of John and the Sibylline poems of the second period. 'Besides the Chiliastic elements and the reference to the return of Nero, it is common to both that the destruction of Rome forms the grand crisis of their predictions, and that letters and cyphers are symbolically employed. But, on the other hand, what a difference! The Sibylline oracles are characterized by a dry, monotonous series of mere predictions, threatenings, and promises; while the Apocalypse of John presents us with an all but dramatic development of the kingdom of God in a living picture. The most important portion for comparison with the Apocalypse is the contemporary first oracle of the fourth book. The later pieces of this kind may have stood in conscious relation with the Apocalypse, but this is incapable of proof' (Lücke, *ut supra*).

The books discovered by Angelo Mai are much of the same character with the former, but have less of the religious element. The eleventh book contains a statement of Jewish, Greek, Macedonian, and Egyptian history from the Deluge to Julius Cæsar. There are some single passages which resemble the third book, but the author was a different person, and was probably a Jew, who lived a short time before the Christian era.

The *twelfth book* resembles the fifth in its commencement, and contains the same series of Roman emperors from Augustus, under whose reign the appearance of Christ is prominently brought forward. This series, which in the third book ended with Hadrian, here proceeds as far as Alexander Severus, passing over Sulpicius Severus. Its Christian origin is beyond question, and it may have been written after the death of Severus, A.D. 222.

The *thirteenth book* narrates, in the Sibylline form, the wars of the Romans in the East to the middle of the third century, probably commencing where the former had ended. It is observable that the author alludes to the mathematical fame of Bostra.

The most prominent feature of the *fourteenth book* is the destruction and rebuilding of the city of Rome, which is provisioned for a whole year in expectation of a long period of adversity; the last prince of the Latin race appears and departs, after whom comes a royal race of long duration. The whole narration points to the period of the migration and downfall of the Western empire. The author doubtless was a Christian of the fifth century.

The book called the TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS is an ancient Apocryphal work (founded most probably on Gen. xlix. 1, sq.), in which the twelve sons of Jacob are represented as delivering their dying predictions and precepts to their posterity. If we are to credit the authority of a manuscript in the Bodleian library, this work was originally written in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by St. Chrysostom. But Dr. Grabe, who first adduced this testimony, considers it very doubtful. The author of the Latin version (from the Greek) was Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, with the assistance of a Greek named Nicholas, Abbot of St. Albans. The bishop's attention was first directed to it by Archdeacon John de Basingstoke, who had seen the work during his studies at Athens. This version, which was first printed from very incorrect copies in 1483, and afterwards in 1532 and 1549, was reprinted in the *Orthodoxographa* of Grynæus, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. A few specimens of the original were printed at various times by Cotelerius (*Not. in Script. Apostol.*), Gale (*Annot. in Jamblich.*), and Wharton (*Auctarium*); but it was reserved for the learned Dr. Grabe to give the entire work in

the original Greek, in 1699, from a Cambridge manuscript on vellum (the identical MS. used by Robert of Lincoln for his translation), a copy of which was made for him by the learned Dr. John Mill, who collated it with a manuscript on paper in the Bodleian, written A.D. 1268, and annexed to it various readings from other manuscripts. Dr. Grabe was the person who first divided the work into chapters or paragraphs, with numbers prefixed. He added some valuable notes, which, with the originals, were republished by Fabricius in his *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.*

This work contains many beautiful passages, and, while its form is that of a pretended prophecy, bears indirect testimony to the facts and books of the New Testament, the nativity, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and unblemished character of Jesus, ascribing to him such titles as evidently show that his divinity was fully recognised. The author testifies also to the canonical authority of the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul's Epistles, and seems especially to allude to the four Gospels. The age of this Apocryphal work is, therefore, of considerable importance in sacred criticism.

Mr. William Whiston, who has given an English translation of this work in his *Authentic Records*, considers it to be a genuine production, and one of the *concealed* (as he interprets the word Apocryphal) books of the Old Testament, maintaining that if this, and the book of Enoch, were not written after the destruction of Jerusalem (which he holds to be a wild notion), they are of necessity genuine and divine. Cave (*Hist. Liter.*) was at first disposed to place the work in the year A.D. 192, but he subsequently regarded it as more probably written near the commencement of the second century. That the work was extant in the time of Origen appears from his observation, 'We find the like sentiment in another little book, called the *Testament of the twelve Patriarchs*, although it is not in the canon,' viz., that by sinners are to be understood the angels of Satan (*Homil. in Jos.* comp. with *Testament. Reuben.*, sect. 3). Jerome also observes that there had been forged revelations of all the patriarchs and prophets. Tertullian has also been supposed to refer to it. It is cited by Procopius of Gaza, about A.D. 520; and in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus (about A.D. 800) it is said to contain in the Greek 5100, and in the Latin 4800, stichs or verses [VERSE]. Dr. Dodwell, from its Hellenistic character, ascribes it to the first century. The recent investigations of Dr. Nitzsch (*De Testamentis duodecim Patriarcharum*, Wittenb. 1810), however, seem to leave no doubt of its having been the work of a Jewish Christian, about the beginning of the second century. The design of the writer was evidently to convert the twelve tribes to the Christian faith. For this object are introduced the Apocalyptic elements. The time of Christ's appearance is predicted. The Messiah is represented as both priest and king, and with this view characterized as equally sprung from the tribes of Judah and Levi. He is to appear, after many calamities, as the common Saviour of Jews and Gentiles. It also contains revelations purely Christian, as the everlasting reign of Christ, the general resurrection, and the last judgment. The Apocalypse of John is referred to, if not expressly cited; and the Apocalyptical portions have evidently this for their groundwork, together with the book of Daniel, and that of Enoch, which is expressly cited as a work of authority (Levi, 2; Naphthali, 5), and is consequently an earlier production. There was an altered and interpolated English translation of this book, published (as a genuine work of the twelve patriarchs) in Bristol by Richard Day, in 1813.

The FOURTH BOOK OF EZRA (the *first* according to the Ethiopic and Arabic) [ESDRAS] is, from its Apocalyptic character, styled by Nicephorus (*Can.* 3. 4) *the Apocalypse of Ezra* (Ἀποκάλυψις Ἔσδρα). Its original language (according to Lücke) was Greek, although it is at present extant only in a Latin, Ethiopic, and Arabic translation, of which the Latin is the most ancient. The main body of the work, viz., chaps. iii.-xiv., contains a connected revelation, which is partly an open imitation of Daniel, and partly resembles the New Testament Apocalypse. It contains a mixture of Jewish and Christian elements. This work, as has been formerly observed, was known to Clemens Alexandrinus in the second century; and from the indication in the Introduction (ch. iii. 1), 'In the *thirtieth year of the destruction of the city* I was in Babylon,' Lücke conjectures that the author may have written in the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, or A.D. 100; and this date is further confirmed by the vision of the eagle (ch. xi.; xii.), which indicates the time of Trajan. He conceives the author to have been evidently a Jew, who lived out of Palestine, probably in Egypt, but that the variation in the several ancient versions of the work prove it to have been interpolated by a Christian hand.

The first two and last two chapters (found only in the Latin, in most MSS. of which they form distinct books, the first two chapters being generally named 2nd and 3rd, and the two last 5th and sometimes 6th Esdras; see Laurence's 1 *Ezra*, pp. 283-287) are the work of a Christian, and are unconnected with the main body of the book. In the two first the author has imitated the canonical Apocalypse, and prefixed this portion as a kind of preface to the work; but there is no internal character which can enable us to form any nearer conjecture as to their date. The author of the last two chapters (xv., xvi.) seems to have lived in the third or fourth century, during the Decian or Diocletian persecutions (chap. xv. 10). Rome, the Apocalyptic Babylon of the author, approaches her downfall (xv. 43, sq.). Several passages of the New Testament are evidently alluded to (comp. 4 Ezra xvi. 29, sq. with Matt. xxiv. 40, 41; xvi. 42—45, with 1 Cor. vii. 29, 30; xv. 8, 9, with Rev. vi. 10). The whole chapter seems, indeed, to be an imitation of Matt. xxiv. (comp. also 4 Ezra i. 30 with Matt. xxiii. 37; ii. 11 with Luke xvi. 9; and ii. 12 with Rev. xxii. 2; also ii. 42 with Rev. xiv. 1-3; and ii. 18 with Rev. xxii. 1, 2).

The ancient romantic fiction, entitled the SHEPHERD OF HERMAS, is not without its Apocalyptic elements. These, however, are confined to book i. 3, 4; but they are destitute of signification or originality [HERMAS].

The Book of Enoch is one of the most curious of the spurious revelations, resembling in its outward form both the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse; but it is uncertain whether this latter work or the book of Enoch was first written [Enoch]. Professor Moses Stuart (*Biblioth. Sacra*, No. 2, p. 363, 1843) is of opinion that the Book of Enoch, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, many of the Sibylline Oracles, the fourth Book of Ezra, and the Pastor of Hermas, were composed 'nearly at the same time with the Apocalypse of St. John.'

There was an Apocryphal Revelation of St. John extant in the time of Theodosius the Grammarian, the only one of the ancients who mentions it, and who calls it a pseudepigraphal book. It was not known what had become of it, until the identical work was recently published from a Vatican, as well as a Vienna manuscript, by Birch, in his *Auctarium*, under the title of 'The Apocalypse of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Divine.' From the silence of the ancients respecting this work, it could scarcely have been written before the third or fourth century. Lücke has pointed out other internal marks of a later age, as, for instance, the mention of *incense*, which he observes first came into use in the Christian church after the fourth century (although here the author of the spurious book may have taken his idea from Rev. v. 8; viii. 3); also of *images* and *rich crosses*, which were not in use before the 'fourth and fifth centuries.' The name *patriarch*, applied here to a dignitary in the church, belongs to the same age. The time in which Theodosius himself lived is not certainly known, but he cannot be placed earlier than the fifth century, which Lücke conceives to be the most probable age of the work itself. Regarding the object and occasion of the work (which is a rather servile imitation of the genuine Apocalypse), in consequence of the absence of dates and of internal characteristics, there are no certain indications. Birch's text, as well as his manuscripts, abound in errors; but Thilo has collated two Paris manuscripts for his intended edition (see his *Acta Thomæ*, *Prolcg.* p. lxxxiii.). Assemann (*Biblioth. Orient.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 282) states that there is an Arabic version among the Vatican MSS.—W. W.

REZEPH (רֶצֶף; Sept. Ῥαφέθ), a city which occurs among those subdued by the Assyrians (2 Kings xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12). It is supposed to be the same that Ptolemy mentions under the name of Ῥησώφα, as a city of Palmyrene (*Geog.* v. 15); and this again is possibly the same with the Rasapha which Abulfeda places at nearly a day's journey west of the Euphrates.

REZIN (רְצִין; Sept. Ῥασσών), the last king of Damascene-Syria, slain by Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xv. 37; xvi. 5-10; Isa. vii. 1; viii. 4-7) [Damascus].

REZON (רְזוֹן, *prince*; Sept. Ῥαζών), an officer of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, who established the independence of Damascus, and made it the seat of the kingdom of Damascene-Syria, so often mentioned in the history of the Hebrew kingdoms (1 Kings xi. 23, 24) [Damascus].

RHEGIUM (Ῥήγιον), a city on the coast of Italy, near its south-western extremity, opposite Messina in Sicily (Acts xxviii. 13). It is now called Reggio, and is the capital of Calabria.

RHODA (Ῥόδη, *i. e. Rose*), a servant maid mentioned in Acts xii. 13.

RHODES (Ῥόδος), an island in the Mediterranean, near the coast of Asia Minor, celebrated from the remotest antiquity as the seat of commerce, navigation, literature, and the arts, but now reduced to a state of abject poverty by the devastations of war and the tyranny and rapacity of its Turkish rulers. It is of a triangular form, about forty-four leagues in circumference, twenty leagues long from north to south, and about six broad. In the centre is a lofty mountain named Artemira, which commands a view of the whole island; of the elevated coast of Carmania on the north; the Archipelago, studded with numerous islands, on the north-west; Mount Ida, veiled in clouds, on the south-west; and the wide expanse of waters that wash the shores of Africa on the south and south-east. It was famed in ancient times, and is still celebrated for its delightful climate, and the fertility of its soil. The gardens are filled with delicious fruit, every gale is scented with the most powerful fragrance wafted from the groves of orange and citron-trees, and the numberless aromatic herbs exhale such a profusion of the richest odours that the whole atmosphere seems impregnated with spicy perfume. It is well watered by the river Candura, and numerous smaller streams and rivulets that spring from the shady sides of Mount Artemira. It contains two cities—Rhodes, the capital, inhabited chiefly by Turks, and a small number of Jews; and the ancient Lindus, now reduced to a hamlet, peopled by Greeks, who are almost all engaged in commerce. Besides these there are five villages occupied by Turks and a small number of Jews; and five towns and forty-one villages, inhabited by Greeks. The whole population was estimated by Savery at 36,500; but Turner, a later traveller, estimates them only at 20,000, of whom 14,000 were Greeks, and 6000 Turks, with a small mixture of Jews residing chiefly in the capital.

The city of Rhodes is famous for its huge brazen statue of Apollo, called Colossus, which stood at the mouth of the harbour, and was so high that ships passed in full sail between its legs. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, the disciple of Lysippus; its height was 126 feet, and twelve years were occupied in its construction. It was thrown down by an earthquake, in the reign of Ptolemy III., Euergetes, king of Egypt, after having stood 56 years. The brass of which it was composed was a load for 900 camels. Its extremities were sustained by sixty pillars of marble, and a winding staircase led up to the top, from whence a view might be obtained of Syria, and the ships proceeding to Egypt, in a large looking-glass suspended to the neck of the statue. There is not a single vestige of this celebrated work of art now remaining.

St. Paul appears to have visited Rhodes while on his journey to Jerusalem, A.D. 58 (Acts xxi. 1).

The Sept. translators place the Rhodians among the children of Javan (Gen. x. 4), and in this they are followed by Eusebius, Jerome, and Isidore; but Bochart maintains that the Rhodians are too modern to have been planted there by any immediate son of Javan, and considers that Moses rather in-

tended the Gauls on the Mediterranean towards the mouth of the Rhone, near Marseilles, where there was a district called Rhodanusia, and a city of the same name. They also render Ezek. xxvii. 15, 'children of the Rhodians,' instead of, as in the Hebrew, 'children of Dedan.' Calmet considers it probable that here they read 'children of Redan or Rodan,' but that in Gen. x. 4, they read 'Dedan,' as in the Hebrew.

The antiquities of Rhodes reach no farther back than the residence of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The remains of their fine old fortress, of great size and strength, are still to be seen; the cells of the knights are entire, but the sanctuary has been converted by the Turks into a magazine for military stores.

In modern times Rhodes has been chiefly celebrated as one of the last retreats of this military order, under whom it obtained great celebrity by its heroic resistance to the Turks; but in the time of Solyman the Great a capitulation was agreed upon, and the island was finally surrendered to the Turks, under whom it has since continued.

It is now governed by a Turkish Pacha, who exercises despotic sway, seizes upon the property of the people at his pleasure, and from whose vigilant rapacity scarcely anything can be concealed. Under this iron rule the inhabitants are ground to poverty, and the island is becoming rapidly depopulated (Coronelli, *Isolandi Rodi Geografica;* Clarke's *Travels;* Turner's *Journal;* Schubert's *Reise ins Morgenl.*).—G. M.-B.

RIBLAH (רִבְלָה; Sept. Ῥαβλαάμ), a town on the northern border of Palestine, in the district of Hamath, through which the Babylonians, both in their irruptions and departures, were accustomed to pass (Num. xxxiv. 11; 2 Kings xxiii. 33; xxv. 26; Jer. xxxix. 5; lii. 10). This place is no where mentioned but in the Bible. The Jewish commentators, exchanging the ר for ד, supposed it to denote Daphne or Antioch (Jerome, *Onomast.* s. v. 'Riblatha;' and on Ezek. xlvii.). This city, however, was too far from Hamath to the north boundary of Palestine. It is perhaps represented by the site called Ribleh, which Buckingham found thirty or forty miles south of Hamath on the Orontes (*Arab Tribes,* p. 481).

RIDDLE (חִידָה), literally, 'something intricate or complicated;' αἴνιγμα. Gesenius derives the Hebrew word from the Arabic حال 'to bend off, or tie in knots;' and the immediate etymology usually assigned to the Greek word is αἰνίσσομαι, 'to hint obscurely.' The Hebrew word (Judg. xiv. 12-19) properly means 'a riddle or enigma; 'Sept. πρόβλημα; Vulg. *problema* and *propositio;* where Samson proposes to the thirty young Philistines who attended his nuptials, an enigma, derived from the circumstance of his having lately found a swarm of bees and honey in the skeleton of the lion, which he had killed some months before, when he had come to espouse his wife [Bee]. This riddle or enigma, though unfair in regard to those who accepted the pledge to unravel it, because they were ignorant of the particular fact by the knowledge of which alone it could be explained by them, nevertheless answers to the approved definition of an enigma, as consisting of an artful and abstruse proposition, put in obscure, ambiguous, and even contrary terms, in order to exercise the ingenuity of others in finding out its meaning.

The pleasure of the propounder is derived from perplexing his hearers; and theirs from overcoming the difficulty, which is usually renewed by their proposing another enigma.

This kind of amusement seems to have been resorted to, especially at entertainments, in all ages among different nations; and has even been treated as an art, and reduced to rules. The chief writers on this curious subject are, Nic. Reusner (*Ænigmatograph.*) and F. Menestrier.

The principal rules laid down for the construction of an enigma are the following: that it must be obscure, and the more obscure the better, provided that the description of the thing, however covered and abstract, and in whatever remote or uncommon terms, be really correct; and it is essential that the thing thus described be well known. Sometimes, and especially in a witty enigma, the amusement consists in describing a thing by a set of truisms, which tell their own meaning, but which confound the hearer, through his expectation of some deep and difficult meaning. The *greater enigma* is to be rendered more intricate and knotty by a multitude of words; the *lesser* may consist of only one or two remote words or allusions.

The speech of Lamech to his wives Adah and Zillah (Gen. xiv. 23, 24) is, possibly, an enigmatic mode of communicating some painful intelligence. It is recorded (1 Kings x. 1) that the queen of Sheba came to prove Solomon בחידות; Sept. ἐν αἰνίγμασι; Vulg. *in ænigmatibus.* Josephus relates that Hiram, king of Tyre, tried the skill of Solomon in the same way; and quotes Dius to attest that Solomon sent riddles to Hiram, and that the Tyrian king forfeited much money to Solomon from his inability to answer them, but redeemed it, upon a man of Tyre named Abdemon being found able to solve them (*Antiq.* viii. 5. 3). The description of the Messiah under the name of the Branch, נצר, when considered in regard to the occasion and context, may be considered as a specimen of the lesser enigma (see Lowth upon the passage). 'The number of the beast' (Rev. xiii. 18), may be also considered as an enigma. The other instances in which the Hebrew word is used all exhibit more or less of the enigmatic character. They are as follows, with the Sept. and Vulg. readings:—Num. xii. 8, where it means 'an oracle or vision,' δι' αἰνιγμάτων, *non per ænigmata et figuras* (Moses) *dominum videt;* Ps. xlix. 5, 'a song,' πρόβλημα, *propositio;* lxxviii. 2, 'dark sayings,' προβλήματα, *propositiones;* Prov. i. 6, 'intricate proverbs,' αἰνίγματα, *ænigmata;* Ezra xvii. 2, 'a parable,' διήγημα, Aq.; αἴνιγμα, *ænigma;* Dan. viii. 23, 'artifices;' προβλήματα, *propositiones, ænigmata;* Hab. ii. 6, 'a song,' πρόβλημα, *loquela ænigmatum.* In the Apocrypha we find (Wisd. xlvii. 15) παραβολαῖς αἰνιγμάτων, *ænigmata;* in the New Testament (1 Cor. xiii. 12), ἐν αἰνίγματι, *in ænigmate,* which Bretschneider points out as a quotation of Num. xii. 8, and where αἰνίγματι is opposed to τὸ εἶδος, 'the clear reality.' The word enigma, taken in the extensive meaning of its root, αἶνος, certainly applies to an immense portion of the sacred writings, viz. as a narrative or tale, having an application to present

circumstances; *Odyss.* xiv. 508, a fable, bearing moral instruction; Hes. *Oper.* 202, which nearly approaches to the nature of a parable [PARABLE]; a pointed sentence, saying, or proverb (Theocritus, xiv. 13) [PROVERB; PROPHECY]. According to Lennep, the word *αἴνιγμα*, taken substantively, means '*anything* obscure.' As specimens of the enigmatical style in the Old Testament, Winer points out Prov. xxx. 12-19; Isa. xxi. 12. In the New we may adduce our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus (John iii. 3), and with the Jews (vi. 51, &c.), where the enigmatical style is adopted for the purpose of engaging attention, in an unrivalled manner (Winer, *Bibl. Archäol.*; Stuck, *Antiq. Conviv.* iii. 17).—J. F. D.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן) is mentioned in numerous places in the Old Testament, and is universally acknowledged to denote the Pomegranate-tree and fruit, being described in the works of the Arabs by the name *rooman*. The pomegranate is a native of Asia; and we may trace it from Syria, through Persia, even to the mountains of Northern India. It is common in Northern Africa, and was early cultivated in Egypt: hence the Israelites in the desert complain (Num. xx. 5), 'It is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of *pomegranates*.' Being common in Syria and Persia, it must have early attracted the attention of Eastern nations. In the present day it is highly valued, and travellers describe the pomegranate as being delicious throughout Persia. The late Sir A. Burnes states that the famous pomegranates without seeds are grown in gardens under the snowy hills, near the river Cabul. The bright and dark-green foliage of the pomegranate, and its flowers conspicuous for the crimson colour both of the calyx and petals, must have made it an object of desire in gardens; while its large reddish-coloured fruit, filled with numerous seeds, each surrounded with juicy pleasant-tasted pulp, would make it still more valuable as a fruit in warm countries. The pulpy grains of this fruit are sometimes eaten by themselves, sometimes sprinkled with sugar; at other times the juice is pressed out and made into wine, or one of the esteemed sherbets of the East. This seems also to have been the custom in ancient times, for it is said in Canticles, viii. 2, 'I would cause thee to drink of spiced wine of the juice of my pomegranate.' The beauty of the fruit when bursting and displaying the delicate colours of the pulpy grains, seems to be referred to in the following passage of the same book (vi. 7), 'As a piece of pomegranate are thy cheeks (temples) within thy locks;' so also the beauty of the flower-beds when first opening made it an object of attraction (vi. 11), 'I went into the garden of nuts, &c., to see whether the pomegranates budded;' and again in vii. 12. Being valued as a fruit, and admired as a flower, it was to be expected that it should be cultivated in gardens and orchards; and to this several passages refer, as Canticles iv. 13. In other places it is enumerated with the more valued and cultivated trees of the country, such as the vine, the fig-tree, the palm-tree, and the olive, as in Joel i. 12; Hag. xi. 19. The pomegranate is not likely to have been a native of Egypt; it must, however, have been cultivated there at a very early period, as the Israelites, when in the desert, lamented the loss of its fruit. That it was produced in Palestine during the same early ages is evident, from the spies bringing some back when sent into Canaan to see what kind of a land it was; for we are told that they 'came unto the brook of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, &c., and they brought of the pomegranates, and of the figs.'

The pomegranate was well known to the Greeks, being the *ῥοά* of Theophrastus, and of Dioscorides, (i. 151). It was employed as a medicine by Hippocrates, and is mentioned by Homer under the name *side*, supposed to be of Phœnician origin. Its English name is derived from the pomum granatum ('grained apple') of the Romans. Various parts of the plant were employed medicinally, as, for instance, the root, or rather its bark, the flowers which are called *κύτινος* by Dioscorides, and the double flowers *βαλαύστιον*; also the rind of the pericarp, called *malicorium* by the Romans, and *σίδιον* by Dioscorides. Some of the properties which these plants possess, make them useful both as drugs and as medicines. We have hence a combination of useful and ornamental properties, which would make the pomegranate an object sure to command attention; and these, in addition to the showy nature of the flowers, and the roundish form of the fruit, crowned by the protuberant remains of the calyx, would induce its selection as an ornament to be imitated in carved work. Hence we find frequent mention of it as an ornament on the robes of the priests (Exod. xxviii. 33; xxxix. 24); and also in the temple (1 Kings vii. 18, 20, 42; 2 Kings xxv. 17; 2 Chron. iii. 16; iv. 13). It might, therefore, well be adduced by Moses among the desirable objects of the land of promise (Deut. viii. 8): 'a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive and honey.'—J. F. R.

RIMMON, the name of several places in Palestine, probably distinguished by the presence of pomegranate-trees.

1. A city of the tribe of Simeon, in the south of Palestine (Josh. xv. 32; xix. 7; 1 Chron. iv. 32; Zech. xiv. 10).

2. A town on a high conical chalky rock or peak, north-east of Gibeah and Michmash, near the desert (Judg. xx. 45, 47; xxi. 13). The *Onomasticon* places it fifteen miles north in Jerusalem, which corresponds to the situation of this rock, which is still crowned by a village bearing the name of Rummon: see Robinson's *Palestine*, ii. 113. Some suppose this the Rimmon mentioned in 1 Sam. xiv. 2.

3. A city of Zebulon (Josh. xix. 3; 1 Chron. vi. 62).

4. A station of the Israelites after leaving Sinai (Num. xxxiii. 19).

RIMMON, an idol worshipped by the Syrians (2 Kings v. 18). As this name is found nowhere but in the Bible, and there only in the present text, nothing positive can be affirmed concerning the power it symbolized. If it be referred to the pomegranate, we may suppose that the fruit had become the symbol of some mysterious powers in nature. But many commentators entitled to respect, as Le Clerc, Selden, Vitringa, and Rosenmüller, would rather seek the signification of the word in רמם *ramam*, 'the exalted;' in which case we may take it to have been a name

of eminence applied to the sun, or rather to some idol under which the sun was represented.

RIPHATH (רִיפַת; Sept. Ῥιφάθ; in 1 Chron. Diphath, דִּיפַת), a northern people descended from Gomer (Gen. x. 3). See NATIONS, DISPERSION OF.

RIVER. All the rivers mentioned in Scripture are in this work described under their respective names, except such as are included in the article PALESTINE. The NILE is described under EGYPT; and GIHON and PISON are considered under PARADISE.

It may be desirable to discriminate the words which are applied to different kinds of rivers in Scripture.

1. יְאֹר and יְאוֹר *jeor*, which appears to have been of Egyptian origin, denotes a 'fosse,' or 'river:' (it was expressed by IORO in the dialect of Memphis, and by IERO in that of Thebes, while it appears as IOR in the Rosetta inscription). This name is applied exclusively in Scripture to 'the river of Egypt' (יאר מצרים), excepting in Dan. xii. 5, 6, 7, where it denotes another river. This 'river of Egypt' is undoubtedly the Nile; and is to be distinguished from the 'brook of Egypt,' mentioned below.

2. נָהָר *nahar*, is the word generally used to express any river or perennial stream. It has at this day the same application in Arabic, in which language also, as in Hebrew, it includes canals, as the '*Nahar*awan of Khuzistan; and the Scripture must mean the Euphrates *and its canals*, where it speaks of 'the rivers (*naharoth*) of Babylon' (Ps. cxxxvii. 1).

3. נַחַל, *nachal*, denotes a stream, brook, or torrent, whether perennial or not, but mostly not, as most of the brooks of Palestine are torrents, flowing only in winter [PALESTINE]. See a picturesque allusion to such brooks in Job vi. 15. When the word stands alone it seems to denote a mere winter torrent, a permanent stream being indicated by the addition of the word אֵיתָן, 'perennial,' as in Ps. lxxiv. 15; Deut. xxxi. 4; Amos v. 24. A few brooks are specially designated, as the BROOK OF WILLOWS (Isa. xv. 7), a stream on the east of the Dead Sea, probably the present Wady-el-Ahsy, which descends from the eastern mountains, and enters the eastern end of the Dead Sea; the ARNON (see the word); the JABBOK (which see); the BESOR (*the cold*), a torrent emptying itself into the Mediterranean near Gaza (1 Sam. xxx. 9, 10, 21): the KIDRON, the KISHON (see the two words); and the KANAH, a stream on the borders of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh. xvi. 18; xvii. 9). 'The BROOK of EGYPT,' mentioned in Num. xxxiv. 5; Josh. xv. 4, 47; 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Kings xxiv. 7; Isa. xxvii. 12; which is also called simply 'the brook' (Ezek. xlvii. 19; xlviii. 28), and described as on the confines of Palestine and Egypt, is unquestionably the Wady-el-Arish, near the village of that name, which was anciently called Rhinocorura. The 'river' (*jeor*) of Egypt' is, however, the Nile; and it is unfortunate that the two are not so well distinguished in the Authorized Version as in the original.

The word *nachal* (נחל) sometimes occurs in the sense of the Arabic *Wady*, that is, a valley watered by a brook or torrent. Such are the valley of ESHCOL (which see); the valley of GERAR (Gen. xxvi. 17); and as *nachal* signifies both a brook and the valley in which it flows, the same terms may be understood of either, as in the case of the 'brook' Zered in Deut. ii. 13, 14; which is expressed by the same word as the 'valley' of Zered in Num. xxi. 12; and in some cases it is difficult to say which is meant, as in Josh. xv. 7; xix. 14, comp. 11. The valley of SOREK (Judg. xvi. 4), so called probably from its vineyards, Eusebius and Jerome place north of Eleutheropolis, and near to Zorah. The valley of SHITTIM ('acacias') was in Moab, on the borders of Palestine (Joel iv. 18; comp. Num. xxv. 1; Josh. ii. 1; iii. 1; Mic. vi. 5). The valley of ZERED was in the territory of Moab, east of the Dead Sea (Num. xxi. 12; Deut. ii. 13, 14), probably the same with 'the Brook of Willows.'

RIZPAH (רִצְפָּה, *a coal;* Sept. Ῥεσφά), a concubine of Saul, memorable for the touching example of maternal affection which she afforded, in watching the dead bodies of her sons, and driving the birds away from them, when they had been gibbeted by the Gibeonites (2 Sam. iii. 7; xxi. 8, 10, 11).

ROADS. In the East, where travelling is performed mostly on some beast of burden, certain tracks were at a very early period customarily pursued; and that the rather as from remote ages commerce and travelling went on by means of caravans, under a certain discipline, and affording mutual protection in their passage from city to city, and from land to land. Now wherever such a band of men and animals had once passed they would form a track which, especially in countries where it is easy for the traveller to miss his way, subsequent caravans or individuals would naturally follow; and the rather inasmuch as the original route was not taken arbitrarily, but because it led to the first cities in each particular district of country. And thus at a very early period were there marked out on the surface of the globe lines of inter-communication, running from land to land, and in some sort binding distant nations together. These, in the earliest times, lay in the direction of east and west, that being the line on which the trade and the civilization of the earth first ran.

The purposes of war seem, however, to have furnished the first inducement to the formation of made, or artificial roads. War, we know, afforded to the Romans the motive under which they formed their roads; and doubtless they found them not only to facilitate conquest, but also to insure the holding of the lands they had subdued; and the remains of their roads which we have under our own eyes in this island, show us with what skill they laid out a country, and formed lines of communication. To the Romans, chiefly, was Palestine indebted for such roads.

There seem, indeed, to have been roads of some kind in Palestine at an earlier period. Language is employed which supposes the existence of artificial roads. In Isa. xl. 3 are these words, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.' There cannot be a

more graphic description of the operations and results connected with the formation of a long and important road. That this is the language of prophetic inspiration affords no objection, but rather confirms our view; for poetry, as being an appeal to widely-spread feelings, grounds itself, in such a case as this, on fact; nor could such imagery as we find here have been employed, had artificial roads been unknown in Palestine. Nor is the imagery unusual (comp. Isa. xi. 16; xix. 23; xxxiii. 8; xxxv. 8; xlix. 11; lxii. 10). In 1 Sam. vi. 12 we read, 'The kine went along the highway, lowing as they went, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left.' In Numbers also (xx. 17), 'We will go by the king's highway,' &c. (xxi. 22; Deut. ii. 27; Lev. xxvi. 22). Whether or not these were roads in the modern acceptation of the term, we know from the law regarding a free, open, and good passage to the cities of refuge (see that article, and Deut. xix. 3, compared with *Mishna*, tit. *Maccoth*), that the minds of the Israelites were early familiarized with the idea: 'Thou shalt prepare thee a way,' &c., 'that every slayer may flee thither.' And, much as we hesitate to differ from so high an authority, we cannot agree with Winer (*Real-wört.* in 'Strasse'), that this last cited passage stands alone; for other passages have been given which, when taken in conjunction with it, seem to prove that to some extent artificial roads were known to the Hebrews in the commencement of their commonwealth. Indeed it is highly probable that the Hebrews had become acquainted with roads during their sojourn in Egypt, where, in the Delta especially, the nature of the country would require roads and highways to be thrown up and maintained. Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 7. 4) expressly says, 'Solomon did not neglect the care of the ways, but he laid a causeway of black stone (basalt) along the roads that led to Jerusalem, both to render them easy for travellers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches.' Winer, indeed, remarks that Josephus's roads find no support in the Bible. But although these particular roads may not be mentioned, it does not hence follow that they did not exist; but mention is made, as we have seen, of ways and highways in the Scriptural authorities. To the Romans, however, Palestine was greatly indebted for its roads. On this subject Reland (*Palæstina*) has supplied useful information. In the East generally, and in Palestine in particular, the Romans formed roads, and set up mile-stones, in imitation of what they had done in Italy. These stones bore the names σημεῖα, στήλοι, and κίονες. From the fact of their existing in Palestine, Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, frequently uses the terms ἐν ἕκτῳ σημείῳ, and similar phrases. In Reland's time fragments of these mile-stones still remained.

For the merely internal Palestinian roads, Reland may be consulted. He gives a list of them (iii. 2), which will supply the reader with the requisite information, especially if studied under the corrections supplied by recent travellers.

Our remarks will be confined to roads which connected Palestine with other countries, since a notice of the internal roads as well, if at all complete, would require too much space.

The Phœnicians, as a mercantile people, maintained a connection not only with the West, by sea, but also, overland, with the East. They had two great commercial highways. One came out of Arabia Felix, through Petra. The other struck from the northern extremity of the Persian Gulf, through Palestine, to Tyre.

The first road in Palestine which we mention ran from Ptolemais, on the coast of the Mediterranean, to Damascus. This road remains to the present day. Beginning at Ptolemais (Acco), it ran southward to Nazareth, and continuing south and east, passed the plain of Esdraelon on the north; after which, turning north and east, it came to Tiberias, where, running along the Sea of Galilee, it reached Capernaum, and having passed the Jordan somewhat above the last place, it went over a spur of the Anti-Libanus (Jebel Heish), and keeping straight forward east by north, came to Damascus. This road was used for the purposes both of trade and war. In the history of the Crusades it bears the name of Via Maris. It connected Europe with the interior of Asia. Troops coming from Asia over the Euphrates passed along this way into the heart of Palestine. Under the Romans it was a productive source of income. It was on this road, not far from Capernaum, that Jesus saw Matthew sitting 'at the receipt of custom,' and gave him his call to the apostleship.

Another road passed along the Mediterranean coast southward into Egypt. Beginning at Ptolemais, it ran first to Cæsarea, thence to Diospolis, and so on through Ascalon and Gaza down into Egypt. This was also an important line of communication, passing as it did through cities of great importance, running along the coast and extending to Egypt. A glance at the map will show how important it was for trade by land and by sea, as well as for the passage of troops. A branch of this road connected the sea with the metropolis, leading from the same Cæsarea through Diospolis to Jerusalem. Down this branch Paul was sent on his way to Felix (Acts xxiii. 23, 26). The band went through Antipatris, and thence on to Cæsarea.

A third line of road connected Galilee with Judæa, running through the intervening Samaria (Luke xvii. 11; John iv. 4; Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 6. 1; *Vita*, § 32). The journey took three days. Passing along the plain of Esdraelon the traveller entered Samaria at Ginea (Jenin), and was thence conducted to Samaria (Sebaste), thence to Shechem (Nablous), whence a good day's travel brought him to Jerusalem. This last part of the journey has been described by Maundrell (*Journey*, p. 85, sq.).

In the time of the Romans there was also a road from Jerusalem to the lake Gennesareth, through Shechem and Scythopolis. The same road sent a branch off at Scythopolis, in a westerly direction through Esdraelon to Cæsarea; and another branch across the Jordan to Gadara, on to Damascus, along which line of country there still lies a road, southward of the sea of Galilee, to the same celebrated city.

There were three chief roads running from Jerusalem. One passed in a north-easterly direction over the Mount of Olives, by Bethany, through openings in hills and winding ways on to Jericho, near which the Jordan was passed when travellers took their way to the north, if they wished to pass through Perœa: which was the road the Galilean Jews, in coming to and returning from the festivals in the capital, were accustomed to take, thus

avoiding the unfriendly territory of Samaria; or travellers turned their faces towards the south, if they intended to go towards the Dead Sea. This road was followed by the Israelites when they directed their steps towards Canaan. Through Peræa the Syrian and Assyrian armies made their hostile advances on Israel (2 Kings viii. 28; ix. 14; x. 32, sq.; 1 Chron. v. 26).

A second road led from Jerusalem southward to Hebron, whence travellers went through the wilderness of Judæa to Aila, as the remains of a Roman road still show; or they might take a westerly direction on to Gaza, a way which is still pursued, and is of two days' duration. The ordinary way from Jerusalem to Gaza appears, in the Roman period, to have lain through Eleutheropolis and Ascalon. From Gaza through Rhinocorura and Pelusium was the nearest road down into Egypt from Jerusalem (*Antiq.* xiv. 14. 2). Along this road many thousand prisoners, made by Vespasian in his capture of Jerusalem, were sent to Alexandria in order to be shipped for Rome. Of these two roads from Jerusalem to Gaza, one went westward by Ramlah and Ascalon; the other southward by Hebron. This last road Raumer (*Palästina*, p. 191; see also his *Beiträge*, published after Robinson's work on Palestine, namely, in 1843, correcting or confirming the views given in his *Palästina*, 1838) is of opinion was that which was taken by Philip (Acts viii. 26, sq.), partly because tradition states that the eunuch was baptized in the vicinity of Hebron, and this road from Jerusalem to Hebron runs through the 'desert' Thekoa (Thecua) in the *Onomasticon*. And here he finds the reason of the angel's command to go 'towards the south;' for Hebron lay south of Jerusalem; whereas but for this direction Philip might have gone westward by Ramlah. Robinson, admitting that there is a road from Jerusalem to Hebron, maintains (ii. 640; i. 320) that Philip went by a third road, which led down Wady Musurr to Betogabra (Eleutheropolis), and thinks that he has found at *Tell el-Hasy* the spot where the eunuch received baptism. But, says Raumer (*Beiträge*, p. 41), this road ran in a south-westerly direction, and Philip was commanded to go towards the south, for which purpose he must have gone by Hebron. Raumer then proceeds to confirm his original position. Jerome, in his *Life of Paula*, testifies that a road from Jerusalem to Gaza went through Hebron. Paula travelled from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, which lay south of the city: 'When she reached Bethlehem she quickened the pace of her horse and took the old road which leads to Gaza.' This road conducted to Bethsur (a little north of Hebron), 'where,' says Jerome, 'while he read the Scriptures, the eunuch found the Gospel fountain.' 'This,' adds Raumer, 'is the same Bethsur of which Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, says, "As you go from Aelia to Hebron, at the twentieth mile-stone, you meet Bethsoron, near which, at the foot of a mountain, is a fountain bubbling out of the soil. The Acts of the Apostles state that the chamberlain of Queen Candace was baptized in it by Philip." From Bethsur Paula proceeded to Hebron. The *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (of the year 333) mentions Bethsur as the place where the baptism was performed.'

Raumer concludes by remarking—'Robinson rightly rejects tradition when it contradicts the Sacred Scriptures, but he must also reject those pretended scientific theories which contradict Holy Writ. Such hypotheses may easily become the groundwork of scientific legends. To fix the baptismal-place of the Chamberlain at Tel el-Hasy, contradicts the Scripture; but Bethsur, which has from the earliest ages been so accounted, agrees with the passage in the Acts of the Apostles.'

There only remains for us to mention what Winer reckons the third of the three great roads which ran from Jerusalem; this third road went to the Mediterranean at Joppa (Jaffa), a way which from the time of the Crusades has been taken by pilgrims proceeding to the Holy City from Egypt and from Europe.

In addition to the works already referred to, see De Wette, *Archäologie;* Scholz, *Archäologie;* Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 740; Ritter, *Erdkunde;* Crome, *Palästina*, i. 8; Burckhardt, *Syria*, ii. 547; also the article GEOGRAPHY.—J. R. B.

ROAST. [FOOD.]

RODON (ῥόδον), signifying 'rose,' occurs only in the Apocryphal books of Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom. In the English translation of the Hebrew Scriptures 'rose' occurs also in the Song of Solomon xi. 1, and in Isaiah xxxv. 1; but in neither of these passages is there any proof that the word *Chabbazzeleth* ought to be so rendered. Indeed by many the narcissus is thought to be intended. In the books of the Apocrypha written in Greek, the word ῥόδον may seem to indicate the same plant that it did among the Greeks, namely, the rose. Thus in Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 14, 'I was exalted like a palm tree in Engaddi, and as a *rose plant* in Jericho;' in xxxix. 13, 'and bud forth as a *rose* growing by the brook of the field;' and the high priest's ornaments are compared in l. 8, to 'the flowers of roses in the spring of the year.' But the passage in the Book of Wisdom (xi. 8), 'Let us crown ourselves with roses ere they be withered,' is especially well-suited to the rose. But roses have not been found by travellers in the neighbourhood of Jericho; they cannot be considered exactly as spring flowers; nor do they grow specially by the sides of brooks.

The rose was as highly esteemed among ancient, as it is among modern nations, if we may judge by the frequent references to it in the poets of antiquity. As we know that it continues to be the favourite flower of the Persians, and is much cultivated in Egypt, we might expect more frequent mention of some of its numerous species and varieties in the Jewish writings. This, however, is not the case, and probably arises from its being less common in a wild state in a comparatively dry and warm climate like that of Syria. It is, however, indigenous in some parts. Monro, as quoted by Kitto in the *Physical History of Palestine*, 'found in the valley of Baalbec, a creeping rose of a bright yellow colour in full bloom, about the end of May. About the same time, on advancing towards Rama and Joppa from Jerusalem, the hills are found to be to a considerable extent covered with white and pink roses. The gardens of Rama itself abound in roses of a powerful fragrance.' Mariti, as stated by Rosenmüller, found the greatest quantity of roses in the hamlet of St. John, in the desert of the same name. 'In this place the rose-plants form small forests in the gardens. The

greatest part of the roses reared there are brought to Jerusalem, where rose-water is prepared from them, of which the scent is so very exquisite, that in every part of Lycia, and also in Cyprus, it is in request above all other rose-waters.' Burckhardt was struck with the number of rose-trees which he found among the ruins of Bozra beyond the Jordan. That the rose was cultivated in Damascus is well known. Indeed one species is named *Rosa Damascena* from being supposed to be indigenous there. 'In the gardens of the city roses are still much cultivated. Monro says that in size they are inferior to our damask rose, and less perfect in form; but that their odour and colour are far more rich. The only variety that exists in Damascus is a white rose, which appears to belong to the same species, differing only in colour' (Kitto, *l. c.* p. cclxxxiv.).



470. [Oleander.]

It is possible, however, that the common rose may not be the plant meant in the above passages of Ecclesiasticus, and that the name *rodon* may have been used in a general sense, so as to include some rose-like plants. We have an instance of this, indeed, in the oleander, of which *rhododendron*, or *rose-tree*, was one of the ancient names, and *rhododaphne* another. The former name is now applied to a very different genus of plants, but *laurier-rose*, the French translation of rhododaphne, is still the common name in France of the plant which used to be called *rose bay* in this country, but which is now commonly called *oleander*. Its long and narrow leaves are like some kinds of willows, and in their hue and leathery consistence have some resemblance to the bay tree, while in its rich inflorescence it may most aptly be compared to the rose. The oleander is well-known to be common in the south of Europe, by the sides of rivers and torrents; also in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The present writer has seen it in similar situations in the north of India, and nothing can be conceived more beautiful than the rivulets at the foot of the mountains, with their banks lined with thickets of oleanders, crowned with large bunches of roseate coloured flowers. Most travellers in Palestine have been struck with the beauty of this plant. Of the neighbourhood of Tripoli, Rauwolf says, 'There also by the river's side are found anthilis marina, &c., and oleander with purple flowers by the inhabitants called defle.' At the foot of Lebanon, again he says, 'in the valley further down towards the water grew also the oleander.' It is mentioned as a conspicuous object in similar situations by Robinson and Smith. Mr. Kitto says, 'Among the plants in flower in April, the oleander flourishes with extraordinary vigour, and in some instances grows to a considerable size by all the waters of Palestine: when the shrub expands its splendid blossoms the effect is truly beautiful. Lord Lindsay speaks with rapture of the glorious appearance which the groves of blooming oleanders make in this season, along the streams and in the lone valleys of Palestine' (*l. c.* p. ccxxxvii.). 'In the month of May,' adds Mr. Kitto (*l. c.* p. ccxliv.), 'oleanders, continuing still in bloom, are as much noticed in this as in the preceding month by travellers. Madox noticed in this month that fine oleanders in full bloom were growing all along the borders of the Lake of Tiberias, mostly in the water. The same observation was made by Monro. The lake is here richly margined with a wide belt of oleanders, growing in such luxuriance as they are never known to do even in the most genial parts of Europe.' Such a plant could hardly escape reference, and therefore we are inclined to think that it is alluded to in the book of Ecclesiasticus by the name ῥόδον. If this should not be considered sufficiently near to rhododaphne and rhododendron, we may state that in Arabic writers on Materia Medica, *rodyon* is given as the Syrian name of the oleander.

The plant commonly called 'Rose of Jericho,' is in no way referred to in the above-quoted passages. Dr. Lindley, in the *Gardener's Chronicle*, ii. 362, has thus described it: 'the *anastatica hierochuntica*, or rose of Jericho of the old herbalists, is not a rose at all, nor has it the smallest resemblance to a rose, nor is it, as it is often described to be, alive as sold in the shops. It is a little grey-leaved annual, very common in Palestine, and of which hundreds may be gathered in full flower in June, by the sides of the road over the Isthmus of Suez. It produces a number of short, stiff, zigzag branches, which spread pretty equally from the top of the root, and, when green and growing, lie almost flat upon the ground, having the flowers and fruit upon their upper side. It is, in fact, a cruciferous plant, nearly related to the common purple sea-rocket, which grows on the coast of England, and has a somewhat similar habit. When the seed-vessels of this plant are ripe, the branches die, and drying up, curve inwards, so as to form a kind of ball, which then separates from the roots, and is blown about on the sands of the desert. In the cavity thus formed by the branches, the seed-vessels are carefully guarded from being so disturbed as to lose their contents. In that condition the winds carry the anastatica from place to place, till at last rain falls, or it reaches a pool of water. The dry hard branches immediately absorb the fluid, become softened, relax, and expand again into the position they occupied when alive; at the same time the seed-

vessels open, and the seeds fall out, when, the place being suitable, they readily germinate, and establish themselves as new plants.' The effects, therefore, are owing to the hygroscopic properties of vegetable texture, which thus form of the anastatica 'hygromètres naturels,' according to D'Arvieux.—J. F. R.

ROE [Antelope; species Tsebi or Dorcas].

ROLL. [Writing.]

ROMAN EMPIRE: the government of the Romans as conducted by the emperors, of whom Augustus was the first. The term may be taken with some latitude of meaning, as representing the Roman state since the Romans came into contact with the Jews before the commencement of the imperial sway. We have not, however, the intention of entering into an account of the rise, progress, and decline of the Roman power, but merely to set forth a few of the more essential facts, speaking a little less briefly of the relations formed and sustained between the Romans and the Jews.

The foundations of Rome lie in an obscurity from which the criticism of Niebuhr has done little more than remove the legendary charm. Three tribes, however, formed the earliest population, namely, the Ramnenses (probably Romanenses, still further abbreviated into Ramnes), the Titienses (shortened into Tities, from Titus Tatius, their head), and the Luceres (probably an Etruscan horde, who migrated to Rome from Solonium, under Lucumo). In order to increase his population, and with a view to that conquest which he afterwards achieved, and which was only a small prelude to the immense dominion subsequently acquired, Romulus opened in Rome an asylum, inviting thereto those who, for whatever cause, fled from the neighbouring cities. To Rome accordingly there flocked the discontented, the guilty, the banished, and the aspiring, freemen and slaves. Thus were laid the foundations of the future mistress of the world, according to the ordinary reckoning, B.C. 753, the number of inhabitants at the first not exceeding, it is supposed, four thousand souls: what it arose to in the period of its greatest extent we have scarcely the means of ascertaining. Gibbon thus speaks:—'The number of subjects who acknowledged the laws of Rome, of citizens, of provincials, and of slaves, cannot now be fixed with such a degree of accuracy as the importance of the object would deserve. We are informed that when the Emperor Claudius exercised the office of censor he took an account of six millions nine hundred and forty-five thousand Roman citizens, who, with the proportion of women and children, must have amounted to about twenty millions of souls. The multitude of subjects of inferior rank was uncertain and fluctuating. But after weighing with attention every circumstance which could influence the balance, it seems probable that there existed in the time of Claudius about twice as many provincials as there were citizens, of either sex and of every age, and that the slaves were at least equal in number to the free inhabitants of the Roman world. The total amount of this imperfect calculation would rise to about one hundred and twenty millions of persons—a degree of population which possibly exceeds that of modern Europe, and forms the most numerous society that has ever been united under the same system of government.'

The government was at first kingly. Romulus, the first monarch, was probably succeeded by six others, during a period of 244 years, till in the year B.C. 509, kingly government was abolished when in the hands of Tarquinius Superbus, in consequence of his arrogant and oppressive despotism. A consular form of government succeeded, which was at the first of an essentially aristocratic character, but was compelled to give way by degrees to popular influence, till men of plebeian origin made their way to the highest offices and first honours in the state, when the government became an oligarchy; then fell into anarchy, from which it was rescued by the strong hand of Octavius Cæsar, who became sole master of the world by defeating Antony at Actium on the 2nd of September, A.U. 723 (B.C. 31), though



471. [Roman Emperor and Empress.]

it was not till the year 725 that the senate named Octavius Imperator, nor till the year 727 that he received the sacred title of Augustus. His empire had for its limit the Euphrates on the east, the cataracts of the Nile, the African deserts, and Mount Atlas on the south, the ocean on the west, and the Danube and the Rhine on the north.

The subjugated countries that lay beyond the limits of Italy were designated by the general name of Provinces. The first provisions necessary on the conquest of a country by the Roman arms were made with a view to secure the acquisition by the victorious general, in virtue of the power and authority (imperium) intrusted to him by the government at home. Accordingly the earliest object of attention was the ordering of the military power, and the procuring of suitable resources for subsisting the troops. These arrangements, however, were made not without a regard to the pacific relations into which the conquerors and the conquered had mutually entered. Acting on the principle that all unnecessary evil was gratuitous folly, the general availed himself of

the aid afforded by existing institutions, and only ventured to give displeasure by establishing new ones in cases where the laws and customs of a country were insufficient for his purposes. The civil government was, however, recognised, modified or remodelled by the conqueror, provisionally, and only until the Roman senate had made its behests known. Ordinarily, however, the general who had conquered the province constituted its government, in virtue of a law or decree of the senate in which the constitution (forma provinciæ) was set forth and established, or the provisional appointments already made were sanctioned and confirmed. In order to complete these structural arrangements, the general received special aid from ten senators, appointed for the purpose, whose counsel he was obliged to make use of. In thus re-forming the legal and social life of a province, the conquerors had the good sense to act in general with prudence and mildness, having regard in their appointments to local peculiarities and existing institutions, so far as the intended adjunction to the Roman power permitted, in order to avoid giving the provincials provocation for opposing their new masters. Under ordinary circumstances the government of the provinces was conducted by authorities sent for the purpose from Rome. Augustus divided the government of the provinces between himself and the senate in such a manner that he assigned to the senate the provinces which were so well secured and obedient that they needed no army to keep them in allegiance to Rome; while he kept under his own hands, in virtue of his imperium proconsulare, those that were more considerable and more difficult to hold. The government of the senatorial provinces lay between the consuls, for whom, after they had completed their consular office, two provinces were appointed; the other provinces were allotted to the prætors. Suetonius adds (*Octav.* 47) that Augustus sometimes made changes in this arrangement. Quæstors, chosen by lot out of those who were named for the year, went with the proconsuls into the provinces of the senate. Into the provinces of the emperor legati, or lieutenants, were sent, with propraetorial power, to act as representatives of their master: they wore the sword as an index of military authority, and had power of life and death over the soldiers—two distinctions which were not granted to the proconsuls, or governors of the senatorial provinces. The imperial lieutenants remained many years in the provinces; until, indeed, it pleased the emperor to recall them. Quæstors were not sent into the imperial provinces, but their place was supplied by 'procuratores,' called at a later period 'rationales,' who were generally taken from the equestrian order: they raised the revenue for the imperial treasury, and discharged the office of paymaster of the army. There was also in the senatorial provinces a procurator, who raised the income intended, not for the treasury, but for the emperor's privy purse: the smaller provinces, like Judæa, which belonged to Syria, were altogether governed by such.



472. [Roman Orator and Youth.]

The proconsuls, proprætors, and proprætorial lieutenants, when about to proceed into their several provinces, received instructions for their guidance from the emperor; and in cases in which these were found insufficient, they were to apply for special directions to the imperial head of the state. A specimen of such application may be found in Pliny's letter to Trajan, with the emperor's rescript, regarding the conduct which was to be observed towards the already numerous and rapidly growing sect of Christians. The administration of justice, so far as it did not belong to the province itself, was in the governor or lieutenants assembled in a conventus; an appeal lay from this court to the proconsul, and from him to Cæsar. Criminal justice was wholly in the hands of the local governor, and extended not only over the provincials, but the Roman citizens as well: in important cases the governors applied for a decision to the emperor. As the Romans carefully abstained from making any changes in religious matters, so in Palestine the judging of crimes against religion was left by them to the high-priest and the Sanhedrim, even so far as condemnation to death; but the execution of the sentence depended on the procurator (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1; Mark xiv. 53, 55, 62-65; John xviii. 31). The Jews, at least during the time covered by the Gospels, enjoyed the free exercise of their religion. They had their synagogues or temples of public worship, where they served God without molestation, streaming thither at their great festivals from all parts of the land, and making what offerings or contributions they pleased. On these points the testimony of Josephus is full and clear. The Roman presidents did indeed depose and set up high-priests as they pleased, but they confined their choice to the sacerdotal race. In these interferences they seem to have been guilty of acts of despotism, for which, as for other abuses of their power, they were liable to be called to account by an appeal of the injured to the Roman emperor, which was not often made in vain (*Antiq.* xviii. 2; 5 and 3; xx. 4, 3 and 4). Dr. Lardner has, in his own minute, accurate, and learned manner, reviewed the civil condition of the Jews during the time before referred to, dividing it into four heads—1. The period from the preaching of John the Baptist to our Saviour's resurrection; 2. Thence to the time of Herod the king, mentioned Acts xii.; 3. The reign of Herod; 4. From the end of this reign to the conclusion of the evangelical history (*Works*, London, 1827, i. 37, sq.).

In regard to the first period he concludes, after a long inquiry, that the Jews practised their own religious rites, worshipped at the Temple and in their synagogues, followed their own customs, and lived very much according to their own laws. They had their high-priests, council or senate, and inflicted lesser punishments; they could apprehend men and bring them before the council; and if a guard of soldiers was needful, could be assisted by them upon asking the governor for them; they could bind men and keep them in custody; the council could summon witnesses, take examinations, and, when they had any capital offenders, carry them before the governor. This governor usually paid a regard to what they offered, and, if they brought evidence of the fact, pronounced sentence according to their laws. He was the proper judge in all capital causes. In the second period the Scriptures do not make it clear that there was any Roman officer in Judæa. In the main the condition of the province was not dissimilar to what it was in the first period. The case of Stephen, who was stoned to death, may seem to be an exception; but it may be considered as the result of offended bigotry and of the outbreak of popular fury. The facts connected with the third period offer no difficulty, and may be found in Acts xii. Every order and act of Herod, here mentioned—his killing James with the sword, imprisoning Peter with intent to bring him forth to the people, commanding the keepers to be put to death—are undeniable proofs of his sovereign authority at this time in Judæa. In the fourth period the main thing is the treatment of Paul in Judæa, so far as there is any appearance of legal procedure. The case was this: a man was in danger of being killed in a popular tumult in Jerusalem; a Roman officer rescues him, takes him into his own hands, and lodges him in a castle; afterwards, that his prisoner might be safer, he removes him to Cæsarea, the residence of the governor, before whom there are divers hearings. There was therefore at the time a Roman governor in Judæa. A Jewish council also appears—one not void of authority. The charge was of a religious nature, yet is it heard before Felix and Festus, whose authority is acknowledged on all sides. Paul appealed to the Roman emperor. The general conclusion is, that if causes of a religious nature did not exclusively belong to the Romans, they had supreme power over the Jews in civil matters. These deductions, made from the Evangelists themselves, Lardner corroborates by an appeal to independent authorities, namely, the opinions of Roman lawyers concerning the power of the governors of provinces; the statements of historians relating to the condition of Judæa in particular; and similar information touching the state of the people in other provinces. Before, however, we speak of the connection in this period between Rome and Judæa, we must go back a little in order to show under what preliminary circumstances Judæa became a part of the great Roman empire. The Romans and Jews first came into political contact about B.C. 161, when Judas Maccabæus, being moved by the great and widely-spread military renown of the Romans, sent an embassy to Rome, and formed with them a treaty offensive and defensive, but with the special view of obtaining help against 'the Grecians,' that is, Demetrius, king of Syria (1 Macc. viii.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 10. 6; Justin, xxxvi. 3). The contests, however, which soon ensued in Syria, for the throne, gave the Jews respite from their neighbours, and even weight in the political scale, so that the treaty was not much called into operation (1 Macc. x. 11). Jonathan renewed and confirmed the connection with the Romans (1 Macc. xii.; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 8); as did Simon, who 'sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold, of a thousand pounds weight, to confirm the league with them' (1 Macc. xiv. 24). A very favourable answer was returned in the name of 'Lucius, consul of the Romans.' The Jews thus attained the honour of being admitted into the rank of friends (*socii*) of the Roman people—a dangerous distinction, but which seems to have had an immediately beneficial influence in restraining the Syrian kings, who at once recognised the high-priest Simon (1 Macc. xiv. 38, sq.; xiv. 16, sq.). John Hyrcanus, the successor of Simon, aided by these influences, was able to maintain himself as an independent prince during the conflicts which continued in Syria, and had occasion only once to appeal to Rome, namely, on occasion of injury inflicted on his country by Antiochus Sidetes: an embassy was dispatched to the senate, the treaty was renewed, and reparation, as well as immunity from future injury, was readily promised (*Antiq.* xiii. 9. 2). The Romans gained a nearer and more decided influence in Judæa through the conflicts for power carried on between Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II. Both these rivals sent an embassy to Scaurus, who had been detached by Pompey from the army which he was leading against Tigranes, and had come into Syria. Each of them offered Scaurus 400 talents. The bribe of Aristobulus was accepted, and Scaurus, as the service to be done for the payment, relieved Aristobulus by compelling Aretas, who was in alliance with Hyrcanus, to raise the siege of Jerusalem (*Antiq.* xiv. 2, 3). Shortly after, Pompey himself came to Damascus and marched over Cœle-Syria, where he was met by ambassadors from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. Pompey heard their rival claims, and the appeal of the Jewish nation against them, which alleged as their crime that they wished to subvert the established form of government, and each to make himself king of the Jews. The Roman chief saw his opportunity, marched to Jerusalem, and captured the city, making Hyrcanus high-priest and prince of the Jews, restricting his territory, and imposing tribute (*Antiq.* xiv. 4. 4.; Flor. iii. 5, 30; Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9). This is the event (B.C. 63) from which the loss of their liberty by the Jews is to be reckoned. Henceforth they formed a part of the province of Syria, under the protection of whose president they were; and from his avarice they had much to endure. The monarchy had passed into a species of aristocracy, which lasted for some time. But though the Jewish people then became subject to the Romans, and from that time forward the rod of Heaven may be said to have hung over the land, they yet enjoyed many privileges, as well as the freedom of their worship, under the mild government of these masters. When Pompey captured Jerusalem, he and some of his officers entered into the Temple, and the most holy places of it, but they took nothing away.

Julius Cæsar, whom political considerations led into the East, confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-

priesthood, and showed himself well-disposed towards the Jews by several decrees, but associated with Hyrcanus Antipater, an Idumæan, who, under the title of procurator of Judæa, was in reality the sole governor (*Antiq.* xiv. 10. 10; xiv. 8. 5). The Jews were anew declared friends of the Roman people, being in reality their subjects. In the year B.C. 40, the Roman senate declared Herod king of the Jews. Archelaus, Herod's son, being banished by Augustus (A.D. 6 or 7), Judæa was put under the immediate government of Rome. Josephus says, 'The dominion of Archelaus being reduced to a province, Coponius, a person of the equestrian order among the Romans, is sent thither, invested by Cæsar with the power of life and death' (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 1). In his *Antiquities* (xvii. 13. 5) he adds, 'Cyrenius also came into Judæa, it being annexed to the province of Syria.' The procurators, under whom Judæa had now fallen, had their official residence at Cæsarea. When Cyrenius came into Syria he took an account of the substance of the Jews. At first they were unwilling to endure this badge of subjection, but submitted with difficulty (*Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1). From this time, however, they continued tributary to Rome (Lardner, i. 80). In order to enforce the taxes and generally aid the procurator, a body of Roman soldiers (a cohort) was put at his disposal, which had their quarters permanently in the country, their head station being at Cæsarea. In Acts x. 1 mention is made of the Italian band at Cæsarea; which was so termed because composed of Italian soldiers, while the other troops in Syria and Judæa consisted of natives (Schwarz, *De Cohorte Italica*, Altorf, 1720). A portion of the troops was always stationed in Jerusalem at the Passover, in order to aid in preserving the peace: they had their quarters in the citadel Antonia, which commanded the Temple, and so controlled the city (*Antiq.* xix. 9. 2; xx. 4. 3; Acts xxi. 31, sq.; xxii. 24; xxiii. 23). The first procurator entrusted with the government of Judæa was Coponius; he was followed by Marcus Ambivius; then came Annius Rufus, in whose time Augustus died, A.D. 14. The next was Valerius Gratus, who was appointed by Tiberius: he continued in the province eleven years, and was then succeeded by Pontius Pilate, whose government lasted ten years. Lardner is of opinion that Pontius Pilate left Judæa before the Passover, A.D. 36. During the ensuing four or five years it may be questioned whether the Jews had a procurator residing amongst them with power of life and death, as they had from A.D. 7 to A.D. 36 or 37. They were, however, subject to the Romans. Lardner inclines to the opinion that they had no procurator residing among them from the time of Pilate's removal to Agrippa's accession. During this time they were immediately under the government, first of Vitellius, and then of Petronius, presidents of Syria. Hence some degree of license would be assumed by the Jewish authorities; which was manifested in their treatment of the first Christian missionaries, as shown in the stoning of Stephen, and the persecution which immediately broke out. In Acts ix. 31 a different state of things is recorded—'Then had the churches rest throughout all Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria.' This appears to have arisen from the Jews themselves being in distress. In Alexandria their houses of prayer were all destroyed. In the third year of Caligula, A.D. 39, Petronius was sent into Syria with orders to set up the emperor's statue in the Temple at Jerusalem. This rest of the churches seems to have reached some way into Herod Agrippa's reign. When he ascended the Jewish throne, as we have already intimated, the Jews had a king of their own, but he was a vassal king.

The Romans, during their dominion, introduced into Judæa many of their manners and customs; their money became current; their weights and measures were adopted; their mode of reckoning time was employed. Yet none of these things obtained more than partial prevalence. The Latin language no longer remained unknown, especially among the higher classes. In judicial proceedings and public documents the Latin was used. It must have been extensively spoken in Jerusalem, since (John xix. 20) the title which bore the allegation on which our Lord was ostensibly put to death was written in Latin, as well as in Greek and Hebrew (Val. Max. ii. 2. 2). These three tongues were indeed used, but in what proportion cannot now be ascertained. Many Latinisms are found in the diction of the New Testament, though they may not be so numerous as was once supposed (Olearius, *De Stylo N. T.* p. 368, sq.; Georgi, in the second part of his *Hierocrit. N. T.*, Viterb. 1733; Michaelis, *Einleit. N. T.*, i. 173, sq.; Winer, *Grammatik des Real Sprach.*, ed. Leipzig, 1844, Erst. Abschnitt). The language which our Lord spoke has been much disputed. The Latin (Wernsdorf, *De Christo Latine loquente*), has put in its claim. The Greek has done the same (D. Diodati, *De Christo Græce loquente*, by Dobbin, London, 1843). There can, however, be little doubt that he ordinarily employed the language of the people, which was neither Greek nor Latin, but Aramaic, a dialect of the Hebrew.

Not only in Judæa, but in other provinces of the Roman empire, the Jews enjoyed full freedom of worship, and were excused from military service on the express ground of their religious observances (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10; xix. 5. 3; Philo, *De Leg.* p. 1036). In Alexandria special favour was shown to the numerous Jews settled there, by their Roman masters.

The right of citizenship is spoken of in Acts xxii. 28, where we find the chief captain declaring, in relation to Paul's claim of being a Roman, 'With a great sum obtained I this freedom' (*πολιτεία, jus civitatis, civitas*). In the preceding twenty-fifth verse we learn that it was unlawful to scourge 'a man that was a Roman, and uncondemned.' These statements are in strict accordance with what we learn from independent sources [CITIZENSHIP] (Sigonius, *De Antiquo Jure Civ. Rom.*, Paris, 1572); found also in Grævii *Thesaurus*, i.; E. Spanheim, *Orbis Rom.*, London, 1703; Cellarii *Dissertatt.* p. 715, sq.; Fabric. *Bibliograph. Antiq.* p. 724, sq.). On the general subject of this article consult Eschenberg's *Classical Manual*, § *Roman Antiquities*, Wiley and Putnam, London, 1844; Ruperti's *Handbuch des Römisch. Alterthümer*, Hanover, 1841—a very accurate and comprehensive manual, in two volumes, 8vo.; Maillott and Martin, *Recherches sur les Costumes, les Mœurs, &c. des Anciens Peuples*. The first volume exhibits in detail the costume, manners, &c. of the Romans down to the last emperors of Constantinople. The engrav-

ings are taken from medals and monuments. Those who wish to study the morals of the Romans will find aid in Ruperti (*ut supra*, 2 Abtheil, p. 258, sq.); see also J. K. Unger, *Sitten und Gebrauche der Römer*, Wien, 1805; see also Arnold's *History of Rome*. Much information may be found by the English reader, on the state of manners in the first centuries after Christ, in the following fictions—Lockhart's *Valerius;* Bulwer's *Pompeii;* Ware's *Palmyra;* and in Milman's *History of Christianity*.—J. R. B.

ROMANS, THE EPISTLE TO THE. This epistle claims our interest more than the other didactic epistles of the Apostle Paul, because it is more systematic, and because it explains especially that truth which became subsequently the principle of the reformation, viz., righteousness through faith. Melanchthon was so fond of this epistle that he made it the subject of constant lectures, and twice copied it out with his own hand, just as Demosthenes copied Thucydides (comp. Strobel's *Litterärgeschichte der loci Theologici des Melanchthon*, p. 13): in these lectures he explained the leading dogmatical and ethical ideas, *i. e.* the *loci Theologici*, which, at a later period, gave rise to the dogmatical work bearing this title.

At the period when the apostle wrote the Epistle to the Romans, he had passed through a life full of experience. About four years after the composition of this letter Paul calls himself Πρεσβύτης, 'the aged' (Philemon, ver. 9). Paul was at this time between fifty and sixty years old. After having spent two years and a half at Ephesus, he planned a journey to Macedonia, Achaia, Jerusalem, and Rome (Acts xix. 21). Having spent about three months in travelling, he arrived at Corinth, where he remained three months (Acts xx. 2); and during this second abode at Corinth he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 1—3, and 2 Cor. ix. with Rom. xv. 25). Paul dispatched this letter by a Corinthian woman, who was just then travelling to Rome (xvi. 1), and sent greetings from an inhabitant of Corinth (xvi. 23; comp. 1 Cor. i. 14).

The data in the life of the apostle depend upon the year in which his conversion took place. Consequently we must have a settled opinion concerning the date of this event before we speak about the date of the Epistle to the Romans. The opinions of the learned fluctuate concerning the date of the conversion: some think that this event took place as early as A.D. 31 or 41; but it is by far more probable that the epistle was written about the year 58 or 59. The congregation of Christians at Rome was formed at a very early period, but its founder is unknown. Paul himself mentions two distinguished teachers at Rome, who were converted earlier than himself. According to Rom. i. 8, the Roman congregation had then attained considerable celebrity, as their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world. From chap. xvi. we learn that there were a considerable number of Christian teachers at Rome; from which we infer that the congregation had existed there for some time; and it is most likely that the Jews at Rome were first converted to Christianity. Under Augustus there were so many Jews at Rome, that this emperor appointed for them quarters beyond the Tiber. These Jews consisted mostly of freedmen, whom Pompey had carried to Rome as slaves: some of the early Christians at Rome followed mercantile pursuits.

At the time when this epistle was written, there were also Gentile Christians in the Roman church; and from passages like xi. 13; xv. 16; i. 7 and 13, we learn that the Gentile Christians were then more numerous than the converted Jews. It is well known that in those times many heathens embraced Judaism (Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 44; Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96). These converts to Judaism were mostly women. Such proselytes formed at that period the point of coalescence for the conversion of the Gentiles. Among the converts from Judaism to Christianity, there existed in the days of Paul two parties. The congregated apostles had decreed, according to Acts xv., that the converts from paganism were not bound to keep the ritual laws of Moses. There were, however, many converts from Judaism who were disinclined to renounce the authority of the Mosaic law, and appealed erroneously to the authority of James (Gal. ii. 9; comp. Acts xxi. [25]): they claimed also the authority of Peter in their favour. Such converts from Judaism, mentioned in the other epistles, who continued to observe the ritual laws of Moses, were not prevalent in Rome: however, Dr. Baur of Tübingen supposes that this Ebionitic tendency prevailed at that time in all Christian congregations, Rome not excepted. He thinks that the converts from Judaism were then more numerous than the Gentile Christians, and that all were compelled to submit to the Judaizing opinions of the majority (comp. Baur's *Abhandlung über Zweck und Veranlassung des Römerbriefs, in der Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1836). However, we infer from the passages above quoted, that the Gentile Christians were much more numerous at Rome than the converts from Judaism. Neander has also shown that the Judaizing tendency did not prevail in the Roman church (comp. Neander's *Pflanzung der Christlichen Kirche*, 3rd ed. p. 388). This opinion is confirmed by the circumstance, that, according to ch. xvi., Paul had many friends at Rome. Dr. Baur removes this objection only by declaring ch. xvi. to be spurious. He appeals to ch. xiv. in order to prove that there were Ebionitic Christians at Rome: it appears, however, that the persons mentioned in ch. xiv. were by no means strictly Judaizing zealots, wishing to overrule the Gentile Christians, but, on the contrary, some scrupulous converts from Judaism, upon whom the Gentile Christians looked down contemptuously. There were, indeed, some disagreements between the converts from Judaism and the Gentile Christians in Rome. This is evident from ch. xv. 6—9, and xi. 17, 18: these debates, however, were not of so obstinate a kind as among the Galatians; otherwise the apostle could scarcely have praised the congregation at Rome as he does in ch. i. 8 and 12, and xv. 14. From ch. xvi. 17—20, we infer that the Judaizers had endeavoured to find admittance, but with little success.

The opinions concerning the OCCASION and OBJECT of this letter, differ according to the various suppositions of those who think that the object of the letter was supplied by the occasion, or the supposition that the apostle selected his subject only after an opportunity for writing was offered. In earlier times the latter opinion prevailed, as, for instance, in the writings of Thomas

Aquinas, Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin. In more recent times the other opinion has generally been advocated, as, for instance, by Hug, Eichhorn, and Flatt. Many writers suppose that the debates mentioned in ch. xiv. and xv. called forth this epistle. Hug, therefore, is of opinion that the theme of the whole epistle is the following—JEWS AND GENTILES HAVE EQUAL CLAIM TO THE KINGDOM OF GOD. According to Eichhorn, the Roman Jews being exasperated against the disciples of Paul, endeavoured to demonstrate that Judaism was sufficient for the salvation of mankind; consequently Eichhorn supposes that the polemics of St. Paul were not directed against Judaizing converts to Christianity, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, but rather against Judaism itself. This opinion is also maintained by De Wette (*Einleitung ins Neue Testament*, 4th ed. § 138). According to Credner (*Einleitung*, § 141), the intention of the apostle was to render the Roman congregation favourably disposed before his arrival in the chief metropolis, and he therefore endeavoured to show that the evil reports spread concerning himself by zealously Judaizing Christians were erroneous. This opinion is nearly related to that of Dr. Baur, who supposes that the real object of this letter is mentioned only in ch. ix. to xi. According to Dr. Baur, the Judaizing zealots were displeased that by the instrumentality of Paul such numbers of Gentiles entered the kingdom of God, that the Jews ceased to appear as the Messianic people. Dr. Baur supposes that these Judaizers are more especially refuted in ch. ix. to xi., after it has been shown in the first eight chapters that it was in general incorrect to consider one people better than another, and that all had equal claims to be justified by faith. Against the opinion that the apostle, in writing the Epistle to the Romans, had this particular polemical aim, it has been justly observed by Rückert (in the second ed. of his *Commentar.*), Olshausen, and De Wette, that the apostle himself states that his epistle had a general scope. Paul says in the introduction that he had long entertained the wish of visiting the metropolis, in order to confirm the faith of the church, and to be himself comforted by that faith (ch. i. 12). He adds (i. 16), that he was prevented from preaching in the chief city by external obstacles only. He says that he had written to the Roman Christians in fulfilment of his vocation as apostle to the Gentiles. The journey of Phœbe to Rome seems to have been the external occasion of the epistle: Paul made use of this opportunity by sending the sum and substance of the Christian doctrine in writing, having been prevented from preaching in Rome. Paul had many friends in Rome who communicated with him; consequently he was the more induced to address the Romans, although he manifested some hesitation in doing so (xv. 15). These circumstances exercised some influence as well on the form as upon the contents of the letter; so that, for instance, its contents differ considerably from the Epistle to the Ephesians, although this also has a general scope. The especial bearings of the Epistle to the Romans are particularly manifest in ch. xiii. to xvi.; Paul shows to both Jews and Gentiles the glory of Christianity as being *absolute religion*, and he especially endeavours to confirm the faith of the converts from Judaism (iv.); Paul refers to the circumstance that in Rome the number of Gentile Christians was much greater than that of the converted Jews, and he explains how this was consistent with the counsel of God. He endeavours to re-establish peace between the contending parties; consequently he had to produce many arguments which might be converted into polemics (Polemik) against the Jews; but it does by no means follow that such polemics were the chief aim of the apostle.

CONTENTS OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.—It belongs to the characteristic type of St. Paul's teaching to exhibit the Gospel in its historical relation to the human race. In the Epistle to the Romans, also, we find that peculiar character of St. Paul's teaching, which induced Schelling to call St. Paul's doctrine a philosophy of the history of man. The real purpose of the human race is in a sublime manner stated by St. Paul in his speech in Acts xvii. 26, 27; and he shows at the same time how God had, by various historical means, promoted the attainment of his purpose. St. Paul exhibits the Old Testament dispensation under the form of an institution for the education of the whole human race, which should enable men to terminate their spiritual minority, and become truly of age (Gal. iii. 24, and iv. 1-4). In the Epistle to the Romans also, the apostle commences by describing the two great divisions of the human race, viz., those who underwent the preparatory spiritual education of the Jews, and those who did not undergo such a preparatory education. We find a similar division indicated by Christ himself (John x. 16), where he speaks of one flock separated by hurdles. The chief aim of all nations, according to St. Paul, should be the δικαιοσύνη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, *righteousness before the face of God*, or absolute realization of the moral law. According to St. Paul, the heathen also have their νόμος, *law*, as well religious as moral internal revelation (Rom. i. 19, 32; ii. 15). The heathen have, however, not fulfilled that law which they knew, and are in this respect like the Jews, who also disregarded their own law (ii.). Both Jews and Gentiles are transgressors, or by the law separated from the grace and sonship of God (Rom. ii. 12; iii. 20); consequently if blessedness could only be obtained by fulfilling the demands of God, no man could be blessed. God, however, has gratuitously given righteousness and blessedness to all who believe in Christ (iii. 21—31); the Old Testament also recognises the value of religious faith (iv.): thus we freely attain to peace and sonship of God presently, and have before us still greater things, viz., the future development of the kingdom of God (v. 1-11). The human race has gained in Christ much more than it lost in Adam (v. 12, 21). This doctrine by no means encourages sin (vi.): on the contrary, men who are conscious of divine grace fulfil the law much more energetically than they were able to do before having attained to this knowledge, because the law alone is even apt to sharpen the appetite for sin, and leads finally to despair (vii.); but now we fulfil the law by means of that new spirit which is given unto us, and the full development of our salvation is still before us (viii. 1-27). The sufferings of the present time cannot prevent this development, and must rather work for good to them whom God from eternity

has viewed as faithful believers; and nothing can separate such believers from the eternal love of God (viii. 28-39). It causes pain to behold the Israelites themselves shut out from salvation; but they themselves are the cause of this seclusion, because they wanted to attain salvation by their own resources and exertions, by their descent from Abraham, and by their fulfilment of the law: thus, however, the Jews have not obtained that salvation which God has freely offered under the sole condition of faith in Christ (ix.); the Jews have not entered upon the way of faith, therefore the Gentiles were preferred, which was predicted by the prophets. However, the Jewish race, as such, has not been rejected; some of them obtain salvation by a selection made not according to their works, but according to the grace of God. If some of the Jews are left to their own obduracy, even their temporary fall serves the plans of God, viz., the vocation of the Gentiles. After the mass of the Gentiles shall have entered in, the people of Israel also, in their collective capacity, shall be received into the church (xi.).

On the authenticity and integrity of the Epistle to the Romans.—The authenticity of this epistle has never been questioned. The Epistle to the Romans is quoted as early as the first and second century by Clemens Romanus and Polycarp. Its integrity has lately been attacked by Dr. Baur, who pretends that chs. xv. and xvi. are spurious, but only, as we have observed above, because these chapters do not harmonise with his supposition, that the Christian church at Rome consisted of rigid Judaizers. Schmidt and Reiche consider the doxology at the conclusion of ch. xvi. not to be genuine. In this doxology the anacolouthical and unconnected style causes some surprise, and the whole has been deemed to be out of its place (ver. 26 and 27). We, however, observe, in reply to Schmidt and Reiche, that such defects of style may be easily explained from the circumstance, that the apostle hastened to the conclusion, but would be quite inexplicable in additions of a copyist who had time for calm consideration. The same words occur in different passages of the epistle, and it must be granted that such a fluctuation sometimes indicates an interpolation. In the Codex i., in most of the Codices Minusculi, as well as in Chrysostom, the words occur at the conclusion of ch. xiv. In the Codices B.Ċ.Ḋ.E., and in the Syrian translation, this doxology occurs at the conclusion of ch. xvi. In Codex A it occurs in both places; whilst in Codex D**, the words are wanting entirely, and they seem not to fit into either of the two places. If the doxology be put at the conclusion of ch. xiv., Paul seems to promise to those Christians weak in faith, of whom he had spoken, a confirmation of their belief. But it seems unfit (unpassend) in this connection to call the Gospel an eternal mystery, and the doxology seems here to interrupt the connection between chs. xiv. and xv.; and at the conclusion of ch. xvi. it seems to be superfluous, since the blessing had been pronounced already in ver. 24. We, however, say that this latter circumstance need not have prevented the apostle from allowing his animated feelings to burst forth in a doxology, especially at the conclusion of an epistle which treated amply on the mystery of redemption. We find an analogous instance in Ephes. xxiii. 27, where a doxology occurs after the mystery of salvation had been mentioned: we are therefore of opinion that the doxology is rightly placed at the conclusion of ch. xvi., and that it was in some codices erroneously transposed to the conclusion of ch. xiv., because the copyist considered the blessing in xvi. 24 to be the real conclusion of the Epistle. In confirmation of this remark we observe that the same codices in which the doxology occurs in ch. xvi. either omit the blessing altogether, or place it after the doxology.

Interpreters of the Epistle to the Romans.—Chrysostom is the most important among the fathers who attempted to interpret this epistle; he enters deeply, and with psychological acumen, into the thoughts of the apostle, and expounds them with sublime animation. Among the reformers Calvin is distinguished by logical penetration and doctrinal depth. Beza is distinguished by his grammatical and critical knowledge. Since the period of rationalism the interest about this epistle has been revived by the *Commentary* of Tholuck, the first edition of which appeared in 1824. No other book of the New Testament has, since that period, been expounded so frequently and so accurately. From 1824 to 1844, there have been published as many as seventeen learned and critical commentaries on it; and, in addition to these, several practical expositions. In the *Commentar* von Rückert, 2d ed., 1839, 2 vols., we find copious criticisms of the various interpretations, and a clear and pleasing, although not always carefully weighed, exposition.

The *Commentar* von Fritzsche, 1836 to 1843, 3 vols., exhibits a careful critique of the text, combined with philological explanation, but the true sense of the apostle has frequently been missed. The *Commentar* of Olshausen, 2nd ed., 1840, generally contains only the author's own exposition, but presents a very pleasing development of the doctrinal contents. De Wette manifests on the whole a correct tact (3rd ed., 1841); however, his book is too comprehensive, so that the contents of the epistle do not make a clear impression. Lately there has been published in French also an interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans, worked out with much diligence and ingenuity, by Hugues Oltramare; the first part contains chs. i. to v. 11, and was published at Geneva, 1843.—A. T.

[The principal English works on the Epistle to the Romans are—Willet, *Hexapla, or a Sixfold Comment on the Epistle to the Romans*, 1611; Taylor's *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, 1747; Jones, *The Epistle to the Romans analyzed, from a development of the circumstances by which it was occasioned*, 1801; Cox, *Horæ Romanæ*, 1824 (translation with notes); Turner, *Notes on the Epistle to the Romans*, New York, 1824 (exegetical, for the use of students); Terrot, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, 1828 (Greek text, paraphrase, notes, and useful prolegomena). Stuart's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Andover, U. S., 1832, is undoubtedly the greatest work on this Epistle which has been produced in the English language, and may be regarded as next in importance to the admirable Commentary by the

writer of the above article (Dr. Tholuck), a translation of which, by the Rev. R. Menzies, has been given in the Edinburgh *Biblical Cabinet.*—Ed.]

ROME, the famous capital of the Western World, and the present residence of the Pope, stands on the river Tiber, about fifteen miles from its mouth, in the plain of what is now called the Campagna (*Felix illa Campania*, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 6), in lat. 41° 54′ N., long. 12° 28′ E. The country around the city is not a plain, but a sort of undulating table-land, crossed by hills, while it sinks towards the south-west to the marshes of Maremma, which coast the Mediterranean. In ancient geography the country, in the midst of which Rome lay, was termed Latium, which, in the earliest times, comprised within a space of about four geographical square miles the country lying between the Tiber and the Numicius, extending from the Alban Hills to the sea, having for its chief city Laurentum. Here, on the Palatine Hill, was the city of Rome founded by Romulus and Remus, grandsons of Numitor, and sons of Rhea Sylvia, to whom, as the originators of the city, mythology ascribed a divine parentage. The origin of the term Rome is in dispute. Some derive it from the Greek Ῥώμη, 'strength,' considering that this name was given to the place as being a fortress. Cicero (*De Repub.* ii. 7) says the name was taken from that of its founder Romulus. At first the city had three gates, according to a sacred usage. Founded on the Palatine Hill, it was extended, by degrees, so as to take in six other hills, at the foot of which ran deep valleys that, in early times, were in part overflowed with water, while the hill-sides were covered with trees. In the course of the many years during which Rome was acquiring to herself the empire of the world, the city underwent great, numerous, and important changes. Under its first kings it must have presented a very different aspect from what it did after it had been beautified by Tarquin. The destruction of the city by the Gauls (U.C. 365) caused a thorough alteration in it; nor could the troubled times which ensued have been favourable to its being well restored. It was not till riches and artistic skill came into the city on the conquest of Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus of Syria (U.C. 565), that there arose in Rome large handsome stone houses. The capture of Corinth conduced much to the adorning of the city: many fine specimens of art being transferred from thence to the abode of the conquerors. And so, as the power of Rome extended over the world, and her chief citizens went into the colonies to enrich themselves, did the master-pieces of Grecian art flow towards the capital, together with some of the taste and skill to which they owed their birth. Augustus, however, it was, who did most for embellishing the capital of the world, though there may be some sacrifice of truth in the pointed saying, that he found Rome built of brick, and left it marble. Subsequent emperors followed his example, till the place became the greatest repository of architectural, pictorial, and sculptural skill, that the world has ever seen; a result to which even Nero's incendiarism indirectly conduced, as affording an occasion for the city's being rebuilt under the higher scientific influences of the times. The site occupied by modern Rome is not precisely the same as that which was at any period covered by the ancient city: the change of locality being towards the north-west, the city has partially retired from the celebrated hills. About two-thirds of the area within the walls (traced by Aurelian) are now desolate, consisting of ruins, gardens, and fields, with some churches, convents, and other scattered habitations. Originally the city was a square mile in circumference. In the time of Pliny the walls were nearly twenty miles in circuit; now, they are from fourteen to fifteen miles round. Its original gates, three in number, had increased in the time of the elder Pliny to thirty-seven. Modern Rome has sixteen gates, some of which are, however, built up. Thirty-one great roads centered in Rome, which, issuing from the Forum, traversed Italy, ran through the provinces, and were terminated only by the boundary of the empire. As a starting point a gilt pillar (Milliarium Aureum) was set up by Augustus in the middle of the Forum. This curious monument, from which distances were reckoned, was discovered in 1823. Eight principal bridges led over the Tiber; of these three are still relics. The four districts into which Rome was divided in early times, Augustus increased to fourteen. Large open spaces were set apart in the city, called Campi, for assemblies of the people and martial exercises, as well as for games. Of nineteen which are mentioned, the Campus Martius was the principal. It was near the Tiber, whence it was called Tiberinus. The epithet Martius was derived from the plain being consecrated to Mars, the god of war. In the later ages it was surrounded by several magnificent structures, and porticos were erected, under which, in bad weather, the citizens could go through their usual exercises. It was also adorned with statues and arches. The name of Fora was given to places where the people assembled for the transaction of business. The Fora were of two kinds—fora venalia, 'markets;' fora civilia, 'law courts,' &c. Until the time of Julius Cæsar there was but one of the latter kind, termed by way of distinction Forum Romanum, or simply Forum. It lay between the Capitoline and Palatine Hills; it was eight hundred feet wide, and adorned on all sides with porticos, shops, and other edifices, on the erection of which large sums had been expended, and the appearance of which was very imposing, especially as it was much enhanced by numerous statues. In the centre of the Forum was the plain called the Curtian Lake, where Curtius is said to have cast himself into a chasm or gulf, which closed on him, and so he saved his country. On one side were the elevated seats or suggestus, a sort of pulpits from which magistrates and orators addressed the people—usually called Rostra, because adorned with the beaks of ships which had been taken in a sea-fight from the inhabitants of Antium. Near by was the part of the Forum called the Comitium, where were held the assemblies of the people called Comitia Curiata. The celebrated temple, bearing the name of Capitol (of which there remain only a few vestiges), stood on the Capitoline Hill, the highest of the seven: it was square in form, each side extending about two hundred feet, and the ascent to it was by a flight of one hundred steps. It was one of the oldest, largest, and grandest edifices in the city. Founded

by Tarquinius Priscus, it was at several times enlarged and embellished. Its gates were of brass, and it was adorned with costly gildings; whence it is termed 'golden' and 'glittering,' *aurea, fulgens*. It enclosed three structures, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the centre, the temple of Minerva on the right, and the temple of Juno on the left. The Capitol also comprehended some minor temples or chapels, and the Casa Romuli, or cottage of Romulus, covered with straw. Near the ascent to the Capitol was the asylum [CITIES OF REFUGE]. We also mention the Basilicæ, since some of them were afterwards turned to the purposes of Christian worship. They were originally buildings of great splendour, being appropriated to meetings of the senate, and to judicial purposes. Here counsellors received their clients, and bankers transacted their business. The earliest churches, bearing the name of Basilicæ, were erected under Constantine. He gave his own palace on the Cælian Hill as a site for a Christian temple. Next in antiquity was the church of St. Peter, on the Vatican Hill, built A.D. 324, on the site and with the ruins of temples consecrated to Apollo and Mars. It stood about twelve centuries, at the end of which it was superseded by the modern church bearing the same name. The Circi were buildings oblong in shape, used for public games, races, and beast-fights. The Theatra were edifices designed for dramatic exhibitions; the Amphitheatra (double theatres, buildings in an oval form) served for gladiatorial shows and the fighting of wild animals. That which was erected by the Emperor Titus, and of which there still exists a splendid ruin, was called the Coliseum, from a colossal statue of Nero that stood near it. With an excess of luxury, perfumed liquids were con-

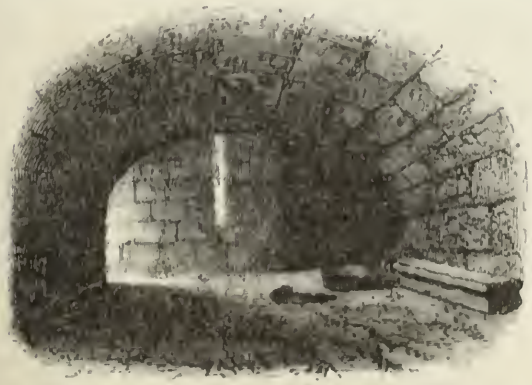


473. [Rome.]

veyed in secret tubes round these immense structures, and diffused over the spectators, sometimes from the statues which adorned the interior. In the arena which formed the centre of the amphitheatres, the early Christians often endured martyrdom by being exposed to ravenous beasts.

The connection of the Romans with Palestine caused Jews to settle at Rome in considerable numbers. On one occasion, in the reign of Tiberius, when the Jews were banished from the city by the emperor, for the misconduct of some members of their body, not fewer than four thousand enlisted in the Roman army which was then stationed in Sardinia (Sueton. *Tib.* 36; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 4). These appear to have been emancipated descendants of those Jews whom Pompey had taken prisoners in Judæa, and brought captive to Rome (Philo, *De Leg. ad Cai.*, p. 1014). From Philo also it appears that the Jews in Rome were allowed the free use of their national worship, and generally the observance of their ancestral customs. Then, as now, the Jews lived in a part of the city appropriated to themselves (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 8), where with a zeal for which the nation had been some time distinguished, they applied themselves with success to proselytising (Dion Cass. xxxvii. 17). They appear, however, to have been a restless colony; for when, after their expulsion under Tiberius, numbers had returned to Rome, they were again expelled from the city by Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 25). The Roman biographer does not give the date of this event, but Orosius (vii. 6) mentions the ninth year of that emperor's reign (A.D. 50). The precise occasion of this expulsion history does not afford us the means of determining. The words of Suetonius are, 'Judæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit'—'He expelled

from Rome the Jews continually raising disturbances under the impulse of Chrestos.' The cause here assigned for their expulsion is, that they raised disturbances, an allegation which, at first view, does not seem to point to a religious, still less to a Christian, influence. And yet we must remember that the words bear the colouring of the mind of a heathen historian, who might easily be led to regard activity for the diffusion of Christian truth, and the debates to which that activity necessarily led, as a noxious disturbance of the peace of society. The Epicurean view of life could scarcely avoid describing religious agitations by terms ordinarily appropriated to martial pursuits. It must equally be borne in mind that the diffusion of the Gospel in Rome—then the very centre and citadel of idolatry—was no holiday task, but would call forth on the part of the disciples all the fiery energy of the Jewish character, and on the part of the Pagans all the vehemence of passion which ensues from pride, arrogance, and hatred. Had the ordinary name of our Lord been employed by Suetonius, we should, for ourselves, have found little difficulty in understanding the words as intended to be applied to Jewish Christians. But the biographer uses the word Chrestus. The *us* is a mere Latin termination; but what are we to make of the root of the word, Chrest for Christ? Yet the change is in only one vowel, and Chrest might easily be used for Christ, by a Pagan writer. A slight difference in the pronunciation of the word as vocalised by a Roman and a Jew, would easily cause the error. And we know that the Romans often did make the mispronunciation, calling Christ Chrest (Tertull. *Apol.* c. 3; Lactant. *Inst.* iv. 17; Just. Mart. *Apol.* c. 2). The point is important, and we therefore give a few details, the rather that Lardner has, under Claudius (vol. i., 259), left the question undetermined. Now in Tacitus (*Annal.* xv. 44) Jesus is unquestionably called Chrest (quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Chrestus) in a passage where his followers are termed Christians. Lucian too, in his *Philopatris*, so designates our Lord, playing on the word Χρηστός, which, in Greek, signifies 'good:' these are his words: εἰ τύχοι γε Χρηστὸς καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσι, κ.τ.λ., 'since a Chrest (a good man) is found among the Gentiles also.' And Tertullian (*ut supra*) treats the difference as a case of ignorant



474. [Mamertine Prison.]

mispronunciation: 'Christianus perperàm Chrestianus pronunciatur a vobis, nam nominis certa est notitia penes vos.' The mistake may have been the more readily introduced from the fact that, while Christ was a foreign word, Chrest was customary: lips therefore that had been used to Chrest would rather continue the sound than change the vocalisation. The term Chrest occurs on inscriptions (Heumann, *Sylloge Diss.*, i. 536), and epigrams in which the name appears may be found in Martial (vii. 55; ix. 28). In the same author (xi. 91.) a diminutive from the word, namely Chrestillus, may be found. The word assumed also a feminine form, Chresta, as found in an ancient inscription—

'Hoc, virtus, fatique decus et amabile nomen,
Dote pudicitiæ, celebrata laboribus actis
Vitæ, *Chresta* jacet condita nunc tumulo.

We subjoin a few lines from Martial (vii. 55):

Nulli munera, *Chreste*, si remittis,
Nec nobis dederis, remiserisque,
Credam te satis esse liberalem.

There can therefore be little risk in asserting that Suetonius intended to indicate Jesus Christ by Chrestus; and we have already seen that the terms which he employs to describe the cause of the expulsion, though peculiar, are not irreconcilable with a reference on the part of the writer to Christians. The terms which Suetonius employs are accounted for, though they may not be altogether justified by those passages in the Acts of the Apostles, in which the collision between the Jews who had become Christians, and those who adhered to the national faith, is found to have occasioned serious disturbances (Kuinoel, Acts xviii. 2; Rorsal, *De Christo per errorem in Chrest. Comm.*, Groning. 1717). This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that a Christian church, consisting of Jews, Proselytes, and Pagan Romans, had at an early period been formed in Rome, as is evident from the Epistle of Paul to the Romans; which Christian community must have been in existence a long time when Paul wrote (about A.D. 59) that epistle (see Rom. i. 8-13); and Meyer (*Commentar der Brief an die Römer Einleit.*, § 2) is of opinion that the foundations of the Church in Rome may have been laid even during the lifetime of our Lord. It is also worthy of notice that Luke, in the book of Acts (xviii. 2), when speaking of the decree of Claudius as a banishment of all the Jews from Rome, adverts to the fact as a reason why two Christians, Aquila and Priscilla, whom we know (Rom. xvi. 3) to have been members of the Roman church, had lately come from Italy: these the apostle found on his arrival at Corinth in the year A.D. 51. Both Suetonius and Luke, in mentioning the expulsion of the Jews, seem to have used the official term employed in the decree; the Jews were known to the Roman magistrate; and Christians, as being at first Jewish converts, would be confounded under the general name of Jews; but that the Christians as well as the Jews strictly so called were banished by Claudius appears certain from the book of Acts; and, independently of this evidence, seems very probable, from the other authorities of which mention has been made.

The question, Who founded the church at Rome? is one of some interest as between Catholic and Protestant. The former assigns the honour to Peter, and on this grounds an argument in favour of the claims of the papacy. There is,

however, no sufficient reason for believing that Peter was ever even so much as within the walls of Rome. But we have no intention of entering here on that disputed point, and content ourselves with referring the reader to the most recent work on the subject which has come to our knowledge, in which he will find the argument well and learnedly handled (D. J. Ellendorf, *Ist Petrus in Rom und Bischof der Römischen Kirche gewesen?* Darmstadt, 1843).

Rome, as being their tyrannical mistress, was an object of special hatred to the Jews, who therefore denominated her by the name of Babylon—the state in whose dominions they had endured a long and heavy servitude (Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.* i. p. 1125; Eisenmenger, *Entdeckt Judenth.* i. 1800). Accordingly, Rome, under the name of Babylon, is set forth in the Apocalypse (xiv. 8; xvi. 19; xvii. 5; xviii. 2) as the centre and representative of heathenism; while Jerusalem appears as the symbol of Judaism. In ch. xvii. 9 allusion is clearly made to the Septicollis, the seven-hilled city—'seven mountains on which the woman sitteth.' The description of this woman, in whom the profligacy of Rome is vividly personified, may be seen in ch. xvii. of the Revelation. In ch. xiii. Rome is pictured as a huge unnatural beast, whose name or number 'is the number of a man, and his number is χξστ,' not improbably Λατῖνος, Latin, Roman. This beast has been most variously interpreted. The several theories serve scarcely more than to display the ingenuity or the bigotry of their originators, and to destroy each other. Münter (*De occulto Urbis Romæ nomine*, Hafn. 1811,) thinks there is a reference to the secret name of Rome, the disclosure of which, it was thought, would be destructive to the state (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 9; Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 5; Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* c. 61; Serv. *ad Æn.* ii. 293). Pliny's words occur in the midst of a long and picturesque account of Italy. Coming in the course of it to speak of Rome, he says, 'the uttering of whose other name is accounted impious, and when it had been spoken by Valerius Soranus, who immediately suffered the penalty, it was blotted out with a faith no less excellent than beneficial.' He then proceeds to speak of the rites observed on the 1st of January, in connection with this belief, in honour of Diva Angerona, whose image appeared with her mouth bound and sealed up. This mystic name tradition reports to have been Valencia.

The most recent view of the name of the beast, from the pen of a Christian writer, we find in *Hyponoia, or Thoughts on a Spiritual Understanding of the Apocalypse*, London, 1844. 'The number in question (666) is expressed in Greek by three letters of the alphabet; χ, six hundred; ξ, sixty; στ, six. Let us suppose these letters to be the initials of certain names, as it was common with the ancients in their inscriptions upon coins, medals, monuments, &c., to indicate names of distinguished characters by initial letters, and sometimes by an additional letter, where the initial might be considered insufficient, as C. Caius, Cn. Cneus. The Greek letter χ (ch) is the initial of Χριστός (Christ); the letter ξ is the initial of ξύλον (wood or tree); sometimes figuratively put in the New Testament for the Cross; and in the Revelation applied to the tree of life, the spiritual cross. The last letter ϛ is equivalent to σ and τ, but whether an *s* or an *st*, it is the initial of the word Satanas, Satan, or the adversary. Taking the two first names in the genitive, and the last in the nominative, we have the following appellation, name, or title: Χριστοῦ ξύλου σατανᾶς, "the adversary of the cross of Christ," a character corresponding with that of certain enemies of the truth, described by Paul, Phil. iii. 19.' The spiritual hy ponoia or underthought embodied in this the author thus states: 'Any doctrine tending to represent the intervention of a divine propitiation as unnecessary, or militating with a belief and trust in the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus, as the only hope of salvation, must be an adversary of the cross of Christ; of this character we consider every principle of self-righteousness,' &c. (See Ansald, *De Romana Tutelar. Deor. evocatione*, Brix. 1743; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 9; Cellar. *Rolit.* i. p. 632, sq.; Mannert. *Geog.* ix. 1. 581, sq.; Sachse, *Versuch ein Hist. Topogr. Beschreib. von Rom*, Hannov. 1812; Hilscher, *De Chresto cujus mention. fecit Suet.*, Lips.; also Ernesti and Wolf, *ad Sueton.*; Eichhorn, *Comm. in Apocal.* p. 104, sq.).

ROOF. [House.]

ROOM. [House.]

ROSE. [Rhodon.]

ROSH (רֹאשׁ and רוֹשׁ) occurs in several places of the Old Testament. The word is thought originally to signify 'poison,' and is therefore supposed to indicate a poisonous plant. But this has not yet been ascertained. Celsius begins his article on *Rosh* by stating that 'Aben Ezra and the Rabbins observe, that the word is written with a *vau* in Deut. xxxii. 32, and with an *aleph* in all the other places, but incorrectly, according to J. Gousset.' It is sometimes translated *gall*, sometimes *bitter* or *bitterness*, but is generally considered to signify some plant. This we may infer from its being frequently mentioned along with *laanah* or 'wormwood,' as in Deut. xxix. 18, 'lest there should be among you a root that beareth *gall* (*rosh*) and *wormwood* (*laanah*); so also in Jer. ix. 15; xxiii. 15; and in Lament. iii. 19, 'Remembering mine affliction and my misery, the *wormwood* and the *gall*.' That it was a berry-bearing plant, has been inferred from Deut. xxxii. 32, 'For their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and their grapes are grapes of gall (*rosh*), their clusters are bitter.' In Jer. viii. 14, 'water of gall' (*rosh*), is mentioned; which may be either the expressed juice of the fruit or of the plant, or a bitter infusion made from it: 'aquæ Rosch dicuntur, quia sunt succus herbæ, quam Rosch appellant.' That it was a plant is very evident from Hosea x. 4, where it is said 'their judgment springeth up as *hemlock* (*rosh*) in the furrows of the field.' Here we observe that *rosh* is translated *hemlock* in the Auth. Vers., as it is also in Amos vi. 12, 'For ye have turned judgment into *gall* (*laanah*, 'wormwood'), and the fruit of righteousness into *hemlock* (*rosh*).'

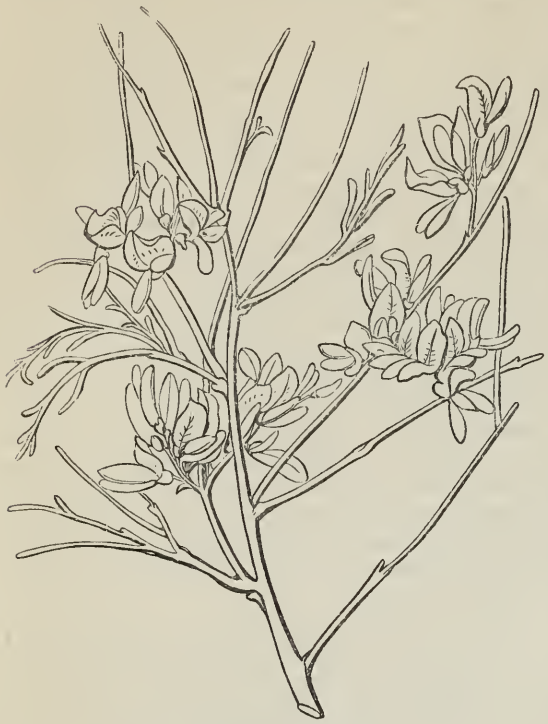
Though *rosh* is generally acknowledged to indicate some plant, yet a variety of opinions have been entertained respecting its identification: some, as the Auth. Vers. in Hosea x. 4, and Amos vi. 12, consider *cicuta* or *hemlock* to be the plant intended. Tremellius adopts this as the meaning of *rosh* in all the passages, and is

followed by Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. 49). The *cicuta* of the Romans, the κώνειον of the Greeks, is generally acknowledged to have been what we now call *hemlock*, the *conium maculatum* of botanists. There can be no doubt of its poisonous nature, 'Cicuta venenum est publica Atheniensium pœna invisa' (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxv. 13). There is, however, little or no proof adduced that *rosh* is *hemlock*. Celsius quotes the description of Linnæus in support of its growing in the furrows of fields, 'Frequens per Europam in ruderatis, juxta pagos, urbes, in sepibus, aggeribus, agris.' But it does not appear to be so common in Syria. Celsius, however, adduces Ben Melech, the most learned of Rabbins, as being of opinion that *rosh* was *conium* or *hemlock:* 'Aquæ Rosch, virus; barbare toxicum. Herba est, cujus succum bibendum porrigunt illi, quem interimere volunt.'

But there does not appear any necessity for our considering *rosh* to have been more poisonous than *laanah* or *wormwood*, with which it is associated so frequently as to appear like a proverbial expression (Deut. xxix. 18; Jer. ix. 15; xxiii. 15; Lam. iii. 19; Amos vi. 12). Some have erroneously translated it *wormwood*, from which it is sufficiently distinguished in the above passages. The Sept. translators render it *agrostis*, intending some species of grass. Hence some have concluded that it must be *lolium temulentum*, or *darnel*, the zizanium of the ancients, which is remarkable among grasses for its poisonous and intoxicating properties. It is, however, rather sweetish in taste, and its seeds being intermixed with corn, are sometimes made into bread. It is well known to grow in corn-fields, and would therefore suit the passage of Hosea; but it has not a berry-like fruit, nor would it yield any juice: the infusion in water, however, might be so understood, though it would not be very bitter or disagreeable in taste. Some have in consequence thought that some of the *solaneæ* or *luridæ* of Linnæus might be intended by the word *rosh*. These are remarkable for their narcotic properties, though not particularly bitter; some of them have berried fruits, as the *belladonna*, which, however, is not indigenous in Palestine; but *solanum nigrum*, common nightshade, a small herbaceous plant, is common in fields and road-sides from Europe to India, and is narcotic like the others. The *henbane* is another plant of this family, which is possessed of powerful narcotic properties, and has been used in medicine from early times, both by the Greeks and Asiatics. But no proof appears in favour of any of this tribe, and their sensible properties are not so remarkably disagreeable as to have led to their being employed in what appears to be a proverbial expression. Hiller, in his *Hierophyticon* (ii. 54), adduces the *centaury* as a bitter plant, which corresponds with much of what is required. Two kinds of *centaury*, the larger and smaller, and both conspicuous for their bitterness, were known to the ancients. The latter, the *Erythræa centaurium*, is one of the family of gentians, and still continues to be employed as a medicine on account of its bitter and tonic properties. '*Hoc centaurium* inquit Plin. xxv. c. 6, *nostri* fel terræ *vocant, propter amaritudinem summam*. Ea non radici tantum inest, sed totam inficit plantam: ideo et Germanis *erd-gall* et Hispanis *Hiel de tierra*, et Gallis *fiel de terre* vocitatur.' We may also mention that an old name of this *centaury* was '*Rha* capitatum.' From the extreme bitterness of taste, from growing in fields, and being a native of warm countries, some plant like *centaury*, and of the tribe of gentians, might answer all the passages in which *rosh* is mentioned, with the exception of that (Deut. xxxii. 32) where it is supposed to have a berried fruit. Dr. Harris, quoting Blaney on Jerem. viii. 14, says, 'In Ps. lxix. 21, which is justly considered as a prophecy of our Saviour's sufferings, it is said, "they gave me ראש to eat," which the Sept. have rendered χολήν, *gall*. And accordingly it is recorded in the history, Matt. xxvii. 34, "They gave him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall," ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς. But in the parallel passage (Mark xv. 23) it is said to be "wine mingled with myrrh," a very bitter ingredient. From whence I am induced to think that χολή, and perhaps ראש, may be used as a general name for whatever is exceedingly bitter; and, consequently, when the sense requires, it may be put specially for any bitter herb or plant, the infusion of which may be called מי ראש, "Aquæ Rosch." '—J. F. R.

ROTHEM, written also ROTEM (רֹתֶם), occurs in four passages of the Old Testament, in all of which it is translated *juniper* in the Auth. Vers., though it is now considered very clear that a kind of *broom* is intended. Celsius remarks that the Sept. translators seem to have been unacquainted with the meaning of the word, as in one passage they introduce it in Greek letters as Ραθάμ, &c., in another as meaning *burning charcoal*, and in a third as *roots of woods*. Some who have perceived that some plant was intended, have doubted about the genus, translating it *oak* and *terebinth*, but more frequently *juniper*. The last has been the most generally adopted in modern versions; but travellers in the East have met with a plant or plants, which by the Arabs is called *retem*, *ratam*, *rehtem*, and *retem*, varying a little perhaps in different districts; the variations being probably owing to the modes of spelling adopted by different authors. In the Arabic works on Materia Medica we have the same word رتم *retem*, signifying a kind of broom, and which, according to Celsius, is so named from رتم, *ligando*. The Moors, no doubt, carried the word into Spain, as *retama* is there applied to a species of genista or broom. In Loudon's *Encyclopædia of Plants* it is named *spartium monospermum*, or white single-seeded broom, and is described as a very handsome shrub, remarkable for its numerous snow-white flowers. Osbeck remarks that it grows like willow-bushes along the shores of Spain, as far as the flying sands reach, where scarcely any other plant exists, except the *ononis serpens*, or creeping *restharrow*. The use of this shrub is very great in stopping the sand. The leaves and young branches furnish delicious food for goats. It converts the most barren spot into a fine odoriferous garden by its flowers, which continue a long time. It seems to shelter hogs and goats against the scorching heat of the sun. The twigs are used for tying bundles; and all kinds of herbs

that are brought to market are fastened together with them. Forskal found it in Arabia, and Desfontaines in Barbary, on the sandy coast.



475. [Genista monosperma.]

The Spaniards call it *Retama*, from the Arabic name *Retem*. It is now referred by all botanists to the genus *Genista*, and called *G. monosperma*. It is described by De Candolle as a branching and erect shrub, with slender, wandlike, flexible branches; leaves comparatively few, linear, oblong, pressed to the branches, pubescent; inflorescence in few flowered lateral racemes; petals white, silky, nearly equal to one another; legumes oval, inflated, smooth, membranaceous, one to two seeded. It occurs on the sterile shores of Portugal, Spain, Barbary, and Egypt. It was found by Forskal at Suez, and named by him *Genista Spartium?* with *rætæm* as its Arabic name. Bové also found it at Suez, and again in different parts of Syria. Belon also mentions finding it in several places when travelling in the East. Burckhardt also frequently mentions the shrub *rethem* in the deserts to the south of Palestine, and he thought it to be the same plant as the *Genista rætæm* of Forskal. He states that whole plains are sometimes covered with this shrub, and that such places are favourite places of pasturage, as sheep are remarkably fond of the pods. Lord Lindsay again, while travelling in the middle of the valleys of Mount Sinai, says, 'The *rattam*, a species of broom, bearing a white flower, delicately streaked with purple, afforded me frequent shelter from the sun while in advance of the caravan.' Mr. Kitto on this well observes, 'It is a remarkable, because undesigned, coincidence, that in travelling to the very same Mount of Horeb, the prophet Elijah rested, as did Lord Lindsay, under a *rattam* shrub.' There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that the Hebrew *rothem* denotes the same plant as the Arabic *retem*, though it has been rendered *juniper* in the English, and several other translations, as in 1 Kings xix. 4; 'but he (Elijah or Elias) himself went a day's journey into the wilderness, and came and sat down under a *juniper* (*rothem*) tree,' &c.; 'And as he lay and slept under a *juniper* tree,' &c. In the other passages the meaning is not so clear, and therefore different interpretations have been given. Thus, Job (xxx. 4) says of the half-famished people who despised him, 'who cut up mallows by the bushes, and *juniper* (*rothem*) roots for their food.' Though the broom root may perhaps be more suitable for diet than the *juniper*, yet they are both too bitter and medicinal to be considered or used as nutritious, and, therefore, some say, that 'when we read that *rotem* roots were their food, we are to suppose a great deal more than the words express, namely, that their hunger was so violent, as not to refrain even from these roots,' which were neither refreshing nor nourishing. Ursinus supposes, that instead of the roots of this broom, we are to understand a plant which grows upon these roots, as well as upon some other plants, and which is well known by the English name of *broom-rape*, the *orobanche* of botanists. These are sometimes eaten. Thus Dioscorides (ii. 136) observes that the *orobanche*, which grows from the roots of broom, was sometimes eaten raw, or boiled like asparagus. Celsius again suggests an amendment in the sentence, and thinks that we should understand it to mean that the broom roots were required for *fuel*, and not for *food*, as the Hebrew words signifying *fuel* and *food*, though very similar to each other, are very different in their derivation: 'Diversæ igitur sunt voces *Lachmam*, panis eorum, et *Lachmam*, ad calefaciendum se, scriptione licet et literis atque punctis exacte conveniant;' and this sense is confirmed by some of the Talmudical writers, as R. Levi Ben Gerson, who commenting on this passage says: 'ut significet, ad calefaciendum se; quia opus habebant, quo calefierent, quod versarentur in locis frigidis, sine ullo perfugio.' The broom is the only fuel procurable in many of these desert situations, as mentioned by several travellers. Thus Thevenot, 'Puis nous nous reposâmes en un lieu où il y avoit un peu de genêts, car ils ne nous faisoient point reposer, qu'en des lieux où il y eut de quoi brûler, tant pour se chauffer, que pour faire cuire le cabvè et leur mafrouca.' In Ps. cxx. 4, David observes that the calumnies of his enemies were 'like arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper' (*rothem*). The broom, being, no doubt, very commonly used as fuel in a country where it is abundant, and other plants scarce, might redily suggest itself in a comparison; but it is also described as sparkling, burning and crackling more vehemently than other wood.—J. F. R.

RUBY. The word rendered 'ruby' in the Authorized Version (Job xxviii. 18; Prov. iii. 15; viii. 11; xx. 15; xxxi. 10; Lam. iv. 7) is פנינים *peninim*, which appears rather to indicate 'pearls.' The ruby is, however, generally supposed to be represented by the word כדכד *kad-kod*, which occurs in Ezek. xxvii. 6, and Isa. liv. 12, where the Authorized Version renders it 'agate.' An Arabic word of similar sound (*kadskadsat*) signifies 'vivid redness;' and as the Hebrew word may be derived from a root of like signification, it is inferred that it denotes the Oriental ruby, which is distinguished for its vivid red colour, and was regarded as the most valuable of

precious stones next after the diamond. This mode of identification, however, seems rather precarious. The Greek translator of Ezek. xxvii. 16, does not appear to have known what it meant, for he preserves the original word; and although the translator of Isa. liv. 12 has *jasper* (ἴασπις), he is not regarded as any authority in such matters, when he stands alone. The ruby was doubtless known to the Hebrews; but it is by no means certain that *kad-kod* was its name. Some have supposed that the word אקדח *ekdach*, which from its etymology should signify a sparkling flaming gem, is to be regarded as a species of ruby. It occurs only in Isa. liv. 12; hence the Septuagint makes it a carbuncle, as does the Authorized Version.

RUFUS (Ῥοῦφος). A person of this name was one of the sons of Simon the Cyrenian, who was compelled to bear the cross of Christ (Mark xv. 21): he is supposed to be the same with the Rufus to whom Paul, in writing to the Romans, sends his greeting in the remarkable words, 'Salute Rufus, chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine' (Rom. xvi. 13). The name is Roman; but the man was probably of Hebrew origin. He is said to have been one of the seventy disciples, and eventually to have had charge of the church at Thebes.

RUSH. [Agmon.]

RUTH (רוּת; Sept. Ῥούθ), a Moabitish woman, brought, under peculiar circumstances, into intimate relation with the stock of Israel, and whose history is given in one of the books of the sacred canon which bears her name. The narrative that brings her into the range of inspired story is constructed with idyllic simplicity and pathos, and forms a pleasant relief to the sombre and repulsive shades of the picture which the reader has just been contemplating in the later annals of the Judges. It is the domestic history of a family compelled, by the urgency of a famine, to abandon the land of Canaan, and seek an asylum in the territories of Moab.* Elimelech, the head of the emigrating household, dies in the land of his sojourn, where his two surviving sons 'took them wives of the women of Moab; the name of the one was Orpah, and the name of the other Ruth.' On the death of the sons, the widowed parent, resolving to return to her country and kindred, the filial affection of the daughters-in-law is put to a severe test, and Ruth determines at all hazards to accompany Naomi. She accordingly arrives at Bethlehem with her mother, where, in the extremity of want, she goes to glean after the reapers in the harvest-field of Boaz, a wealthy kinsman of her deceased father-in-law, Elimelech. Attracted by her appearance, and informed of her exemplary conduct towards her mother-in-law, Boaz bade her return from day to day, and directed his servants to give her a courteous welcome. An omen so propitious could not but be regarded as a special encouragement to both, and Naomi therefore counselled Ruth to seek an opportunity for intimating to Boaz the claim she had upon him as the nearest kinsman of her deceased husband. A stratagem, which in other circumstances would have been of very doubtful propriety, was adopted for compassing this object; and though Boaz entertained the proposal favourably, yet he replied that there was another person more nearly related to the family than himself, whose title must first be disposed of. Without delay he applied himself to ascertain whether the kinsman in question was inclined to assert his right—a right which extended to a purchase of the ransom (at the Jubilee) of Elimelech's estate. Finding him indisposed to the measure, he obtained from him a release, ratified according to the legal forms of the time, and then proceeded himself to redeem the patrimony of Elimelech, and espoused the widow of his son, in order 'to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance.' From this union sprang David, the illustrious king of Israel, whose line the writer traces up, in conclusion, through Boaz, to Pharez, son of Judah.

The Book of Ruth is inserted in the Canon, according to the English arrangement, between the book of Judges and the books of Samuel, as a sequel to the former and an introduction to the latter. Among the ancient Jews it was added to the book of Judges, because they supposed that the transactions which it relates happened in the time of the judges of Israel (Judg. i. 1). Several of the ancient fathers, moreover, make but one book of Judges and Ruth. But the modern Jews commonly place in their bibles, after the Pentateuch, the five Megilloth—1. The Song of Solomon; 2. Ruth; 3. The Lamentations of Jeremiah; 4. Ecclesiastes; 5. Esther. Sometimes Ruth is placed the first of these, sometimes the second, and sometimes the fifth.

The true date and authorship of the book are alike unknown, though the current of authority is in favour of Samuel as the writer. That it was written at a time considerably remote from the events it records, would appear from the passage in ch. iv. 7, which explains a custom referred to as having been 'the manner *in former time* in Israel, concerning redeeming and concerning changing' (comp. Deut. xxv. 9). That it was written, also, at least as late as the establishment of David's house upon the throne, appears from the concluding verse—'And Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David.' The expression, moreover (ch. i. 1), 'when the judges ruled,' marking the period of the occurrence of the events, indicates, no doubt, that in the writer's days kings had already begun to reign. Add to this what critics have considered as certain Chaldaisms with which the language is interspersed, denoting its composition at a period considerably later than

* The period to which this famine is to be referred is a greatly disputed point among commentators. The opinion of Usher, which assigns it to the age of Gideon, and which is a mean between the dates fixed upon by others, carries with it the greatest probability. The oppression of the Midianites, mentioned in Judg. vi. 3-6, which was productive of a famine, and from which Gideon was instrumental in delivering his people, wasted the land and destroyed its increase, 'till thou come unto Gaza;' and this embraced the region in which Judah and Bethlehem were situated. The territory of Judah was also adjacent to Moab, and a removal thither was easy and natural. The scourge of Midian endured, moreover, for seven years; and at the expiration of ten years after the deliverance by Gideon was fully consummated, Naomi re-emigrated to her native land. All the circumstances combined favour, mainly, the hypothesis of Usher.

that of the events themselves. Thus Eichhorn finds a Chaldaism or Syriasm in the use of א for ה in מרא, though the same form occurs elsewhere. He adverts also to the existence of a superfluous *Yod* in ישמתי and ירדתי (iii. 3), and שכבתי (ver. 4). As, however, the language is in other respects, in the main, pure, these few Chaldaisms may have arisen from a slight error of the copyists, and therefore can scarcely be alleged as having any special bearing on the era of the document. The same remark is to be made of certain idiomatic phrases and forms of expression which occur elsewhere only in the books of Samuel and of Kings, as—'The Lord do so to me, and more also' (Ruth i. 17; comp. 1 Sam. iii. 17; xiv. 44; xx. 23: 2 Sam. iii. 9, 35; xix. 13; 1 Kings ii. 23; xix. 2; xx. 10; 2 Kings vi. 31); 'I have discovered to your ear,' for 'I have told you' (Ruth iv. 4; comp. 1 Sam. xx. 2; 2 Sam. vii. 27).

The canonical authority of Ruth has never been questioned, a sufficient confirmation of it being found in the fact that Ruth, the Moabitess, comes into the genealogy of the Saviour, as distinctly given by the Evangelist (Matt. i. 6). The principal difficulty in regard to the book arises, however, from this very genealogy, in which it is stated that Boaz, who was the husband of Ruth, and the great-grandfather of David, was the son of Salmon by Rachab. Now, if by Rachab we suppose to be meant, as is usually understood, Rahab the harlot, who protected the spies, it is not easy to conceive that only three persons—Boaz, Obed, and Jesse, should have intervened between her and David, a period of near 400 years. But the solution of Usher is not improbable, that the ancestors of David, as persons of pre-eminent piety, were favoured with extraordinary longevity. Or it may be that the sacred writers have mentioned in the genealogy only such names as were distinguished and known among the Jews.

The leading scope of the book has been variously understood by different commentators. Umbreit (*Ueber Geist und Zweck des Buches Ruths*, in *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* for 1834, p. 308) thinks it was written with the specific moral design of showing how even a stranger, and that of the hated Moabitish stock, might be sufficiently noble to become the mother of the great king David, because she placed her reliance on the God of Israel. Bertholdt regards the history as a pure fiction, designed to recommend the duty of a man to marry his kinswoman; while Eichhorn conceives that it was composed mainly *in honour of the house of David*, though it does not conceal the poverty of the family. The more probable design we think to be to pre-intimate, by the recorded adoption of a Gentile woman into the family from which Christ was to derive his origin, the final reception of the Gentile nations into the true church, as fellow-heirs of the salvation of the Gospel. The moral lessons which it incidentally teaches are of the most interesting and touching character: that private families are as much the objects of divine regard as the houses of princes; that the present life is a life of calamitous changes; that a devout trust in an overruling Providence will never fail of its reward; and that no condition, however adverse or afflicted, is absolutely hopeless, are truths that were never more strikingly illustrated than in the brief and simple narrative before us.—G. B.

S.

SABBATH. The original word (שַׁבָּת) signifies simply rest, cessation from labour or employment.

The term, however, became appropriated in a specific religious sense, to signify the dedication of a precise portion of time to cessation from worldly labour, and a peculiar consecration by virtue of which a sanctity was ascribed to the portion of time so set apart, just as a similar sacred character was ascribed to consecrated places, things, and persons: the violation of it was analogous to sacrilege.

The character of the institution, as it existed under the Mosaical law, is distinct and manifest; but the subject, as a whole, embraces points on which Christian opinion has been considerably divided. It will be our object briefly to exhibit the different views which have been taken on these points, and to indicate the materials by means of which the subject may be more fully investigated.

Was there any Sabbath before the Law? This is a question which lies at the root of all the differences of opinion which have been entertained. For the affirmative, it is alleged on the authority of Gen. ii. 3, that the Sabbath was instituted by God in commemoration of his resting on the seventh day from the work of creation, and given to our first parents.

This text has indeed usually been regarded as conclusive of the whole question: but those who hold that the institution of the Sabbath originated under the Law, observe that this passage contains no express command, addressed to any parties, nor any specific mention of the nature of such implied solemnization; still less any direct allusion to rest from labour, or to religious worship.

It is also urged, that some of the ablest divines, even of older times, regard the passage (Gen. ii. 3) as proleptical or anticipatory, and referring to the *subsequent* institution recorded in Exodus. They conceive that Moses, in recounting this description of the creation, had for at least one principal object, the introduction of this sanction from the received cosmogony, for the establishment of the Sabbath among the Israelites: and that, as this narrative was composed after the delivery of the law for their special instruction, so this passage was only intended to confirm more forcibly that institution; or that it is to be understood as if Moses had said, 'God rested on the seventh day, which *he has since blessed and sanctified.*'

It is admitted that there is no other direct mention of a Sabbath in the book of Genesis: but there are traces of a period of seven days, which are usually regarded as indicating the presence of a Sabbath. Thus, in Gen. iv. 3, the words rendered 'in process of time,' have been held to signify 'the end of days,' and this supposed to mean a week,—when the offerings of Cain and Abel were made,—and thence the Sabbath. Again, they refer to the periods of seven days, occurring in the history of Noah (Gen. vii. 10; viii. 10); yet the term 'week' is also used in the contract between Jacob and

Laban (Gen. xxix. 27, 28); and Job and his friends observed the term of seven days (Job ii. 13); all of which, it is alleged, goes to prove that the blessing of a Sabbath was not withheld from the primitive world.

The terms in which the appointment of the Sabbath to the Israelites is made before the delivery of the rest of the law (Exod. xvi. 23), have also been supposed to imply that it was not a new institution, as also the use of the word 'remember,' introducing the injunction in the Decalogue. But, on the other side, it is answered that in giving an injunction, the monitory word 'remember' is as commonly used in reference to the *future* recollection of the precept so given, as to anything *past*. That there is nothing extraordinary in the institution of one particular observance of the law before the rest of it was delivered: the same argument would show a previous obligation to observe the Passover or circumcision. That with regard to the reckoning of time by weeks, this does not at all necessarily imply any reference to a Sabbath. And that the employment of any particular mode of reckoning by an *historian*, is no proof that it was used *by the people*, or *in the times* he is describing.

It is powerfully urged by the believers in a primitive Sabbath, that we find from time immemorial the knowledge of a week of seven days among all nations—Egyptians, Arabians, Indians—in a word, all the nations of the East, have in all ages made use of this week of seven days, for which it is difficult to account without admitting that this knowledge was derived from the common ancestors of the human race.

On the other side it is again denied that the reckoning of time by weeks implies any reference to a Sabbath. One of our own contributors, who takes this view, remarks—

'The division of time by weeks, as it is one of the most ancient and universal, so is it one of the most obvious inventions, especially among a rude people, whose calendar required no very nice adjustments. Among all early nations the *lunar* months were the readiest large divisions of time, and though the recurrence of the lunar period in about 29½ days was incompatible with any *exact* subdivision, yet the nearest whole number of days which could be subdivided into shorter periods, would be either 30 or 28; of which the latter would of course be adopted, as admitting of division into 4, corresponding nearly to those striking phenomena, the phases or quarters of the moon. Each of these would palpably correspond to about a week; and in a period of about 5½ lunations, the same phases would return very nearly to the same days of the week. In order to connect the reckoning by weeks with the lunar month, we find that all ancient nations observed some peculiar solemnities to mark the day of the *new moon*. Accordingly, in the Mosaic law the same thing was also enjoined (Num. x. 10; xxviii. 11, &c.), though it is worthy of remark, that while *particular observances* are here enjoined, the idea of celebrating the new moon in *some way* is alluded to as if already familiar to them.

'In other parts of the Bible we find the Sabbaths and new moons continually spoken of in conjunction; as (Isa. i. 13, &c.) the division of time by weeks prevailed all over the East, from the earliest periods, among the Assyrians, Arabs, and Egyptians;—to the latter people Dion Cassius ascribes its invention. It was found among the tribes in the interior of Africa by Oldendorf (Jahn's *Arch. Bibl.*, art. 'Week'). The Peruvians counted their months by the moon, their half-months by the increase and decrease of the moon, and the weeks by quarters, without having any particular names for the week days. Their cosmogony, however, does not include any reference to a six days' creation (Garcilasso de la Vega, *Hist. of the Incas*, in Taylor's *Nat. Hist. of Society*, i. 291). The Peruvians, besides this, have a cycle of *nine* days, the approximate *third* part of a lunation (*ib.* p. 292), clearly showing the common origin of both. Possibly, also, the "nundinæ" of the Romans may have had a similar origin.

'The Mexicans had a period of 5 days (Antonio de Solis, *Conquest of Mexico*, quoted by Norman on 'Yucatan,' p. 185). They had also periods of 13 days; their year was solar, divided into 18 months of 20 days each, and 5 added (Laplace, *Hist. d'Astron.*, p. 65). Some writers, as Acosta and Baron Humboldt, have attributed the origin of the week to the names of the primary planets as known to the ancients. It is certain that the application of the *names* of the planets to the days originated in the *astrological* notion, that each planet in order presided over the hours of the day; this we learn expressly from Dion Cassius (lib. xxvii.). Arranging the planets in the order of their distances from the earth, on the Ptolemaic system, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon,—then *e. g. Saturn* presided over the 1st hour of Saturday; and assigning each planet to an hour in succession, the 22nd hour will fall to Saturn again, the 23rd to Jupiter, the 24th to Mars; and thus the 1st hour of the next day would fall to the *Sun*, and so on. This mode of designation was adopted by the Greeks and Romans from the East, and is found among the Brahmins (see Useful Knowledge Society's *Life of Galileo*, p. 12; also Laplace, *Précis de l'Hist. de l'Astron.*, p. 16).'

Those who take the view adverse to the existence of a primitive Sabbath, regard it as a circumstance worthy of remark, that in the re-establishment of the human race, after the Flood, we find in Gen. ix. a precise statement of the covenant which God is represented as making with Noah, in which, while several particulars are adverted to, no mention whatever is made of the Sabbath.

The early Christian writers are generally as silent on this subject of a primitive Sabbath as on that of primitive sacrifice [SACRIFICE]. Such examination as we have been able to institute, has disclosed no belief in its existence, while some indications are found of a notion that the Sabbath began with Moses. Thus, Justin Martyr says, that the patriarchs 'were justified before God not keeping the Sabbaths:' and again, 'from Abraham originated circumcision, and from Moses the Sabbath, and sacrifices and offerings,' &c. (*Dial. con. Tryph.*, 236. 261). Irenæus observes, 'Abraham, without circumcision, and without observance of Sabbaths, believed in God,' &c. (iv. 30). And Tertullian expresses himself to the same effect (*Adv. Jud.* ii. 4). While, on the other hand, they regard the institution as wholly peculiar to the Israelites. Justin Martyr, in particular, ex-

presses himself pointedly to the effect that 'it was given to them on account of their lawlessness (ἀνομίαν) and hardness of heart' (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, 235).

The Jewish Sabbath.—Under the Mosaic law itself, the case is perfectly free from all doubt or ambiguity. The Sabbath, as consisting in a rigid cessation from every species of labour, was enjoined expressly 'for a perpetual *covenant*,' and as 'a *sign* between God and the *children of Israel* for ever' (Exod. xxxi. 16). And the same idea is repeated in many other passages; all showing both the exclusive announcement and peculiar object and application of the institution to the people of Israel;—as particularly Ezek. xx. 10; Nehem. ix. 13, &c. And this is further manifest in the constant association of this observance with others of the like peculiar and positive nature,—as with reverencing the sanctuary (Lev. xix. 30), keeping the ordinances (Ezek. xlv. 17), solemnizing the new moons (Isa. i. 13; lxvi. 23), and other feasts (Hos. ii. 11). And obviously with the same view it was expressly made one of the primary obligations of proselytes who joined themselves to the Lord, as 'taking hold of the covenant' thereby (Isa. lvi. 6).

The degree of minute strictness with which it was to be observed, is laid down in express literal precepts, as against kindling fire (Exod. xxxv. 4) or preparing food (xvi. 5, 22). A man was put to death for gathering sticks (Num. xv. 32). Buying and selling were also unlawful (Neh. x. 31).

To these a multitude of more precise injunctions were added by the traditions of the Rabbis, such as the prohibition of travelling more than twelve miles, afterwards contracted to one mile, and called a Sabbath day's journey, and not only buying and selling, but any kind of pecuniary transaction, even for charitable purposes, or so much as touching money (see Vitringa, *De Synagogâ*, translated by Bernard, p. 76).

This will be the place also to mention, however briefly, the extension of the idea of a seventh period of rest, in the institution of the *Sabbatical Year*; or the injunction of a *fallow* or cessation of tillage for the land every seventh year. Not only were the labours of agriculture suspended, but even the spontaneous productions of the earth were to be given to the poor, the traveller, and the wild animals (see Lev. xxv. 1-7; Deut. xv. 1-10). This prohibition, however, did not extend to other labours or trades, which were still carried on. There was, however, in this year an extraordinary time devoted to the hearing of the law read through (see Deut. xxxi. 10, 18). As Moses predicted (Lev. xxvi. 34), this institution was afterwards much neglected (2 Chron. xxxvi. 21).

Closely connected with this was the observance of the year following seven Sabbatic years (*i. e.* the fiftieth year) called the year of Jubilee; but of this we have fully treated under the Art. Jubilee.

The Christian Sabbath.—The question as to the continued obligation of the Sabbath under the Christian dispensation, is one on which great difference of opinion has been entertained, not only by Christian churches, but by theologians of the same church.

The Jewish prophets in several places describe in lofty imagery a future condition of glory and prosperity, connected with the reign of the promised Messiah. These predictions are in a great degree conveyed under the *literal* representation of temporal grandeur, to be attained by the Jewish nation, and the restoration of their temple and worship to the highest pitch of splendour, while proselytes should come in from all nations, until the whole world should own its spiritual sway (as Amos ix. 11; Mich. iv. 1; Zech. viii. 20). In the course of these representations reference is made to the observance of Sabbaths (Isa. lvi. 6, 7; lxvi. 23).

In the interpretation of these passages some difference of opinion has prevailed. The Jews themselves have always understood them in their strictly literal sense. Among Christians they have been regarded as *literally* predicting some *future* restoration of the people of Israel, or perhaps as applying in a *first* or *literal* sense to the temporal restitution of the Jews after the captivity (which was to a great degree fulfilled before the coming of Christ), and the extraordinary accession of proselytes from all nations which had at that period taken place, while in *a second or figurative* sense they refer to the final extension of Christ's spiritual kingdom over the whole world.

These passages have been adduced in proof of the continued and permanent obligation of the Sabbath under all circumstances of the church of God; but those who dispute this, call attention to the fact that in these the Sabbath is always coupled with other observances of the Mosaic law; and they allege that if the whole description be taken literally, then by common consistency the Sabbaths must be also taken literally as applying to the Jews and the proselytes to their religion: if figuratively, the Sabbaths must by parity of reason be taken figuratively also, as implying spiritual rest, cessation from sin, and the everlasting rest of the faithful.

The teaching of Christ himself on this subject was of precisely the same kind as on all other points connected with the law. He was addressing exclusively Jews living under that law still in force. He censured the extravagant rigour with which the Pharisees endeavoured to enforce it; he exhorted to a more special observance of its weightier matters, and sought to lead his followers to a higher and more spiritual sense of their obligations; but he in no degree relaxed, modified, or abrogated any portion of the Mosaic code. On the contrary, expressly upheld its authority, enlarging indeed on many precepts, but rescinding none (Matt. v. 17, 18; xxiii. 1. 29; xviii. 17, &c.).

So in regard to the more particular precept of the Sabbath, while he reproved the excessive strictness of the Pharisaical observance—and to this end wrought miracles upon it, and vindicated works of mercy and necessity by reason of the case, and instances from the Old Testament (as in Matt. xii. 1; Luke xiii. 15; John v. 9, &c.) —still he in no way modified or altered the obligation beyond what the very language of the law and the prophets clearly sanctioned. He used indeed the remarkable declaration, 'The Sabbath was made for *the man* (διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον), not *the man* (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) for the Sabbath,' which is usually regarded as the most conclusive text in favour of the universal obligation of the Sabbath;

and it must have been so regarded by our translators, seeing that they omit the article. It is commonly understood in the following sense: 'it was made for man, not as he may be a Jew or a Christian, but as man, a creature bound to love, worship, and serve his God and maker, in time and in eternity.' To this it is answered, that we must not overlook the article in the original, where *the* man must mean 'those for whom it was appointed,' without specifying who they were, much less implying *man* in general; that 'the man was not made for it,' as manifestly implies that it was not a duty of an essential and unchangeable nature, such as those for which man *is* especially constituted and ordained — in other words, that it was an institution enjoined by way of *adaptation* to the case of those to whom the precept was given. An intermediate view, which lays no particular stress upon the definite article, is thus expressed in paraphrase by the elder Rosenmüller (*Scholia in Marc.* ii. 27): 'The Sabbath is an institution for the recreation of man; but man was not *therefore* created that he might on the seventh day rest from all anxious labour.' He adds, 'This being the nature of the Sabbath, what follows in verse 28 will hold true, that it is in the power of the Messiah to dispense with its observance.'

In the preaching of the Apostles we find hardly an allusion to the subject. Their ministry was at first addressed solely to the Jews, or to those who were at least proselytes. To these disciples, in the first instance, they neither insisted on the observance of the law, nor on any abrogation of it; though at a later period we find St. Paul, more especially, gradually and cautiously pointing out to them its transitory nature, and that having fulfilled its purpose, it was to cease (*e. g.* Heb. vii. 18). There is nothing to show directly whether the obligation of the Sabbath did or did not share in the general declaration; and the affirmative or negative must be determined by the weight of the arguments in behalf of the preservation of the moral as distinguished from the ceremonial law. It is however clear from several passages in the New Testament, that it continued to be observed as heretofore by these converts, along with the other peculiarities of the law. Our Saviour adds, 'Therefore the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath-day;' which is on all hands agreed to mean that he had power to abrogate it partially or wholly, if he thought fit, and it is admitted that he did not then think fit to exercise it.

With regard to the Gentile converts (who were the more special objects of St. Paul's labours), we find a totally different state of things prevailing. They were taught at first the spiritual religion of the Gospel in all its simplicity. But the narrow zeal of their Jewish brethren very early led them to attempt the enforcement of the additional burden of the law upon these Gentile Christians. The result was the explicit apostolic decree contained in Acts xv. 28. The omission of the Sabbath among the few things which are there enforced upon them, is advanced by those who doubt the abiding obligation of the institution, as a very strong circumstance in their favour; and the freedom of these converts from its obligation is regarded by them as conclusively proved in Col. ii. 16, and clearly implied in Rom. xiv. 6, where the Sabbaths are said to be placed in exactly the same predicament as new moons, distinctions of meats, &c., and all explicitly declared to be shadows. It is also urged that in the discourses of the apostles to the heathen recorded in the Acts, we find not the slightest allusion to any *patriarchal obligations*, of which, if such had existed, it would have been manifestly necessary to have informed their hearers.

These last arguments appear to us to be the strongest of any that have yet been advanced in favour of the view indicated; nor do we see how they can be met but by urging the distinction between the moral and ceremonial law, and the paramount obligation of the former, while the latter is abrogated: for it will then follow, that the whole moral law being of unchangeable obligation, it was not necessary to specify the Sabbath in particular, when the general obligation of the whole was understood. This answer does not, however, meet the argument founded on Col. ii. 16, which is alleged to place the Sabbath under the ceremonial law, if the distinction of the moral and ceremonial divisions of the law be admitted. That text is indeed of the utmost importance to the question; of this the disputants on both sides have been fully aware, and have joined issue upon it. The view of those who are opposed to the sabbatic obligation, has been already given: that of the other side may be expressed in the words of Bishop Horsley (*Sermons*, i. 357). 'From this text, no less a man than the venerable Calvin drew the conclusion, in which he has been rashly followed by other considerable men, that the sanctification of the seventh day is no indispensable duty of the Christian church; that it is one of those carnal ordinances of the Jewish religion which our Lord had blotted out. The truth, however, is, that in the apostolical age, the first day of the week, though it was observed with great reverence, was not called the Sabbath-day, but the Lord's day; that the separation of the Christian church from the Jewish communion might be marked by the name as well as by the day of their weekly festival; and the name of the sabbath-days was appropriated to the Saturdays, and certain days in the Jewish church which were likewise called Sabbaths in the law, because they were observed with no less sanctity. The sabbath-days, therefore, of which St. Paul in this passage speaks, were not the Sundays of the Christians, but the Saturday and other sabbaths of the Jewish calendar. The Judaizing heretics, with whom St. Paul was all his life engaged, were strenuous advocates for the observance of these Jewish festivals in the Christian church; and his (St. Paul's) admonition to the Colossians, is, that they should not be disturbed by the censures of those who reproached them for neglecting to observe these sabbaths with Jewish ceremonies.' To the same effect, see Macknight and Bulkley, on Col. ii. 16.

The difference of opinion, then, is this, that the passage is alleged, on one side, to abrogate altogether the sabbatic observance; while on the other it is contended, that it applies only to that part of it which was involved in the ceremonial law.

The question thus becomes further narrowed to the point, whether it is right or not to transfer to the Lord's day the name, the idea, and many of the obligations of the Jewish Sabbath? The ne-

gative is asserted by two very opposite parties; by the Sabbatarians as a body, and by individuals in different denominations, who take their stand upon the primitive determination of the Sabbath to the seventh day, in commemoration of the creation; and who therefore hold that the Saturday or seventh day must remain, to all time, the day of rest, unless altered by an authority equal to that by which it was established. They deny that the authority for any such alteration is to be found in the New Testament; for they understand the passage above referred to (Col. ii. 16), to apply not to the day, but to the peculiar observances which the Jewish law connected with it (Rupp, *Relig. Denom.* pp. 83-91). The right of thus transferring the idea of the Sabbath to the Lord's day, is also denied by those who believe that the Sabbath was entirely a Mosaical institution, and as such abrogated, along with the whole body of the law, at the death of Christ, which closed the old shadowy dispensation, and opened the realities of the new. It is admitted that Christ himself did not abrogate it, though he asserted his right to do so; for the old dispensation subsisted till his death. But being *then* abrogated, it is denied that it was re-enacted through the Apostles, or that they sanctioned the transfer of the Sabbatic obligations to the Sunday, although the early Christians did, with their approbation, assemble on that day—as the day on which their Lord arose from the dead—for worship, and to partake in the memorials of his love [LORD'S DAY].

In answer to this, it is urged, that the transfer or change *was* made under the authority of the Apostles. It is, indeed, allowed, that there is no express command to that effect; but as it was done in the apostolic age (which, however, the other side does not admit), the consent of the Apostles is to be understood. More cogent is the argument, that the day itself was *not* an essential part of the original enactment, which ordains not necessarily every seventh day, but one day in seven, as holy time. In the primitive ages of man, the creation of the world was the benefaction by which God was principally known, and for which he was chiefly to be worshipped. The Jews, in their religious assemblies, had to commemorate other blessings—the political creation of their nation out of Abraham's family, and their deliverance from Egyptian bondage. Christians have to commemorate, besides the common benefit of the creation, the transcendant blessing of our redemption,—our new creation to the hope of everlasting life, of which our Lord's resurrection on the first day of the week was a sure pledge and evidence. Thus in the progress of ages, the Sabbath acquired new ends, by new manifestations of the divine mercy; and these new ends justify corresponding alterations of the original institution. Horsley, and those who agree with him, allege, that upon our Lord's resurrection, the Sabbath was transferred in memory of that event, the great foundation of the Christian's hope, from the last to the first day of the week. 'The alteration seems to have been made by the authority of the Apostles, and to have taken place the very day in which our Lord arose; for on that day the Apostles were assembled; and on that day sevennight they were assembled again. The celebration of these two first Sundays was honoured by our Lord's presence. It was, perhaps, to set a mark of distinction upon this day in particular, that the intervening week passed off, as it would seem, without any repetition of his first visit to the eleven Apostles. From that time, the Sunday was the constant Sabbath of the primitive church. The Christian, therefore, who devoutly sanctifies one day in seven, although it be on the first day of the week, not the last, as was originally ordained, may rest assured, that he fully satisfies the spirit of the ordinance' (Horsley, i. 334, 335; compare Holden's *Christian Sabbath*, pp. 286, 287).

In justification of the change, it has also been well remarked, that the same portion of time which constituted the seventh day from the creation could not be simultaneously observed in all parts of the earth, and that it is not therefore probable that the original institution expressed more than one day in seven—a seventh day of rest after six days of toil, from whatever point the enumeration might set out or the weekly cycle begin. If more had been intended, it would have been necessary to establish a rule for the reckoning of days themselves, which has been different in different nations; some reckoning from evening to evening, as the Jews do now; others from midnight to midnight, &c. Even if this point were determined, the difference of time produced by difference of latitude and longitude would again throw the whole into disorder; and it is not probable that a law intended to be universal would be fettered with that circumstantial exactness which would render difficult, and sometimes doubtful astronomical calculations necessary in order to its being obeyed according to the intentions of the lawgiver. It is true that this very argument might be adduced on the other side, to prove that the obligations of the Sabbatic observance were originally limited to the Jews. It is not, however, our object, nor would it be possible, to exhaust all the arguments which bear upon the subject. Enough has been produced to indicate the bearings of the question, and at the end of the article materials are furnished for more minute inquiry. It appears to us that great confusion and much injustice have arisen from confounding the different shades of opinion respecting the Sabbath. They might be thus discriminated:—

1. Those who believe that the Sabbath is of binding and sacred obligation, *both* as a primitive institution and as a moral law of the Mosaical code. These may be divided into:

a. Those who contend for the very day of the Mosaical institution.

b. Those who believe the obligation to have been transferred to the *first* day by the Apostles.

2. Those who deny that the Sabbath was a primitive institution, or that its obligation survived the Mosaical dispensation, but who nevertheless hold the observance of the Lord's day as an apostolical institution, deriving none of its authority or obligation from the Mosaical dispensation.

3. Those who both deny the permanent obligation of the Sabbath, and that there is any obligatory authority in the New Testament for the observance of even the Lord's day. These again may be divided into two classes:—

a. Those who hold that, although not of divine obligation, the observance of the first day of the week as a day of rest from toil, and of spiritual

edification, is not only salutary but necessary, and is therefore in accordance with the will of God, and ought as such to be maintained.

b. Those who assert that, not being a matter of positive injunction, it is not necessary or desirable to observe the day at all on religious grounds. But even these generally admit that it is competent for human legislation to enact its observance as a day of rest, and that it then becomes a duty to obey it as the law of the land, seeing that it is *not contrary to* the will of God.

c. A mixed view of the subject, arising out of the two last, seems to be entertained by the Quakers, and by individuals in different denominations; namely, that the authorized institution of Moses respecting a weekly Sabbath, and *the practice* of the first teachers of Christianity, constitute a sufficient recommendation to set apart certain times for the exercise of public worship, even were there no such injunctions as that of Heb. x. 23. Community of dependence and hope dictates the propriety of *united* worship, and worship, to be united, must be performed at intervals previously fixed. But, it is urged, since the Jewish Sabbath is abrogated, and since the assembling together on the first day of the week is mentioned as an existing practice in the New Testament, but not enjoined as a positive obligation, it does not appear why these periods should recur at intervals of seven days any more than of five or ten. Nevertheless, it is added, 'the question whether we are to observe the first day of the week *because it is the first day*, is one point—whether we ought to devote it to religious exercises, *seeing that it is actually set apart for the purpose*, is another. Bearing in mind then that it is right to devote some portion of our time to these exercises, and considering that no objection exists to the day which is actually appropriated, the duty seems very obvious—so to employ it' (Jonathan Dymond, *Essays on the Principles of Morality*, i. 164-172).

This testimony in favour of the observance, from one who utterly denies the religious obligation of setting even one day in seven apart, is not unlike that of Dr. Arnold, who seems to have taken the view of the subject represented in 3, *a*. In a letter to Mr. Justice Coleridge, he says:—

'Although I think that the whole law is done away with, so far as it is the law given in Mount Sinai, yet so far as it is the law of the Spirit, I hold it to be all binding; and believing that our need of a Lord's day is as great as ever it was, and that, therefore, its observance is God's will, and is likely, so far as we see, to be so to the end of time; I should think it most mischievous to weaken the respect paid to it' (*Life and Correspondence*, i. 355).

We have entered into these details concerning the differences of opinion on this important subject—which concerns one-seventh of man's life—for the sake of defining the exact amount of such differences, and of showing that pious men, sincerely seeking the truth of God's word, may on the one hand conscientiously doubt the obligation of a Christian Sabbath without deserving to be stigmatised as Antinomians, scoffers, or profane; and on the other, may uphold it without being regarded as Judaizers and formalists. A very gratifying result which arises from the contemplation of these *differences* as to the nature and extent of the obligation, will be found in the clearer perception of the *agreement* to which they all tend, in favour of the observance itself, as in the highest degree conducive to the health of the mind and the nourishment of the soul (Calvin, *Instit. Christ. Relig.* lib. ii. ch. 8; Brerewood, *Treatise of the Sabbath;* Bp. Prideaux, *Doctrine of the Sabbath;* Abp. Bramhall, *Discourses on the Controversy about the Sabbath;* Bp. White, *Treatise of the Sabbath Day;* Heylin, *History of the Sabbath;* Chandler, *Two Sermons on the Sabbath;* Wotton, *On the Mishna*, i. 205: Warburton, *Divine Legation*, iv. 36, note; Watts' *Perpetuity of the Sabbath;* Kennicott, *Serm. and Dialog. on the Sabbath;* Porteus, *Sermons*, vol. i. serm. 9; Horsley's *Sermons*, u.s.; Paley, *Natural and Political Philosophy*, b. v. c. 7; Holden's *Christian Sabbath;* Burnside, *On the Weekly Sabbath;* Burder's *Law of the Sabbath;* Wardlaw, Wilson, and Agnew, severally, *On the Sabbath; Modern Sabbath Examined*, 1832; Archbishop Whately, *Difficulties of St. Paul*, Essay v. note on Sabbath).*

SABBATH-DAY'S JOURNEY (σαββάτου ὁδός, Acts i. 12), the distance which the Jews were permitted to journey from and return to their places of residence upon the Sabbath-day (Exod. xvi. 29). The Israelites were forbidden to go beyond the encampment (to collect manna) upon the Sabbath-day; which circumstance seems to have given rise to the regulation—which is not distinctly enjoined in the law, although it might be fairly deduced from the principle on which the legislation concerning the Jewish Sabbath was founded—that no regular journey ought to be made on the Sabbath-day (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 8. 4). The intention of the lawgiver in this respect was also indicated by the direction, that beasts should rest on the Sabbath-day (comp. ch. xxiv. 26). The later Jews, as usual, drew a large number of precise and minute regulations from these plain and simple indications. Thus the distance to which a Jew might travel was limited to 2000 cubits beyond the walls of the city or the borders of his residence, because the innermost tents of the Israelites' camp in the wilderness are supposed to have been that distance from the tabernacle (Josh. iii. 4), and because the same distance beyond a city for a Sabbath-day's journey is supposed to be indicated in Num. xxxv. 4, 5 (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Luke xxiv. 50; Acts i. 12); Targ. on Ruth, i. 16; Jarchi on Josh. iii. 4; Oecum on Acts i. 12). This also is the distance stated in the Talmud (Tract. *Erubin*), where the mode of measuring is determined, and the few cases are specified in which persons might venture to exceed the distance of 2000 cubits. Some of the Rabbins, however, distinguish a great (2800 cubits), a middling (2000 cubits), and a lesser (1800 cubits) Sabbath-day's journey. Epiphanius (*Haer.* 66 82) estimates the Sabbath-day's journey by the Greek measure of six stades, equal to 750 Roman geographical paces (1000 of which made a Roman mile). In agreement with

* In this article the view of the subject to which prevalent ideas are much opposed has been furnished by a contributor (B. P.); and the arguments which it appeared necessary to insert on the other side have, with his concurrence, been subjoined by the Editor.

this is the statement of Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* v. 2. 3), who makes the Mount of Olives to be about six stades from Jerusalem; and it is the distance between these two places which in Acts i. 12 is given as a Sabbath-day's journey. It is true that Josephus elsewhere determines the same distance as five stades (*Antiq.* xx. 8. 6); but both were probably loose statements rather than measured distances; and both are below the ordinary estimate of 2000 cubits. Taking all circumstances into account, it seems likely that the ordinary Sabbath-day's journey was a somewhat loosely determined distance, seldom more than the whole and seldom less than three-quarters of a geographical mile (Selden, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* iii. 9; Frischmuth, *Dissert. de Itin. Sabbat.* 1670; Walther, *Dissert. de Itin. Sabbat.*; both in *Thesaurus Theolog. Philog.*, Amsterd. 1720).

SABBATIC YEAR. [Jubilee.]

SABÆANS. [Sheba.]

SACHAPH. [Cuckoo; Gull.]

SACKCLOTH. The Hebrew word for *sack*-cloth, or *sack*-ing, is שַׂק *sak*; in the Sept. and New Testament, σάκκος; and as it has been preserved in most languages (our own included) to denote the same thing, much ingenious speculation has been brought to bear upon it—chiefly as a venerable monument of the primitive language, from which it is supposed to have been derived by all the nations in whose vocabularies it has been found.

The sackcloth mentioned in Scripture was, as it is still in the East, a coarse black cloth, commonly made of hair (Rev. vi. 12), and was used for straining liquids, for sacks, and for mourning garments. In the latter case it was worn instead of the ordinary raiment, or bound upon the loins, or spread under the mourner on the ground (Gen. xxxvii. 34; 1 Kings xxiii. 2; Isa. lviii. 5; Joel i. 8; Jon. iii. 5) [Mourning]. Such garments were also worn by prophets, and by ascetics generally (Isa. xx. 2; Zech. iii. 4; comp. 2 Kings i. 8; Matt. v. 4) [Prophecy].

SACRIFICES. The sacrifices and other offerings required by the Hebrew ritual have been enumerated under Offering; and in this place it is only requisite to offer a few remarks upon the great and much controverted questions—Whether sacrifice was in its origin a human invention, or a divine institution; and whether any of the sacrifices before the law, or under the law, were sacrifices of expiation. Eminent and numerous are the authorities on both sides of these questions; but the balance of theological opinion preponderates greatly for the affirmative in each of them. On the latter point, however, most of those who deny that there was any expiatory sacrifice before the law, admit its existence under the law: and on the first, those who hold that sacrifice was of Divine origin, but became much corrupted, and was restored by the Mosaic law, do not in substance differ much from those who hold it to have been a human invention, formally recognised, and remodelled by the law of Moses.

From the universality of sacrifice, it is obvious that the rite arose either from a common source, or from a common sentiment among nations widely dispersed, and very differently constituted. Remembering that Noah, the common ancestor of the post-diluvian nations, offered sacrifice, we are enabled to trace back the custom through all nations to him; and he doubtless derived it through the antediluvian fathers, from the sacrifices which the first men celebrated, of which we have an example in that of Abel. The question concerning the divine or human origin of sacrifices, therefore, centres upon the conclusions which we may be able to draw from the circumstances and preliminaries of that transaction. Abel brought for sacrifice one of the lambs of his flock, for he was a shepherd; and with his offering God was well pleased: Cain brought of the fruits of the ground, for he was a husbandman; and with his offering God was not well pleased. Now out of this arise the questions—Was this the first animal sacrifice? and if it was, Was it offered by Abel from the spontaneous impulse of his own mind, or by command from God? and if not by divine command, How was it that his offering was more acceptable than his brother's?

That this was not the first sacrifice is held by many to be proved by the fact, that 'unto Adam and his wife the Lord made coats of skin, and clothed them' (Gen. iii. 21); for, it is urged, that as animal food does not appear to have been used before the deluge, it is not easy to understand whence these skins came, probably before any animal had died naturally, unless from beasts offered in sacrifice. And if the first sacrifices had been offered by Adam, the arguments for the divine institution of the rite are of the greater force, seeing that it was less likely to occur spontaneously to Adam than to Abel, who was a keeper of sheep. Further, if the command was given to Adam, and his sons had been trained in observance of the rite, we can the better understand the merit of Abel and the demerit of Cain, without further explanation. Apart from any considerations arising out of the skin-vestures of Adam and his wife, it would seem that if sacrifice was a divine institution, and, especially, if the rite bore a piacular significance, it would have been at once prescribed to Adam, after sin had entered the world, and death by sin, and not have been postponed till his sons had reached manhood.

If animal sacrifice was the invention of Abel, testifying his thanks to God, by offering that which was most valuable to him, the question comes, Where was the offence of Cain, and why was his offering despised? It is suggested that Abel brought the best of his flock, and Cain only the refuse of his produce; or, that Abel believed, and Cain disbelieved, that his offering would be accepted. This latter explanation is thought to be borne out by the allegation of the Apostle (Heb. xi. 4), that it was 'by faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain.' If, however, sacrifice had been divinely commanded, this faith was that manifested in obeying the command; and if it was also piacular, it might be even referred to a belief in the doctrine of atonement for sin, which the rite in that case must have adumbrated.

One of the most recent writers on the subject, the Rev. J. Davison, in his *Inquiry into the Origin and Intent of Primitive Sacrifice*, adduces (on the authority of Spencer and Outram) the consent of the fathers in favour of the human origin of primitive patriarchal sacrifice; and alleges, that the notion of its divine origin is 'a mere modern

figment, excogitated in the presumptively speculative age of innovating Puritanism.' This assertion has been ably, and we think successfully, met by the Rev. G. S. Faber, in his *Treatise on the Origin of Expiatory Sacrifice*. He shows that the only authorities adduced by Outram and Spencer are Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, the author of the work called *Apostolical Constitutions*, and the author of the *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, commonly printed with the works of Justin Martyr. Of the early theologians thus adduced, the three last are positive and explicit in their assertion; while the sentiments of Justin Martyr are gathered rather by implication than in consequence of any direct avowal. He says, 'as circumcision commenced from Abraham, so the sabbath, and *sacrifices*, and oblations, and festivals, commenced from Moses;' which clearly intimates that he considered primitive sacrifice as a human invention until made by the law a matter of religious obligation. The great body of the fathers are silent as to the *origin* of sacrifice: but a considerable number of them, cited by Spencer (*De Legib. Heb.* p. 646, sq.), held that sacrifice was admitted into the law through condescension to the weakness of the people, who had been familiarised to it in Egypt, and if not allowed to sacrifice to God, would have been tempted to sacrifice to the idols of their heathen neighbours. The ancient writers who held this opinion are Justin Martyr, Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius of Salamis, Irenæus, Jerome, Procopius, Eucherius, Anastasius, and the author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. But out of the entire number, only the four already mentioned allege incidentally the human origin of primitive sacrifice: the rest are silent on this point. Outram indeed (*De Sacrif.* lib. i. cap. 1, § 6, pp. 8, 9) thinks, that in giving this opinion, they *virtually* deny the divine origin of sacrifice. But it is fairly answered, that the assertion, be it right or be it wrong, that sacrifice was introduced into the law from condescension to the Egyptianizing weakness of the people, furnishes no legitimate proof that the persons entertaining this opinion held the mere human origin of primitive patriarchal sacrifice, and affords no ground for alleging the consent of Christian antiquity in favour of that opinion. Such persons could not but have known, that the rite of sacrifice existed anterior to the rise of pagan idolatry: and hence the notion which they entertained leaves the question, as to the *primitive* origin of sacrifice, entirely open, so far as they are concerned. Paganism, whether in Egypt or elsewhere, merely borrowed the rite from pure Patriarchism, which already possessed it: and unless a writer expressly declares such to be his opinion, we are not warranted in concluding that he held the human origin of primitive patriarchal sacrifice, simply because he conceives that a system of sacrificial service had been *immediately* adopted into the law from Paganism out of condescension to the weakness of the people. Besides, some of these very fathers held language with respect to primitive sacrifice, not much in favour of the interpretation which has on this ground been given to their sentiments. Thus, according to Cyril, 'God accepted the sacrifice of Abel and rejected the sacrifice of Cain, because it was fitting that posterity should learn from thence, how they might blamelessly offer unto God his meet and due honour.'

If, then, these authorities be taken as neutral on the question, with the four exceptions already indicated, we shall find whatever authority we ascribe to these more than counterbalanced by the testimony of other ancient witnesses in favour of the divine origin of primitive sacrifice. Philo-Judæus says, 'Abel brought neither the same oblation as Cain, nor in the same manner; but instead of things inanimate, he brought things animate; and instead of later and secondary products, he brought the older and the first: for he offered in sacrifice from the firstlings of his flock, and from their fat, according to the most holy command (κατὰ τὸ ἱερωτατὸν διάταγμα:—*De Sacrif. Abel. et Cain.* Opp. p. 145). Augustine, after expressly referring the origin of sacrifice to the divine command, more distinctly evolves his meaning by saying: 'The prophetic immolation of blood, testifying from the very commencement of the human race the future passion of the Mediator, is a matter of deep antiquity: inasmuch as Abel is found in Holy Scripture to have been the first who offered up this prophetic immolation' (*Cont. Faust. Manich.* Opp. vi. 145). Next we come to Athanasius, who, speaking of the consent of the Old Testament to the fundamental doctrines of the New, says: 'What Moses taught, these things his predecessor Abraham had preserved: and what Abraham had preserved, with those things Enoch and Noah were well acquainted; for *they made a distinction between the clean and the unclean*, and were acceptable to God. Thus also in like manner Abel bore testimony; for he knew what he had learned from Adam, and *Adam himself taught only what he had previously learned from the Lord* (*Synod. Nicen. contr. Hær. Arian. decret.*, Opp. i. 403). Eusebius of Cæsarea, in a passage too long for quotation, alleges, that animal sacrifice was first of all practised by the ancient lovers of God (the patriarchs), and that not by accident, but through a certain divine contrivance, under which, as taught by the Divine spirit, it became their duty thus to shadow forth the great and venerable victim, really acceptable to God, which was, in time then future, destined to be offered in behalf of the whole human race (*Demonst. Evang.* i. 8. pp. 24, 25).

These testimonies certainly vindicate the opinion of the divine origin of primitive sacrifice from the charge of being a modern innovation, with no voice of antiquity in its favour.

Among the considerations urged in support of the opinion, that sacrifice must have originated in a divine command, it has been suggested as exceedingly doubtful, whether, independently of such a command, and as distinguished from vegetable oblations, animal sacrifice, which involves the practice of slaughtering and burning an innocent victim, could ever, under any aspect, have been adopted as a rite likely to gain the favour of God. Our own course of scriptural education prevents us, perhaps, from being competent judges on this point: but we have means of judging how so singular a rite must strike the minds of thinking men, not in the same degree prepossessed by early associations. The ancient Greek masters of thought not unfrequently expressed their astonishment how, and upon what rational principles, so

strange an institution as that of animal sacrifice could ever have originated; for as to the notion of its being *pleasing* to the Deity, such a thing struck them as a manifest impossibility (Jamblic. *De Vit. Pythag.* pp. 106-118; Porphyr. *De Abstin.* p. 96; Theophrast. et Porphyr. apud Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* pp. 90, 91). Those who do not believe that sacrifices were of divine institution, must dispose of this difficulty by alleging, that, when men had come to slay animals for their own food, they might think it right to slay them to satisfy their gods: and, in fact, Grotius, who held the human origin of sacrifices, and yet believed that animal food was not used before the Deluge, is reduced to the expedient of contending that Abel's offering was not an animal sacrifice, but only the produce—the milk and wool—of his best sheep. This, however, shows that he believed animal sacrifice to have been impossible before the Deluge, without the sanction of a divine command, the existence of which he discredited.

A strong moral argument in favour of the divine institution of sacrifice, somewhat feebly put by Hallet (*Comment. on* Heb. xi. 4, cited by Magee, *On the Atonement*), has been reproduced with increased force by Faber (*Prim. Sacrifice*, p. 183). It amounts to this:—

Sacrifice, when uncommanded by God, is a mere act of gratuitous superstition. Whence, on the principle of St. Paul's reprobation of what he denominates will-worship, it is neither acceptable nor pleasing to God.

But sacrifice, during the patriarchal ages, was accepted by God, and was plainly honoured with his approbation.

Therefore sacrifice, during the patriarchal age, could not have been an act of superstition uncommanded by God.

If, then, such was the character of primitive sacrifice; that is to say, if primitive sacrifice was *not* a mere act of gratuitous superstition uncommanded by God,—it must, in that case, indubitably have been a divine, and not a human institution.

If it be held that any of the ancient sacrifices were expiatory, or piacular, the argument for their divine origin is strengthened; as it is hard to conceive the combination of ideas under which the notion of expiatory sacrifice could be worked out by the human mind. This difficulty is so great, that the ablest advocates of the human origin of primitive animal sacrifice, feel bound also to deny that such sacrifices as then existed were piacular. It is strongly insisted that the doctrine of an atonement by animal sacrifice cannot be deduced from the light of nature, or from the principles of reason. If, therefore, the idea existed, it must either have arisen in the fertile soil of a guessing superstition, or have been divinely appointed. Now we know that God cannot approve of unwarranted and presumptuous superstition: if therefore he can be shown to have received with approbation a species of sacrifice undiscoverable by the light of nature, or from the principles of reason, it follows that it must have been of his own institution.

Here, however, the argument again divaricates. Some are unable to see that piacular sacrifices existed under, or were commanded by, the law of Moses; while others admit this, but deny that animal sacrifice, with an expiatory intent, existed before the law. It appears to us, that the difference of opinion as to the existence of expiatory sacrifice under the law, is more apparent than real, and arises from the different senses in which the term 'expiatory sacrifice' is understood. It will often transpire, that those who deny its existence have an idea of such a sacrifice different from that of the persons whom they think themselves opposing, but from whom they do not, in fact, materially differ. In general, those who do not admit the doctrine of the atonement through the death of Christ, do not see that certain sacrifices of the law were piacular: and on their own premises, they reason justly; for unless expiatory sacrifice prefigured the atonement offered by Jesus Christ, there appears no adequate reason for the existence of expiatory sacrifice as a divine institution, and it is difficult to believe that it could (as piacular) have been a human invention. In fact, apart from the doctrine of the atonement, the subject of expiatory sacrifice ceases to be of any material interest.

The question, of the existence of expiatory sacrifice before the law, is more difficult, and is denied by Outram, Ernesti, Doëderlin, Davison, and many others, who believe that it was revealed under the law; as well as by those who doubt its existence under the Mosaical dispensation. The arguments already stated in favour of the divine institution of primitive sacrifice, go equally to support the existence of piacular sacrifice; the idea of which seems more urgently to have required a divine intimation. Besides, expiatory sacrifice is found to have existed among all nations, in conjunction with eucharistic and impetratory sacrifices; and it lies at the root of the principle on which human sacrifices were offered among the ancient nations. The expiatory view of sacrifice is frequently produced by heathen writers:—

'Cor pro corde, precor, pro fibra sumite fibras;
Hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus.'
Ovid. *Fasti*, vi. 161.

This being the case, it is difficult to believe but that the idea was derived, along with animal sacrifice itself, from the practice of Noah, and preserved among his various descendants. This argument, if valid, would show the primitive origin of piacular sacrifice. Now there can be no doubt that the idea of sacrifice which Noah transmitted to the post-diluvian world, was the same that he had derived from his pious ancestors, and the same that was evinced by the sacrifice of Abel, to which we are, by the course of the argument, again brought back. Now if that sacrifice was expiatory, we have reason to conclude that it was divinely commanded: and the supposition that it was both expiatory and divinely commanded, makes the whole history far more clear and consistent than any other which has been or can be offered. It amounts then to this—that Cain, by bringing an eucharistic offering, when his brother brought one which was expiatory, denied virtually that his sins deserved death, or that he needed the blood of atonement. Some go further, and allege that in the text itself, God actually commanded Cain to offer a piacular sacrifice. The argument does not require this additional circumstance; but it is certainly strengthened by it. When Cain be-

came angry that Abel's offering was regarded with Divine complacency, and his own refused, God said to him, 'Why art thou wroth; and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, *sin lieth at the door*.' Now the word חטאה *chattah*, translated 'sin,' denotes in the law a 'sin-offering;' and the word רבץ translated 'lieth,' is usually applied to the recumbency of a beast. It is therefore proposed to translate the clause, 'a sin-offering coucheth at the door:' which by paraphrase would mean, 'an animal fit for a sin-offering is there, couching at the door, which thou mayest offer in sacrifice, and thereby render to me an offering as acceptable as that which Abel has presented.'

These are the principal considerations which seem suitable to this place, on a subject to the complete investigation of which many large volumes have been devoted. See Outram, *De Sacrificiis;* Sykes, *Essay on the Nature, Origin, and Design of Sacrifices;* Taylor, *Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement*, 1758; Ritchie, *Criticism upon Modern Notions of Sacrifices*, 1761; Magee, *Discourses on Atonement and Sacrifices*; Davison, *Inquiry*, &c., 1825; Faber, *Primitive Sacrifices*, &c., 1827.

SACRIFICE, HUMAN. The offering of human life, as the most precious thing on earth, came in process of time to be practised in most countries of the world. All histories and traditions darken our idea of the earlier ages with human sacrifices. But the period when such prevailed was not the earliest in time, though probably the earliest in civilization. The practice was both a result and a token of barbarism more or less gross. In this, too, the dearest object was primitively selected. Human life is the most precious thing on earth, and of this most precious possession the most precious portion is the life of a child. Children therefore were offered in fire to the false divinities, and in no part of the world with less regard to the claims of natural affection than in the land where, at a later period, the only true God had his peculiar worship and highest honours.

It is under these circumstances a striking fact that the Hebrew religion, even in its most rudimental condition, should be free from the contamination of human sacrifices. The case of Isaac and that of Jephthah's daughter cannot impair the general truth, that the offering of human beings is neither enjoined, allowed, nor practised in the Biblical records. On the contrary, such an offering is strictly prohibited by Moses, as adverse to the will of God, and an abomination of the heathen. 'Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Moloch: defile not yourselves with any of these things' (Lev. xviii. 21; see also ch. xx. 2; Deut. xii. 31; Ps. cvi. 37; Isa. lxvi. 3; Jer. xxiii. 37). Yet in an age in which, like the present, all manner of novelties are broached, and, in some cases, the greater the paradox broached with the more promptitude, and maintained with the greater earnestness, these very clear positions have been withstood, and human sacrifices have been charged confidently on the Hebrew race. In the year 1842, Chillany, professor at Nürnberg, published a book (*Die Menschenopfer der alten Hebräer*), the object of which was to prove that, as the religion of the ancient Hebrews did not differ essentially from that of the Canaanites, so that Moloch, who had been originally a god common to both, merely in the process of time was softened down and passed into Jehovah, thus becoming the national deity of the people of Israel; so did their altars smoke with human blood, from the time of Abraham down to the fall of both kingdoms of Judah and Israel. In the same year appeared in Germany another work, by Daumer (*Der Feuer und Molochdienst der alten Hebräer*), intended to prove that the worship of Moloch, involving his bloody rites, was the original legal and orthodox worship of the nation of Abraham, Moses, Samuel, and David. To these works a reply was put forth in 1843, by Löwengard (*Jehovah, nicht Moloch, war der Gott der alten Hebräer*), in which he defends the worship of Jehovah from the recent imputations, and strives, by distinguishing between the essential and the unessential, the durable and the temporary, to prepare the way for a reformation of modern Judaism.

We do not think that it requires any deep research or profound learning to ascertain from the Biblical records themselves, that the religion of the Bible is wholly free from the shocking abominations of human sacrifices; and we do not therefore hesitate to urge the fact on the attention of the ordinary reader, as not least considerable among many proofs not only of the superior character, but of the divine origin, of the Hebrew worship. It was in Egypt where the mind of Moses and of the generation with whom he had primarily to do, was chiefly formed, so far as heathen influences were concerned. Here offerings were very numerous. Sacrifices of meat-offerings, libations and incense, were of very early date in the Egyptian temples. Oxen, wild goats, pigs, and particularly geese, were among the animal offerings; besides these there were presented to the gods wine, oil, beer, milk, cakes, grain, ointment, flowers, fruits, vegetables. In these, and in the case of meat, peace and sin offerings (as well as others), there exists a striking resemblance with similar Hebrew observances, which may be found indicated in detail in Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, v. 358, sq.; see also ii. 378), who, in agreement with Herodotus, maintains, in opposition to Diodorus, that the Egyptians were never accustomed to sacrifice human beings: a decision which has a favourable aspect on our last position, namely, that the religion of the Israelites, even in its earliest days, was unprofaned by human blood. A remarkable instance of disagreement between the observances of the Egyptians and the Jews, in regard to sacrifices, is, that while the Egyptians received the blood of the slaughtered animal into a vase or basin, to be applied in cookery, the eating of blood was most strictly forbidden to the Israelites (Deut. xv. 23).—J. R. B.

SADDUCEES: one of the three sects of Jewish philosophers, of which the Pharisees and the Essenes were the others, who had reached their highest state of prosperity about the commencement of the Christian era.

In every highly developed social system the elements are found to exist which led to the formation of the sect of Sadducees. But these elements were in fuller amplitude and more decided energy among the post-exilian Jews than in most ancient

nations. The peculiar doctrines and practices of the Pharisees naturally begot the Sadduceean system. The first embodied the principle of veneration, which looked on the past with so much regard as to become enamoured of its forms as well as its substance, its ivy as well as its columns, its corruptions no less than its excellences, taking and maintaining the whole with a warm but blind and indiscriminate affection; the second, alienated by the extravagances of the former, were led to seize on the principle of rationalism, and hence to investigate prevalent customs, and weigh received opinions, till at length investigation begot scepticism, and scepticism issued in the positive rejection of many established notions and observances. The principle of the Sadducee is thus obviously an offshoot from the rank growth of conservatism and orthodoxy. Corruption brings reform. And as it is not possible for the same individuals, nor for the same classes of men, to perform the dissimilar acts of conservatism and reformation, so must there be, if Pharisees, Sadducees also in society. It is for the good of men that the latter should come into being, seeing that the principle represented by the former arises, inevitably, in the actual progress of events. True wisdom, however, consists in avoiding the extremes peculiar to both, and aims to make man possessor of all the good which the past can bestow and all the good which the present can produce, uniting in one happy result the benign results of conservatism and improvement, retention of the past and progress in the present.

It would be easy to show how the several particulars which were peculiar to the Sadducee arose out of Pharisaic errors. As, however, we wish to give to this necessarily brief notice an historical character, we shall content ourselves with one instance—the doctrine of tradition. By an excessive veneration of the Mosaic institutions and sacred books, the Pharisees had been led to regard every thing which concerned them as sacred. But if the text and the observance were holy, holy also was that which explained their meaning or unfolded their hidden signification. Hence the exposition of the ancients came to be received with respect equal to that with which the very words of the founders and original writers were regarded. Tradition was engrafted on the vine of Israel. But all exposition is relative to the mind of the expositor. Accordingly various expositions came into being. Every age, every doctor gave a new exposition. Thus a diverse and contradictory, as well as a huge, mass of opinions was formed, which overlaid and hid the law of God. Then a true reverence for that law identified itself with the principle of the Sadducee, and the Pharisee was made to appear as not only the author but the patron and advocate of corruption.

The time when the sect of the Sadducees came into existence, history does not define. From what has been advanced it appears that they were posterior to the Pharisees. And although so soon as the Pharisaic elements began to become excessive, there existed in Judaism itself a sufficient source for Sadduceeism, yet, as a fact, we have no doubt that Grecian philosophy lent its aid to the development of Sadduceeism. Whence we are referred for the rise of the latter to the period when the conquests and the kingdoms which ensued from the expedition of Alexander had diffused a very large portion of Grecian civilization over the soil of the East, and especially over Western Asia.

As little is historically known respecting the author of this sect; there are various statements, but their very variety shows that nothing certain is known. The Rabbins have a story which makes one Zadok, a pupil of Antigonus Jocho, the founder; who, under the instructions of his master, was, in company with one Baithos, a fellow disciple, led to the conclusion that there is no future life, and, of course, no retribution after death (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 3). It has also been said, that the name Sadducee is descriptive—צדקון, 'the just ones,' that is, men who were just to the law, to God as the author of the law and the source of truth, just in their own conceptions and their mode of thinking in contradistinction to the excesses of the Pharisees; just every way in the sense in which our word just is sometimes used—exact, without superfluities, the thing itself apart from accessories, the truth and nothing but the truth. Nor can it be denied that such a view of the sect embodies their peculiar and fundamental principle (Epiphan. *Hæres.* i. 14). A modern critic, Köster (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1837, vol. i. p. 164), deduces the word, as well as the doctrines which it represents, from the Grecian stoics, which is more ingenious than solid.

As may be inferred from what has been advanced, the Sadducees stood in direct opposition to the Pharisees. So they are described by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 10. 6), and so they appear in the New Testament. Hostile, however, as these two sects were, they united for the common purpose of opposing our Lord (Matt. iii. 7; xvi. 1, 6, 11, sq.; xxii. 23, 34; Acts iv. 1; v. 17). In opposing the Pharisees the Sadducees were led to impeach their principal doctrines, and so to deny all the 'traditions of the elders,' holding that the law alone was the written source of religious truth (*Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4). By more than one consideration, however, it might be shown that they are in error who so understand the fact now stated, as if the Sadducees received no other parts of the Jewish canon than the Pentateuch; for in truth they appear to have held the common opinion regarding the sacred books—a fact of some consequence, inasmuch as we thus gain the determination, on the point of the Jewish canon, of the critical scepticism of the day. The Sadducees taught that the soul of man perished together with his body, and that of course there was neither reward nor punishment after death (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14; comp. Matt. xxii. 23). Indeed they appear to have disowned the moral philosophy which obtrudes the idea of recompense. 'Be not as those slaves'—so runs an injunction derived, it is said, from Zadok himself—'who serve their master on this condition, namely, that they receive a reward; but let the fear of heaven be in you' (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 3, and Rabbi Nathan on the passage). Were they consistent in this view, they may have held high and worthy ideas of duty, its source and its motives; ideas, however, which are obviously more suited for men of cultivation like themselves than for the great bulk of human beings. And in views such as this may probably be found a chief cause why they were far less acceptable with the common people and far less influential in the state than their rivals, the Pha-

risees. The cold self-reliance and self-sufficiency which sits apart in the enjoyment of the satisfactions resulting from its own resources, and aims at nothing beyond its own sphere and nothing higher than its own standard, may possess peculiar attractions for the philosophic few, or for the contemptuous scoffer, but is too alien from ordinary sympathies, and too unkindling and too tranquil to find general acceptance in any condition of society that the world has yet known.

It was a position with the Sadducees, that the Scriptures did not contain the doctrine of a future life. In this opinion they have had many followers in modern times. Yet Jesus himself finds a proof of that doctrine in the Pentateuch (Matt. xxii. 31, 32), and the astonishment which his teaching on the point excited seems to show that it was not an ordinary inference of the Rabbins, but a new doctrine that Jesus then deduced: this makes against the mode of interpretation which would represent this as a sort of *argumentum ad hominem*, a shaft from the quiver of Christ's enemies. That, however, the species of exegesis to which this proof belongs prevailed among the Jews in the time of our Lord there can be no doubt; for from the period of the return from Babylon it had been gaining ground, was very prevalent in the days of Christ, and abounds in the Talmudical writings. Being, however, a kind of exegetical spiritualism, it was disallowed by the Sadducees, who accordingly rejected the doctrines which by its means had been deduced from the sacred writings.

Sadduceeism appears to have been to some extent a logically deduced and systematically formed set of ideas. Making this life the term of our being, and man his own beau ideal, it was naturally led to assert for man all the attributes that he could reasonably claim. Hence it taught the absolute freedom of the human mind. The words of Josephus are emphatic on this point: 'The Pharisees ascribe all to fate and to God, but the Sadducees take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing evil; and they say that to act what is good or what is evil is in man's own choice; and that all things depend on our own selves' (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 14; *Antiq.* xiii. 5, 9). An inference injurious to them has been deduced from this position, as if they denied divine Providence altogether; but their reception of the canonical books, and their known observance of the usages for divine worship therein prescribed, are incompatible with such a denial. Indeed we have here the same difficulty which has presented itself over and over again ten thousand times to thinking minds, namely, how to unite in harmony the moral freedom of man with the arrangements and behests of the will of Him—

ὅς ἤδη τά τ' ἐοντα, τά τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐοντα.

As the Sadducees denied a future state, so also they were led to deny the existence of angels and spirits (Acts xxiii. 8); for they appear to have concluded that since there were no human spirits in heaven, there could be no other beings in the invisible state but God. Yet if we allow the force of this deduction, we cannot well understand how, receiving as they did at any rate the five books of Moses, they could bring themselves to disown angel-existences, unless, indeed, it was under the influence of a strong repellant influence which came from the extravagant notions entertained on the point by their antagonists the Pharisees. It must, however, be said that this denial, whencesoever it came, shows how entirely theirs was a system of negatives and of materialism; and being such it could, with all its elevated moral conceptions, do very little for the improvement of individuals and the advancement of society.

A very natural consequence was, that their doctrine held sway over but comparatively few persons, and those mostly men distinguished by wealth or station (*Antiq.* xviii. 1. 4; xiii. 10. 6). They were the freethinkers of the day, and freethinking is ordinarily the attribute only of the cultivated and the fortunate. Least of all men are those of a sceptical turn gregarious. They stand on their own individuality; they enjoy their own independence; they look down on the vulgar crowd with pity, if not with contempt. They may serve quietly to undermine a social system, but they rarely assume the proselyting character which gave Voltaire and Diderot their terrible power for evil. It has been reserved for modern infidelity to be zealous and enthusiastic.

What Josephus says of the repulsiveness of their manners (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14) is in keeping with their general principles. A sceptical materialism is generally accompanied by an undue share of self-confidence and self-esteem, which are among the least sociable of human qualities.

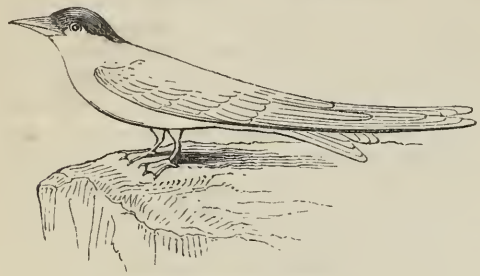
The Sadducees, equally with the Pharisees, were not only a religious but a political party. Indeed as long as the Mosaic polity retained an influence, social policy could not be sundered from religion; for religion was everything. Accordingly the Sadducees formed a part of the Jewish parliament, the Sanhedrim (Acts xxiii. 6), and sometimes enjoyed the dignity of supreme power in the high-priesthood. Their possession of power, however, seems to have been owing mainly to their individual personal influence, as men of superior minds or eminent position, since the general current of favour ran adversely to them, and their enemies, the Pharisees, spared no means to keep them and their opinions in the back ground. Accordingly in the Rabbinical writings they are branded with the name of hereties, מינים, (Othon. *Lex. Rabb.* p. 270; see also Trigland, *Syntagma de Tribus Sectis;* Ugolini, *Trihæresium*, in vol. xxii. of his *Thesaurus;* Stäudlin, *Gesch. der Sittenlehre Jesu*, i. 443, sq.—J. R. B.

SAIL. [Ship.]

SAIT. [Zait.]

SALACH (שָׁלָךְ, Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 17), in common with the usual Greek version καταράκτης, is considered to have reference to darting, rushing, or stooping like a falcon; and accordingly has been variously applied to the eagle, the jerfalcon, the gannet, the great gull, and the cormorant. Of the Hebrew *Salach* nothing is known but that it was an unclean bird. The Greek καταράκτης, associated with the last mentioned, though noticed by several authors, is not referred always to the same genus, some making it a minor gull, others a diver. Cuvier considers Gesner to be right in considering it to denote a gull, and it might certainly be applied with propriety to the black-backed gull, 'Larus marinus,' or to the glaucous, 'Larus glaucus;' but although birds of such powerful

wing and marine *habitat* are spread over a great part of the world, it does not appear that, if known at the extremity of the Mediterranean, they were sufficiently common to have been clearly indicated by either the Hebrew or Greek names, or to have merited being noticed in the Mosaic prohibition. Both the above are in general northern residents, being rarely seen even so low as the Bay of Biscay, and the species now called 'Lestris cataractes' is exclusively Arctic.



476. [Caspian Tern.]

With regard to the cormorant, birds of that genus are no doubt found on the coasts of Palestine, where high cliffs extend to the sea-shore; such, for example, as the 'Phalacrocorax pygmæus;' but all the species dive, and none of them rush flying upon their prey, though that habit has been claimed for them by commentators, who have mixed up the natural history of 'cormorants' with that of the 'sula' or 'gannet,' which really darts from great elevations into the sea, to catch its prey, rising to the surface sometimes nearly half a minute after the plunge, as we ourselves have witnessed. But the gannet (solan goose) rarely comes farther south than the British Channel, and does not appear to have been noticed in the Mediterranean. It is true that several other marine birds of the north frequent the Levant; but none of them can entirely claim Aristotle and Oppian's characters of 'cataractes,' for though the wide throat and rather large head of the dwarf cormorant may be adduced, that bird exceeds in stature the required size of a small hawk; and fishes, it may be repeated, swimming and diving, not by darting down on the wing, and is not sufficiently numerous or important to have required the attention of the sacred legislator. Thus reduced to make a choice where the objections are less, and the probabilities stronger, we conclude the *salach* to have been a species of 'tern,' considered to be identical with the 'Sterna Caspica,' so called because it is found about the Caspian Sea; but it is equally common to the Polar, Baltic, and Black Seas, and if truly the same, is not only abundant for several months in the year on the coast of Palestine, but frequents the lakes and pools far inland; flying across the deserts to the Euphrates, and to the Persian and Red Seas, and proceeding up the Nile. It is the largest of the tern or sea-swallow genus, being about the weight of a pigeon, and near two feet in length, having a large black naped head; powerful, pointed crimson bill; a white and grey body, with forked tail, and wings greatly exceeding the tips of the tail: the feet are very small, weak, and but slightly webbed, so that it swims perhaps only accidentally, but with sufficient power on land to spring up and to rise from level ground. It flies with immense velocity, darting along the surface of the sea to snap at mollusca or small fishes, or wheeling through the air in pursuit of insects; and in calm weather, after rising to a great height, it drops perpendicularly down to near the surface of the water, but never alights except on land; and it is at all times disposed to utter a kind of laughing scream. This tern nestles in high cliffs, sometimes at a very considerable distance from the sea. 'Sterna Nilotica' appears to be the young bird, or one nearly allied.

Thus the species is not likely to have been unknown to the Israelites, even while they were in the desert; and as the black tern, 'Sterna nigricans,' and perhaps the 'Procellaria obscura' of the same locality, may have been confounded with it, their number was more than sufficient to cause them to be noticed in the list of prohibited birds. Still the propriety of the identification of *salach* with the 'great tern' must in some measure rest upon the assumption that the Greek καταράκτης is the same. We figure one that was shot among a flight of these birds, some distance up the river Orontes.—C. H. S.

SALAH (שֶׁלַח, *a shoot;* Sept. and New Test. Σαλά), a son, or grandson, of Arphaxad (Gen. x. 24; xi. 13; Luke iii. 35).

SALAMIS (Σαλαμίς), one of the chief cities of Cyprus on the south-east coast of the island (Acts xiii. 5). It was afterwards called Constantia, and in still later times Famagusta [CYPRUS].

SALATHIEL. [SHEALTIEL.]

SALEM (שָׁלֵם, *peace;* Sept. Σαλήμ), the original name of Jerusalem (Gen. xiv. 18; Heb. vii. 1, 2), and which continued to be used poetically in later times (Ps. lxxvi. 2) [JERUSALEM].

SALIM (Σαλείμ), a place near Ænon, where John baptized (John iii. 23). Jerome places it eight Roman miles from Scythopolis (Bethshan), which is the same distance southward that he and Eusebius assign to Ænon. Nothing is known of this site. Some have been led by the name to conceive that here, and not at Jerusalem, we should seek the Salem of Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18) [ÆNON; SALEM].

SALLONIM. [SILLON and THORNS.]

SALMON (שַׂלְמֹן, *clothed;* Sept. and New Test. Σαλμών), the father of Boaz (Ruth iv. 21; Matt. i. 4, 5; Luke iii. 32), elsewhere called Salmah, שַׂלְמָה (Ruth iv. 20; 1 Chron. ii. 11).

SALMONE (Σαλμώνη), a promontory forming the eastern extremity of the island of Crete (Acts xxvii. 7).

SALOME (Σαλώμη), a woman of Galilee, who accompanied Jesus in some of his journeys, and ministered unto him; and was one of those who witnessed his crucifixion and resurrection (Mark xv. 40; xvi. 1). It is gathered, by comparing these texts with Matt. xxvii. 56, that she was the wife of Zebedee, and mother of the apostles James and John.

SALOME was also the name (though not given in Scripture) of that daughter of Herodias, whose dancing before her uncle and father-in-law, Herod Antipas, was instrumental in procuring the decapitation of John the Baptist [HERODIAN FAMILY; JOHN THE BAPTIST].

SALT (מֶלַח) was procured by the Hebrews from two sources; first, from rock-salt, obtained from hills of salt which lie about the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; and secondly, from the waters of that sea, which, overflowing the banks yearly, and being exhaled by the sun and the heat, left behind a deposit of salt both abundant and good. In the same manner the Arabs of the present day procure their supply of salt from the deposits of the Dead Sea, and carry on a considerable trade in that article throughout Syria.

The uses to which salt was anciently applied were not dissimilar to those for which it serves at present; a fact which arises from the circumstance that these uses depend on its essential qualities, and on the constitution and wants of the human frame. It is now known as a physiological fact, that salt is indispensable to our health and vigour. For this reason doubtless the use of it was providentially made agreeable to the palate. Independently of its services to man as an ingredient in his food, salt is employed—1, as a manure, since when used in proper proportions, it enriches the soil; and 2, as an antiseptic, as it preserves flesh meat from corruption. From these qualities severally result the applications of salt, both natural and figurative, of which mention is made in Scripture.

From Job vi. 6 it is clear that salt was used as a condiment with food. Salt was also mixed with fodder for cattle (Isa. xxx. 24), where the marginal reading is preferable, '*savoury* provender.' As offerings, viewed on their earthly side, were a presentation to God of what man found good and pleasant for food, so all meat-offerings were required to be seasoned with salt (Lev. ii. 13; Spencer, *De Legibus Rit.* i. 5. 1). Salt, therefore, became of great importance to Hebrew worshippers; it was sold accordingly in the Temple market, and a large quantity was kept in the Temple itself, in a chamber appropriated to the purpose (Maii *Diss. de Usu Salis Symbol. in rebus Sacris*, Giessen, 1692; Wokenius, *De Salitura oblationum Deo factar.*, 1747; Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 3. 3; *Middoth*, v. 3; Othon. *Lex. Rabb.* p. 668). Jewish tradition agrees with Ezekiel xliii. 24, in intimating that animal offerings were sprinkled with salt (Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 9. 1; Philo, ii. 255; Hottinger, *Jur. Heb. Legg.* p. 168); as was certainly the case with the Greeks and Romans (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 44; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 337; Spencer, *De Leg. Rit.* iii. 2. 2; Lukemacher, *Antiq. Græc. Sacr.* p. 350; Hottinger, *De Usu Salis in Cultu Sacro*, Marburg, 1708; Schickeclanz, *De Salis usu in Sacrific.* Servest. 1758). The incense, 'perfume,' was also to have salt as an ingredient (Exod. xxx. 35; marginal reading 'salted'), where it appears to have been symbolical, as well of the divine goodness as of man's gratitude, on the principle that of every bounty vouchsafed of God, it became man to make an acknowledgment in kind.

As salt thus entered into man's food, so, to eat salt with any one, was to partake of his fare, to share his hospitality; and hence, by implication, to enjoy his favour, or to be in his confidence. Hence, also, salt became an emblem of fidelity and of intimate friendship. At the present hour the Arabs regard as their friend him who has eaten salt with them, that is, has partaken of their hospitality (Niebuhr, *Beschr.* p. 18; Rosenmuller, *Morgenl.*, ii. 150); in the same way as, in Greece, those regarded each other as friends even to distant generations, between whom the rites of hospitality had been once exchanged. The domestic sanctity which thus attached itself to salt was much enhanced in influence by its religious applications, so that it became symbolical of the most sacred and binding of obligations. Accordingly 'a covenant of salt' ברית מלח, was accounted a very solemn bond (Num. xviii. 19; 2 Chron. xiii. 5; Lev. ii. 13): a signification to which force would be given by the preservative quality of salt (Bahrdt, *De Fœdere Salis;* Zerbech, *De Fœdere Salis*).

But salt, if used too abundantly, is destructive of vegetation and causes a desert. Hence arose another class of figurative applications. Destroyed cities were sown with salt to intimate that they were devoted to perpetual desolation (Judg. ix. 45); salt became a symbol of barrenness (Deut. xxix. 23; Zeph. ii. 9; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 238); and 'a salt land' (Jer. xvii. 6) signifies a sterile and unproductive district (Job xxxix. 6; Altmann, *Meletem. Philolog. Exeg.* i. 47). By exposure to the influence of the sun and of the atmosphere, salt loses its savoury qualities (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 34; xxxi. 39; Maundrell, *R.* 162); whence the striking and forcible language of our Lord in Matt. v. 13.

We have reserved to the end reference to a singular usage among the Israelites, namely, washing new-born infants in salt water; which was regarded as so essential that those could have hardly any other than an ill fate who were deprived of the rite (Ezek. xvi. 4). The practice obviously arose from a regard to the preserving, the domestic, the moral, and the religious uses to which salt was applied, and of which it became the emblem (Richter, *De Usu Salis apud Priscos Profano et Sacro*, Zettan, 1766).—J. R. B.

SALUTATION. The frequent allusion in Scripture to the customary salutations of the Jews, invests the subject with a higher degree of interest than it might otherwise claim: and it is therefore fortunate that there are few Scriptural topics, which can be better understood by the help of the illustrations derivable from the existing usages of the East.

Most of the expressions used in salutation, and also those which were used in parting, implied, that the person who employed them interceded for the other. Hence the word ברך *barak*, which originally signified 'to bless,' meant also 'to salute,' or 'to welcome,' and 'to bid adieu' (Gen. xlvii. 8-11; 2 Kings iv. 29; x. 13; 1 Chron. xviii. 10).

The forms of salutation that prevailed among the Hebrews, so far as can be collected from Scripture, are the following:—

1. '*Blessed be thou of the Lord*,' or equivalent phrases.

2. *The Lord be with thee.*

3. '*Peace be unto thee*,' or '*upon thee*,' or '*with thee*.' In countries often ravaged, and among people often ruined by war, 'peace' implied every blessing of life; and this phrase had therefore the force of 'Prosperous be thou.' This was the commonest of all salutations (Judg. xix. 20; Ruth ii. 4; 1 Sam. xxv. 6; 2 Sam. xx. 9; Ps. cxxix. 8).

4. '*Live, my lord*' (חוה אדני), was a com-

mon salutation among the Phœnicians, and was also in use among the Hebrews, but was by them only addressed to their kings in the extended form of 'Let the king live for ever!' (1 Kings i. 31); which was also employed in the Babylonian and Persian courts (Dan. ii. 4; iii. 9; v. 10; vi. 7, 22; Neh. ii. 3). This, which in fact is no more than a wish for a prolonged and prosperous life, has a parallel in the customs of most nations, and does not differ from the 'Vivat!' of the Latin; the 'Vive le Roi!' of the French; or our own '—— for ever!'

5. Χαῖρε, χαίρετε, *joy to thee! joy to you!* rendered by *Hail!* an equivalent of the Latin *Ave! Salve!* (Matt. xxvii. 29; xxviii. 9; Mark xv. 18; Luke i. 28; John xix. 3).

The usages involved in these oral salutations, seem not only similar to, but identical with, those still existing among the Arabians. These indeed, as now observed, go upon the authority of religious precepts. But it is known that such enactments of the Koran and its commentaries, merely embody such of the previously and immemorially existing usages as the legislature wished to be retained. Their most common greeting, as among the Jews, is, 'Peace be on you!' to which the reply is, 'On you be peace!' to which is commonly added, 'and the mercy of God, and his blessings!' This salutation is never addressed by a Moslem to one whom he knows to be of another religion; and if he find that he has by mistake thus saluted a person not of the same faith, he generally revokes his salutation: so also he sometimes does if a Moslem refuses to return his salutation, usually saying, 'Peace be on *us*, and on (all) the right worshippers of God!' This seems to us a striking illustration of Luke x. 5, 6; 2 John[3] xi. Various set compliments usually follow this salam; which, when people intend to be polite, are very much extended, and occupy considerable time. Hence they are evaded in crowded streets, and by persons in haste, as was the case, for the same reason doubtless, among the Jews (2 Kings iv. 29; Luke x. 4). Specimens of this conventional intercourse are given by Lane (*Mod. Egyptians*, i. 253), who says, that to give the whole would occupy a dozen of his pages. There are set answers, or a choice of two or three answers, to every question; and it is accounted rude to give any other answer than that which custom prescribes. They are such as those by which the Israelites probably prolonged their intercourse. If one is asked, 'How is your health?' he replies, 'Praise be to God!' and it is only from the tone of his voice that the inquirer can tell whether he is well or ill. When one greets another with the common inquiry, 'Is it well with thee?' (see 2 Kings iv. 26), the answer is, 'God bless thee!' or 'God preserve thee!' An acquaintance on meeting another whom he has not seen for several days, or for a longer period, generally says, after the salam, 'Thou hast made us desolate by thy absence from us;' and is usually answered, 'May God not make us desolate by thy absence!'

The gestures and inflections used in salutation varied with the dignity and station of the person saluted; as is the case with the Orientals at this day. It is usual for the person who gives or returns the salutation, to place at the same time his right hand upon his breast, or to touch his lips, and then his forehead or turban, with the same hand. This latter mode, which is the most respectful, is often performed to a person of superior rank, not only at first, with the salam, but also frequently during a conversation. In some cases the body



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is gently inclined, while the right hand is laid upon the left breast. A person of the lower orders, in addressing a superior, does not always give the salam, but shows his respect to high rank by bending down his hand to the ground, and then putting it to his lips and forehead. It is a common custom for a man to kiss the hand of his superior instead of his own (generally on the back only, but sometimes on both back and front), and then to put it to his forehead in order to pay more particular respect. Servants thus evince their respect towards their masters: when residing in the East, our own servants always did this on such little occasions as arose beyond the usage of their ordinary service; as on receiving a present, or on returning fresh from the public baths. The son also thus kisses the hand of his father, and the wife that of her husband. Very often,



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however, the superior does not allow this, but only touches the hand extended to take his; whereupon the other puts the hand that has been touched to his own lips and forehead. The custom of kissing the beard is still preserved, and follows the first and preliminary gesture; it usually takes place on meeting after an absence of some duration, and not as an every-day compliment. In this case, the person who gives the kiss lays the right



Montague Stanley A.R.S.A. from a Sketch by Lieut.ᵉ Col.ᴹᶜ Moren

William Forrest

SEBASTE

(ANCIENT CAPITAL OF SAMARIA.)

hand under the beard, and raises it slightly to his lips, or rather supports it while it receives his kiss. This custom strikingly illustrates 2 Sam. xx. 9. In Arabia Petræa, and some other parts, it is more usual for persons to lay the right sides of their cheeks together.



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Among the Persians, persons in saluting under the same circumstances, often kiss each other on the lips; but if one of the individuals is of high rank, the kiss is given on the cheek instead of the lips. This seems to illustrate 2 Sam. xx. 9; Gen. xxix. 11, 13; xxxiii. 4; xlviii. 10—12; Exod. iv. 27; xviii. 7.

Another mode of salutation is usual among friends on meeting after a journey. Joining their right hands together, each of them compliments the other upon his safety, and expresses his wishes for his welfare, by repeating, alternately, many times the words *selamat* (meaning 'I congratulate you on your safety'), and *teiyibeen* ('I hope you are well'). In commencing this ceremony, which is often continued for nearly a minute before they proceed to make any particular inquiries, they join their hands in the same manner as is usually practised by us; and at each alternation of the two expressions, change the position of the hands. These circumstances further illustrate such passages as 2 Kings iv. 19; Luke x. 4. Other particulars, more or less connected with this subject, may be seen in ATTITUDES; KISS.

SAMARIA (שֹׁמְרוֹן, *watch-height*; Σαμάρεια), a city, situated near the middle of Palestine, built by Omri, king of Israel, on a mountain or hill of the same name, about B.C. 925. It was the metropolis of the kingdom of Israel, or of the ten tribes. The hill was purchased from the owner, Shemer, from whom the city took its name (1 Kings xvi. 23, 24). The site of the capital was therefore a chosen one; and all travellers agree that it would be difficult to find in the whole land a situation of equal strength, fertility, and beauty combined. 'In all these particulars,' says Dr. Robinson, 'it has greatly the advantage over Jerusalem' (*Bibl. Researches*, iii. 146). Samaria continued to be the capital of Israel for two centuries, till the carrying away of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser, about B.C. 720 (2 Kings xvii. 3, 5). During all this time it was the seat of idolatry, and is often as such denounced by the prophets, sometimes in connection with Jerusalem. It was the seat of a temple of Baal, built by Ahab, and destroyed by Jehu (1 Kings xvi. 32, 33; 2 Kings x. 18-28). It was the scene of many of the acts of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, connected with the various famines of the land, the unexpected plenty of Samaria, and the several deliverances of the city from the Syrians. After the exile of the ten tribes, Samaria appears to have continued, for a time at least, the chief city of the foreigners brought to occupy their place; although Shechem soon became the capital of the Samaritans as a religious sect. John Hyrcanus took the city after a year's siege, and razed it to the ground (Joseph. *Antiq.*, xiii. 10. 3; *De Bell. Jud.*, i. 2. 7). Yet it must soon have revived, as it is not long after mentioned as an inhabited place in the possession of the Jews. Pompey restored it to its former possessors; and it was afterwards rebuilt by Gabinius (Joseph. *Antiq.*, xiii. 5. 4; xiv. 4. 4; xiv. 5. 3). Augustus bestowed Samaria on Herod; who eventually rebuilt the city with great magnificence, and gave it the name of Sebaste (which is the Greek translation of the Latin name or epithet Augustus), in honour of that emperor (*Antiq.*, xv. 7. 3; *De Bell. Jud.*, xv. 7. 7; xv. 8. 5). Here Herod planted a colony of 6000 persons, composed partly of veteran soldiers, and partly of people from the environs; enlarged the circumference of the city; and surrounded it with a strong wall twenty stades in circuit. In the midst of the city—that is to say, upon the summit of the hill—he left a sacred place of a stade and a half, splendidly decorated, and here he erected a temple to Augustus, celebrated for its magnitude and beauty. The whole city was greatly ornamented, and became a strong fortress (Joseph. *Antiq.*, xv. 8. 5; *De Bell. Jud.*, i. 21. 2; Strabo, xvi. 2. 13).

Such was the Samaria of the time of the New Testament, where the Gospel was preached by Philip, and a church was gathered by the apostles (Acts viii. 5, 9, sq.). Nothing is known of Sebaste in the following centuries, except from the coins, of which there are several, extending from Nero to Geta (Eckhel, iii. 440; Mionnet, *Méd. Antiq.*, v. 513). Septimius Severus appears to have established there a Roman colony in the beginning of the third century (Cellarius, *Not. Orb.*, ii. 432). Eusebius scarcely mentions the city as extant; but it is often named by Jerome and other writers of the same and a later age (adduced in Reland's *Palæstina*, pp. 979-981). Samaria was early an episcopal see. Its bishop, Marius, or Marinus, was present at the council of Nice in A.D. 325; and Pelagius, the last of six others whose names are preserved, attended the council of Jerusalem in A.D. 536. The city, along with Nabulus, fell into the power of the Moslems during the siege of Jerusalem; and we hear but little more of it till the time of the Crusades. At what time the city of Herod became desolate, no existing accounts state; but all the notices of the fourth century and later lead to the inference that its destruction had already taken place.

The crusaders established a Latin bishopric at Sebaste; and the title was continued in the Romish church till the fourteenth century (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* iii. 1290). Saladin marched through it in A.D. 1184, after his repulse from Kerak (Abulfed. *Annal.* A.H. 580). Benjamin of Tudela describes it as having been 'formerly a very strong city, and situated on the mount,

in a fine country, richly watered, and surrounded by gardens, vineyards, orchards, and olive groves.' He adds that no Jews were living there (*Itiner.* ed. Asher, p. 66). Phocas and Brocardus speak only of the church and tomb of John the Baptist, and of the Greek church and monastery on the summit of the hill. Notices of the place occur in the travellers of the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; nor are they all so meagre as Dr. Robinson conceives. That of Morison, for instance, is full and exact (*Voyage du Mont Sinai*, pp. 230-233). Scarcely any traces of the earlier or later Samaria could then be perceived, the materials having been used by the inhabitants for the construction of their own mean dwellings. The then residents were an extremely poor and miserable set of people. In the eighteenth century the place appears to have been left unexplored; but in the present century it has often been visited and described.



480. [Samaria: Church of St. John.]

The Hill of Samaria is an oblong mountain of considerable elevation, and very regular in form, situated in the midst of a broad deep valley, the continuation of that of Nabulus (Shechem), which here expands into a breadth of five or six miles. Beyond this valley, which completely isolates the hill, the mountains rise again on every side, forming a complete wall around the city. They are terraced to the tops, sown in grain, and planted with olives and figs, in the midst of which a number of handsome villages appear to great advantage, their white stone cottages contrasting strikingly with the verdure of the trees. 'The Hill of Samaria' itself is cultivated from its base, the terraced sides and summits being covered with corn and with olive-trees.' About midway up the ascent the hill is surrounded by a narrow terrace of level land, like a belt; below which the roots of the hill spread off more gradually into the valleys. Higher up, too, are the marks of slight terraces, once occupied, perhaps, by the streets of the ancient city. The ascent of the hill is very steep, and the narrow footpath winds among the mountains through substantial cottages of the modern Sebustieh (the Arabic form of Sebaste), which appear to have been constructed to a great extent of ancient materials, very superior in size and quality to anything which could at this day be wrought into an Arab habitation. The first object which attracts the notice of the traveller, and at the same time the most conspicuous ruin of the place, is the church dedicated to John the Baptist, erected on the spot which an old tradition fixed as the place of his burial, if not of his martyrdom. It is said to have been built by the Empress Helena; but the architecture limits its antiquity to the period of the crusades, although a portion of the eastern end seems to have been of earlier date. There is a blending of Greek and Saracenic styles, which is particularly observable in the interior, where there are several pointed arches. Others are round. The columns follow no regular order, while the capitals and ornaments present a motley combination, not to be found in any church erected in or near the age of Constantine. The length of the edifice is 153 feet long inside, besides a porch of 10 feet, and the breadth is 75 feet. The eastern end is rounded in the common Greek style; and resting, as it does, upon a precipitous elevation of nearly 100 feet immediately above the valley, it is a noble and striking monument. Within the enclosure is a common Turkish tomb; and beneath it, at a depth reached by 21 stone steps, is a sepulchre, three or four paces square, where, according to the tradition, John the Baptist was interred after he had been slain by Herod. This tradition existed in the days of Jerome; but there is no earlier trace of it: and if Josephus is correct in stating that John was beheaded in the castle of Machærus, on the east of the Dead Sea (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2), his burial in Samaria is very improbable.

On approaching the summit of the hill, the traveller comes suddenly upon an area, once surrounded by limestone columns, of which fifteen are still standing and two prostrate. These columns form two rows, thirty-two paces apart, while less than two paces intervene between the columns. They measure seven feet nine inches in circumference; but there is no trace of the order of their architecture, nor are there any foundations to indicate the nature of the edifice to which they belonged. Some refer them to Herod's temple to Augustus, others to a Greek church which seems to have once occupied the summit of the hill. The descent of the hill on the W.S.W. side brings the traveller to a very remarkable colonnade, which is easily traceable by a great number of columns, erect or prostrate, along the side of the hill for at least one-third of a mile, where it terminates at a heap of ruins, near the eastern extremity of the ancient site. The columns are sixteen feet high, two feet in diameter at the base, and one foot eight inches at the top. The capitals have disappeared; but the shafts retain their polish, and, when not broken, are in good preservation. Eighty-two of these columns are still erect, and the number of those fallen and broken must be much greater. Most of them are of the limestone common to the region; but some are of white marble, and some of granite. The mass of ruins in which this colonnade terminates toward the west is composed of blocks of hewn stone, covering no great area on the slope of the hill, many feet lower

than the summit. Neither the situation nor extent of this pile favours the notion of its having been a palace; nor is it easy to conjecture the design of the edifice. The colonnade, the remains of which now stand solitary and mournful in the midst of ploughed fields, may, however, with little hesitation, be referred to the time of Herod the Great, and must be regarded as belonging to some one of the splendid structures with which he adorned the city. In the deep ravine which bounds the city on the north, there is another colonnade, not visited by Dr. Robinson, but fully described by Dr. Olin (*Travels*, ii. 371-373). The area in which these columns stand is completely shut in by hills, with the exception of an opening on the north-east; and so peculiarly sequestered is the situation, that it is only visible from a few points of the heights of the ancient site, by which it is overshadowed. The columns, of which a large number are entire and several in fragments, are erect, and arranged in a quadrangle, 196 paces in length, and 64 in breadth. They are three paces asunder, which would give 170 columns as the whole number when the colonnade was complete. The columns resemble in size and material those of the colonnade last noticed, and appear to belong to the same age. These also probably formed part of Herod's city, though it is difficult to determine the use to which the colonnade was appropriated. Dr. Olin is possibly right in his conjecture, that this was one of the places of public assembly and amusement which Herod introduced into his dominions (Robinson, *Researches*, iii. 136-149; Olin, *Travels*, ii. 366-374; Buckingham, *Travels in Palestine*, pp. 512-517; Richardson, *Travels*, ii. 409-413; Schubert, *Morgenland*, iii. 156-162; Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 158; Maundrell, *Journey*, pp. 78, 79).

SAMARITANS. In the books of Kings there are brief notices of the origin of the people called Samaritans. The ten tribes which revolted from Rehoboam, son of Solomon, chose Jeroboam for their king. After his elevation to the throne he set up golden calves at Dan and Bethel, lest repeated visits of his subjects to Jerusalem, for the purpose of worshipping the true God, should withdraw their allegiance from himself. Afterwards Samaria, built by Omri, became the metropolis of Israel, and thus the separation between Judah and Israel was rendered complete. The people took the name *Samaritans* from the capital city. In the ninth year of Hosea, Samaria was taken by the Assyrians under Shalmaneser, who carried away the inhabitants into captivity, and introduced colonies into their place from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim. These new inhabitants carried along with them their own idolatrous worship; and on being infested with lions, sent to Esarhaddon, king of Assyria. A priest of the tribe of Levi was accordingly dispatched to them, who came and dwelt in Bethel, teaching the people how they should fear the Lord. Thus it appears that the people were a mixed race. The greater part of the Israelites had been carried away captive by the Assyrians, including the rich, the strong, and such as were able to bear arms. But the poor and the feeble had been left. The country had not been so entirely depopulated as to possess no Israelite whatever. The dregs of the populace, particularly those who appeared incapable of active service, were not taken away by the victors. With them, therefore, the heathen colonists became incorporated. But the latter were far more numerous than the former, and had all power in their own hands. The remnant of the Israelites was so inconsiderable and insignificant as not to affect, to any important extent, the opinions of the new inhabitants. As the people were a *mixed* race, their religion also assumed a *mixed* character. In it the worship of idols was associated with that of the true God. But apostacy from Jehovah was not universal. On the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, the Samaritans wished to join them in rebuilding the Temple, saying, 'Let us build with you; for we seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assur, which brought us up hither' (Ezra iv. 2). But the Jews declined the proffered assistance; and from this time the Samaritans threw every obstacle in their way. Hence arose that inveterate enmity between the two nations which afterwards increased to such a height as to become proverbial. In the reign of Darius Nothus, Manasses, son of the Jewish high-priest, married the daughter of Sanballat the Samaritan governor; and to avoid the necessity of repudiating her, as the law of Moses required, went over to the Samaritans, and became high-priest in the temple which his father-in-law built for him on Mount Gerizim. From this time Samaria became a refuge for all malcontent Jews; and the very name of each people became odious to the other. About the year B.C. 109, John Hyrcanus, high-priest of the Jews, destroyed the city and temple of the Samaritans; but, B.C. 25, Herod rebuilt them at great expense. In their new temple, however, the Samaritans could not be induced to offer sacrifices, but still continued to worship on Gerizim. At the present day they have dwindled down to a few families. Shechem, now called Nabulus, is their place of abode. They still possess a copy of the Mosaic law.

A different account of the origin of this people has been given by Hengstenberg, whom Hävernick and Robinson follow. According to this learned writer, *all* the inhabitants were carried away into Assyria. None were left in the land by the conquerors. Shalmaneser greatly weakened the ten tribes, but did not extinguish the kingdom of Israel, because at his invasion many of the people took refuge in the most inaccessible and retired parts of their country, or fled into Judah. Afterwards they returned by degrees; and when Esarhaddon came against them, they were carried away *entirely*. From the time of Esarhaddon there were none but *heathens* in the land. The Samaritans were wholly of *heathen* origin. Hence they requested the Assyrian king to send them an Israelite priest (*Beiträge zur Einleit. ins alte Testam.* i. 177; ii. 3, &c.). Want of space prevents us from detailing the grounds of this view, or from entering into its refutation. It has been ably combated by Kalkar (in Pelt's *Mitarbeiten* for 1840, *drittes Heft*, p. 24, &c.), to whom the reader is referred. We cannot but reject the novel hypothesis, notwithstanding the ability with which it has been put forward.

With the remnant above referred to a correspondence was formerly maintained by several learned Europeans, but without leading to any im-

portant result. It was commenced by Joseph Scaliger, in 1559; and resumed, after a century, by several learned men in England, in 1675; and by the great Ethiopic scholar, Job Ludolf, in 1684. The illustrious Orientalist, De Sacy, also held correspondence with them. All their letters to England and France, and all that was then known respecting them, he published in a work entitled, *Correspondance des Samaritains*, &c. in *Notices et Extr. des MSS. de la Biblioth. du Roi*, tom. xii.). The best accounts of them given by modern travellers are by Pliny Fisk (*American Missionary Herald* for 1824), who visited them in 1823; and by Robinson and Smith, who visited them in 1838 (see *Biblical Researches and Travels in Palestine*, iii. 113-116).—S. D.

SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH. The Samaritan Pentateuch was mentioned by the fathers Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius of Gaza, Diodorus, Jerome, and others. After it had lain concealed for upwards of a thousand years, its existence began to be doubted. At length Peter Della Valle, in 1616, procured a complete copy, which De Sancy, then French ambassador at Constantinople, sent to the library of the Oratoire at Paris, in 1623. It was first described by Morin, and afterwards printed in the Paris Polyglott. Not long after, Archbishop Ussher procured six copies from the East; and so great was the number in the time of Kennicott, that he collated sixteen for his edition of the Hebrew Bible.

In regard to the *antiquity* of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the source from which the document came, various opinions have been entertained.

1st. The hypothesis maintained by Ussher was, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was the production of an impostor named Dositheus, the founder of a sect among the Samaritans, and who pretended to be the Messiah. It is thought that he compiled this copy of the Pentateuch from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, adding, expunging, and altering, according to his pleasure. Ussher appeals to Origen and Photius, whose testimony, however, when examined, affords no evidence of the truth of this statement. It is well known that the Alexandrian Samaritans opposed Dositheus, and would not have received such a compilation. Besides, had he corrupted any passages, it is natural to think that he would have perverted those relating to the Messiah, that they might be more easily referred to himself. But places of this nature in the Samaritan copies agree with the Hebrew; and we may be farther assured, that the Jews would not have failed to mention such a fact as a just ground of accusation against the Samaritans.

2ndly. Le Clerc and Poncet imagined, that this copy of the law was made by the Israelitish priest who was sent by the king of Assyria to instruct the new inhabitants in the religion of the country. This is a mere hypothesis, unsupported by historical testimony. It was not necessary for the priest to compose a new system, but to instruct the people out of the Pentateuch as it then existed. When the existing copy was sufficient for his purpose, he would not have undertaken the labour of preparing an entirely new work.

3rdly. It was the opinion of Hottinger, Prideaux, Fitzgerald, and others, that Manasseh transcribed one of Ezra's corrected copies which he took with him from Jerusalem, into the old character to which they were accustomed. In proof of this hypothesis it has been affirmed, that the variations in the Samaritan copy from the Hebrew are such as were occasioned in the transcription by mistaking letters similar in Hebrew, but unlike in the Samaritan. This supposition has been completely set aside by Kopp, in his *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit;* and by Hupfeld, in his *Beleuchtung dunkler Stellen*, u. s. w. (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1830), in which it is convincingly shown that the present Hebrew square character had no existence till long after Ezra; and that, so far from owing its origin to Chaldæa and having been introduced by Ezra, it was merely the gradual work of time. When Manasseh fled from Jerusalem, the Samaritan and Hebrew characters must have been substantially the same.

4thly. Others are of opinion that copies of the Pentateuch must have been in the hands of *Israel* from the time of Rehoboam, as well as among *Judah;* that they were preserved by the former equally as by the latter. This hypothesis, first advanced by Morin, has been adopted by Houbigant, Cappellus, Kennicott, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bauer, Bertholdt, Stuart, and others, and appears to be the true one. The prophets, who frequently inveigh against the Israelites for their idolatry and their crimes, never accuse them of being destitute of the law, or ignorant of its contents. It is wholly improbable, too, that the people, when carried captive into Assyria, took with them *all* the copies of the law. Thus we are brought to the conclusion, that the Samaritan, as well as the Jewish copy, originally flowed from the autograph of Moses. The two constitute, in fact, *different recensions of the same work*, and coalesce in point of antiquity.

If this account of the Samaritan codex be correct, it is easy to perceive the reason why the Samaritans did not receive all the Jewish books previously written. When the schism of the tribes took place, the Pentateuch was commonly circulated, and usually regarded as a sacred national collection, containing all their laws and institutions. Though David's Psalms and some of Solomon's compositions may also have been written at that time; yet the former were chiefly in the hands of the Levites who regulated the Temple music, and were employed in the *public service* of Jehovah; while the latter were doubtless disliked by the ten tribes on account of their author, who lived at Jerusalem, and were rare from the non-transcription of copies. The prophets must have been unwelcome to the Israelites, because they uttered many things against them, affirming that Jehovah could not be worshipped with acceptance in any other place than Jerusalem. This circumstance was sufficient to prevent that people from receiving any of the prophetical writings till Ezra's time, when their hatred to him and his associates was so great, that they would not have admitted any collection of the Scriptures coming through such hands. Whatever other books, besides the Pentateuch, were written in the time of Rehoboam must have been comparatively unknown to the mass of the people. This fact, in connection with political considerations, was sufficient to lead the Israelites to reject most, except those of Moses.

In addition to the Pentateuch, the Samaritans

have the book of Joshua, but it did not always form part of their canon. *Their* Joshua does not appear to be the same as the Old Testament book. On the contrary it must have been composed long after, out of the inspired records of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, to which have been added fables and Oriental traditions. Such a compilation can have no claim to be regarded as the authentic Jewish writing.

But, it may be asked, what is the reason why this people have not the books of Joshua and Judges, in addition to the Mosaic? The question is of difficult solution. Hengstenberg affirms that the problem is inexplicable on the common hypothesis. If the people were a *mixed* race, he supposes that no rational account can be given why Joshua and Judges should not have been always received by them along with the Pentateuch. These books had been written and were current among the people long before the separation of the tribes. We do not see, however, that Hengstenberg's own view *materially* lessens the difficulty. If the heathen Samaritans received the Pentateuch from the kingdom of the ten tribes, or rather from these tribes in Assyrian captivity, why did they ask for no more than the Pentateuch, or why was it alone sent to them?

For the solution of the question it should be considered, that the priests, or such as were in possession of the sacred books, had been carried away, together with the persons best acquainted with such writings, who may be supposed to have had the great majority of the copies then current. The holy books, too, were not generally circulated among the people, many of whom may have been unable to read them. The lower orders in particular were dependent for their religious information on the prophets and priests; for parents had not fulfilled the Mosaic law in diligently teaching their children. Besides, the same circumstance that led them to reject the subsequent books would *incline* them, at least, to reject Joshua and Judges. There was in the latter too much of the historical, and that closely connected with the succeeding events of Jewish history, all which centred in Jerusalem. Whatever copies, therefore, of these historical books may have been among the remnant, and these could have been but few, were suffered to fall into neglect, so that they became almost unknown when the heathen majority introduced their idolatrous worship. It was far more natural to stop with the Pentateuch when it was deemed necessary to reject *some* Jewish books, than to stop after Judges. In this way their canon, imperfect as it would be, would have the appearance of greater completeness in itself, than if they had arbitrarily and abruptly terminated it after Judges. In addition to these remarks it may be affirmed with Hengstenberg, that the Samaritans could not be contented with the fact that Joshua and Judges contained nothing which *directly* testified against them. Their *patriotic fabrications*, if the phrase be allowable, began with Joshua; and had they admitted the two books, they could have ventured to forge nothing except what they should be able to prove out of them. Hence it was thought more desirable to allow the few copies current among them to go into oblivion in the first instance, while it was afterwards deemed a politic measure not to admit them at all into their canon.

It thus appears that the Samaritan Pentateuch cannot be ascribed to a later period than that of the schism between the tribes. All the arguments adduced by Gesenius (in his *Commentatio de Pentateuchi Samaritani Origine, Indole, et Auctoritate*) are not sufficient to disprove its truth. For opposite and convincing statements we refer to the last edition of Eichhorn's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, and Professor Stuart's review of Gesenius, in the second volume of the *American Biblical Repository*. The name Samaritan was first given to that mixed multitude composed of the heathen introduced by Shalmaneser into the kingdom of Israel, and of the lower classes of the ten tribes which had not been carried away. Whatever *civil* jealousies may have previously existed between them and the Jews, their *religious* animosities were first excited when Ezra and his countrymen, returning from exile, refused to allow their co-operation in building the Temple. Subsequent events, far from allaying their mutual hatred, only raised it to a higher pitch, giving it that permanent, durable form in which it was continued through succeeding centuries.

With respect to the authority and value of the Samaritan Pentateuch, there has been much variety of sentiment. Gesenius, however, has very ably shown that little value should be assigned to the characteristics of its text. He has proved that no critical reliance can be placed on it, and that it is wholly unjustifiable to use it as a source of correcting the Hebrew text. He has divided the various readings it exhibits into different classes, under each of which numerous examples are adduced. By a most minute investigation of particulars he has shown that it cannot be employed in emendation, as Kennicott, Morin, and Bauer supposed. This masterly dissertation has ruined the credit of the Samaritan codex in the critical world. The purity of the Hebrew is not to be corrupted by additions or interpolations from such a document. The original text of the Old Testament cannot be established by any weight attaching to *it*.

The various peculiarities of the Samaritan text have been divided into the following classes:—

1. The first class consists of such readings as exhibit emendations of a merely grammatical nature. Thus in orthography the *matres lectionis* are supplied, the full forms of verbs substituted for the apocopated, the usual forms of the pronouns given instead of the unusual. In *forming* a noun, the paragogic letters *yod* and *vau* affixed to the governing noun are almost always omitted. In *construing* a noun, the Samaritan transcribers make frequent mistakes in relation to gender, by changing nouns of the common gender into the masculine, or into the feminine alone. In the syntax of verbs the infinitive absolute is often altered.

2. The second class consists of glosses received into the text. These glosses furnish explanations of more difficult terms by such as are more intelligible.

3. The third class comprehends those readings in which plain modes of expression are substituted in place of such as appeared difficult or obscure.

4. The fourth class consists of those readings in which the Samaritan copy is corrected or supplied from parallel passages. To this class

belongs Gen. l. 25, where the Samaritan adds *with you*, reading—'Ye shall carry up my bones with you from hence.' The addition is taken from Exod. xiii. 19, and does *not* belong, as Gerard thinks, to the present place.

5. The fifth class consists of larger additions or repetitions respecting things said or done, which are interpolated from parallel places and again recorded in the same terms, so as to make the readings in question.

6. Corrections framed to remove what was offensive in sentiment, or whatever conveyed ideas improbable in the view of the correctors. Thus in the antediluvian genealogies, none is represented by the Samaritan Pentateuch as having begotten his first son *after* he is one hundred and fifty years old. On the contrary, in the postdiluvian genealogies, none is allowed to have begotten a son until after he is fifty years old. In the former case, the Samaritan codex usually takes a hundred years from the genealogies as found in the Hebrew; while in the latter one hundred years are commonly added, at least to all whom the Hebrew copy represents to have children under fifty years of age, except to Nahor. Such changes could not have been accidental. They are manifestly the effect of design. To this class belongs Gen. xxix. 3, 8: 'And thither were all the flocks gathered: and they rolled the stone, &c. And they said, We cannot, until all the flocks be gathered together, and till they roll the stone, &c.' Here the subject of the verb *roll* is understood not expressed — '*the shepherds* rolled.' But because the preceding subject is *all the flocks*, and therefore *they* are apparently said to roll away the stone, and to water, the word העדרים, *flocks*, was altered into הרעים, *shepherds*. The Sept. follows the reading of the Samaritan; and strange to say, Houbigant and Kennicott contend that it is *the true reading*. It is very usual with the Old Testament writers to change the *subject*, and leave the new nominative to be supplied from the context. As an example of this Gesenius (p. 51) adduces Isa. xxxvi. 36.

7. The seventh class consists of those words and *forms* of words in which the pure Hebrew idiom is exchanged for that of the Samaritan. This respects many cases of orthography, and some of the forms belonging to verbs.

8. The eighth class embraces such passages as contain alterations made to produce conformity to the Samaritan theology, worship, or exegesis. Thus, where the Hebrew has a plural verb with *elohim*, the Samaritan has substituted a verb in the singular (Gen. xx. 13; xxxi. 53; xxxv. 7; Exod. xxii. 9), lest there should be an appearance of infringing on the divine unity. So also *voces honestiores* have been put where there was a fancied immodesty. To this head Gesenius has referred the notable passage in Deut. xxvii. 4, where the Samaritans changed Ebal into Gerizim, to favour their own temple built on the latter mountain. Some, indeed, as Whiston and Kennicott, have endeavoured to show that the corruption ought to be charged on the Jews; but they have not been successful in recommending their opinion to general acceptance. Various writers of ability have refuted this notion, especially Verschuir (in the third of his *Dissertationes Philologexeget.* Leovard. et Francq. 1773, 4to), who completely set aside the attempted reasoning of Kennicott. Of all the peculiar readings in the Samaritan Pentateuch, four only are considered by Gesenius as preferable to the Hebrew; these are Gen. iv. 8; xxii. 13; xlix. 14; xiv. 14. Perhaps even these should be reckoned inferior to the corresponding Hebrew readings. We shall notice them individually.

Gen. iv. 8; the Hebrew text, literally translated, reads thus —'And Cain said to Abel his brother; and it came to pass when they were in the field,' &c. Here the Samaritan supplies what appears to be wanting by inserting the words 'let us go into the field,' נלכה השדה. So also the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac versions. Aquila is doubtful. Perhaps, however, this clause was borrowed from 1 Sam. xx. 11. If the verb אמר be put absolutely for דבר, the meaning will be that Cain spoke to his brother Abel, viz. what God had previously said to the former.

Gen. xxii. 13; instead of אחר the Samaritan reads אחד: 'And Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked; and behold *a* ram caught,' &c. instead of 'Behold a ram behind him,' &c. The Samaritan reading is sanctioned by the Septuagint and Syriac, and all the versions except Jerome's, by forty-two manuscripts, and two printed editions. Onkelos, Saadias, and the Persian have both readings together. This use, however, of the numeral adjective for the indefinite article, belongs rather to the later than the earlier Hebrew. In Exod. xxix. 3, the use of אחד is scarcely similar, though quoted as such by Gesenius. On the whole we are inclined, with Noldius and Ravius, to abide by the common reading, notwithstanding the circumstances adduced against it by Gesenius.

Gen. xlix. 14; in this passage the Hebrew has חמר גרם, *the ass of a bone*, i. e. 'a strong ass.' Instead of גרם the Samaritan has גרים; the sense is the same.

Gen. xiv. 14; instead of וירק the Samaritan reads וידק. The meaning of the former is—*he led forth* his trained servants; of the latter, *he surveyed* or *numbered*. The former is equally good as the latter.

The Samaritan codex cannot be put in comparison with the Hebrew. The difference between the two recensions chiefly consists in additions to the Samaritan text. An omission may be made inadvertently, but an insertion evinces design. When, therefore, we usually meet with words and clauses in the Samaritan that are not found in the Hebrew, it is much more probable that they should have been inserted in the one, than purposely omitted in the other. In all cases, perhaps, the Samaritan should be placed below the Hebrew in the value of its readings. Where other authorities concur with the former against the latter, there may be reason for following it; but this does not rest on the ground that it is superior to the Hebrew.

We might also mention, in favour of this estimate of the two codices, the general character of Israel and Judah. The one was far more wicked than the other. Wickedness is usually associated with forgetfulness or corruption of the inspired writings, and inattention to their contents.

But the New Testament writers usually quote from the Sept., which version agrees with the Samaritan, in preference to the Hebrew codex. Does

not this attach a superior value to the Samaritan? In reply to such a question it may be observed, that the New Testament does not coincide with the Samaritan and Septuagint *in opposition to the Hebrew.* There are indeed *two,* or, at the most, *three* instances of this nature; but the variation is so slight in these, that nothing can be built upon it. There is one reading of the Samaritan to which we deem it right to allude, because it is generally preferred to the Hebrew. It is in Exod. xii. 40: 'Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was 430 years.' The Samaritan has 'The sojourning of the children of Israel and of their fathers who dwelt in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt was 430 years.' The Hebrews abode 215 years in Egypt; and from the call of Abraham to the exodus was 430 years. This passage presents no real difficulty in the way of chronology, although the Samaritan corrector thought, that, as it stands in the Hebrew codex, it is not true. Yet it is not said that the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt was 430 years. It is simply stated that their sojourning continued for that period. The clause '*who dwelt in Egypt,*' is *incidental,* not *essential* to the sentence. The sojourning of the Israelites in various places beginning at the time when Abraham was called of Jehovah, and ending with the departure of his posterity out of Egypt, occupied 430 years. Had the words stood thus, 'the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years *in that country,*' there would have been a chronological difficulty. At present, however, there is none. This example is discussed by Gesenius, under the sixth class.

Thus the Samaritan Pentateuch is not a source of emendation. Other *independent* authorities, provided they be sufficient, may and ought to be taken as means of emendation; but this codex *by itself* cannot be used in correcting the text, nor can it be employed for the same purpose along with versions or quotations manifestly borrowed from it.

The utility of the copy consists in confirming the authenticity of a reading when it agrees with the Hebrew. In such a case there are two independent witnesses.

It also dissipates the rigid notions entertained by the Buxtorfs and others respecting the vowel-points and letters. It proves that the points and accents were not coeval with the *consonants.* Besides the works referred to in the course of this article, the reader may consult the Introductions of Jahn, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, and Hävernick; Steudel's treatise in Bengel's *Archiv.* iii. 326, sq.; Mazade, *Sur l'Origine, l'Age, et l'Etat Critique du Pent. Sam.* Genf. 1830, 8vo; Tholuck's *Lit. Anzeig.* for 1833, p. 303, sq.: Lee's *Prolegomena to Baxter's Polyglott;* Professor Stuart, in the *North American Review* for 1826, and *Biblical Repository* for 1832; and Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism.*

Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch. —The author and date of this version are both unknown. Probably it belongs to the first or second century of the Christian era. It follows the Hebræo-Samaritan text word for word, generally furnishing the same additions and peculiarities as its parent exhibits. To this, however, there are several exceptions. Its agreement with Onkelos is remarkable. Winer and De Wette, however, deny that the translator used Onkelos, because the hatred subsisting between the Jews and Samaritans renders that circumstance impossible; yet it may be questioned whether the national enmity was participated in by every single individual of the Samaritans or of the Jews. To say that it has been interpolated from Onkelos will scarcely account for the peculiar character of the version, although it is probable that it has passed through several hands, and has consequently been altered from its original form. This version has been printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts: more accurately in the latter than in the former, but yet with many imperfections and errors. The Latin version in both is of no utility. (Winer, *De Versionis Pentateuchi Samaritani Indole,* Lips. 1817, 8vo.; Walton's *Prolegomena;* Gesenius, *De Pentat. Samar. Origine, &c.* p. 18; the *Introductions* of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Hävernick, De Wette; and Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism.*)

Τὸ Σαμαρείτικον. This name has been given to the fragments of a supposed Greek version of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is not certain, however, whether they be the remains of an old Greek translation, or glosses made upon the Septuagint by Origen. These fragments have been collected by Morin, Hottinger, and Montfaucon, out of the Greek fathers. It is probable that they are the remains of a real Greek version from the Samaritan, although from their paucity they are of little use. (See the Introductions of Eichhorn, Hävernick, and De Wette; Gesenius, *De Pentat. Samarit., &c.*; and Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism.*)—S. D.

SAMMINS. [Spices.]

SAMOS (Σάμος), an island in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Lydia, in Asia Minor, and separated only by a narrow strait from the promontory which terminates in Cape Trogyllium. This strait, in the narrowest part, is not quite a mile in width (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 34; Strabo, xiv. p. 634; comp. Leake's map of Asia Minor). The island is sometimes stated to have been famous for its wines; but, in fact, the wine of Samos was in ill repute. Strabo says expressly that the island was οὐκ εὔοινος: it now, however, ranks high among Levantine wines, and is largely exported, as are also grapes and raisins. The apostle Paul touched at the island in his voyage from Greece to Syria (Acts xx. 15). Samos contained, some years ago, about 60,000 people, inhabiting eighteen large villages, and about twenty small ones. Vathi is the chief town of the island in every respect, except that it is not the residence of the governor, who lives at Colonna, which takes its name from a solitary column (about fifty feet high and six in diameter), a remnant of the ancient temple of Juno, of which some insignificant remains are lying near. For further information, see the travels of Pococke, Clarke, Dallaway, and Turner.

SAMOTHRACE (Σαμοθράκη), an island in the north-east part of the Ægean Sea, above the Hellespont, with a lofty mountain, and a city of the same name. It was anciently called Dardania, Leucania, and also Samos; and to distinguish it from the other Samos, the name of

Thrace was added from its vicinity to that country. Hence Σάμος Θράκης, and by contraction Σαμοθράκη, Samothrace. The island was celebrated for the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, and was a sacred asylum (Diod. Sic. iii. 55; v. 47; Ptolem. *Geog.* v. 11; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 23). Paul touched at this island on his first voyage to Europe (Acts xvi. 11). The island is now called Samandrachi. It is but thinly peopled, and contains only a single village. The mountain is described in the *Missionary Herald* for 1836, p. 246; comp. Richter, *Wallfahrt*, p. 438, sq.

SAMSON (שִׁמְשׁוֹן *Shimshon;* Sept. Σαμψών), the name of the celebrated champion, deliverer, and judge of Israel, equally remarkable for his supernatural bodily prowess, his moral infirmities, and his tragical end. He was the son of Manoah, of the tribe of Dan, and born A.M. 2848, of a mother whose name is no where given in the Scriptures. The circumstances under which his birth was announced by a heavenly messenger gave distinct presage of an extraordinary character, whose endowments were to be of a nature suited to the providential exigencies in which he was raised up. The burden of the oracle to his mother, who had been long barren, was, that the child with which she was pregnant was to be a son, who should be a Nazarite from his birth, upon whose head no razor was to come, and who was to prove a signal deliverer to his people. She was directed, accordingly, to conform her own regimen to the tenor of the Nazarite law, and strictly abstain from wine and all intoxicating liquor, and from every species of impure food [NAZARITE]. According to the 'prophecy going before upon him,' Samson was born in the following year, and his destination to great achievements began to evince itself at a very early age by the illapses of superhuman strength which came from time to time upon him. Those specimens of extraordinary prowess, of which the slaying of the lion at Timnath without weapons was one, were doubtless the result of that special influence of the Most High which is referred to in Judg. xiii. 25:—'And the spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol.' The import of the original word (לְפַעֲם) for *moved* is peculiar. As פַּעַם, the radical form, signifies *an anvil*, the metaphor is probably drawn from the *repeated* and somewhat *violent strokes* of a workman with his hammer. It implies, therefore, a peculiar *urgency*, an *impelling influence*, which he could not well resist in himself, nor others in him. But we do not know that this attribute, in its utmost degree, constantly dwelt in him.

As the position of the tribe of Dan, bordering upon the territory of the Philistines, exposed them especially to the predatory incursions of this people, it was plainly the design of heaven to raise up a deliverer in that region where he was most needed. The Philistines, therefore, became very naturally the objects of that retributive course of proceedings in which Samson was to be the principal actor, and upon which he could only enter by seeking some occasion of exciting hostilities that would bring the two peoples into direct collision. Such an occasion was afforded by his meeting with one of the daughters of the Philistines at Timnath, whom he besought his parents to procure for him in marriage, assigning as a reason that she 'pleased him well,' Heb. הִוא יָשְׁרָה בְעֵינָי, *She is right in mine eyes*, where the original for *right* is not an adjective, having the sense of *beautiful*, *engaging*, *attractive*, but a verb, conveying, indeed, the idea of *right*, but of *right relative to an end, purpose, or object;* in other words, of *fitness* or *adaptation* (see Gousset's *Lexicon*, s. v. יָשַׁר; and comp. 2 Sam. xvii. 4; 1 Kings ix. 12: 2 Chron. xii. 30; Num. xxviii. 27). This affords, we believe, the true clue to Samson's meaning, when he says, 'She is right in mine eyes;' *i. e. adapted* to the end which I have in view; she may be *used*, she is *available*, for a purpose entirely ulterior to the immediate connection which I propose. That he entertained a genuine affection for the woman, notwithstanding the *policy* by which he was prompted, we may doubtless admit; but that he intended, at the same time, to make this alliance subservient to the great purpose of delivering his country from oppression, and that in this he was acting under the secret control of Providence, would seem to be clear from the words immediately following, when, in reference to the objection of his parents to such a union, it is said, that they 'knew not that it was of the Lord that he sought an occasion against the Philistines.' It is here worthy of note, that the Hebrew, instead of '*against* the Philistines,' has '*of* or *from* the Philistines,' clearly implying that the occasion sought should be one that *originated* on the side of the Philistines. This occasion he sought under the immediate prompting of the Most High, who saw fit, in this indirect manner, to bring about the accomplishment of his designs of retribution on his enemies. His leading purpose in this seems to have been *to baffle the power of the whole Philistine nation by the prowess of a single individual.* The champion of Israel, therefore, was not appointed so much to be the leader of an army, like the other judges, *as to be an army in himself.* In order then that the contest might be carried on in this way, it was necessary that the entire opposition of the Philistines *should be concentrated, as far as possible, against the person of Samson.* This would array the contending parties in precisely such an attitude as to illustrate most signally the power of God in the overthrow of his enemies. But how could this result be brought about except by means of some *private quarrel* between Samson and the enemy with whom he was to contend? And who shall say that the scheme now projected was not the very best that could have been devised for accomplishing the end which God had in view? To what extent Samson himself foresaw the issue of this transaction, or how far he had a plan *distinctly laid* corresponding with the results that ensued, it is difficult to say. The probability, we think, is, that he had rather a *general strong impression*, wrought by the Spirit of God, than a *definite conception* of the train of events that were to transpire. It was, however, a conviction as to the issue sufficiently powerful to warrant both him and his parents in going forward with the measure. They were, in some way, assured that they were engaged in a proceeding which God would *overrule* to the furtherance of his designs of mercy to his people, and of judgment to their oppressors.

From this point commences that career of achievements and prodigies on the part of this Israelitish Hercules, which rendered him the terror of his enemies and the wonder of all ages. At his wedding-feast, the attendance of a large company of paranymphs, or friends of the bridegroom, convened ostensibly for the purpose of honouring his nuptials, but in reality to keep an insidious watch upon his movements, furnished the occasion of a common Oriental device for enlivening entertainments of this nature. He propounded a riddle, the solution of which referred to his obtaining a quantity of honey from the carcase of a slain lion, and the clandestine manner in which his guests got possession of the clue to the enigma cost thirty Philistines their lives. The next instance of his vindictive cunning was prompted by the ill-treatment which he had received at the hands of his father-in law, who, upon a frivolous pretext, had given away his daughter in marriage to another man, and was executed by securing a multitude of foxes, or rather *jackals* (שועלים *shualim*), and, by tying firebrands to their tails, setting fire to the cornfields of his enemies. The indignation of the Philistines, on discovering the author of the outrage, vented itself upon the family of his father-in-law, who had been the remote occasion of it, in the burning of their house, in which both father and daughter perished. This was a fresh provocation, for which Samson threatened to be revenged; and thereupon falling upon them without ceremony he smote them, as it is said, 'hip and thigh with a great slaughter.' The original, strictly rendered, runs, 'he smote them leg upon thigh'—apparently a proverbial expression, and implying, according to Gesenius, that he cut them to pieces, so that their limbs, their legs and thighs, were scattered and heaped promiscuously together; equivalent to saying that he smote and destroyed them *wholly, entirely*. Mr. Taylor, in his edition of Calmet, recognises in these words an allusion to some kind of *wrestling combat*, in which perhaps the slaughter on this occasion may have commenced.

Having subsequently taken up his residence in the rock Etam, he was thence dislodged by consenting to a pusillanimous arrangement on the part of his own countrymen, by which he agreed to surrender himself in bonds provided *they* would not themselves fall upon him and kill him. He probably gave into this measure from a strong inward assurance that the issue of it would be, to afford him a new occasion of taking vengeance upon his foes. Being brought in this apparently helpless condition to a place called from the event, Lehi, *a jaw*, his preternatural potency suddenly put itself forth, and snapping the cords asunder, and snatching up the jaw-bone of an ass, he dealt so effectually about him, that a thousand men were slain on the spot. That this was altogether the work, not of man, but of God, was soon demonstrated. Wearied with his exertions, the illustrious Danite became faint from thirst, and as there was no water in the place, he prayed that a fountain might be opened. His prayer was heard; God caused a stream to gush from a hollow rock hard by, and Samson in gratitude gave it the name of *En-hakkor*, a word that signifies 'the well of him that prayed,' and which continued to be the designation of the fountain ever after. The rendering in our version—'God clave a hollow place in the jaw'—is unhappy, as the original is לחי *Lehi*, the very term which in the final clause is rendered 'in Lehi.' The place received its name from the circumstance of his having then so effectually wielded the *jaw-bone* (לחי *Lehi*).

The Philistines were from this time held in such contempt by their victor, that he went openly into the city of Gaza, where he seems to have suffered himself weakly to be drawn into the company of a woman of loose character, the yielding to whose enticements exposed him to the most imminent peril. His presence being soon noised abroad, an attempt was made during the night forcibly to detain him, by closing the gates of the city and making them fast; but Samson, apprised of it, rose at midnight, and breaking away bolts, bars, and hinges, departed, carrying the gates upon his shoulders, to the top of a neighbouring hill that *looks toward Hebron* (על פני חברון; Sept. ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ Χεβρών, *facing Hebron*). The common rendering 'before Hebron' is less appropriate, as the distance between the two cities is at least twenty miles. The hill lay doubtless somewhere between the cities, and in full view of both. After this his enemies strove to entrap him by guile rather than by violence; and they were too successful in the end. Falling in love with a woman of Sorek, named Delilah, he became so infatuated by his passion, that nothing but his bodily strength could equal his mental weakness. The princes of the Philistines, aware of Samson's infirmity, determined by means of it to get possession, if possible, of his person. For this purpose they propose a tempting bribe to Delilah, and she enters at once into the treacherous compact. She employs all her art and blandishments to worm from him the secret of his prodigious strength. Having for some time amused her with fictions, he at last, in a moment of weakness, disclosed to her the fact that it lay in his hair, which if it were shaved would leave him a mere common man. Not that his strength really lay in his hair, for this in fact had no natural influence upon it one way or the other. His strength arose from his *relation* to God as a Nazarite, and the preservation of his hair unshorn was the *mark* or *sign* of his Nazariteship, and a *pledge* on the part of God of the continuance of his miraculous physical powers. If he lost this sign, the badge of his consecration, he broke his vow, and consequently forfeited the thing signified. God abandoned him, and he was thenceforward no more, in this respect, than an ordinary man. His treacherous paramour seized the first opportunity of putting his declaration to the test. She shaved his head while he lay sleeping in her lap, and at a concerted signal he was instantly arrested by his enemies lying in wait. Bereft of his grand endowment, and forsaken of God, the champion of Israel could now well adopt the words of Solomon;—'I find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands are bands; whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her; but the sinner shall be taken by her.' Having so long presumptuously played with his ruin, Heaven leaves him to himself, as a punishment for his former guilty indulgence. He is made to reap as he had sown, and is consigned to the hands of his relentless foes.

His punishment was indeed severe, though he amply revenged it, as well as redeemed in a measure his own honour, by the manner in which he met his death. The Philistines having deprived him of sight, at first immured him in a prison, and made him grind at the mill like a slave. As this was an employment which in the East usually devolves on women, to assign it to such a man as Samson was virtually to reduce him to the lowest state of degradation and shame. To grind corn *for others* was, even for a woman, a proverbial term expressive of the most menial and oppressed condition. How much more for the hero of Israel, who seems to have been made grinder-general for the prison-house!

In process of time, while remaining in this confinement, his hair recovered its growth, and with it such a profound repentance seems to have wrought in his heart as virtually re-invested him with the character and the powers he had so culpably lost. Of this fact his enemies were not aware. Still exulting in their possession of the great scourge of their nation, they kept him, like a wild beast, for mockery and insult. On one of these occasions, when an immense multitude, including the princes and nobility of the Philistines, were convened in a large amphitheatre, to celebrate a feast in honour of their god Dagon, who had delivered their adversary into their hands, Samson was ordered to be brought out to be made a laughing-stock to his enemies, a butt for their scoffs, insults, mockeries, and merriment. Secretly determined to use his recovered strength to tremendous effect, he persuaded the boy who guided his steps to conduct him to a spot where he could reach the two pillars upon which the roof of the building rested. Here, after pausing for a short time, while he prefers a brief prayer to Heaven, he grasps the massy pillars, and bowing with resistless force, the whole building rocks and totters, and the roof, encumbered with the weight of the spectators, rushes down, and the whole assembly, including Samson himself, are crushed to pieces in the ruin!

Thus terminated the career of one of the most remarkable personages of all history, whether sacred or profane. The enrolment of his name by an apostolic pen (Heb. xi. 32) in the list of the ancient worthies, 'who had by faith obtained an excellent repute,' warrants us undoubtedly in a favourable estimate of his character on the whole, while at the same time the fidelity of the inspired narrative has perpetuated the record of infirmities which must for ever mar the lustre of his noble deeds. It is not improbable that the lapses with which he was chargeable arose, in a measure, from the very peculiarities of that physical temperament to which his prodigies of strength were owing; but while this consideration may palliate, it cannot excuse the moral delinquencies into which he was betrayed, and of which a just Providence exacted so tremendous a penalty in the circumstances of his degradation and death.

Upon the parallel between the achievements of Samson and those of the Grecian Hercules, and the derivation of the one from the other, we cannot here enter. The Commentary of Adam Clarke presents us with the results of M. De Lavour, an ingenious French writer on this subject, from which it will be seen that the coincidences are extremely striking, and such as would perhaps afford to most minds an additional proof of how much the ancient mythologies were a distorted reflection of the Scripture narrative.—G. B.

SAMUEL (שְׁמוּאֵל; Sept. Σαμουήλ), the last of those extraordinary regents that presided over the Hebrew commonwealth under the title of Judges. The circumstances of his birth were ominous of his future career. His father, Elkanah of Ramathaim-Zophim, of Mount Ephraim, 'had two wives, the name of the one was Hannah, and the name of the other Peninnah; and Peninnah had children, but Hannah had no children.' The usual effect of polygamy was felt in Elkanah's household. The sterility of Hannah brought upon her the taunts and ridicule of her conjugal rival, who 'provoked her sore, to make her fret, because the Lord had shut up her womb' (1 Sam. i. 6). The jealousy of Peninnah was excited also by the superior affection which was shown to Hannah by her husband. 'To Hannah he gave a worthy portion; for he loved Hannah' (i. 5). More especially at the period of the sacred festivals did the childless solitude of Hannah create within her the most poignant regrets, when she saw her husband give portions to all the sons and daughters of Peninnah, who, exulting in maternal pride and fondness, took advantage of these seasons to subject the favourite wife to a natural feminine retaliation. Hannah's life was embittered, 'she wept and did not eat' (i. 7). On one of these occasions, during the annual solemnity at Shiloh, whither Elkanah's family had travelled, 'to worship and to sacrifice,' so keen was the vexation of Hannah, that she left the domestic entertainment, went to the tabernacle, and in the extremity of her anguish implored Jehovah to give her a man-child, accompanying her supplication with a peculiar pledge to dedicate this gift, should it be conferred, to the service of Jehovah; vowing to present the child in entire unreserved consecration to the Lord all the days of his life, and at the same time to bind him to the special obligations and austerities of a Nazarite. In her agony of earnestness her lips moved, but articulated no words, so that Eli, the high priest, who had observed her frantic appearance from his seat by a post of the temple, 'thought she had been drunken,' and sharply rebuked her. Her pathetic explanation removed his suspicion, and he gave her his solemn benediction. Her spirit was lightened, and she 'went her way.' The birth of a son soon fulfilled her hopes, and this child of prayer was named, in memory of the prodigy, SAMUEL, HEARD OF GOD. In consequence of his mother's vow, the boy was from his early years set apart to the service of Jehovah, under the immediate tutelage of Eli. His mother brought him to the house of the Lord in Shiloh, and introducing herself to the pontiff, recalled to his memory the peculiar circumstances in which he had first seen her. So 'Samuel ministered before the Lord, being a child, girded with a linen ephod' (ii. 18).

The degeneracy of the people at this time was extreme. The tribes seem to have administered their affairs as independent republics, the national confederacy was weak and disunited, and the spirit of public patriotic enterprise had been worn out by constant turmoil and invasion. The theocratic influence was also scarcely felt, its

peculiar ministers being withdrawn, and its ordinary manifestations, except in the routine of the Levitical ritual, having ceased; 'the word of the Lord was precious in those days, there was no open vision' (iii. 1). The young devotee, 'the child Samuel,' was selected by Jehovah to renew the deliverance of his oracles. As he reclined in his chamber adjoining the sacred edifice, the Lord, by means adapted to his juvenile capacity, made known to him his first and fearful communication—the doom of Eli's apostate house. Other revelations speedily followed this; the frequency of God's messages to the young prophet established his fame; and the exact fulfilment of them secured his reputation. The oracle of Shiloh became vocal again through the youthful hierophant (iii. 19-21). The fearful fate pronounced on the head and family of the pontificate was soon executed. Eli had indulgently tolerated, or leniently palliated, the rapacity and profligacy of his sons. Through their extortions and impiety 'men abhorred the offering of the Lord,' and Jehovah's wrath was kindled against the sacerdotal transgressors. They became the victims of their own folly; for when the Philistines invaded the land, an unworthy superstition among the Hebrew host clamoured for the ark to be brought into the camp and into the field of battle. Hophni and Phinehas, Eli's sons, indulging this vain and puerile fancy, accompanied the ark as its legal guardians, and fell in the terrible slaughter which ensued. Their father, whose sin seems to have been his easiness of disposition, his passive and quiescent temper, sat on a sacerdotal throne by the wayside, to gather the earliest news of the battle, for his 'heart trembled for the ark of God;' and as a fugitive from the scene of conflict reported to him the sad disaster, dwelling with natural climax on its melancholy particulars—Israel routed and fleeing in panic, Hophni and Phinehas both slain, and the ark of God taken—this last and overpowering intelligence so shocked him, that he fainted and fell from his seat, and in his fall, from the imbecile corpulence of age, 'brake his neck and died' (iv. 18). When the feeble administration of Eli, who had judged Israel forty years, was concluded by his death, Samuel was too young to succeed to the regency, and the actions of this earlier portion of his life are left unrecorded. The ark, which had been captured by the Philistines, soon vindicated its majesty, and after being detained among them seven months, was sent back to Israel. It did not, however, reach Shiloh, in consequence of the fearful judgment of Beth-shemesh (vi. 19), but rested in Kirjath-jearim for no fewer than twenty years (vii. 2). It is not till the expiration of this period that Samuel appears again in the history. Perhaps during the twenty years succeeding Eli's death, his authority was gradually gathering strength, while the office of supreme magistrate may have been vacant, each tribe being governed by its own hereditary phylarch. This long season of national humiliation was to some extent improved. 'All the house of Israel lamented after the Lord,' and Samuel, seizing upon the crisis, issued a public manifesto, exposing the sin of idolatry, urging on the people religious amendment, and promising political deliverance on their reformation. The people obeyed, the oracular mandate was effectual, and the principles of the theocracy again triumphed (vii. 4). The tribes were summoned by the prophet to assemble in Mizpeh, and at this assembly of the Hebrew comitia, Samuel seems to have been elected regent (vii. 6). Some of the judges were raised to political power, as the reward of their military courage and talents, but Samuel was raised to the lofty station of judge, from his prophetic fame, his sagacious dispensation of justice, his real intrepidity, and his success as a restorer of the true religion. His government, founded not on feats of chivalry or actions of dazzling enterprise, which great emergencies only call forth, but resting on more solid qualities, essential to the growth and development of a nation's resources in times of peace, laid the foundation of that prosperity which gradually elevated Israel to the position it occupied in the days of David and his successors.

This mustering of the Hebrews at Mizpeh on the inauguration of Samuel alarmed the Philistines, and their 'lords went up against Israel.' Samuel assumed the functions of the theocratic viceroy, offered a solemn oblation, and implored the immediate protection of Jehovah. He was answered with propitious thunder. A fearful storm burst upon the Philistines, the elements warred against them. 'The Highest gave his voice in the heaven, hailstones and coals of fire.' The old enemies of Israel were signally defeated, and did not recruit their strength again during the administration of the prophet-judge. The grateful victor erected a stone of remembrance, and named it Ebenezer. From an incidental allusion (vii. 14) we learn too, that about this time the Amorites, the Eastern foes of Israel, were also at peace with them—another triumph of a government 'the weapons of whose warfare were not carnal.' The presidency of Samuel appears to have been eminently successful. From the very brief sketch given us of his public life, we infer that the administration of justice occupied no little share of his time and attention. He went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, places not very far distant from each other, but chosen perhaps, as Winer suggests, because they were the old scenes of worship (*Real-wört.*, ii. 444).

The dwelling of the prophet was at Ramah, where religious worship was established after the patriarchal model, and where Samuel, like Abraham, built an altar to the Lord. Such procedure was contrary to the letter of the Mosaic statute. But the prophets had power to dispense with ordinary usage (De Wette, *Bib. Dogmat.* § 70; Knobel, *Der Prophetism. d. Heb.* i. 39; Koester, *Der Proph. d. A. & N. T. &c.* p. 52). In this case the reason of Samuel's conduct may be found in the state of the religious economy. The ark yet remained at Kirjath-jearim, where it had been left in terror, and where it lay till David fetched it to Zion. There seems to have been no place of resort for the tribes, the present station of the ark not having been chosen for its convenience as a scene of religious assembly. The shrine at Shiloh, which had been hallowed ever since the settlement in Canaan, had been desolate from the date of the death of Eli and his sons—so desolate as to become in future years a prophetic symbol of divine judgment (Jer. vii. 12-14; xxvi. 6). In such a period of religious anarchy and confusion,

Samuel, a theocratic guardian, might, without any violation of the spirit of the law, superintend the public worship of Jehovah in the vicinity of his habitation (Knobel, *Prophet. der Heb.* ii. 32).

In Samuel's old age two of his sons were appointed by him deputy-judges in Beersheba. These young men possessed not their father's integrity of spirit, but 'turned aside after lucre, took bribes, and perverted judgment' (1 Sam. viii. 3). The advanced years of the venerable ruler himself and his approaching dissolution, the certainty that none of his family could fill his office with advantage to the country, the horror of a period of anarchy which his death might occasion, the necessity of having some one to put an end to tribal jealousies and concentrate the energies of the nation, especially as there appeared to be symptoms of renewed warlike preparations on the part of the Ammonites (xii. 12)—these considerations seem to have led the elders of Israel to adopt the bold step of assembling at Ramah and soliciting Samuel 'to make a king to judge them.' The proposed change from a republican to a regal form of government displeased Samuel for various reasons. Besides its being a departure from the first political institute, and so far an infringement on the rights of the divine head of the theocracy, it was regarded by the regent as a virtual charge against himself, and might appear to him as one of those examples of popular fickleness and ingratitude which the history of every realm exhibits in profusion. Jehovah comforts Samuel in this respect by saying, 'They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me.' Being warned of God to accede to their request for a king, and yet to remonstrate with the people, and set before the nation the perils and tyranny of a monarchical government (viii. 10), Samuel proceeded to the election of a sovereign. Saul, son of Kish, 'a choice young man and a goodly,' whom he had met unexpectedly, was pointed out to him by Jehovah as the king of Israel, and by the prophet was anointed and saluted as monarch. Samuel again convened the nation at Mizpeh, again with honest zeal condemned their project, but caused the sacred lot to be taken. The lot fell on Saul. The prophet now formally introduced him to the people, who shouted in joyous acclamation, 'God save the king.'

Not content with oral explanations, this last of the republican chiefs not only told the people the manner of the kingdom, 'but wrote it in a book and laid it up before the Lord.' What is here asserted of Samuel may mean, that he extracted from the Pentateuch the recorded provision of Moses for a future monarchy, and added to it such warnings, and counsels, and safeguards as his inspired sagacity might suggest. Saul's first battle being so successful, and the preparations for it displaying no ordinary energy and promptitude of character, his popularity was suddenly advanced, and his throne secured. Taking advantage of the general sensation in favour of Saul, Samuel cited the people to meet again in Gilgal, to renew the kingdom, to ratify the new constitution, and solemnly instal the sovereign (xi. 14). Here the upright judge made a powerful appeal to the assembly in vindication of his government. 'Witness against me before the Lord, and before his anointed; whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you.' The whole multitude responded in unanimous approval of his honesty and intrepidity (xii. 3, 4). Then he, still jealous of God's prerogative and the civil rights of his people, briefly narrated their history, showed them how they never wanted chieftains to defend them when they served God, and declared that it was distrust of God's raising up a new leader in a dreaded emergency that excited the outcry for a king. In proof of this charge—a charge which convicted them of great wickedness in the sight of God—he appealed to Jehovah, who answered in a fearful hurricane of thunder and rain. The terrified tribes confessed their guilt, and besought Samuel to intercede for them in his disinterested patriotism.

It is said (vii. 15) that Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life. The assertion may mean that even after Saul's coronation Samuel's power, though formally abdicated, was yet actually felt and exercised in the direction of state affairs (Hävernick, *Einleit. in das A. T.*, § 166). No enterprise could be undertaken without Samuel's concurrence. His was an authority higher than the king's. We find Saul, having mustered his forces, about to march against the Philistines, yet delaying to do so till Samuel consecrated the undertaking. He came not at the time appointed, as Saul thought, and the impatient monarch proceeded to offer sacrifice—a fearful violation of the national law. The prophet arrived as the religious service was concluded, and rebuking Saul for his presumption, distinctly hinted at the short continuance of his kingdom. Again we find Samuel charging Saul with the extirpation of the Amalekites. The royal warrior proceeded on the expedition, but obeyed not the mandate of Jehovah. His apologies, somewhat craftily framed, for his inconsistencies, availed him not with the prophet, and he was by the indignant seer virtually dethroned. He had forfeited his crown by disobedience to God. Yet Samuel mourned for him. His heart seems to have been set on the bold athletic soldier. But now the Lord directed him to make provision for the future government of the country (xvi. 1). To prevent strife and confusion it was necessary, in the circumstances, that the second king should be appointed ere the first sovereign's demise. Samuel went to Bethlehem and set apart the youngest of the sons of Jesse, 'and came to see Saul no more till the day of his death.' Yet Saul and he met once again at Naioth, in Ramah (xix. 24), when the king was pursuing David. As on a former occasion, the spirit of God came upon him as he approached the company of the prophets with Samuel presiding over them, and 'he prophesied and lay down naked all that day and all that night.' A religious excitement seized him, the contagious influence of the music and rhapsody fell upon his nervous, susceptible temperament, and overpowered him. At length Samuel died (xxv. 1), and all Israel mourned for him, and buried him in his house at Ramah. The troubles of Saul increased, and there was none to give him counsel and solace. Jehovah answered him not in the ordinary mode of oracular communication, 'by dreams, Urim, or prophets.' His chafed and melancholy spirit could find no rest, and re-

sorted to the sad expedient of consulting 'a woman that had a familiar spirit' (xxviii. 3-7). The sovereign in disguise entered her dwelling, and he of whom the proverb was repeated, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' was found in consultation with a sorceress. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of this subject [SAUL]. We follow the inspired narrative, and merely say that Saul strangely wished to see Samuel recalled from the dead, that Samuel himself (שְׁמוּאֵל הוּא) made his appearance suddenly, and, to the great terror of the necromancer, heard the mournful complaint of Saul, and pronounced his speedy death on an ignoble field of loss and massacre (Henderson, *On Divine Inspiration*, p. 165; Hales' *Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 323; Scott, *On the Existence of Evil Spirits*, &c., p. 232).

We have reserved a few topics for discussion, that we might not interrupt the brief narrative. It is almost superfluous to say that the derivation of the prophet's name to which we have referred is preferable to others which have been proposed—such as שֵׁם אֵל, *name of God*; שְׁאוּל מֵאֵל, *asked of God*; or שׂוּם אֵל, *Deus posuit*. The opinion was in former times very current, that Samuel was a priest, nay, some imagine that he succeeded Eli in the pontificate. Many of the fathers inclined to this notion, but Jerome affirms (*Advers. Jovin.*): *Samuel Propheta fuit, Judex fuit, Levita fuit, non Pontifex, ne Sacerdos quidem* (Ortlob, *Samuel Judex et Propheta non Pont. aut Sacerd. Sacrificans; Thesaurus Novus Theol. Philol.* Hasaei et Ikenii, i. 587; Selden, *De Success. ad Pontiff.*, lib. i. c. 14). That Samuel was a Levite is apparent from 1 Chron. vi. 22-28, but there is no evidence of his being a priest. The sacerdotal acts ascribed to him were performed by him as an extraordinary legate of heaven. The American translator of De Wette's *Introduction to the Old Testament* (ii. 21) says he was a priest, though not of Levitical descent, slighting the information of Chronicles, and pronouncing Samuel at the same time to be only a mythical character. Samuel's birth-place was Ramathaim-Zophim; the dual form of the first term, according to some, signifying one of the two Ramahs, to wit, that of the Zophites (Lightfoot, vol. ii. 162, ed. 1832); and the second term (צוֹפִים), according to others, meaning speculatores, *i.e.*, prophets, and denoting, that at this place was a school of the prophets—an hypothesis supported by the Chaldee paraphrast, who renders it, 'Elkanah a man of Ramatha, a disciple of the prophets' (מִתַּלְמִידֵי נְבִיאַיָּא). Others find in the dual form of רָמָתַיִם a reference to the shape of the city, which was built on the sides of two hills; and in the word Zophim, see an allusion to some watch-towers, or places of observation, which the high situation of the city might favour (Clerici *Opera*, ii. 175). Others again affirm that the word צוֹפִים is added because Ramah or Ramatha was inhabited by a clan of Levites of the family of צוּף (Calmet, *sub voce*). Winer asserts (*Realwört.* art. 'Samuel') that the first verse of the book declares Samuel to be an Ephraimite (אֶפְרָתִי). This term, however, if the genealogy in Chronicles remain undisturbed, must signify not an Ephraimite by birth, but by abode, 'domicilii ratione non sanguinis' (Selden, *l. c.*). We find that the Kohathites, to whom Samuel belonged, had their lot in Mount Ephraim (Josh. xxi. 5-20), where הַר אֶפְרַיִם signifies, not the hill of Ephraim, but the hill-country of Ephraim (Gesenius, *Thesaur.* sub voce). The family of Zoph, living in the hill-country of Ephraim, might be termed Ephrathite, while their ancestor's name distinguished their special locality, as Ramathaim-Zophim. The geography of this place has been disputed [RAMAH]. Eusebius and Jerome confound it with Arimathea of the New Testament (*Onomast.* art. *Armatha Sophim*). The Seventy render it Ἀρμαθαὶμ Σωφίμ, Cod. A., or Cod. B. Ἀρμαθαὶμ Σιφά. For an account of the place now and for long called Neby Samwêl, and the impossibility of its being the ancient Ramah, see Robinson's *Palestine*, ii. 141; and for an interesting discussion as to the site of Ramath-Zophim, the latter name being yet retained in the Arabic term Sóbah, the curious reader may consult the same work (ii. 830), or Robinson's *Bibliotheca Saera*, p. 46. The hilly range of Ephraim extended southward into other cantons, while it bore its original name of הַר אֶפְרַיִם; and so the inhabitants of Ramathaim-Zophim might be termed Ephrathites, just as Mahlon and Chilion are called 'Ephrathites of Beth-lehem-judah' (Ruth i. 2).

Specific data are not afforded us for determining the length of either Samuel's life or his administration. Josephus mentions that he was twelve years of age when his first oracle was communicated to him. As the calculation of the duration of Samuel's life and government depends upon the system of Chronology adopted, the reader may turn to the article JUDGES, and to the comparative chronological table which is there given.

Samuel's character presents itself to us as one of uncommon dignity and patriotism. His chief concern was his country's weal. Grotius compares him to Aristides, and Saul to Alcibiades (*Opera Theol.* tom. i. p. 119). To preserve the worship of the one Jehovah, the God of Israel, to guard the liberties and rights of the people, to secure them from hostile invasion and internal disunion, was the grand motive of his life. His patriotism was not a Roman love of conquest or empire. The subjugation of other people was only sought when they disturbed the peace of his country. He was loath indeed to change the form of government, yet he did it with consummate policy. First of all he resorted to the divine mode of appeal to the Omniscient Ruler—a solemn sortilege—and brought Saul so chosen before the people, and pointed him out to them as peerless in his form and aspect. Then, waiting till Saul should distinguish himself by some victorious enterprise, and receiving him fresh from the slaughter of the Ammonites, he again confirmed him in his kingdom, while the national enthusiasm, kindled by his triumph, made him the popular idol. Samuel thus, for the sake of future peace, took means to show that Saul was both chosen of God and yet virtually elected by the people. This procedure, so cautious and so generous, proves how little foundation there is for the remarks which have been made against Samuel by some writers, such as Schiller (*Neue Thalia*, iv. 94), Vatke (*Bibl. Theol.* p. 360), and the in-

famous Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist (p. 200, ed. Schmidt).

The power of Samuel with God, as an intercessor for the people, is compared to that of Moses (Jer. xv. 1; Ps. xcix. 6). He was the first of a series of prophets that continued in an unbroken line till the close of the Old Testament Canon (Acts iii. 24; Augustin. *De Civ. Dei*, l. xvii.). It is in the days of Samuel that mention is first made of the schools of the prophets. It is natural to suppose that he was to some extent their originator. In the prospect of a regal form of government he seems to have made the prophetic office a formal institute in the Jewish nation. These Academies were famous for the cultivation of poetry and music, and from among their members God might select his special servants (Gramberg, *Religions-id.* ii. 264; Vitringa, *Synag. Vet.* i. 2, 7; Werenfels, *Diss. de Scholis Prophetar.*; De Wette, *Comm. ub. d. Psalm.* p. 9). For a different view of the schools see Tholuck's *Literar. Anzeiger*, 1831, i. 38. We are informed (1 Chron. ix. 22) that the allocation of the Levites for the temple-service was made by David and Samuel the seer, *i. e.*, that David followed some plan or suggestion of the deceased prophet. It is stated also (xxvi. 28) that the prophet had made some munificent donations to the tabernacle, which seems to have been erected at Nob, and afterwards at Gibeon, though the ark was in Kirjath-jearim. Lastly (xxix. 29), the acts of David the king are said to be written in the book of Samuel the seer. The high respect in which Samuel was held by the Jewish nation in after ages, may be learned from the eulogy pronounced upon him by the son of Sirach (Eccles. xlvi. 13-20). His fame was not confined to Israel. The remains of Samuel, according to Jerome (*Advers. Vigil.*), were, under the emperor Arcadius, brought with great pomp to Thrace (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* pp. 735, 1021; Hottinger, *Histor. Oriental.* i. 3).—J. E.

SAMUEL, BOOKS OF. The two books of Samuel were anciently reckoned as but one among the Jews, ספר שמואל. That they form only one treatise is apparent from their structure. The present division into two books, common in our Hebrew Bibles since the editions of Bomberg, was derived from the Septuagint and Vulgate, in both which versions they are termed the First and Second Books of Kings. Thus Origen (apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 25), in his famous catalogue of the Hebrew Scriptures, names the books of Samuel—βασιλεῖων πρώτη δευτέρα, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἓν Σαμουήλ, ὁ θεόκλητος; and Jerome thus describes them (*Prolog. Galeatus*), 'tertius sequitur Samuel, quem nos regum primum et secundum dicimus.' None of these titles, ancient or modern, is very felicitous. To call them Books of Samuel is, if we follow the analogy of the phrases, Books of Moses, Book of Isaiah, to assert the prophet to be their author, though a great portion of the events recorded in them happened after his death. The title Books of Kings, or Kingdoms, is by no means an accurate indication of their contents, as they refer only to two monarchs, and the narrative does not even include the death of David. But if they be named after Samuel, as he was a principal agent in the events recorded in them, then the title is only appropriate to a few of the introductory chapters. Jewish opinion is divided on the reason of the Hebrew name. It is affirmed in Baba Bathra (fol. 15, cap. i.), that Samuel wrote the book so called, and also Judges and Ruth; and Abarbanel argues that these compositions are named after Samuel because the events narrated in them may be referred to him, either as a person or as a chief instrument, for Saul and David, being both anointed by the prophet, became 'opus veluti manuum' (*Præf. in lib. Sam.* fol. 74, col. i.) The source of the appellation, βασιλεων or βασιλειων, Regum, is to be found in the historic resemblance of the books of Samuel to those which come after them, and to which they serve as an introduction. On the other hand, it was desirable to have short names for the books of Scripture; and as Samuel was a prophet of such celebrity, and had such influence in changing the form of government under which the son of Kish and the son of Jesse became sovereigns, it was natural to name after him the biographical tracts in which the life and times of these royal chieftains are briefly sketched: especially as they at the same time contain striking descriptions of the miracle of his own birth, the oracles of his youth, and the impressive actions of his long career. The selection of this Jewish name might also be strengthened by the national belief of the authorship of a large portion of the work, founded on the language of 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

Contents.—The contents of the books of Samuel belong to an interesting period of Jewish history. The preceding book of Judges refers to the affairs of the republic as they were administered after the Conquest, when the nation was a congeries of independent cantons, sometimes partially united for a season under an extraordinary dictator. As, however, the mode of government was changed, and remained monarchical till the overthrow of the kingdom, it was of national importance to note the time, method, and means of the alteration. This change happening under the regency of the wisest and best of their sages, his life became a topic of interest. The first book of Samuel gives an account of his birth and early call to the duties of a seer, under Eli's pontificate; describes the low and degraded condition of the people, oppressed by foreign enemies; proceeds to narrate the election of Samuel as judge; his prosperous regency; the degeneracy of his sons; the clamour for a change in the civil constitution; the installation of Saul; his rash and reckless character; his neglect of, or opposition to, the theocratic elements of the government. Then the historian goes on to relate God's choice of David as king; his endurance of long and harassing persecution from the reigning sovereign; the melancholy defeat and death of Saul on the field of Gilboa; the gradual elevation of the man 'according to God's own heart' to universal dominion; his earnest efforts to obey and follow out the principles of the theocracy; his formal establishment of religious worship at Jerusalem, now the capital of the nation; and his series of victories over all the enemies of Judæa that were wont to molest its frontiers. The annalist records David's aberrations from the path of duty; the unnatural rebellion of his son Absalom, and its suppression; his carrying into effect a census of his dominions, and the Di-

vine punishment which this act incurred; and concludes with a few characteristic sketches of his military staff. The second book of Samuel, while it relates the last words of David, yet stops short of his death. As David was the real founder of the monarchy and arranger of the religious economy; the great hero, legislator, and poet of his country; as his dynasty maintained itself on the throne of Judah till the Babylonian invasion; it is not a matter of wonder that the description of his life and government occupies so large a portion of early Jewish history. The books of Samuel thus consist of three interlaced biographies —those of Samuel, Saul, and David.

Age and Authorship.—The attempt to ascertain the authorship of this early history is attended with difficulty. Ancient opinion is in favour of the usual theory, that the first twenty-four chapters were written by Samuel, and the rest by Nathan and Gad. Abarbanel, however, and Grotius, suppose Jeremiah to be the author (Grot. *Præf. in* 1 *Sam.*). The peculiar theory of Jahn is, that the four books of Samuel and Kings were written by the same person, and at a date so recent as the 30th year of the Babylonish captivity. His arguments, however, are more ingenious than solid (*Introduction*, Turner's Translation, § 46). The fact of all the four treatises being named Books of Kings, Jahn insists upon as a proof that they were originally undivided and formed a single work—a mere hypothesis, since the similarity of their contents might easily give rise to this general title, while the more ancient appellation for the first two was *The Books of Samuel.* Jahn also lays great stress on the uniformity of method in all the books. But this uniformity by no means amounts to any proof of identity of authorship. It is nothing more than the same Hebrew historical style. The more minute and distinctive features, so far from being similar, are very different. The books of Samuel and Kings may be contrasted in many of those peculiarities which mark a different writer :—

1. In the books of Kings there occur not a few references to the laws of Moses, while in Samuel not one of these is to be found.

2. The books of Kings repeatedly cite authorities, to which appeal is made, and the reader is directed to the 'Acts of Solomon,' 'the book of the Chronicles of Kings,' or 'Judah.' But in the books of Samuel there is no formal allusion to any such sources of information.

3. The nature of the history in the two works is very different. The *plan* of the books of Samuel is not that of the books of Kings. The books of Samuel are more of a biographical character, and are more limited and personal in their view. They may be compared to such a work as Tytler's Henry VIII., while Kings bears an analogy to such general annals as are found in Hume's history of England.

4. There are in the books of Kings many later forms of language. For a collection of some of these the reader is referred to De Wette (*Einleit. in das A. T.* §. 185, note e). Scarcely any of those more recent or Chaldaic forms occur in Samuel. Some peculiarities of form are noted by De Wette (§. 180), but they are not so numerous or distinctive as to give a general character to the treatise (Hirzel, *De Chaldaismi Bibl. origine*, 1830). Many modes of expression, common in Kings, are absent from Samuel [Kings, Books of].

5. The concluding chapters of the second book of Samuel are in the form of an appendix to the work—a proof of its completeness. The connection between Samuel and Kings is thus interrupted. It appears, then, that Samuel claims a distinct authorship from the Books of Kings. Stähelin, in Tholuck's *Literar. Anz.*, 1838, supposes that the division between the two treatises has not been correctly made, and that the two commencing chapters of 1 Kings belong to Samuel. This he argues on philological grounds, because the terms והכרתי והפלתי (1 Kings i. 38), מלט נפש (i. 12), and פדה נפש (i. 29), are found nowhere in Kings but in the first two chapters, while they occur once and again in Samuel. There is certainly something peculiar in this affinity, though it may be accounted for on the principle, that the author of the pieces or sketches which form the basis of the initial portions of 1 Kings, not only composed those which form the conclusion of Samuel, but also supervised or published the whole work which is now called by the prophet's name.

Thus the books of Samuel have an authorship of their own—an authorship belonging to a very early period. While their tone and style are very different from the later records of Chronicles, they are also dissimilar to the books of Kings. They bear the impress of a hoary age in their language, allusions, and mode of composition. The insertion of odes and snatches of poetry, to enliven and verify the narrative, is common to them with the Pentateuch. The minute sketches and vivid touches with which they abound, prove that their author 'speaks what he knows, and testifies what he has seen.' As if the chapters had been extracted from a diary, some portions are more fully detailed and warmly coloured than others, according as the observer was himself impressed. Many of the incidents, in their artless and natural delineation, would form a fine study for a painter; so truly does De Wette (*Einleit.* § 178) remark, that the book abounds in 'lively pictures of character.'

Besides, it is certainly a striking circumstance, that the books of Samuel do not record David's death, though they give his last words—his last inspired effusion (Hävernick, *Einleit.* §. 167). We should reckon it natural for an author, if he had lived long after David's time and were writing his life, to finish his history with an account of the sovereign's death. Had the books of Samuel and Kings sprung from the same source, then the abrupt conclusion of one portion of the work, containing David's life down to his last days, and yet omitting all notice of his death, might be ascribed to some unknown capricious motive of the author. But we have seen that the two treatises exhibit many traces of a different authorship. What reason, then, can be assigned for the writer of Samuel giving a full detail of David's life, and actions, and government, and yet failing to record his decease? The plain inference is, that the document must have been composed prior to the monarch's death, or at least about that period. If we should find a memoir of George the Third, entering fully into his private and family history, as well as describing his cabinets, councillors,

and parliaments, the revolutions, and wars, and state of feeling under his government, and ending with an account of the appointment of a regent, and a reference to the king's lunacy, our conclusion would be, that the history was composed before the year 1820. A history of David, down to the verge of his dissolution, yet not including that event, must have been written before the monarch 'slept with his fathers.' We are therefore inclined to think that the books, or at least the materials out of which they have been formed, were contemporaneous with the events recorded; that the document out of which the sketch of David's life was compiled, was composed and finished before his death.

Against this opinion as to the early age of the books of Samuel various objections have been brought. The phrase 'unto this day' is often employed in them to denote the continued existence of customs, monuments, and names, whose origin has been described by the annalist (1 Sam. v. 5; vi.18; xxx. 25). This phrase, however, does not always indicate that a long interval of time elapsed between the incident and such a record of its duration. It was a common idiom. Joshua (xxii. 3) uses it of the short time that Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, had fought in concert with the other tribes in the subjugation of Canaan. So, again, he (xxiii. 9) employs it to specify the time that intervened between the entrance into Canaan, and his resignation of the command on account of his approaching decease. Matthew, in his Gospel (xxvii. 8, and xxviii. 15), uses it of the period between the death of Christ and the composition of his book. Reference is made in Samuel to the currency of a certain proverb (1 Sam. x. 12), and to the disuse of the term *seer* (1 Sam. ix. 9), but in a manner which by no means implies an authorship long posterior to the time of the actual circumstances. The proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' was one which for many reasons would obtain rapid and universal circulation: and if no other hypothesis be considered satisfactory, we may suppose that the remark about the term 'seer' becoming obsolete may be the parenthetical insertion of a later hand. Or it may be that in Samuel's days the term נביא came to be technically used in his school of the prophets.

More opposed to our view of the age of these books is the statement made in 1 Sam. xxvii. 6—'Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day'—a form of language, according to De Wette (§ 180), which could not have been employed before the separation of the nation into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Hävernick remarks, however (§ 169), that Ziklag belonged first to Judah, and then to Simeon, ere it fell into the hands of the Philistines; and the expression denotes not that the city reverted to its former owners, but that it became the property of David, and of David's successors as sovereigns of the territory of Judah. Judah is not used in opposition to the ten tribes; and the writer means to say that Ziklag became a royal possession in consequence of its being a gift to David, and to such as might have regal power over Judah. The names Israel and Judah were used in the way of contrast even in David's time, as De Wette himself admits (1 Sam. xviii. 16; 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; v. 15; xix. 41-43; xx. 2).

It is said in 1 Chron. xxix. 29, 'Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer.' The old opinion as to the authorship of Samuel, to which we have already alluded, was founded on this quotation. The prophets were wont to write a history of their own times. That Samuel did so in reference to the great events of his life, is evident from the statement that he 'wrote the manner of the kingdom in a book, and laid it up before the Lord' (1 Sam. x. 25). The phrase, דברי שמואל, may not refer to our present Samuel, which is not so comprehensive as this collection seems to have been. It does not, like the treatise to which the author of Chronicles refers, include 'the acts of David, first and last.'

The annals which these three seers compiled were those of their own times in succession (Kleinert, *Aechtheit d. Jes.* Pt. I. p. 83); so that there existed a history of contemporary events written by three inspired men. The portion written by Samuel might include his own life, and the greater part of Saul's history, as well as the earlier portion of David's career. Gad was a contemporary of David, and is termed his seer. Probably also he was one of his associates in his various wanderings (1 Sam. xxii. 5). In the latter part of David's reign Nathan was a prominent counsellor, and assisted at the coronation of Solomon. We have therefore prophetic materials for the books of Samuel. Hävernick (§ 161) supposes there was another source of information to which the author of Samuel might resort, namely, the annals of David's reign—a conjecture not altogether unlikely, as may be seen by his reference to 2 Sam. viii. 17, compared with 1 Chron. xxvii. 24. The accounts of David's heroes and their mighty feats, with the estimate of their respective bravery, have the appearance of a contribution by Seruiah, the scribe, or principal secretary of state. We do not affirm that the various chapters of these books may be definitely portioned out among Samuel, Gad, and Nathan, or that they are a composition proceeding immediately from these persons. We hold them to be their production in the sense of primary authorship, though, as we now have them, they bear the marks of being a compilation.

Another evident source from which materials have been brought, is a collection of poetic compositions—some Hebrew anthology. We have, first, the song of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, which is not unlike the hymn of the Virgin recorded by Luke. That song is by no means an anachronism, as has been rashly supposed by some critics, such as Hensler (*Erläuter d. 1 B. Sam.* 12), and the translator of De Wette (ii. 222). The latter considers it entirely inappropriate, and regards its mention of *King* and *Messiah*, as betraying its recent and spurious birth. The Song is one of ardent gratitude to Jehovah. It pourtrays his sovereign dispensations, asserts the character of his government to be, that he 'resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble,' and concludes with a prophetic aspiration, in pious keeping with the spirit of the theocracy, and with the great promise, which it so zealously cherished (Hengstenberg, *Die Authentie des Pentat.* ii. 115). 2 Sam.

i. 18, also contains an extract from the book of Jasher, viz. a composition of the sweet singer of Israel, named 'the Song of the Bow.' Besides, there is the chorus of a poem which was sung on David's return from the slaughter of the Philistine giant (1 Sam. xviii. 7). There are also three hymns of David (2 Sam. vii. 18-29), in which the king offers up his grateful devotions to Jehovah (2 Sam. xxii.); a triumphal ode, found with some alterations in the 18th Psalm and in 1 Sam. xxiii. 1-7, which preserves the last words of the 'anointed of the God of Jacob.' To these may be added the remains of a short elegy on the death of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33-4). Whether all these effusions, as well as the lament over David and Jonathan, were taken from Jasher, we know not. It may be that they were drawn from this common source, this national collection of the Hebrew muse. At least, some critics, who compare the long hymn found in 2 Sam. xxii., and which forms the eighteenth psalm, and note the variations of the text, are inclined to think that the one has not been copied from the other, but that both have been taken from a very old common source: a conjecture far more natural than the ordinary hypothesis, namely, that David either published a second edition of his poem, or that the *variæ lectiones* are the errors of transcribers. At all events the compiler of the books of Samuel has evidently used as one of his sources some collection of poetry. Such collections often contain the earliest history of a nation, and they seem to have abounded among the susceptible people of the East.

Thus, from such sources, public and acknowledged, has the compiler fetched his materials, in the shape of connected excerpts. The last of the prophetic triumvirate might be the redactor or editor of the work, and we would not date its publication later than the death of Nathan, while the original biographies may have been finished at the period of David's decease. But, after all, certainty on such a subject is not to be attained. We can hope only for an approximation to the truth. Probability is all that we dare assert.

But in opposition to our hypothesis it has been argued, that in these books there are traces of several documents, which have been clumsily and inconsiderately put together, not only by a late, but a blundering compiler. The German critics are fond of a peculiar species of critical chemistry, by which they *disengage* one portion of a book from the surrounding sections. They have applied it to Genesis, to the Pentateuch generally, and to the books of Joshua and Judges. The elaborate theory of Eichhorn on the present subject (*Einleit.*, iii. p. 476), is similar to that which he has developed in his remarks on Chronicles, viz., that the basis of the second book of Samuel was a short life of David, which was augmented by interpolated additions. The first book of Samuel is referred by him to old written sources, but in most parts to tradition, both in the life of Samuel and Saul. Bertholdt (*Einleit.* p. 894) modifies this opinion by affirming that in the first book of Samuel there are three independent documents, chaps. i.-vii., viii.-xvi., xvii.-xxx., containing respectively Samuel's history, Saul's life, and David's early biography; while in reference to the second book of Samuel, he generally admits the conjecture of Eichhorn. Gramberg (*Die Chronik*, vol. ii. p. 80) is in favour of two narratives, named by him A. and B., and Stähelin partially acquiesces in his view. Such theories have nothing else to recommend them but the ingenious industry which framed them. It is said, however, that there are evident vestiges of two different sources being used and intermingled in Samuel; that the narrative is not continuous; especially, that it is made up of duplicate and contradictory statements. Such vestiges are alleged to be the following: in 1 Sam. x. 1, Samuel is said to have anointed Saul, whereas in x. 20-25 the prophet is described as having chosen him by lot. The reason of this twofold act we have already given in our remarks on Samuel in the preceding article. The former was God's private election, the latter his public theocratic designation. Again, it is affirmed that two different accounts are given of the cause why the people demanded a king, the one (1 Sam. viii. 5) being the profligacy of Samuel's sons, and the other (xii. 12-13) a menaced invasion of the Ammonites. Both accounts perfectly harmonize. The nation feared the inroads of the children of Ammon, and they felt that Samuel's sons could not command the respect and obedience of the various tribes. It was necessary to tell the old judge that his sons could not succeed him; for he might have pointed to them as future advisers and governors in the dreaded juncture.

The accounts of Saul's death are also said to differ from each other (1 Sam. xxxi. 2-6, and 2 Sam. i. 2-12). We admit the difference, the first account being the correct one, and the second being merely the invention of the cunning Amalekite, who framed the lie to gain the favour of Saul's great rival, David. It is recorded that twice did David spare Saul's life (1 Sam. xxiv. and xxvi.). The fact of the repetition of a similar deed of generosity can never surely give the narrative a legendary character. The miracle which multiplied the loaves and the fishes was twice wrought by Jesus. The same remark may be made as to the supposed double origin of the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' In 1 Sam. x. 11 its real source is given, and in xix. 24 another reason and occasion are assigned for its national currency. Especially has great stress been laid on what are supposed to be different records of David's introduction to Saul, contained in 1 Sam. xvi. 18-22, and in the following chapter. That there is difficulty here cannot be denied, but to transpose the passages, on the supposition that David's encounter with Goliath was prior to his introduction to Saul as musician, will not remove the difficulty. For if Saul became so jealous of David's popularity as he is represented, no one of his domestics would have dared to recommend David to him as one possessed of high endowments, and able to charm away his melancholy. The Vatican MS. of the Sept. omits no less than twenty-five verses in these chapters. Yet the omission does not effect a reconciliation. Some critics, such as Houbigant, Michaelis, Dathe, and Kennicott, regard the entire passage as an interpolation. We are inclined to receive the chapters as they stand. David is first spoken of as introduced to Saul as a minstrel, as becoming a favourite of the sovereign, and being appointed one of his aid-de-camps. Now the fact of this previous introduction is alluded to in the very passage which creates the difficulty; for after, in minute Oriental fashion,

(Ewald, *Komposition der Genes.*, p. 148) David and his genealogy are again brought before the reader, it is said, 'and David went and returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.' The only meaning this verse can have, is, that David's attendance at court was not constant, especially as Saul's evil spirit may have left him. The writer who describes the combat with Goliath thus distinctly notices that David had already been introduced to Saul; nay, farther, specific allusion is again made to David's standing at court. 'And it came to pass on the morrow, that the evil spirit from God came upon Saul, and he prophesied in the midst of the house; and David played with his hand, as at other times' (1 Sam. xviii. 10). The phrase, 'as at other times,' must refer to the notices of the former chapter. Yet, after the battle, Saul is represented as being ignorant of the youth, and as inquiring after him. And Abner the general declares that he does not know the youthful hero. Can we imagine any ordinary writer so to stultify himself as this author is supposed to have done, by intimating that David had been with Saul, and yet that Saul did not know him? No inconsistency must have been apparent to the annalist himself. It is therefore very probable that David had left Saul for some time before his engagement with Goliath; that the king's fits of gloomy insanity prevented him from obtaining correct impressions of David's form and person, the period of David's life, when the youth passes into the man, being one which is accompanied with considerable change of appearance. The inquiry of Saul is more about the young warrior's parentage than about himself. It has sometimes struck us that Abner's vehement profession of ignorance is somewhat suspicious: 'As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell;'—a response too solemn for a question so simple. We cannot pursue the investigation farther. We would not in such a passage positively deny all difficulty, like Hävernick (§ 166): we only venture to suggest that no sane author would so far oppose himself in a plain story, as some critics suppose the author of Samuel to have done. Appeal has also been made to David's two visits to Achish, King of Gath: but they happened in circumstances very dissimilar, and cannot by any means be regarded as a duplicate chronicle of the same event.

Lastly, attention is called to 1 Sam. xv. 35, where it is said, that 'Samuel came no more to see Saul again till the day of his death,' as if the statement were contradictory of xix. 24, where Saul met with Samuel, and 'lay naked all day and all night before him.' De Wette's translator before referred to (vol. ii. p. 222) dishonestly affirms that the first verse says, 'Samuel did not see Saul till his death,' that is, he *never* saw him again; whereas the language is, 'Samuel *came* no more to see Saul,' that is, no longer paid him any visit of friendship or ceremony, no longer sought him out to afford him counsel or aid. This declaration cannot surely be opposed to the following portion of the record, which states that Saul accidentally met Samuel; for he pursued David to Ramah, where the prophet dwelt, and so came in contact with his former benefactor. May we not therefore conclude that the compiler has not joined two narratives of opposite natures very loosely together, or overlapped them in various places; but has framed out of authoritative documents a consecutive history, not dwelling on all events with equal interest, but passing slightly over some, and formally detailing others with national relish and delight?

Scope.—The design of these books is not very different from that of the other historical treatises of the Old Testament. The books of Kings are a history of the nation as a theocracy; those of Chronicles have special reference to the form and ministry of the religious worship, as bearing upon its re-establishment after the return from Babylon. Samuel is more biographical, yet the theocratic element of the government is not overlooked. It is distinctly brought to view in the early chapters concerning Eli and his house, and the fortunes of the ark; in the passages which describe the change of the constitution; in the blessing which rested on the house of Obed-Edom; in the curse which fell on the Bethshemites, and Uzzah and Saul, for intrusive interference with holy things. The book shows clearly that God was a jealous God; that obedience to him secured felicity; that the nation sinned in seeking another king; that Saul's special iniquity was his impious oblivion of his station as only Jehovah's vicegerent, for he contemned the prophets and slew the priesthood; and that David owed his prosperity to his careful culture of the sacred principle of the Hebrew administration. This early production contained lessons both for the people and for succeeding monarchs, bearing on it the motto, 'Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning.'

Relation to Kings and Chronicles.—Samuel is distinctly referred to in Kings, and also quoted. (Compare 1 Sam. ii. 33 with 1 Kings ii. 26; 2 Sam. v. 5 with 1 Kings ii. 11; 2 Sam. vii. 12 with 1 Kings ii. 4, and 1 Chron. xvii. 24, 25). The history in Kings presupposes that contained in Samuel. The opinion of Eichhorn and Bertholdt, that the author of Chronicles did not use our books of Samuel, appears contrary to evident fact, as may be seen by a comparison of the two histories. Even Keil (*Apologetischer Versuch über die Chronik*, p. 206) supposes that the chronicler, Ezra, did not use the memoirs in Samuel and Kings; but Movers (*Kritisch Untersuch. über die Bibl. Chronik*) proves that these books were, among others, the sources which the chronicler drew from in the formation of a large portion of his history.

Credibility.—The authenticity of the history found in the books of Samuel rests on sufficient grounds. Portions of them are quoted in the New Testament (2 Sam. vii. 14, in Heb. i. 5; 1 Sam. xiii. 14, in Acts xiii. 22). References to them occur in other sections of Scripture, especially in the Psalms, to which they often afford historic illustration. It has been argued against them that they contain contradictory statements. The old objections of Hobbes, Spinoza, Simon, and Le Clerc, are well disposed of by Carpzovius, (*Introductio*, p. 215). Some of these supposed contradictions we have already referred to, and for a solution of others, especially of seeming contrariety between the books of Samuel and Chronicles, we refer with satisfaction to Davidson's *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 544, &c. Some of the objections of Vatke, in his *Bibl. Theol.*,—cujus mentio est refutatio—are summarily disposed of by Hengstenberg (*Die Authentie des Pentat.*, vol.

ii. p. 115), who usually chastises such adversaries with a whip of scorpions. Discrepancies in numbers, and sometimes in proper names, are the most common; and it is well known that textual errors in numeration are both most frequently and most easily committed. [David; Chronicles; Saul.]

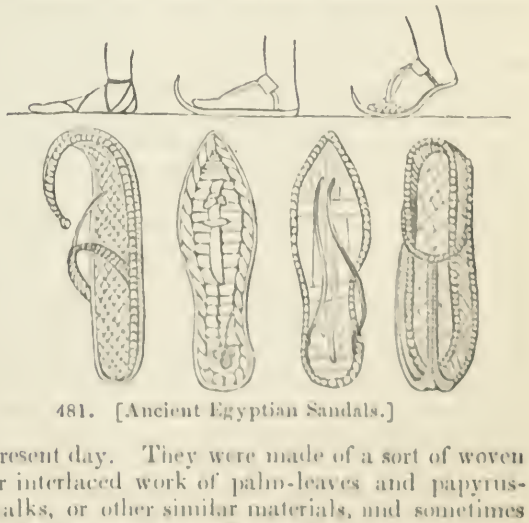
Commentaries.—Victorini Strigelii *Comm. in quatuor Libr. Reg. et Paralipp.*, 1624, folio; N. Serrarii *Comm. in libr. Josuæ, Jud., Ruth, Reg., et Paralipp.*, 1609, folio; Seb. Schmidt, *In Lib. Sam. Comm.* 1684-89, 4to; Jac. Bonfrerii *Comm. in libr. quat. Reg.*, &c., 1643; Clerici *Comm. in libr. Sam.*; Opera, T. ii.; Jo. Drusii *Annotat. in Locos diffic. Jos., Jud., Sam.*, 1618; Hensler, *Erläuterungen des I. B. Sam.* &c. 1795; Maurer, *Comment. Critic*, p. 1; *Exegetische Handbuch des A. T.* st. iv. v.; Chandler's *Critical History of the Life of David*, 2 vols. 1786.—J. E.

SANBALLAT (סַנְבַלַּט; Sept. Σαναβαλλάτ), a native of Horonaim, beyond the Jordan (Neh. ii. 10), and probably also a Moabitish chief, whom (probably from old national hatred) we find united in council with the Samaritans, and active in attempting to deter the returned exiles from fortifying Jerusalem (Neh. iv. 1, sq.; vi. 1, sq.). Subsequently, during the absence of Nehemiah in Persia, a son of Joiada, the high priest, was married to his daughter (Neh. xiii. 28). Whether Sanballat held any public office as governor over the Moabites, or over the Samaritans, the record does not state. Such a character is usually ascribed to him on the supposed authority of a passage of Josephus, who speaks of a Sanballat, a Cuthean by birth, who was sent by the last Darius as governor of Samaria (*Antiq.* xi. 7. 2). The time assigned to this Sanballat is 120 years later than that of the Sanballat of Nehemiah, and we can only identify the one with the other by supposing that Josephus was mistaken both in the age and nation of the individual whom he mentions. Some admit this conclusion, as Josephus goes on to state how this person gave his daughter in marriage to a son of the high-priest, which high-priest, however, he tells us was Jaddua, in accordance with the date he has given. The son of the high-priest thus married to the daughter of Sanballat was named Manasseh, and is further stated by Josephus to have become the high-priest of the schismatical temple, which his father-in-law established for the Samaritans in Mount Gerizim [Samaritans]. Upon the whole, as the account in Josephus is so circumstantial, it seems probable that, notwithstanding the similarity of name and other circumstances, his Sanballat is not to be understood as the same that obstructed the labours of Nehemiah. It is just possible that the Jewish historian, who does not mention this contemporary of Nehemiah purposely, on account of some similar circumstance, transferred the history and name of Nehemiah's Sanballat to fill up the account of a later personage, of whose name and origin he may have been ignorant. But there is much obscurity and confusion in that part of his work in which he has lost the guidance of the canonical history, and has not acquired that of the books of Maccabees.

SANDAL (נַעַל; Sept. and N. T., ὑπόδημα, σανδάλιον), a covering for the feet, usually denoted by the word translated 'shoe' in the Authorized Version. It was usually a sole of hide, leather, or wood, bound on to the foot by thongs; but it may sometimes denote such shoes and buskins as eventually came into use. Thus the word ὑπόδημα, which literally means 'what is bound under,' *i. e.* the foot, and certainly in the first instance denoted a sandal, came to be also applied to the Roman *calceus*, or shoe covering the whole foot. Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* vi. 1-8) so uses it of the *caliga*, the thick nailed shoe of the Roman soldiers. This word occurs in the New Testament (Matt. iii. 11; x. 10; Mark i. 7; Luke iii. 16; x. 4; John i. 27; Acts vii. 33; xiii. 25), and is also frequently used by the Sept. as a translation of the Hebrew term; but it appears in most places to denote a sandal. Hence the word rendered 'shoe-latchet' (Gen. xiv. 23, and in most of the texts just cited), means properly a sandal thong.

Ladies of rank appear to have paid great attention to the beauty of their sandals (Cant. vii. 1); though, if the bride in that book was an Egyptian princess, as some suppose, the exclamation, 'How beautiful are thy feet with sandals, O prince's daughter!' may imply admiration of a luxury properly Egyptian, as the ladies of that country were noted for their sumptuous sandals (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 364). But this taste was probably general; for, at the present day, the dress slippers of ladies of rank are among the richest articles of their attire, being elaborately embroidered with flowers and other figures wrought in silk, silver, and gold.

It does not seem probable that the sandals of the Hebrews differed much from those used in Egypt, excepting, perhaps, that from the greater roughness of their country, they were usually of more substantial make and materials. The Egyptian sandals varied slightly in form: those worn by the upper classes, and by women, were usually pointed and turned up at the end, like our skates, and many of the Eastern slippers at the



481. [Ancient Egyptian Sandals.]

present day. They were made of a sort of woven or interlaced work of palm-leaves and papyrus-stalks, or other similar materials, and sometimes of leather; and were frequently lined with cloth, on which the figure of a captive was painted; that humiliating position being considered suited to the enemies of their country, whom they hated and despised. It is not likely that the Jews adopted this practice; but the idea which it expressed, of treading their enemies under their feet, was familiar to them (Josh. x. 24.) Those of

the middle classes who were in the habit of wearing sandals, often preferred walking barefooted. Shoes, or low boots, are sometimes found at Thebes; but these are believed by Sir J. G. Wilkinson to have been of late date, and to have belonged to Greeks, since no persons are represented in the paintings as wearing them, except foreigners. They were of leather, generally of a green colour, laced in front by thongs, which passed through small loops on either side, and were principally used, as in Greece and Etruria, by women (Wilkinson, iii. 374-367).



482. [Greek and Roman Sandals.]

In transferring a possession or domain, it was customary to deliver a sandal (Ruth iv. 7), as in our middle ages, a glove. Hence the action of throwing down a shoe upon a region or territory, was a symbol of occupancy. So Ps. lx. 10: 'Upon the land of Edom do I cast my sandal;' *i. e.* I possess, occupy it, claim it as my own. In Ruth, as above, the delivering of a sandal signified that the next of kin transferred to another a sacred obligation; and he was hence called 'sandal-loosed.' A sandal thong (Gen. xiv. 23), or even sandals themselves (Amos ii. 6; viii. 6), are put for anything worthless or of little value; which is perfectly intelligible to those who have witnessed the extemporaneous manner in which a man will shape two pieces of hide, and fasten them with thongs to the soles of his feet—thus fabricating in a few minutes a pair of sandals which would be dear at a penny.

It was undoubtedly the custom to take off the sandals on holy ground, in the act of worship, and in the presence of a superior. Hence the command to take the sandals from the feet under such circumstances (Exod. iii. 5; Josh. v. 15). This is still the well-known custom of the East—an Oriental taking off his shoe in cases in which a European would remove his hat. The shoes of the modern Orientals are, however, made to slip off easily, which was not the case with sandals, that required to be unbound with some trouble. This operation was usually performed by servants; and hence the act of unloosing the sandals of another became a familiar symbol of servitude (Mark i. 7; Luke iii. 16; John i. 27; Acts xiii. 25). So also when a man's sandals had been removed, they were usually left in charge of a servant. In some of the Egyptian paintings servants are represented with their master's sandals on their arm: it thus became another conventional mark of a servile condition, to bear the sandals of another (Matt. iii. 11).

SANHEDRIM, more properly SANHEDRIN (סַנְהֶדְרִין, *συνέδριον*), the supreme judicial council of the Jews, especially for religious affairs. It was also called בית דין, *House of Judgment;* and in the Apocrypha and New Testament the appellations *γερουσία* and *πρεσβυτέριον* seem also to be applied to it (comp. 2 Macc. i. 10; iv. 44; Acts v. 21; xxii. 5; 1 Macc. vii. 33; xii. 35, &c.).

This council consisted of seventy members. Some give the number at seventy-two, but for this there appears no sufficient authority. To this number the high priest was added, 'provided he was a man endowed with wisdom' (אם היה ראוי בחכמה, Maimonid. *Sanhed.* c. 2). Regarding the class of the Jewish people from which these were chosen, there is some uncertainty. Maimonides (*Sanhed.* c. 2) tells us, that this council was composed 'of Priests, Levites, and Israelites, whose rank entitled them to be associated with priests.' Dr. Jost, the learned historian of his nation, simply says: 'the members of the council were chosen from among the people;' and more particularly in another place he remarks: 'these judges consisted of the most eminent priests, and of the scribes of the people, who were chosen for life, but each of whom had to look to his own industry for his support' (*Geschichte der Israeliten seit der Zeit der Makkabäer*, th. i. s. 49; iii. 86). The statement in this latter passage corresponds with the terms used in Matt. ii. 4, where the council convened by Herod, in consequence of what the wise men of the East had told him, is described as composed of 'all the chief priests and scribes of the people;' the former of whom Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb. et Talm.* in loc.) explains as the *clerical*, the latter as the *laical* members of the Sanhedrim. In other passages of the New Testament we meet with the threefold enumeration, *Priests*, *Elders*, and *Scribes* (Matt. xvi. 21; xxvi. 2, 57, &c.); and this is the description which most frequently occurs. By the first are to be understood, not such as had sustained the office of high-priest, but the chief men among the priests; probably the presidents of the twenty-four classes into which the priesthood was divided (1 Chron. xxiv. 6; comp. the use of the phrase שׂרי הכהנים in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14). By the second, we are probably to understand the select men of the people—the Aldermen,—persons whose rank or standing led to their being raised to this distinction. And by the last are designated those, whether of the Levitical family or not, who gave themselves to the pursuit of learning, especially to the interpretation of Scripture, and of the traditions of the fathers. To this general description we may add what Maimonides lays down as to the qualifications required in those who were eligible to this office. These were—1. that they should possess much and varied learning; 2. that they should be free from every bodily defect, such as lameness, blindness, &c.; 3. that they should be of such age as should afford them experience, and yet not expose them to the feebleness of dotage; 4. that they should not be eunuchs; 5. that they should be fathers; 6. that they should possess the moral qualities

set forth in Exod. xviii. 21; Deut. i. 13-16 (*Sanhed.* c. 2). A number of persons were always in the condition of candidates for admission into this honourable body, from among whom vacancies were supplied as they occurred. The new member was installed by the imposition of hands, the company chaunting the words 'Lo! a hand is upon thee, and the power is given thee of exercising judgment, even in criminal cases' (*Sanhed.* c. 4).

In the council the office of president belonged to the high priest, if he was a member of it; when he was not, it is uncertain whether a substitute was provided, or his place occupied by the person next in rank. He bore the title of נשׂיא, *chief* or *president;* and it was his prerogative to summon the council together, as well as to preside over its deliberations. When he entered the assembly, all the members rose, and remained standing until he requested them to sit. Next in rank to him was the vice-president, who bore the title of אב בית דין, *Father of the House of Judgment;* whose duty it was to supply the place of the president in case he should be prevented by any accidental cause from discharging his duties himself. When the president was present, this officer sat at his right hand. The third grade of rank was that of the חכם, or *sage*, whose business was to give counsel to the assembly, and who was generally selected to his office on account of his sagacity and knowledge of the law; his place was on the left hand of the president. The assembly, when convened, sat in the form of a semi-circle, or half-moon, the president occupying the centre. At each extremity stood a scribe, whose duty it was to record the sentence pronounced by the council. There were certain officers, called שוטרים, whose business seems to have been somewhat analogous to that of our policemen: they were armed with a baton, kept order in the street, and were under the direction of the Sanhedrim.

The meetings of this council were usually held in the morning. Their place of meeting was a hall, close by the great gate of the temple, and leading from the outer court of the women to the holy place; from its pavement of polished stone, it was called לשכת הגזית.* A Talmudic tradition affirms that, forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the Sanhedrim were compelled by the Romans to forsake this hall, and hold their meetings in caves on the east side of the hill on which the temple stood; but as the Mischna is silent in regard to this, and as the New Testament history seems incompatible with its truth, we must resolve this tradition into the generalization of some solitary case into a regular practice. In cases of urgency the Sanhedrim might be convened in the house of the high priest (Matt. xxvi. 3).

The functions of the Sanhedrim were, according to the Jewish writers, co-extensive with the civil and religious relations of the people. In their hands, we are told, was placed the supreme authority in all things; they interpreted the law, they appointed sacred rites, they imposed tributes, they decreed war, they judged in capital cases; in short, they engrossed the supreme authority, legislative, executive, and judicial. In this there is no small exaggeration; at least, none of the historical facts which have come down to us confirm this description of the extent of the powers of the Sanhedrim; whilst some of these facts, such as the existence of civil officers armed with appropriate authority, seem directly opposed to it. In the notices of this body, contained in the New Testament, we find nothing which would lead us to infer that their powers extended beyond matters of a religious kind. Questions of blasphemy, of sabbath-breaking, of heresy, are those alone which we find referred to their judicature (comp. Matt. xxvi. 57-65; John v. 11, 18; Matt. xii. 14, sq.; Acts v. 17, sq., &c.). On those guilty of these crimes they could pronounce sentence of death; but, under the Roman government, it was not competent for them to execute this sentence: their power terminated with the pronouncing of a decision, and the transmission of this to the procurator, with whom it rested, to execute it or not as he saw meet (John xviii. 31; Matt. xxvii. 1, 2). Hence the unseemly readiness of this council to call in the aid of the assassin for the purpose of destroying those who were obnoxious to them (Acts v. 33; xxiii. 12-15). The case of Stephen may seem to furnish an objection to this statement; but as his martyrdom occurred at a time when the Roman procurator was absent, and was altogether a tumultuous procedure, it cannot be allowed to stand for more than a casual exception to the general rule. Josephus informs us, that after the death of Festus, and before the arrival of his successor, the high priest Ananus, availing himself of the opportunity thus afforded, summoned a meeting of the Sanhedrim, and condemned James the brother of Jesus, with several others, to suffer death by stoning. This licence, however, was viewed with much displeasure by the new procurator, Albinus, and led to the deposition of Ananus from the office of high priest (*Antiq.* xx. 9. 1, 2).

At what period in the history of the Jews the Sanhedrim arose, is involved in much uncertainty. The Jews, ever prone to invest with the honours of remote antiquity all the institutions of their nation, trace this council to the times of Moses, and find the origin of it in the appointment of a body of elders as the assistants of Moses in the discharge of his judicial functions (Numm. xi. 16, 17). There is no evidence, however, that this was any other than a temporary arrangement for the benefit of Moses; nor do we, in the historical books of the Old Testament, detect any traces whatever of the existence of this council in the times preceding the Babylonish captivity, nor in those immediately succeeding the return of the Jews to their own land. The earliest mention of the existence of this council by Josephus, is in connection with the reign of Hyrcanus II., B.C. 69 (*Antiq.* xiv. 9. 3). It is probable, however, that it existed before this time—that it arose gradually after the cessation of the prophetic office in Judah, in consequence of the felt want of some supreme direction and judicial authority—that the number of its members was fixed so as to correspond with that of the council of elders appointed to assist Moses—

* This must not be confounded with the λιθόστρωτος, where Pilate sat in judgment on Christ, and which was evidently a place in his own dwelling (John xix. 13).

and that it first assumed a formal and influential existence in the later years of the Macedo-Grecian dynasty. This view is confirmed by the allusions made to it in the Apocryphal books (2 Macc. i. 10; iv. 44; xiv. 5; Judith xi. 14, &c.); and perhaps, also, by the circumstance that the use of the name *συνέδριον*, from which the Hebrews formed their word Sanhedrim, indicates a Macedonian origin (comp. Livy, xlv. 32).

The Talmudical writers tell us, that, besides the Sanhedrim properly so called, there was in every town containing not fewer than one hundred and twenty inhabitants, a smaller Sanhedrim (סנהדרין קטנה), consisting of twenty-three members, before which lesser causes were tried, and from the decisions of which an appeal lay to the supreme council. Two such smaller councils are said to have existed at Jerusalem. It is to this class of tribunals that our Lord is supposed to allude, under the term *κρίσις*, in Matt. v. 22. Where the number of inhabitants was under one hundred and twenty, a council of three adjudicated in all civil questions. What brings insuperable doubt upon this tradition is, that Josephus, who must from his position have been intimately acquainted with all the judicial institutions of his nation, not only does not mention these smaller councils, but says, that the court next below the Sanhedrim was composed of seven members. Attempts have been made to reconcile the two accounts, but without success; and it seems now very generally agreed, that the account of Josephus is to be preferred to that of the Mischna; and that, consequently, it is to the tribunal of the seven judges that our Lord applies the term *κρίσις*, in the passage referred to (Tholuck, *Bergpredigt*, in loc., Eng. Transl. vol. i. p. 241; Kuinoel, in loc.).

Comp. Otho, *Lexicon Rabbinico-Philolog.* in voce; Selden, *De Synedriis Veterum Ebraiorum*, ii., 95, sq.; Reland, *Antiq.* ii. 7; Jahn, *Archæologie*, ii. 2. § 186; Pareau, *Antiq. Heb.* iii. 1. 4; Lightfoot, *Works*, plur. locis; Hartmann, *Enge Verbindung des Alten Test. mit dem Neuen*, s. 166, ff., &c.—W. L. A.

SAPPHIRA (Σαπφείρη), the wife of Ananias, and his accomplice in the sin for which he died (Acts v. 1-10). Unaware of the judgment which had befallen her husband, she entered the place about three hours after, probably to look for him; and being there interrogated by Peter, repeated and persisted in the 'lie unto the Holy Ghost,' which had destroyed her husband; on which the grieved apostle made known to her his doom, and pronounced her own—'Behold, the feet of those who have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out.' On hearing these awful words, she fell dead at his feet. The cool obstinacy of Sapphira in answering as she did the questions which were probably designed to awaken her conscience, deepens the shade of the foul crime common to her and her husband; and has suggested to many the probability that the plot was of her devising, and that, like another Eve, she drew her husband into it. But this is mere conjecture [Ananias].

SAPPHIRE (סַפִּיר; Sept. and N. T. *σάπφειρος*), a precious stone, mentioned in Exod. xxiv. 10; xxviii. 18; Job xxviii. 16; Ezek. xxviii. 13; Rev. xxi. 19. That which we call sapphire is next in hardness and value to the diamond, and is mostly of a blue colour of various shades. But the stone which Pliny describes under the name of sapphire (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 39), in agreement with Theophrastus (*De Lapid.* 23), is manifestly the lapis lazuli. It is opaque, inclines often to the deep blue colour of the violet, and has sometimes pebble-spots of a golden yellow hue. This stone, however, is not sufficiently valuable for Job xxviii. 16; and Pliny says that it is 'inutilis sculpturæ,' which does not apply to the *sapphir* of Exod. xxviii. 18), which was engraved. It seems, therefore, likely that, notwithstanding the classical appropriation of the name to the lapis lazuli, the true sapphire, or rather that which we call such, is the stone mentioned in Scripture. It is often found in collections of ancient gems.

SARABIM. [Thorns.]

SARAH (שָׂרָה, *a princess, a noble lady*, being the fem. of שַׂר *sar*, 'a prince,' 'a nobleman;' Sept. Σάῤῥα), the wife of Abraham, and mother of Isaac. She was at first called שָׂרַי Sarai, the etymology and signification of which are obscure. Ewald (*Gram.* § 324) explains it to mean *contentious, quarrelsome* (from the root שָׂרָה), which is perhaps the most natural sense; and the mere change of the name to one more honourable, may imply that there was something unpleasant in the one previously borne (Gen. xvii. 5, sq.). As Sarah never appears but in connection with some circumstance in which her husband was principally concerned, all the facts of her history have already been given in the article Abraham, and her conduct to Hagar is considered in the article which bears her name. These facts being familiar to the reader, a few supplementary remarks on particular points are alone required in this place.

There are two opinions with respect to the parentage of Sarah. Many interpreters suppose that she was the daughter of Haran, the elder son of Abraham's father Terah (probably by a former wife), and the same person with the Iscah who is named as one of the daughters of Haran (Gen. xi. 29). In this case she was niece of Abraham, although only ten years younger than her husband, and the sister of Milcah and of Lot. The reasons for this conclusion are of much weight. It is certain that Nahor, the surviving brother of Abraham, married Milcah, the other daughter of Haran, and the manner in which Abraham's marriage with Sarah is mentioned, would alone suggest that he took the remaining daughter. 'Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah' (Gen. xi. 29). Here most of the Jewish writers say that Iscah is Sarai; and without supposing this to be the case, it is difficult to understand for what reason it should be so pointedly noted that Haran, who was the father of Milcah, was also the father of Iscah. Besides, if Sarai is not Iscah, no account is given by Moses of her descent; and it can hardly be supposed that he would omit it, as it must have been agreeable to a people so careful of genealogy to know whence they were descended, both by the father and mother's side.

Again, when Terah leaves Ur of the Chaldees, it is said that 'Terah took Abram his son, and Lot his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth,' &c. (Gen. xi. 31); on which Aben Ezra observes that if Sarai had been (as some suppose) the daughter of Terah and sister of Abram, the text would doubtless have run: 'Terah took Abram his son, and Sarai his daughter, the wife of Abram.' The double relationship to Lot which such an alliance would produce, may also help to the better understanding of some points in the connection between Lot and Abraham. Against this view we have to produce the assertion of Abraham himself, that Sarai was his half-sister, 'the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother' (Gen. xx. 12): but this is held by many to mean no more than that Haran her father was his half-brother; for the colloquial usage of the Hebrews in this matter, makes it easy to understand that he might call a niece a sister, and a grand-daughter a daughter. In general discourse 'daughter' comprised any and every female descendant, and 'sister' any and every consanguineous relationship.

That Sarah had great beauty appears from the precautions which Abraham took to guard himself and her from the dangers it was likely to occasion. And that his was not too partial an estimate of her attractions, is evinced by the transactions in Egypt and at Gerar (Gen. xii. 15; xxi. 2). In the former case the commendations which the princes of Pharaoh bestowed upon the charms of the lovely stranger, has been supposed by some to have been owing to the contrast which her fresh Mesopotamian complexion offered to the dusky hue of their own beauties. But so far as climate is concerned, the nearer Syria could offer complexions as fair as hers; and, moreover, a people trained by their habits to admire 'dusky' beauties, were not likely to be inordinately attracted by a fresh complexion.

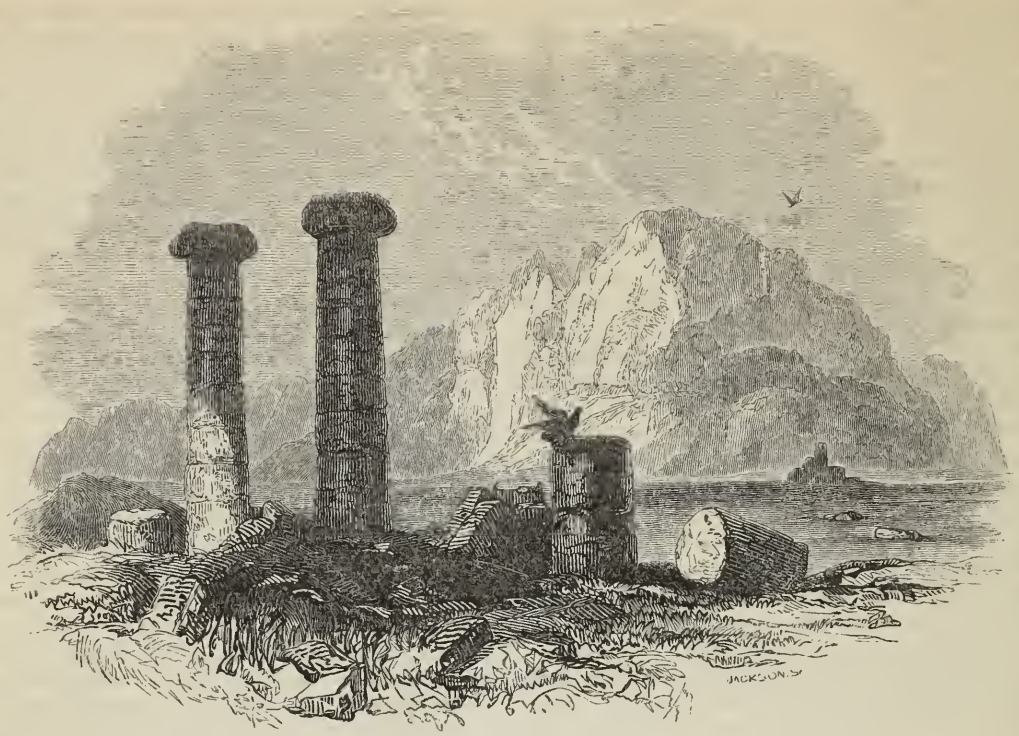
It is asked whether Sarah was aware of the intended sacrifice of Isaac, the son of her long-deferred hopes. The chronology is uncertain, and does not decide whether this translation occurred before or after her death. She was probably alive; and if so, we may understand from the precautions employed by Abraham, that she was not acquainted with the purpose of the journey to the land of Moriah, and, indeed, that it was the object of these precautions to keep from her knowledge a matter which must so deeply wound her heart. He could have the less difficulty in this, if his faith was such as to enable him to believe that he should bring back in safety the son he was commanded to sacrifice (Heb. xi. 19). As, however, the account of her death immediately follows that of this sacrifice, some of the Jewish writers imagine that the intelligence killed her, and that Abraham found her dead on his return (*Targ. Jonath.*, and Jarchi on Gen. xxiii. 2; *Pirke Eliezer*, c. 52). But there seems no authority for such an inference.

Sarah is so rarely introduced directly to our notice, that it is difficult to estimate her character justly, for want of adequate materials. She is seen only when her presence is indispensable; and then she appears with more of submission, and of simplicity, than of dignity, and manifests an unwise but not unusual promptitude in following her first thoughts, and in proceeding upon the impulse of her first emotions. Upon the whole, Sarah scarcely meets the idea the imagination would like to form of the life-companion of so eminent a person as Abraham. Nevertheless, we cannot fail to observe that she was a most attached and devoted wife. Her husband was the central object of all her thoughts; and he was not forgotten even in her first transports of joy at becoming a mother (Gen. xxi. 7). This is her highest eulogium.

Isaiah is the only prophet who names Sarah (ch. li. 2). St. Paul alludes to her hope of becoming a mother (Rom. iv. 19); and afterwards cites the promise which she received (Rom. ix. 9); and Peter eulogises her submission to her husband (1 Pet. iii. 6).

SARDIS (Σάρδεις), the capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia, situated at the foot of Mount Tmolus, in a fine plain watered by the river Pactolus (Herod. vii. 31; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. 2-11; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*; Strabo, xiii. p. 625). It is in N. lat. 38° 30′; E. long. 27° 57′. Sardis was a great and ancient city, and from its wealth and importance was the object of much cupidity and of many sieges. When taken by Cyrus, under Crœsus, its last king, who has become proverbial for his riches, Sardis was one of the most splendid and opulent cities of the East. After their victory over Antiochus it passed to the Romans, under whom it rapidly declined in rank and importance. In the time of Tiberius it was destroyed by an earthquake (Strabo, xii. p. 579), but was rebuilt by order of the emperor (Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 47). The inhabitants of Sardis bore an ill repute among the ancients for their voluptuous habits of life. Hence, perhaps, the point of the phrase in the Apocalyptic message to the city—'Thou hast a few names, *even in Sardis*, which have not defiled their garments' (Rev. iii. 4). The place that Sardis holds in this message, as one of the 'Seven Churches of Asia,' is the source of the peculiar interest with which the Christian reader regards it. From what is said it appears that it had already declined much in real religion, although it still maintained the name and external aspect of a Christian church, 'having a name to live, while it was dead' (Rev. iii. 1).

Successive earthquakes, and the ravages of the Saracens and Turks, have reduced this once flourishing city to a heap of ruins, presenting many remains of its former splendour. The habitations of the living are confined to a few miserable cottages, forming a village called Sart. This, with the ruins, are still found on the true site of Sardis, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, or Bouz-dag, as the Turks call it. The ruins are chiefly those of the theatre, stadium, and of some churches. There are also two remarkable pillars, supposed to have belonged to the temple of Cybele; and, if so, they are among the oldest monuments now existing in the world, the temple having been built only 300 years after that of Solomon. The acropolis seems well to define the site of the city. It is a marked object, being a tall distorted rock of soft sandstone, rent as if by an earthquake. A countless number of sepulchral hillocks, beyond the Hermus, heighten the desolateness of a spot which the multitudes lying there once made busy by their living presence and pursuits. See Smith, Hartley, Macfarlane, and Arundell, seve-



483. [Sardis.]

rally, *On the Seven Churches of Asia;* Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor;* Storch, *Dissert. de Sept. Urb. Asiæ in Apocal.;* Richter, *Wallfahrten;* Schubert, *Morgenland*, &c.

SARDIUS. [Odem.]

SARDONYX. [Yahalom.]

SAREPTA (Σάρεπτα, Luke iv. 26; Hebrew, *Zarephath*, צָרְפַת), a Phœnician town between Tyre and Sidon, mentioned in 1 Kings xvii. 9, 10; Obad. xx. It is the place where Elijah went to dwell, and where he performed the miracle of multiplying the barrel of meal and cruse of oil, and where he raised the widow's son to life. It still subsists as a large village, under the name of Sarafend. The crusaders made Sarepta a Latin bishopric in the archiepiscopate of Sidon, and erected near the port a small chapel over the reputed site of Elijah's miracle (Will. Tyr. xix. 14; Jacob de Vitriacus, ch. 44). It is clear that the Sarepta of the crusaders stood on the sea shore; and, therefore, the present village bearing the same name, which stands upon the adjacent hills, must have been of more recent origin. (See Nau, *Nov. Voyage*, p. 544; Pococke, ii. 85; Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, iii. 413, 414; Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 140).

SARGON, king of Assyria [Assyria].

SARON. [Sharon.]

SATAN. The doctrine of Satan and of Satanic agency is to be made out from revelation, and from reflection in agreement with revelation.

Scripture Names or Titles of Satan.—Besides Satan, he is called the Devil, the Dragon, the Evil One, the Angel of the Bottomless Pit, the Prince of this World, the Prince of the Power of the Air, the God of this World, Apollyon, Abaddon, Belial, Beelzebub. Satan and Devil are the names by which he is oftener distinguished than by any other, the former being applied to him about forty times, and the latter about fifty times.

Satan is the Hebrew word שָׂטָן transferred to the English. It is derived from the verb שָׂטַן, which means 'to lie in wait,' 'to oppose,' 'to be an adversary.' Hence the noun denotes an adversary or opposer. The word in its *generic* sense occurs in 1 Kings xi. 14: 'The Lord raised up an adversary (שָׂטָן) against Solomon,' *i. e.* Hadad the Edomite. In the 23rd verse the word occurs again, applied to Rezan. It is used in the same sense in 1 Sam. xxix. 4, where David is termed an adversary; and in Num. xxii. 22, where the angel 'stood in the way for an adversary (שָׂטָן) to Balaam,' *i. e.* to oppose him when he went with the princes of Moab. See also Ps. cix. 6.

In Zech. iii. 1, 2, the word occurs in its *specific* sense as a proper name: 'And he showed me Joshua the high-priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan (הַשָּׂטָן) standing at his right hand to resist' (לְשִׂטְנוֹ, 'to satanize him'). 'And the Lord said unto Satan (הַשָּׂטָן), The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan.' Here it is manifest, both from the context and the use of the article, that some particular adversary is denoted.

In the 1st and 2nd chapters of Job, the same use of the word with the article occurs several times. The events in which Satan is represented as the agent confirm this view. He was a *distinguished* adversary and tempter. See also 1 Chron. xxi. 1. When we pass from the Old to the New Testament, this doctrine of an invisible evil agent becomes more clear. With the advent of Christ and the opening of the Christian dispensation, the great opposer of that kingdom, the particular adversary and antagonist of the Saviour, would naturally become more active and more known. The antagonism of Satan and his kingdom to Christ and his kingdom runs through the whole of the New Testament, as will appear from the following passages and their contexts: Matt. iv. 10; xii. 26; Mark iv. 15; Luke x. 18; xxii. 3, 31; Acts

xxvi. 18; Rom. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xi. 14; Rev. ii. 13; xii. 9. Peter is once called Satan, because his spirit and conduct, at a certain time, were so much in opposition to the spirit and intent of Christ, and so much in the same line of direction with the workings of Satan. This is the only application of the word in the New Testament to any but the prince of the apostate angels.

Devil (Διάβολος) is the more frequent term of designation given to Satan in the New Testament. Both Satan and devil are in several instances applied to the same being (Rev. xii. 9), 'That old serpent, the devil and Satan. Christ, in the temptation (Matt. iv.), in his repulse of the tempter, calls him Satan; while the evangelists distinguish him by the term 'devil.' Devil is the translation of διάβολος, from the verb διαβάλλω, 'to thrust through,' 'to carry over,' and, tropically, 'to inform against,' 'to accuse.' He is also called the accuser of the brethren (Rev. xii. 10). The Hebrew term Satan is more generic than the Greek διάβολος. The former expresses his character as an opposer of all good; the latter denotes more particularly the relation which he bears to the saints, as their traducer and accuser. Διάβολος is the uniform translation which the Septuagint gives of the Hebrew שָׂטָן, when used with the article. Farmer says that the term Satan is not appropriated to one particular person or spirit, but signifies an adversary or opponent in general. This is to no purpose, since it is also *applied* to the devil as an adversary in particular. There are four instances in the New Testament in which the word διάβολος is applied to human beings. In three out of the four, it is in the plural number, expressive of quality, and not personality (1 Tim. iii. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 3; Tit. ii. 3). In the fourth instance (John vi. 70), Jesus says to his disciples, 'Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?' (διάβολος). This is the only instance in the New Testament of its application to a human being in the singular number; and here Dr. Campbell thinks it should not be translated 'devil.' The translation is, however, of no consequence, since it is with the use of the original word that this article is concerned. The obvious reasons for this application of διάβολος to Judas, as an exception to the general rule, go to confirm the rule. The rule is that, in the New Testament usage, the word in the singular number denotes *individuality*, and is applied to Satan as a *proper name*. By the exception, it is applied to Judas, from his resemblance to the devil, as an accuser and betrayer of Christ, and from his contributing to aid him in his designs against Christ. With these exceptions, the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament shows ὁ Διάβολος to be a proper name, applied to an extraordinary being, whose influence upon the human race is great and mischievous (Matt. iv. 1-11; Luke viii. 12; John viii. 44; Acts xiii. 10; Ephes. vi. 11; 1 Pet. v. 8; 1 John iii. 8; Rev. xii. 9). The term devil, which is in the New Testament the uniform translation of διάβολος, is also frequently the translation of δαίμων and δαιμόνιον. Between these words and διάβολος the English translators have made no distinction. The former are almost always used in connection with demoniacal possessions, and are applied to the possessing spirits, but never to the prince of those spirits. On the other hand, διάβολος is never applied to the demons, but only to their prince; thus showing that the one is used definitely as a proper name, while the others are used indefinitely as generic terms. The sacred writers made a distinction, which in the English version is lost. In this, our translators followed the German version: *teufel*, like the term devil, being applied to both διάβολος and δαίμων.

Personality of Satan.—We determine the personality of Satan by the same criteria that we use in determining whether Cæsar and Napoleon were real, personal beings, or the personifications of abstract ideas, viz., by the tenor of history concerning them, and the ascription of personal attributes to them. All the forms of personal agency are made use of by the sacred writers in setting forth the character and conduct of Satan. They describe him as having power and dominion, messengers and followers. He tempts and resists; he is held accountable, charged with guilt; is to be judged, and to receive final punishment. On the supposition that it was the object of the sacred writers to teach the proper personality of Satan, they could have found no more express terms than those which they have actually used. And on the supposition that they did not intend to teach such a doctrine, their use of language, incapable of communicating any other idea, is wholly inexplicable. To suppose that all this semblance of a real, veritable, conscious moral agent, is only a trope, a prosopopeia, is to make the inspired penmen guilty of employing a figure in such a way that, by no ascertained laws of language, it could be known that it was a figure,—in such a way that it could not be taken to be a figure, without violence to all the rhetorical rules by which they on other occasions are known to have been guided. A personification, protracted through such a book as the Bible, even should we suppose it to have been written by *one* person—never dropped in the most simple and didactic portions—never explained when the most grave and important truths are to be inculcated, and when men the most ignorant and prone to superstition are to be the readers—a personification extending from Genesis to Revelation,—this is altogether anomalous and inadmissible. But to suppose that the several writers of the different books of the Bible, diverse in their style and intellectual habits, writing under widely differing circumstances, through a period of nearly two thousand years, should each, from Moses to John, fall into the use of the same personification, and follow it, too, in a way so obscure and enigmatical, that not one in a hundred of their readers would escape the error which they did not mean to teach, or apprehend the truth which they wished to set forth,—to suppose this, is to require men to believe that the inspired writers, who ought to have done the least violence to the common laws of language, have really done the most. Such uniformity of inexplicable singularity, on the part of such men as the authors of the several books of the Bible, could be accounted for only on the hypothesis that they were subject to an *evil* as well as a good inspiration. On the other hand, such uniformity of appellations and imagery, and such identity of characteristics, protracted through such a series of writings, go to confirm the received doctrine of a real personality.

But there are other difficulties than these general

ones, by which the theory of personification is encumbered. This theory supposes the devil to be the *principle of evil.* Let it be applied in the interpretation of two or three passages of Scripture. 'Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil' (Matt. iv. 1-11). Was Jesus tempted by a real, personal being? or was it by the principle of evil? If by the latter, in whom or what did this principle reside? Was it in Jesus? Then it could not be true that in him was no sin. The very principle of sin was in him, which would have made him the tempter of himself. This is bad hermeneutics, producing worse theology. Let it also be remembered that this *principle* of evil, in order to be moral evil, must *inhere* in some conscious moral being. Sin is evil, only as it implies the state or action of some personal and accountable agent. Who was this agent of evil in the Temptation? Was it to a mere abstraction that the Saviour said, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God;' 'Get thee behind me, Satan?' Or was it to a real person, having desires and purposes and volitions, —*evil*, because these desires and purposes and volitions were evil? There is but one intelligible answer to such questions. And that answer shows how perfectly untenable is the position that the devil, or Satan, is only the personification of evil. Again: 'He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth: he is a liar and the father of it' (John viii. 44). With what propriety could these specific acts of guilt be charged upon an abstraction? An abstraction a murderer! a liar! The principle of evil *abode* not in the truth! Seriously to affirm such things of the mere abstraction of evil is a solemn fiction; while, to assert them of a fallen angel, who beguiled Eve by falsehood, and brought death upon all the race of man, is an intelligible and affecting truth. What necessity for inspired men to write that the devil sinned from the beginning, if he be only the principle of evil? What consistency, on this hypothesis, in their saying that he transforms himself into an angel of light, if he has no volition, no purpose, no craft, no ends or agency? If there are such things as personal attributes, it must be conceded that the sacred writers do ascribe them to Satan. On any other supposition, the writers of the New Testament could more easily be convicted of insanity than believed to be inspired. The principle of interpretation by which the personality of Satan is discarded, leads to the denial of the personality of the Deity.

Natural History.—The class of beings to which Satan originally belonged, and which constituted a celestial hierarchy, is very numerous: 'Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him' (Dan. vii. 10). They were created and dependent (John i. 3). Analogy leads to the conclusion that there are different grades among the angels as among other races of beings. The Scriptures warrant the same. Michael is described as one of the chief princes (Dan. x. 13); as chief captain of the host of Jehovah (Josh. v. 14). Similar distinctions exist among the fallen angels (Col. ii. 15; Eph. vi. 12). It is also reasonable to suppose that they were created susceptible of improvement in all respects, except moral purity, as they certainly were capable of apostacy. As to the time when they were brought into being, the Bible is silent; and where it is silent, we should be silent, or speak with modesty. Some suppose that they were called into existence after the creation of the world; among whom is Dr. John Dick. Others have supposed that they were created just anterior to the creation of man, and for purposes of a merciful ministration to him. It is more probable, however, that as they were the highest in rank among the creatures of God, so they were the first in the order of time; and that they may have continued for ages in obedience to their Maker, before the creation of man, or the fall of the apostate angels.

The Scriptures are explicit as to the apostacy of some, of whom Satan was the chief and leader. 'And the angels which kept not their first estate or principality, but left their own habitation,' &c. (Jude, ver. 6). 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned,' &c. (2 Pet. ii. 4). Those who followed Satan in his apostacy are described as belonging to him. The company is called the devil and his angels (*τῷ Διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ*, Matt. xxv. 41). The relation marked here denotes the instrumentality which the devil may have exerted in inducing those called his angels to rebel against Jehovah and join themselves to his interests. How Satan and his followers, being created so high in excellence and holiness, became sinful and fell, is a question upon which theologians have differed, but which they have not settled. The difficulty has seemed so great to Schleiermacher and others, that they have denied the fact of such an apostacy. They have untied the knot by cutting it. Still the difficulty remains. The denial of mystery is not the removal of it. Even philosophy teaches us to believe sometimes where we cannot understand. It is here that the grave question of the introduction of evil first meets us. If we admit the fact of apostacy among the angels, as by a fair interpretation of Scripture we are constrained to do, the admission of such a fact in the case of human beings will follow more easily, they being the lower order of creatures, in whom defection would be less surprising. As to what constituted the first sin of Satan and his followers, there has been a diversity of opinions. Some have supposed that it was the beguiling of our first parents. Others have believed that the first sin of the angels is mentioned in Gen. vi. 2. The sacred writers intimate very plainly that the first transgression was pride, and that from this sprang open rebellion. Of a bishop, the apostle says (1 Tim. iii. 6), 'He must not be a novice, lest, being puffed up with *pride*, he fall into the condemnation of the devil.' From which it appears that pride was the sin of Satan, and that for this he was condemned. This, however, marks the *quality* of the sin, and not the act.

In his physical nature, Satan is among those that are termed spiritual beings; not as excluding necessarily all idea of matter, but as opposed rather to the *animal* nature. It is the *πνευματικός*, in opposition to the *ψυχικός*. The good angels are all ministering *spirits*, *πνεύματα* (Heb. i. 14). Satan is one of the angels that kept not their first principality. The fall produced no change in his physical or metaphysical nature. Paul, in warning the Ephesians against the wiles of the devil (*τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου*), tells them (Eph. vi. 12) that they contended not against flesh

and blood, mere human enemies, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places; *πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*, in which the contrast is between human and superhuman foes, the *τὰ πνευματικὰ* being for *τὰς φύσεις πνευματικάς*, or *τὰ πνεύματα*, spiritual natures, or *spirits*, in opposition to flesh and blood (Rosenmüller, *in loc.*). Satan is not pure spirit in the sense that God is spirit, nor necessarily to the exclusion of body; but that body, if he has any, is ethereal, pneumatic, invisible. He is unlike God, because finite and dependent; and, in his ethereal physical nature, and the rapidity with which he moves unseen from place to place, he is unlike to man. He is immortal, but not eternal; neither omniscient nor omnipresent, but raised high above the human race in knowledge and power. The Persian mythology, in its early stage, and, subsequently, the Gnostics and Manicheans, ranked the evil principle as coeval and co-ordinate, or nearly so, with God, or the good principle. The doctrine of the Jewish church always made him a dependent creature, subject to the control of the Almighty. By the modifications which Zoroaster subsequently introduced, the Persian angelology came more nearly to resemble that of the Jews. Some have ascribed to Satan the power of working miracles, contending that there are two series of antagonistical miracles running through the Bible. To the miracles of Moses were opposed those of the Egyptian magicians; and to those of Christ and his apostles, the signs and wonders of false prophets and Antichrists—the Divine and the Satanic. Olshausen maintains this view; as do some of the older commentators (*Biblischen Commentar.*, vol. i. p. 242). The evidence in support of such a belief has not been sufficient to procure for it general acceptance (see Rosenmüller and Calvin on Matt. xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 9; Hengstenberg's *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, ch. iii.; also Rosenmüller and Bush on Exod., ch. vii.). With a substantial presence in only one place at one time, yet, as the head of a spiritual kingdom, he is virtually present wherever his angels or servants are executing his will.

His character is evil, purely and entirely so (1 John iii. 8; John viii. 44). His character is denoted by his titles, Satan, Adversary, Diabolos, False Accuser, Tempter, &c. All the representations of him in Scripture show him to have unmixed and confirmed evil as the basis of his character, exhibiting itself in respect to God in assuming to be his equal, and in wishing to transfer the homage and service which belong only to God to himself; and in respect to men, in efforts to draw them away from God and attach them to his kingdom. The evil developes itself in all possible ways and by all possible means of opposition to God, and to those who are striving to establish and extend his dominion. Evil is so transcendent in him, that his whole intellectual and moral nature is subordinated to it. His character is symmetrical. It has a dreadful consistency, from the concurrence in evil, and subjection to it, of all the powers of his being. It is unique and complete in evil, made so by the act of apostacy, and continued so by a pertinacious adherence to evil as his good. Quenstedt says that 'some angels are called evil, not by reason of their essential constitution, but, first, from an evil act, that is, apostacy from God; secondly, from an habitual perverseness which followed this act of apostacy; thirdly, on account of an irreclaimable persistency in evil.' Evil is his fixed state, in which he is confirmed by the invincibility of his dispositions to sin—an invincibility which no motives can ever overcome. This confirmation of evil is denoted by the everlasting chains of darkness in which the apostate angels are reserved unto the judgment of the great day (Jude, ver. 6). The immutability of his evil character precludes the idea of repentance, and therefore the possibility of recovering grace. 'He possesses an understanding which misapprehends exactly that which is most worthy to be known, to which the key fails without which nothing can be understood in its true relations,—an understanding darkened, however deep it may penetrate, however wide it may reach. He is thereby necessarily unblessed; torn away from the centre of life, yet without ever finding it in himself; from the sense of inward emptiness, continually driven to the exterior world, and yet with it, as with himself, in eternal contradiction; for ever fleeing from God, yet never escaping him; constantly labouring to frustrate his designs, yet always conscious of being obliged to promote them; instead of enjoyment in the contemplation of his excellence, the never satisfied desire after an object which it cannot attain; instead of hope, a perpetual wavering between doubt and despair; instead of love, a powerless hatred against God, against his fellow-beings, against himself' (Twesten).

Agency.—The agency of Satan extends to all that he does or causes to be done: 'Qui facit per alium facit per se.' To this agency the following restrictions have been generally supposed to exist: it is limited, first, by the direct power of God; he cannot transcend the power on which he is dependent for existence;—secondly, by the finiteness of his own created faculties;—thirdly, by the established connection of cause and effect, or the laws of nature. The miracles, which he has been supposed to have the power of working, are denominated lying signs and wonders, *σημείοις καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους* (2 Thess. ii. 9). With these restrictions, the devil goes about like a roaring lion.

His agency is moral and physical. First, moral. He beguiled our first parents, and thus brought sin and death upon them and their posterity (Gen. iii.). He moved David to number the people (1 Chron. xxi. 1). He resisted Joshua the high-priest (Zech. iii. 1). He tempted Jesus (Matt. iv.); entered into Judas, to induce him to betray his master (Luke xxii. 3); instigated Ananias and Sapphira to lie to the Holy Ghost (Acts v. 3); hindered Paul and Barnabas on their way to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. ii. 18). He is the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience (Eph. ii. 2); and he deceiveth the whole world (Rev. xii. 9).

The means which he uses are variously called wiles, darts, depths, snares, all deceivableness of unrighteousness. He darkens the understandings of men, to keep them in ignorance. He perverts their judgments, that he may lead them into error. He insinuates evil thoughts, and thereby awakens in them unholy desires. He excites them to

pride, anger, and revenge; to discontent, repinings, and rebellion. He labours to prop up false systems of religion, and to corrupt and overturn the true one. He came into most direct and determined conflict with the Saviour in the temptation, hoping to draw him from his allegiance to God, and procure homage for himself: but he failed in his purpose. Next, he instigated the Jews to put him to death, thinking thus to thwart his designs and frustrate his plans. Here too he failed, and was made to subserve the very ends which he most wished to prevent. Into a similar conflict does he come with all the saints, and with like ultimate ill success. God uses his temptations as the means of trial to his people, and of strength by trial, and points them out as a motive to watchfulness and prayer. Such are the nature and mode of his moral influence and agency.

But his efforts are directed against the bodies of men, as well as against their souls. That the agency of Satan was concerned in producing physical diseases the Scriptures plainly teach (Job ii. 7; Luke xiii. 16). Peter says of Christ, that he went about doing good and healing (ἰώμενος) all that were oppressed of the devil (τοῦ διαβόλου) (Acts x. 38). Hymeneus and Alexander were delivered to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme (1 Tim. i. 20); where physical suffering by the agency of Satan, as a divine chastisement, is manifestly intended.

Farmer seems to have been among the first in modern times who adopted the rationalistic, or accommodation principle of interpretation, upon the subject of demoniacal possessions. Semler introduced his work on *Demoniacs* into Germany, and the German neologists adopted substantially his view. For a refutation of this system of interpretation, see Twesten's *Dogmatik*, Olshausen's *Commentar*, Storr and Flatt's *Biblical Theol.*, and Appleton's *Lectures;* and for a general statement of the arguments on both sides see the articles Demon; Demoniacs.

Whatever the demons may have been, they were considered by the New Testament writers as belonging to the kingdom of Satan. They are called unclean spirits, evil demons. They are conscious of being under condemnation (Matt. viii. 29). Christ came to destroy the works of Satan; and he refers to his casting out demons by the finger of God as proof that he was executing that work. And when charged with casting them out by the prince of demons, he meets the charge by the assertion that this would be dividing the kingdom of Satan—Satan casting out Satan, *i. e.* casting out his own subjects;—the irresistible inference from which is, that Satan and the demons are *one house*, pertain to *one* and the *same kingdom*.

It is of no avail that there are difficulties connected with the agency ascribed to Satan. Objections are of little weight when brought against well-authenticated facts. Any objections raised against the agency of Satan are equally valid against his existence. If he exists, he must act; and if he is evil, his agency must be evil. The fact of such an agency being revealed, as it is, is every way as consonant with reason and religious consciousness as are the existence and agency of good angels. Neither reason nor consciousness could by themselves establish such a fact; but all the testimony they are capable of adducing is in agreement with the Scripture representation on the subject. If God communicates with good men without their consciousness, there is no apparent reason why Satan may not, without their consciousness, communicate with bad men. And if good men become better by the influence of good beings, it is equally easy to suppose that bad men may become worse by the influence of evil beings. Such an influence no more militates against the benevolence of God, than does the agency of wicked men, or the existence of moral evil in any form. Evil agents are as really under the divine control as are good agents. And out of evil, God will cause good to come. He will make the wrath of devils as well as of men to praise him, and the remainder He will restrain.—E. A. L.

SAUL (שָׁאוּל; Sept. and New Test. Σαούλ), son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, was the first king of the Israelites. The corrupt administration of justice by Samuel's sons furnished an occasion to the Hebrews for rejecting that theocracy, of which they neither appreciated the value, nor, through their unfaithfulness to it, enjoyed the full advantages (1 Sam. viii.). An invasion by the Ammonites seems also to have conspired with the cause just mentioned, and with a love of novelty, in prompting the demand for a king (1 Sam. xii. 12)—an officer evidently alien to the genius of the theocracy, though contemplated as an historical certainty, and provided for by the Jewish lawgiver (1 Sam. xii. 17-20; Deut. xvii. 14-20; on which see Grotius's note; also *De Jure Belli*, &c. i. 4. 6, with the remarks of Gronovius, who (as Puffendorf also does) controverts the views of Grotius). An explanation of the nature of this request, as not only an instance of ingratitude to Samuel, but of rebellion against Jehovah, and the delineation of the manner in which their kings—notwithstanding the restrictions prescribed in the law—might be expected to conduct themselves (מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ, Sept. δικαίωμα τοῦ βασιλέως; 1 Sam. viii. 11; x. 25), having failed to move the people from their resolution, the Lord sent Saul, who had left home in quest of his father's asses, which had strayed, to Samuel, who having informed Saul of the divine purpose regarding him, and having at a feast shown him a preference, which, no doubt, the other guests understood, privately anointed him king, and gave him various tokens, by which he might be assured that his designation was from Jehovah (1 Sam. ix. x.). Moved by the authority of Samuel, and by the fulfilment of these signs, Saul's reluctance to assume the office to which he was called was overcome; which may be the meaning of the expression לְבַדֵּר (1 Sam. x. 9), though his hesitation afterwards returned (ver. 21, 22). On his way home, meeting a company of prophets, he was seized with the prophetic afflatus, and so gave occasion to a proverb afterwards in use among the Jews, though elsewhere a different origin is assigned to the saying (1 Sam. xix. 24). Immediately after, Saul was elected at Mizpah in a solemn assembly by the determination of the miraculous lot—a method of election not confined to the Hebrews (Aristot. *Polit.* vi. 11; and Virg. *Æn.* ii. 'Laocoon lectus Neptuni sorte sacerdos'); and both previously to that election (x. 16), and subsequently, when in-

sulted by the worthless portion of the Israelites, he showed that modesty, humility, and forbearance which seem to have characterized him till corrupted by the possession of power. The person thus set apart to discharge the royal function, possessed at least those corporeal advantages which most ancient nations desiderated in their sovereigns (the εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος. Eurip.). His person was tall and commanding, and he soon showed that his courage was not inferior to his strength (1 Sam. ix. 1; x. 23). His belonging to Benjamin also, the smallest of the tribes, though of distinguished bravery, prevented the mutual jealousy with which either of the two great tribes, Judah and Ephraim, would have regarded a king chosen from the other; so that his election was received with general rejoicing, and a number of men, moved by the authority of Samuel (x. 20), even attached themselves to him as a body guard, or as counsellors and assistants. In the mean time the Ammonites, whose invasion had hastened the appointment of a king, having besieged Jabesh in Gilead, and Nahash their king having proposed insulting conditions to them, the elders of that town, apparently not aware of Saul's election (1 Sam. xi. 3), sent messengers through the land imploring help. Saul acted with wisdom and promptitude, summoning the people, *en masse*, to meet him at Bezek; and having at the head of a vast multitude totally routed the Ammonites (ver. 11), and obtained a higher glory, by exhibiting a new instance of clemency, whether dictated by principle or policy —'Novum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiæ fama' (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 63), 'For lowliness is young ambition's ladder;'—he and the people betook themselves, under the direction of Samuel, to Gilgal, there with solemn sacrifices to reinstal the victorious leader in his kingdom (1 Sam. xi.). If the number set down in the Hebrew text, of those who followed Saul (1 Sam. xi. 8), can be depended on (the Sept. more than doubles them, and Josephus outgoes even the Sept.), it would appear that the tribe of Judah was dissatisfied with Saul's election, for the soldiers furnished by the other tribes were 300,000, while Judah sent only 30,000; whereas the population of the former, compared with that of Judah, appears, from other passages, to have been as about five to three (2 Kings xxiv. 9). And yet it is strange that this remissness is neither punished (1 Sam. xi. 7) nor noticed. At Gilgal Saul was publicly anointed, and solemnly installed in the kingdom by Samuel, who took occasion to vindicate the purity of his own administration—which he virtually transferred to Saul—to censure the people for their ingratitude and impiety, and to warn both them and Saul of the danger of disobedience to the commands of Jehovah (1 Sam. xii.). These were the principal transactions that occurred during the first year of Saul's reign (which we venture to assign as the meaning of the first clause of chap. xiii. בן שנה שאול במלכו, 'the son of a year was Saul in his reigning'—the emendation of Origen, 'Saul was thirty years old,' which the chronology contradicts, for he seems now to have been forty years old, and the omission of the whole first verse by the Sept., being evidently arbitrary, and, therefore, inadmissible expedients for solving a difficulty); and the subsequent events happened in the second year—which may be the meaning of the latter clause.

Saul's first trial and transgression.—The restrictions on which he held the sovereignty had (1 Sam. x. 25) been fully explained as well to Saul as to the people, so that he was not ignorant of his true position as merely the lieutenant of Jehovah, king of Israel, who not only gave all the laws, but whose will, in the execution of them, was constantly to be consulted and complied with. The first occasion on which his obedience to this constitution was put to the test brought out those defects in his character which showed his unfitness for his high office, and incurred a threat of that rejection which his subsequent conduct confirmed (1 Sam. xiii. 13). Saul could not understand his proper position, as only the servant of Jehovah speaking through his ministers, or confine himself to it; and in this respect he was not, what David, with many individual and private faults and crimes, was—a man after God's own heart, a king faithful to the principles of the theocracy.

Having organized a small standing army, part of which, under Jonathan, had taken a fort of the Philistines, Saul summoned the people to withstand the forces which their oppressors, now alarmed for their dominion, would naturally assemble. But so numerous a host came against Saul, that the people, panic-stricken, fled to rocks and caverns for safety—years of servitude having extinguished their courage, which the want of arms, of which the policy of the Philistines had deprived them, still further diminished. The number of chariots, 30,000, seems a mistake; unless we suppose, with Le Clerc, that they were not war-chariots, but baggage-waggons (an improbable supposition), so that 3000 may be the true number. Apparently reduced to extremity, and the seventh day being come, but not being ended, the expiration of which Samuel had enjoined him to wait, Saul at least *ordered* sacrifices to be offered—for the expression (1 Sam. xiii. 9) does not necessarily imply that he intruded into the priest's office (2 Sam. vi. 13; 1 Kings iii. 2-4), though that is the most obvious meaning of the text. Whether that which Saul now disregarded was the injunction referred to (1 Sam. x. 8), or one subsequently addressed to him, this is evident, that Saul acted in the full knowledge that he sinned (xiii. 12); and his guilt, in that act of conscious disobedience, was probably increased by its clearly involving an assumption of authority to conduct the war according to his own judgment and will. Samuel having denounced the displeasure of Jehovah and its consequences, left him, and Saul returned to Gibeah (the addition made to the text of the Sept. ver. 15, where after 'from Gilgal,' the clause, 'and the rest of the people went up after Saul to meet the enemy from Gilgal to Gibeah,' &c., being required apparently by the sense, which, probably, has been the only authority for its insertion). Left to himself, Saul's errors multiplied apace. Jonathan, having assaulted a garrison of the Philistines (apparently at Michmash, 1 Sam. xiv. 31, which, therefore, must have been situated near Migron in Gibeah, ver. 1, and within sight of it, ver. 15), Saul, aided by a panic of the enemy, an earthquake, and the co-operation of his fugitive soldiers, effected a great slaughter; but by a

rash and foolish denunciation, he (1) impeded his success (ver. 30), (2) involved the people in a violation of the law (ver. 33), and (3), unless prevented by the more enlightened conscience of the people, would have ended with putting Jonathan to death for an act which, being done in invincible ignorance, could involve no guilt. This success against the Philistines was followed, not only by their retirement for a time within their own territory, but by other considerable successes against the other enemies of his country—Moab, Ammon, Edom, the kings of Zobah, the Amalekites, and the Philistines, all of whom he harassed, but did not subdue. These wars may have occupied five or six years, till the tenth or eleventh year of Saul's reign, rather than the sixteenth, as marked in the Bible chronology.

Saul's second transgression.—Another trial was afforded Saul before his final rejection, the command to extirpate the Amalekites, whose hostility to the people of God was inveterate Deut. xxv. 18; Exod. xvii. 8-16; Num. xiv. 42-45; Judg. iii. 13; vi. 3), and who had not by repentance averted that doom which had been delayed 550 years (1 Sam. xiv. 48). They who represent this sentence as unworthy of the God of the whole earth, should ask on what principle the execution of a criminal under human governments can be defended? If men judge that the welfare of society demands the destruction of one of their fellows, surely God, who can better judge what the interests of his government require, and has a more perfect right to dispose of men's lives, may cut off by the sword of his servants the persons whom, without any imputation of injustice, he might destroy by disease, famine, or any such visitation. It is more to our present purpose to remark, that the apparent cruelty of this commission was not the reason why it was not fully executed, as Saul himself confessed when Samuel upbraided him, 'I feared the people and obeyed their voice' (1 Sam. xv. 24). This stubbornness in persisting to rebel against the directions of Jehovah was now visited by that final rejection of his family from succeeding him on the throne, which had before been threatened (ver. 23; xiii. 13, 14), and which was now significantly represented, or mystically predicted, by the rending of the prophet's mantle. After this second and flagrant disobedience, Saul received no more public countenance from the venerable prophet, who now left him to his sins and his punishment; 'nevertheless, he mourned for Saul,' and the Lord repented that he had made Saul king (xv. 35).

Saul's conduct to David.—The denunciations of Samuel sunk into the heart of Saul, and produced a deep melancholy, which either really was, or which his physicians (1 Sam. xvi. 14, 15; comp. Gen. l. 2) told him, was occasioned by an evil spirit from the Lord; unless we understand the phrase רוח רעה subjectively, as denoting the condition itself of Saul's mind, instead of the cause of that condition (Isa. xxix. 10; Num. v. 14; Rom. xi. 8). We can conceive that music might affect Saul's feelings, might cheer his despondency, or divert his melancholy; but how it should have the power to chase away a spiritual messenger whom the Lord had sent to chasten the monarch for his transgressions, is not so easily understood. Saul's case must probably be judged of by the same principles as that of the demoniacs mentioned in the New Testament [Demoniacs]. David was recommended to Saul on account of his skill as a musician (1 Sam. xvi. 16-23), though the narrative of his introduction to Saul, his subsequently killing Goliath, Saul's ignorance of David's person after he had been his attendant and armour-bearer, with various other circumstances in the narrative (1 Sam. xvi. 14-23; xvii. xviii. 1-4), present difficulties which neither the arbitrary omissions in the Sept., nor the ingenuity of subsequent critics, have succeeded in removing, and which have led many eminent scholars to suppose the existence of extensive dislocations in this part of the Old Testament. Certainly the solutions offered by those who would reconcile the narrative as it now stands in the Hebrew text, demand too much ingenuity, and appear very unsatisfactory. That proposed by Hales and others seems to be the most feasible, which would place the passage, xvi. 14-23, after xviii. 9; yet why should Saul's attendants need to describe so minutely a person whom he and all Israel knew so well already? Also, how can we conceive that Saul should love so much (xvi. 21) a person against whom his jealousy and hatred had been so powerfully excited as his probable successor in the kingdom? (xviii. 9). Besides, David had occupied already a much higher position (xviii. 5); and, therefore, his being made Saul's armour-bearer must have been the very opposite of promotion, which the text (xvi. 21) supposes it was.

Though not acquainted with the unction of David, yet having received intimation that the kingdom should be given to another, Saul soon suspected from his accomplishments, heroism, wisdom, and popularity, that David was his destined successor; and, instead of concluding that his resistance to the divine purpose would only accelerate his own ruin, Saul, in the spirit of jealousy and rage, commenced a series of murderous attempts on the life of his rival, that must have lost him the respect and sympathy of his people, which they secured for the object of his malice and envy, whose noble qualities also they both exercised and rendered more conspicuous. He attempted twice to assassinate him with his own hand (xviii. 10, 11; xix. 10); he sent him on dangerous military expeditions (xviii. 5, 13, 17); he proposed that David should marry first his elder daughter, whom yet he gave to another, and then his younger, that the procuring of the dowry might prove fatal to David; and then he sought to make his daughter an instrument of her husband's destruction; and it seems probable, that unless miraculously prevented, he would have embrued his hands in the blood of the venerable Samuel himself (1 Sam. xix. 18), while the text seems to intimate (xx. 33) that even the life of Jonathan was not safe from his fury, though the subsequent context may warrant a doubt whether Jonathan was the party aimed at by Saul. The slaughter of Ahimelech the priest (1 Sam. xxii.), under pretence of his being a partisan of David, and of eighty-five other priests of the house of Eli, to whom nothing could be imputed, as well as the whole inhabitants of Nob, was an atrocity perhaps never exceeded; and yet the wickedness of the act was not greater than its infatuation, for it must have inspired his subjects not only with abhorrence of their king as

an inhuman tyrant, but with horror of him as an impious and sacrilegious monster. This crime of Saul put David in possession of the sacred lot, which Abiathar, the only surviving member of Eli's priestly family, brought with him, and by which he was enabled to obtain oracles directing him in his critical affairs (xxii. 21-23; xxiii. 1, 2).

Having compelled David to assume the position of an outlaw, around whom gathered a number of turbulent and desperate characters, Saul might persuade himself that he was justified in bestowing the hand of David's wife on another, and in making expeditions to apprehend and destroy him. A portion of the people were base enough to minister to the evil passions of Saul (1 Sam. xxiii. 19; xxvi. 1), and others, perhaps, might colour their fear by the pretence of conscience (xxiii. 12). But his sparing Saul's life twice, when he was completely in his power, must have destroyed all colour of right in Saul's conduct in the minds of the people, as it also did in his own conscience (xxiv. 3-7; xxvi.); which two passages, though presenting many points of similarity, cannot be referred to the same occasion, without denying to the narrative all historic accuracy and trustworthiness. Though thus degraded and paralysed by the indulgence of malevolent passions, Saul still acted with vigour in repelling the enemies of his country, and in other affairs wherein his jealousy of David was not concerned (xxiii. 27, 28).

The Bible chronology, as does also Ussher, dates David's marriage with Michal, A.M. 2491, the same year in which Goliath was slain. Hales, with apparent reason, makes it five years later, when David had attained the age of twenty-five. The same year Mephibosheth was born; which seems to be alluded to in 2 Sam. iv. 4; and about five years more appear to have elapsed before the death of Saul. Samuel's death had taken place not long before, as the statement in 1 Sam. xxviii. 3 implies. Probably two years are sufficient to allow time for the intermediate transactions (1 Sam. xxv.-xxxi.), instead of four, as set down in the Bible chronology.

Saul's third offence and death.—The measure of Saul's iniquity, now almost full, was completed by an act of direct treason against Jehovah the God of Israel (Exod. xxii. 18; Lev. xix. 31; xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 10, 11). Saul, probably in a fit of zeal, and perhaps as some atonement for his disobedience in other respects, had executed the penalty of the law on those who practised necromancy and divination (1 Sam. xxviii. 3). Now, however, forsaken of God, who gave him no oracles, and rendered, by a course of wickedness, both desperate and infatuated, he requested his attendants to seek him a woman who had a familiar spirit (which is the loose rendering in the English Bible of the expression occurring twice in ver. 7, אשת בעלת אוב, 'a woman a mistress of Oh;' 'habens Pythonem,' Vulg.), that he might obtain from her that direction which Jehovah refused to afford him. The question as to the character of the apparition evoked by the witch of Endor, falls more properly to be considered under other articles [DIVINATION; WITCH]; but we may remark that the king himself manifestly both saw and conversed with the phantom, whatever it was, which appeared in the form and spoke in the character of Samuel, and that the predictions uttered by the spectre were real oracles, implying distinct and certain foreknowledge, as the event proved (see Hales, vol. ii., who has discussed this subject very judiciously).

Assured of his own death the next day, and that of his sons; of the ruin of his army, and the triumph of his most formidable enemies, whose invasion had tempted him to try this unhallowed expedient,—all announced to him by that same authority which had foretold his possession of the kingdom, and whose words had never been falsified—Saul, in a state of dejection which could not promise success to his followers, met the enemy next day in Gilboa, on the extremity of the great plain of Esdraelon; and having seen the total rout of his army, and the slaughter of his three sons, of whom the magnanimous Jonathan was one; and having in vain solicited death from the hand of his armour-bearer (Doeg the Edomite, the Jews say, 'A partner before of his master's crimes, and now of his punishment'), Saul perished at last by his own hand. 'So Saul died for his transgression which he committed against the word of the Lord, which he kept not, and also for asking counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, to inquire of it; and inquired not of the Lord, therefore the Lord slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David' (1 Chron. x. 13, 14).

When the Philistines came on the morrow to plunder the slain, they found Saul's body and the bodies of his sons, which, having beheaded them, they fastened to the wall of Bethshan; but the men of Jabesh-gilead, mindful of their former obligation to Saul (1 Sam. xi.), when they heard of the indignity, gratefully and heroically went by night and carried them off, and buried them under a tree in Jabesh, and fasted seven days. It is pleasing to think that even the worst men have left behind them those in whom gratitude and affection are duties. Saul had those who mourned him, as some hand was found to have strewed flowers on the newly-made grave of Nero. From Jabesh the bones of Saul and of his sons were removed by David, and buried in Zelah, in the sepulchre of Kish his father.

There is not in the sacred history, or in any other, a character more melancholy to contemplate than that of Saul. Naturally humble and modest, though of strong passions, he might have adorned a private station. In circumstances which did not expose him to strong temptation, he would probably have acted virtuously. But his natural rashness was controlled neither by a powerful understanding nor a scrupulous conscience; and the obligations of duty, and the ties of gratitude, always felt by him too slightly, were totally disregarded when ambition, envy, and jealousy had taken possession of his mind. The diabolical nature of these passions is seen, with frightful distinctness, in Saul, whom their indulgence transformed into an unnatural and blood-thirsty monster, who constantly exhibited the moral infatuation, so common among those who have abandoned themselves to sin, of thinking that the punishment of one crime may be escaped by the perpetration of another. In him also is seen that moral anomaly or contradiction, which would be incredible, did we not

so often witness it, of an individual pursuing habitually a course which his better nature pronounces not only flagitious, but insane (1 Sam. xxiv. 16-22). Saul knew that that person should be king whom yet he persisted in seeking to destroy, and so accelerated his own ruin. For it can hardly be doubted that the distractions and disaffection occasioned by Saul's persecution of David produced that weakness in his government which encouraged the Philistines to make the invasion in which himself and his sons perished. 'I gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath' (Hos. xii. 11). In the prolonged troubles and disastrous termination of this first reign, the Hebrews were vividly shown how vain was their favourite remedy for the mischiefs of foreign invasion and intestine discord. —R. L.

SCAPE-GOAT. [Goat, Scape.]

SCARLET. [Purple.]

SCEPTRE. The Hebrew word thus rendered is שֵׁבֶט, which in its primary signification denotes a staff of wood (Ezek. xix. 11), about the height of a man, which the ancient kings and chiefs bore as an insigne of honour (*Iliad*, i. 234, 245; ii. 185, sq.: Amos i. 5; Zech. x. 11; Ezek. xix. 11; Wisd. x. 14; comp. Gen. xlix. 10; Num. xxiv. 17; Isa. xiv. 5). As such it appears to have originated in the shepherd's staff, since the first kings were mostly nomade princes (Strabo, xvi. 783; comp. Ps. xxix). There were, however, some nations among whom the agricultural life must have been the earliest known; and we should not among them expect to find the shepherd's staff advanced to symbolical honour. Accordingly, Diodorus Siculus (iii. 3) informs us, that the sceptre of the Egyptian kings bore the shape of a plough—a testimony confirmed by existing monuments, in which the long staff which forms the sceptre, terminates in a form obviously intended to represent a plough.

A golden sceptre, that is, one washed or plated with gold, is mentioned in Ezek. iv. 11 (comp. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* viii. 7, 13; *Iliad*, i. 15; ii. 268; *Odyss.* xi. 91). Other decorations of Oriental sceptres are noticed by Strabo (xvi. 746). Inclining the sceptre was a mark of kingly favour (Esth. iv. 11), and the kissing it a token of submission (Esth. v. 2). Saul appears to have carried his javelin as a mark of superiority (1 Sam. xv. 10; xxii. 6).

SCHOOLS, EDUCATION. Before the exile, the Jews, like the ancient Romans, seem to have had no notion whatever of public and national schools, since the sphere of our present elementary knowledge, reading and writing, was confined to but a few. Children were usually taught the simple doctrines of religion by their parents, by means of aphorisms, sacred stories and rites (Deut. vi. 7, 20, sq.; xi. 19; Prov. vi. 20), while the children of kings seem to have had tutors of their own (2 Sam. xii. 25). Even after the exile, national instruction was chiefly limited to religion, as might naturally be expected from a nation whose political institutions were founded on theocratic principles.

The question naturally suggests itself here, How did it, then, happen that the Jews, confined to so small a territory in Syria, living continually isolated and apart from other nations, and not possessing in their own territory resources of any kind for the advancement of education, should, nevertheless, have mustered such an host of sages and learned men? It must indeed perplex those who are initiated in the Hebrew literature to discover by what means learning, thought, and inquiry were, under such circumstances, fostered and cultivated: and it will be asked, In what connection stood the so-called *great synagogue*, under Ezra and Zerubabel, with the schools of the prophets in previous times? And how did John, the herald of Christ, and Paul the Apostle, receive that education which made the former the teacher of his own nation, and the latter that of so many nations and ages? The solution of these questions we may find in the establishment of an institution among the later Israelites, unique in its kind, and eventually brought to a high degree of perfection; namely, the public meetings of the learned men, for the purpose of expounding the sacred writings and of giving instruction in practical philosophy. We shall bring together some of the scattered records concerning this institution, to show its powerful influence upon education in general.

For the later period of Jewish civilization, from Ezra and Nehemiah to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and the collection of the Talmud in the second century after Christ, a great number of philosophical and religious aphorisms are found collected in the Talmud, as originating with the men of those learned assemblies in various epochs, and in which we may trace the spirit of many passages even of the New Testament.

In the Babylon Talmud (Tr. *Sanhedrin*) those desirous of knowledge are exhorted to repair to the learned meetings of certain celebrated rabbies who taught in Lydda, Burin, Pekun, Jabneh, Benebarak, Rome, Sikni, Zipporim, or Nesibis; and in the land of captivity to the great teacher in Beth-shaarim, and to the sages who taught in the hall Gaazith. The Talmud also mentions many other seats of the learned, such as Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Bethshan, Acco, Bether, Magdala, Ushah, Raccat (Tiberias), and Alexandria in Egypt. In Tiberias the most learned men of the age assembled to compose that famous monument of Jewish learning, the Talmud [Talmud]. Gamaliel (Paul's master) was head of the learned assembly or college at Jabneh (Jamnia), which, it is stated, numbered not fewer than 380 students. At Zipporim in Galilee also, where the celebrated R. Judah Hakkadosh passed the latter part of his life, there is said to have been several of these schools, and eminent teachers, all of whom are mentioned by name. In Tr. *Sanhedrin*, we further read: 'There were three teachers at Bether, and in Jabneh four—R. Eliezer, R. Akibah, R. Joshua, and R. Simon; the last spoke in the presence of the others, although he still sat upon the ground'—that is, he was present as an auditor merely, although occasionally allowed to act as a teacher. In the same tract it is said—'the meeting rests upon men;' on which the gloss is, 'Wherever there are ten men whose occupations do not prevent them from devoting their whole time to sacred learning, a house for their meetings must be built.' In the Jerusalem Talmud (Tr. *Chetub.*), a tradition is alleged that there had been at Jerusalem 460 synagogues, each of which

contained an apartment for the reading of the law, and another for the meeting of men for inquiry, deep research, and instruction. Such a meeting-hall is called by the Talmudists Beth-Midrash (בת מדרש), that is, an apartment where lectures were given, or conversations held on various subjects of inquiry. There were three of these meeting-places in the Temple (Tr. *Megillah*), and in all of them it was the custom for the students to sit on the floor, while the teachers occupied raised seats (T. Hieros. Tr. *Taanith*); hence Paul describes himself as having, when a student, 'sat at the feet of Gamaliel' (Acts xxii. 3).

There are many hints in the Talmud which throw light upon the manner of proceeding in these assemblies. Thus, a student asked Gamaliel whether the evening prayer was obligatory by the law, or not. He answered in the affirmative; on which the student informed him that R. Joshua had told him it was not obligatory. 'Well,' said Gamaliel, 'when he appears to-morrow in the assembly, step forward and ask him the question again.' He did so, and the expected answer raised a discussion, a full account of which is given. It appears that these learned men delivered their dicta and arguments in Hebrew to an interpreter at their side, who then explained them in the vernacular dialect to the audience. This is the explanation given of an anecdote, that a celebrated teacher was unable to proceed for want of an interpreter, till Rabh volunteered his services (Tr. *Yomah*). In such meetings there was one who was recognised as president or chief professor, and another as vice-president (Tr. *Horayoth*).

These teachers and professors, who were the 'lawyers' and 'doctors' of the New Testament, formed no mean opinion of their own dignity and importance, as indeed the Gospels evince. It is said, 'A wise man (more particularly a chief professor) is of more consequence than a king; for when the former dies there is (often) no one to replace him, but any one may replace the latter. A wise man, even though a bastard, ranks even above the high-priest, if the latter be one of the unlearned.' Even the students under these personages claimed to be regarded with respect; they were called the 'holy people' (עם קדוש), as opposed to the masses, who are contemptuously designated עם הארץ, 'people of the earth.'

Philo (*De Vita Contemp.*), speaking of the meetings of the Essenes, who are supposed to have observe the regulations of the ancient prophets, says, 'After the head teacher had finished his exposition to the assembly, upon a proposed question, he stands up and begins to sing (a hymn or psalm), in which the choirs join at certain intervals; and the audience listen quietly till the repetition of the leading theme, when all join in it.'

Now the practices mentioned in the preceding citations entirely correspond with the intimations of the New Testament, and with them may be taken into the series of facts illustrative of the condition of learning and education and the mode of instruction among the Jews, for the period considerably before and long after the time of Christ. The following passages in particular may be indicated in this connection—Luke ii. 46; Acts vi. 9, 10; xix. 8, 9; xxii. 3; 1 Cor. xiv. 26-33; 2 Tim. ii. 2. In the last but one of these, it is true, the description applies to the Christian assemblies; but, on comparing it with the other passages, it will appear that the first Christian teachers had retained many of the regulations of the Jewish assemblies. The Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, which belong to this period, contain some curious and distinct intimations to the same purport, and illustrative of the general subject. See in particular, Wisd. viii. 8, 10; Sirach xxxv. 3, sq.; xxxix. 2, 3; xliv. 3-5; 1 Macc. vii. 11; 2 Macc. vi. 18.

From the above, and from sundry other passages of the same import, which we have not thought it necessary to produce, we may safely draw the following conclusions:—

1. That soon after the Babylonian exile, assemblies of the learned not only existed, but had increased to a considerable extent.

2. That these meetings took place not only at Jerusalem, but also in other places, remote from the capital of Palestine, such as Galilee, the frontiers of Idumæa, Lebanon, and even in heathen countries.

3. That the meeting-places of the wise stood mostly in connection with the synagogues; and that the wise or learned men usually met soon after divine worship and reading were over, in the upper apartment of the synagogues, in order to discuss those matters which required more research and inquiry.

4. That the *Beth-Midrash* was a place where subjects of religious philosophy and various *paradoxes* * from the moral and material world were treated, serving as a sort of academical lectures for those higher students who aspired to fill in time the place of teacher themselves. These institutions may therefore be fairly likened to the academies, or learned societies, so famous in ancient Greece and Rome.

5. That these assemblies of the wise were quite different from those of the priests, who occupied themselves merely with investigations on the religious rites and ceremonies, &c.; as also from those where *civil laws* were discussed, and law-suits decided, (בית דין, *Beth-din*,† 'court of judgment'); though many of the learned priests were no doubt members of the literary assemblies, and probably often proposed in the Beth-Midrash questions of a character more suited to a sacred than to a philosophical society.

6. That such societies (assemblies of the wise) chose their own president from amongst the most distinguished and learned of their members; and consisted of more or fewer members, but certainly not less than ten, capable of partaking in a discussion on some proposed learned question.

It is perhaps worth notice that we may trace in some of the fragments which have descended to us from those assemblies, ten different speakers or lecturers; see, ex. gr., Eccles. i. 3 to iv. 16, where

* *Paradoxes*, or inquiries on such subjects as concern the spirit of the philosophy of the age, will surprise no one who sees in those assemblies something more than mere popular instruction. Nor do we lack in the New Testament traces of esoteric and exoteric systems in teaching; *ex. gr.* Mark iv. 33, sq.

† This is what is commonly called Sanhedrim, and which, according to the Talmud, consisted of a quorum of three, twenty-three, or seventy-one persons [SANHEDRIM].

the following sections evidently bear the character of different speakers and different subjects: (1) ch. i. 3-7; (2) 8-11; (3) ch. xii. 2-26; (4) ch. iii. 1-8; (5) 9 15; (6) 16-22; (7) ch. iv. 1-6; (8) 7-8; (9) 9-12; (10) 13-16. Again we can distinguish another assembly and different speakers in the following verses of Eccles.: (1) ch. viii. 8-10; (2) 11-13; (3) 14, 15; (4) 16, 17; (5) ch. ix. 1; (6) 2-4; (7) 4-6; (8) 7-10; (9) 11, 12; 10) 13; ch. x. 1.

7. That the president or head of the assembly usually brought forward the question or subject at issue very briefly, and sometimes even in a very low voice, so as not to be heard by the whole assembly, but only by those close at his elbow, who then detailed and delivered it at large in a louder voice to the meeting.

Traces of the developed details of subjects thus briefly proposed by the president of the assembly, cannot escape the eye of the inquiring reader of Ecclesiastes and the Book of Wisdom. Thus, in the counter-songs in Ecclesiastes, perhaps the introduction, the few laconic words, 'vanity of vanities, all is vanity!' constituted the sentence with which the president opened the subject or question. So also in the Book of Wisdom vi. 22; ix. 17; where perhaps the naked question, 'What is wisdom? whence does it come?' belonged to the president, who in this brief manner opened the subject, leaving the discussion and enlargement to the other able members. Comp. also v. 23 with vi. 1-21; and see 1 Cor. xiv. 27, 28.

8. That the pupils or students in those assemblies were not mere boys coming to be instructed in the rudiments of knowledge, but men or youths of more or less advanced education, who came thither either to profit by listening to the learned discussions, or even to participate in them themselves: thus paving the way and preparing themselves for the office of the presidency at some future time.

9. That these meetings were *public*, admitting any one, though not a member, and even allowing him to propose questions.

10. That the subjects propounded in those assemblies were of a manifold character: (1) songs, in which the audience now and then joined; (2) counter-songs, in which several of the learned members delivered their thoughts and opinions on a certain proposed question; (3) adages; (4) solutions of obscure questions and problems (*αἰνίγματα*).

11. That the principal task of these assemblies was to preserve the remains of the sages of olden times by collecting and writing them down.

This office probably procured for *Ezra* (the president of such an assembly) the distinguished title of סוֹפֵר, 'scribe' (Ezra vii. 6, 11, 12).

12. That these assemblies and meetings were still in existence in the times of Christ and his apostles.*

Comp., moreover, Matt. xi. 2, 9; xiii. 57; xxi. 11; xxiii. 29-39 (v. 34 *προφῆται, σοφοί*, and *γραμματεῖς* stand as synonymous); Mark iv. 33, 34; vi. 29; Luke i. 76; xi. 1; John i. 35-41; iii. 25; Acts iii. 22-25; xi. 27; xiii. 1; xv. 32; xxi. 9, 10.

Specimens of the matters discussed in those assemblies in this latter period, are found in the Talmud, in the collections of Baruch and Jesus (son of Sirach), and more especially in the Book of Wisdom. Perhaps some expressions of John the Baptist and some speeches of Christ might be compared with them. Even the frequent passages in the New Testament, in which Christ and the apostles warn the people against the sophistries, subtleties, idle questions, and vain researches of the so-called wise, show us that these important institutions had greatly degenerated in the latter part of the period under our notice (John x. 34; xi. 34; xv. 25; Col. ii. 8; 1 Tim. i. 4, 6; iv. 7; vi. 4, 20; Tit. iii. 9). And so we find it in reality, when we examine with attention the scanty materials which exist for the history of this time (Ex. gr. T. Bab. Tr. *Hagigah*).

The originally useful objects of this institution were soon lost sight of in the ambitious views of the sages on whom its character depended to shine, and to say something new and original, however absurd and paradoxical, a mania visible already in the second part of the *Book of Wisdom*, and which soon contributed and lent charms to the cabalistic researches and interpretations, and art of extravagant speculation, which supplanted even in the first period of our Christian era all other solid researches among the Jews, and caused the downfall of those assemblies.

This mania of distinction also led to banterings and quarrels among the little Jewish academies or literary societies, thus dividing them into various sects or parties.

The most violent of these schisms were those which broke out between the Pharisees and Sadducees. The Pharisees soon obtained, it is true, the mastery over their opponents, but they themselves were also split into many parties by the disputes between the school of the celebrated teacher *Hillel*, and that of *Shammai*, the former advocating the right of the traditional law even in opposition to that of Moses, while the latter (like Christ) attached but little weight to traditions whenever they were found to clash with the Mosaical law. These disputes between the various schools of the Jewish doctors at the close of that period, were often carried not only to gross personalities, but even to bodily assaults, and murder (Tr. *Sabbath* and *Shebuoth*); and it had at last become a proverb 'that even Elijah the Tishbite would not be able to reconcile the adherents of *Hillel* and *Shammai*.' What the one party permitted the other was sure to prohibit, and vice versâ. The school of Hillel, however, had from an early period always numbered a vast majority in its favour, so that the modern Jewish Rabbis are uniformly guided by the opinion of that school in their decisions.

Now, as the Talmud contains (with the exception of a few genuine *κειμηλια* from the treasures of the early periods, which are now and then found in the heavy volumes of useless researches) for the most part only the opinions and disputes of those schools concerning the traditional laws, glossed over with cabalistic subtilties and sophistical speculations, it is very natural that but little of real interest is to be found in it.

* Even in the present day, indeed, an imitation of these assemblies exists among all Jewish congregations throughout Poland and Germany, and the *locale* bears the name of *Beth-Midrash*, where the rabbi of the place lectures on the various subjects of the law.

Nevertheless some remnants of the researches of the 'Assemblies of the Wise' from the earlier periods, have also descended to us in the Book of Wisdom, and in the collections of the son of Sirach, showing us those colleges in their dignified and more pure aspect. From this source we may collect the following intimations :—

1. That the object of these assemblies in the earlier periods was chiefly to exercise the minds of those who had devoted themselves to the higher branches of studies, and furnish them with matter for reflection and opportunities to develope their thoughts. It is true that no specimens are extant from that period exhibiting the solution of obscure problems (חידות, *αἰνίγματα*), which were admirably calculated in that early stage of civilization, and in that climate, for the developement of the thinking faculties; yet there can be no doubt, as we have shown above, that such had come under their consideration. All that has been preserved are, *Songs*, *Counter-songs*, and *Adages*.

2. That the *Counter-songs*, which seem to have constituted the main debates in those assemblies, were by no means founded on egotism, or a spirit of contradiction, but simply on the desire of mutual information and instruction; and it is manifest in many of them that the authors had *truth* for their object, both in advancing their own original ideas, and in refuting those of their colleagues.

3. That these discourses had at first assumed the poetical tone so peculiar to that time and climate, when and where the SONG comprised all that can be said and thought; but that gradually that tone was lowered to a *poetical prose*, traces of which we still discover in many of the sayings in the New Testament.

4. That these discourses treated of subjects bearing on religious philosophy, and the worship of God; recommending virtue and morals, exhorting to wisdom, laying down principles for practical life, not omitting, however, still higher objects, such as the immortality of the soul, and the condition of the bad and good after death, &c.

In the middle period of the Jewish history of civilization, from the time of Samuel to that of Jeremiah and Ezra, these philosophic assemblies occur under a double appellation: 1, *Schools of the Prophets*, in the first part of that period, and 2, *Assemblies of the Wise*, in the latter part. Of the existence of such schools or meetings so early as the time of Moses but faint traces are found, in comparing Exod. xviii. 13—26, with Num. xi. 24—29, where the eminent men whom Moses used to consult on important affairs receive the same designation (of 'prophets') as the members of the prophet-schools in the subsequent ages. But in the time of Samuel we find more distinct proofs of their existence (1 Sam. ix. 9; x. 5-11; xix. 18 sq.; 1 Chron. xxv. 6, 7; 2 Kings ii. 3; iii. 15, 16; iv. 18, 43; Isa. viii. 16-19; Prov. i. 2-6; xxv. 1; Eccles. i. 2; xii. 8; vii. 27; xii. 9-11).

By paying a little attention to the passages which we have quoted above regarding these assemblies in the two periods, the following results may fairly be deduced from them :—

1. That the *schools of the prophets* in the earlier periods were identical with the *assemblies of the wise* of the later periods, both in design and form. This will not appear doubtful when we trace the term נביא 'prophet' to its etymology—*flowing out*, *inspired* (singers).* Thus are Miriam (Exod. xv. 20) and Deborah (Judg. iv. 4) styled נביאה, 'prophetesses,' because they uttered inspired, enthusiastic songs. Also (1 Kings xviii. 29) it is said that the priests of Baal ויתנבאו, 'prophesied,' while in 1 Chr. xxv. 1 occurs the expression נביאים בכנרות ובנבלים, 'to prophesy with harps and psalteries,' which is illustrated (ver. 6) by בשיר בנבלים וכנרות, 'for song with psalteries and harps' (ver. 7) by מלמדי שיר 'instructed in song;' so that הנבא, 'prophet,' (ver. 2, 3) may also be rendered *singer*.†

2. That the places where these prophets or *inspired singers* (who among other people would have been called *thinkers* or *philosophers*) met, were Ramah (1 Sam. xix. 18-24), Bethel (2 Kings ii. 3), Jericho (ii. 5), Gilgal (iv. 38; vi. 1). By comparing 1 Kings xviii. 30 with 2 Kings ii. 25, there seems to have been another such place somewhere in Mount Carmel.

3. That the schools of the prophets, or assemblies of the wise, were unions of men‡ distinguished by learning and wisdom, or who strove for that distinction, and were competent to appear as public orators or singers, animated declamation and song being identical in their origin.

4. That these institutions were chiefly intended—

a. To rouse, develope, and strengthen the powers of thought, by mutual instruction, communication, criticism, and controversy.

b. To hear public teachers, counsellors, and leaders of the people and the monarchs.

c. To save from oblivion the sayings and speeches of ancient times, by collecting them in proper order; and,

d. To rear from among them teachers and writers for the public.

5. That the subjects treated of in these *schools* or *assemblies*, comprised everything that might appear important to the philosophers of those times and that country, and, more especially, songs of praise to Jehovah, observations on man and nature, exhortations to morality and virtue, warnings against idolatry and enmity towards their fellow-citizens, &c.

6. That the *form* of those discourses, in both the *schools of the prophets* and *assemblies of the wise*, may be divided into—

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* Quintilian observes, that in the early stages of civilization, the performers on musical instruments (as such are first described the 'prophets,' 1 Sam. x.) were identical with wise men, inspired singers, and seers. Quis ignorat musicen tantum jam illis antiquis temporibus, non studii modo, verum etiam venerationis habuisse, *ut iidem Musici et Vates et Sapientes judicarentur*, (mittam alios) *Orpheus et Linus* (*Inst.* i. 10).

† Even the Chaldee translates ויתנבאו, 'they prophesied,' in 1 Sam. xix. 20, 'they sang songs of praise.' In the same sense must we also take *προφητευειν*, in 1 Cor. xi. 4, 5.

‡ That the so-called (sons) pupils of the prophets were not boys, but grown men, is evident from 1 Kings xx. 35, sq.; 2 Kings ii. 15, 16; where mention is made of fifty *strong men* (בני חיל), the pupils of the prophets, who had assembled at Jericho; as also from 2 Kings iv. 40.

a. Sayings of the wise.

b. Songs and counter-songs (שירים לענות, Ps. lxxxviii. 1; Sept. στροφαὶ λόγων, Prov. i. 3); containing thoughts leading to reflection and further investigation (משל ומליצה, σκοτεινὸς λόγος).

c. Obscure questions (חירות, αἰνίγματα), and their solutions.

7. That the president of the assembly opened the meeting with a sentence or question, which was left to the various speakers to develope or discuss.

8. That the members of these literary unions comprised also laymen—*ex. gr.* Saul and David—though Levites were frequently not only members but even founders of such schools—*ex. gr.* Samuel, &c. To judge, however, from many passages where censure is passed on the too strict observance of outward ceremony as demanded by the priests, as also on their arrogance of despotic power, it would seem that such unions were just forming a sort of opposition to those evils, trying to out-argue them, and showing by their own example, in the selection of a president and other distinguished members, that more respect is due to personal merit than to hereditary right, as advocated by the priests.*



484. [Turkish School.]

Specimens of the form and style of the objects treated in those early periods in the *schools of the prophets*, may probably be contained in the *hymns* in many of the Psalms, assisted by a *chorus*, such as Ps. viii., xlii., xliii., xlix., civ.; as also the counter-songs in Ps. lxxxviii., lxxxix., lx., lxi., lxv., and ciii. 1-18; as also cxxxix., where three singers seem to have performed successively, after the *finale* of the chorus. Nor can we fail to discover, in Canticles and Proverbs, numerous passages belonging to those *assemblies* or *schools* at various periods (*vide* the superscriptions of ch. x., xxv., xxx., and xxxi.).—E. M.

[It would appear that elementary instruction among the mass of the people became more common after the Exile than it had been previously, when the ability to read was regarded as a mark of learning (Isa. xxix. 12); and in the time of Christ reading and writing seem to have been attainments common to every class above the very lowest. We *know* that several of the apostles, who were fishermen, could read and write, and may assume that others of the same class of life could do the same; yet they were certainly considered 'unlearned' men (Acts iv. 13). The state of common education about that period appears to us to have been in all probability as nearly as possible similar in almost every respect to that which now prevails in Moslem countries. Here also a further and very striking resemblance arises out of the prominence given to instruction in the sacred books. Among Moslems persons quite unable to read or write can nevertheless repeat a large part, and sometimes the whole, of the Koran by rote; and there is reason to think that among the Jews a similar acquaintance with the law, and with parts of the psalms and prophets, as well as a general knowledge of the historical and other books, existed by means of oral instruction even among those who had not learned to read and write. The Moslems make it, indeed, their first object to instil into the

* It is a curious fact, that among the places named as rendezvous for the sons of the prophets, not one Levitical town is found (comp. Josh. xxi. and 1 Chron. vi. 54, sq.), though such places may seem to have been the most appropriate for literary purposes.

minds of their children the principles of their religion, and then submit them, if they can afford the small expense, to the instruction of a schoolmaster. Most of the children of the higher and middle classes, and many of the lower also, are taught by the schoolmaster to read, and to recite the whole or certain portions of the Koran by memory. They afterwards learn the common rules of arithmetic. Schools are numerous in every large town, and there is one at least in every considerable village. There are also schools attached to mosques and other public buildings, in which children are instructed at a very trifling expense. The lessons are generally written upon tablets of wood painted white, and when one is learnt, the tablet is washed and another written. Writing is also practised on the same tablet. The master and pupils sit on the ground, and each boy has a tablet in his hand, or a copy of the Koran, or of one of its thirty sections, on a kind of small desk of palm-sticks. All who are learning to read recite their lessons aloud at the same time, rocking their bodies incessantly backwards and forwards: which is thought to assist the memory. Boys who misbehave are beaten by the master on the soles of the feet with a palm-stick.

It is to be observed that these schools teach little more than reading and learning by heart, the reading lessons being written on tablets not by the boys themselves but by the master; and one who can read well, and recite a good deal of the Koran, is considered to have had a fair education. Those who learn to write are such as are likely to require that art in the employments for which they are designed; and as few schoolmasters teach writing, they learn it of a person employed in the bazaars.

Some parents employ a master to teach their boys at home; and those who intend to devote themselves to a learned or religious life, pursue a regular course of study in the colleges (Medrasseh—the same name as the Hebrew for similar institutions) connected with the great mosques. Females are seldom taught to read or write, or even to say their prayers; but there are many schools in which they are taught needlework, embroidery, &c. (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* i. 62-69; Schubert, *Morgenlande*, pp. 72-74). The Jews, while they paid equal attention to their sacred books, appear to have made, in the later Scriptural times, writing more generally a part of common education than the Moslems now do; and the religious education of females was less neglected by them, as appears in the case of almost every woman named in the New Testament. In other respects the state of things seems to have been very similar to the present.]

SCRIBES (סֹפֵר), a learned body of men, otherwise denominated lawyers, whose influence with the Jewish nation was very great at the time when our Saviour appeared.

The genius of a social or religious system may be ascertained even from the signification of the names borne by its high functionaries. The title Consul, which directs the thoughts to consultation as the chief duty of the officer who bore it, could have had no existence in any of the Oriental despotisms. Haruspices, soothsayers, determines the degree of religious enlightenment to which Rome, the mistress of the world, had been able to attain. The feudal designation Marshall (Master of the Horse) points to a state of society in which brute force had the mastery. Our Saxon title of a ruler, namely, king (könig, that is, 'the knower,' 'the skilful man'), shows that the very basis of our social institutions was laid in superior knowledge and ability, and not in mere physical pre-eminence. In the same way the word 'scribe' of itself pronounces a eulogy on the Mosaic institutions. Writers at an early period held a high rank in the Hebrew polity, and in consequence that polity must have been essentially of a liberal character, and of a refining tendency. 'Scribe,' indeed, has reference to 'law,' and of itself it suggests the idea; and the social institutions that are founded on law, and not on force—on law, and not on the will of one man—take a high rank even in their origin, and may presumably merit high praise.

If now we invert the remark, intimating that law, as the foundation of social institutions, implies scribes, we shall see at once that the learned caste of which we speak must have taken their rise contemporaneously with the commencement of the Mosaic polity. In a system so complex as was that polity, there were no means but repeated transcripts which could make the law sufficiently known for it to be duly observed by the nation at large. It is true that at first the function of the scribe may have been ill-defined, and his services have been only occasionally demanded; but as the nation became settled in their territorial possessions, and the provisions of Moses began to take effect, the scribe would be more and more in demand, till at last the office became a regular and necessary part of social life, and grew finally into all the dignity, order, and coherence of a learned caste. And this growth would be accelerated or retarded in the same manner and degree as the idea of law was honoured, out of which it sprang. In seasons of national depression, when might prevailed against right, law was silenced and scribes were oppressed. When, however, the Mosaic law was honoured; when, as in the reign of David, law had triumphed over force, and laid the foundations of a flourishing empire, then the scribe stood at the king's right hand, and the pen became at once the symbol and the instrument of power. So, too, when the exile, with its weighty penalties, had taught the people to value, respect, and obey the law of God, the law of their forefathers, then the scribe is raised to the highest offices of civil society, and even an Ezra is designated by the name.

But law, in the Mosaic institutions, had a religious as well as a civil sanction. With the Hebrews, indeed, social was lost in religious life. There was but one view of society, and of man individually, and that was the religious view. Education, politics, morals, even the useful arts, were only religion in different exercises and manifestations. Hence writing was a sacred art, and writers (scribes) holy men; and that the rather, because scribes were engaged immediately about the law, which was the written will of God, and so the embodiment of all knowledge, truth and duty. The scribes, therefore, were not only a learned but a sacred caste.

In the same manner may we learn what, in general, the functions of the scribes were. A writer at the present day is frequently used as

synonymous with an author, and an author is necessarily a teacher. The scribes then had the care of the law; it was their duty to make transcripts of it; they also expounded its difficulties, and taught its doctrines, and so performed several functions which are now distributed among different professions, being keepers of the records, consulting lawyers, authorized expounders of holy writ, and, finally, schoolmasters—thus blending together in one character the several elements of intellectual, moral, social, and religious influence. It scarcely needs to be added that their power was very great.

A few details drawn from individual passages of Scripture will confirm and enlarge these observations. So early as the events recorded in Judg. v. 14, we find mention of those 'who handle the pen of the writer,' as if the class of scribes were then well known. Zebulun seems to have been famous as a school for scribes. Among the high officers of the court of David mention is made of 'Seraiah the scribe,' as if he stood on the same footing in dignity as the chief-priests and the generalissimo (2 Sam. viii. 16-18). By comparing this with other passages (2 Kings xxv. 19: 1 Chron. ii. 55; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 13; 1 Chron. xxvii. 32) we learn that in the time of the kings the scribes constituted a learned, organized, much esteemed, and highly influential body of men, recognised and supported by the state. When, however, the regal power had been overturned, and force of arms had been found insufficient to preserve the integrity of a nation that could not be wholly weaned from idolatry; and when at length sorrow had wrought what prosperity had failed to achieve, then in the downfall of external pomp and greatness, and the rise and predominance of God's will, as enshrined in the law, the scribe rose to a higher eminence than ever, and continued to hold his lofty position, with some slight variations, till letters were again compelled to yield to arms, and the holy city was trodden down by the hoof of heathen soldiery (Ezra vii. 6, 11; Neh. viii. 1; xii. 26; Jer. viii. 8; xxxvi. 12, 26; Ezek. ix. 2). And thus 'Captain Sword' appeared to have gained a final victory over 'Captain Pen;' but the power of the new knowledge which Jesus, 'the light of life,' had recently brought into the world, soon altered the face of society, and took the laurels from the ensanguined hand that held them boastfully.

'Twas only for many-soul'd Captain Pen
To make a world of swordless men.

In the New Testament the scribes are found as a body of high state functionaries, who, in conjunction with the Pharisees and the high-priests, constituted the Sanhedrim, and united all the resources of their power and learning in order to entrap and destroy the Saviour of mankind. The passages are so numerous as not to need citation. It may be of more service to draw the reader's attention to the great array of influence thus brought to bear against 'the carpenter's son.' That influence comprised, besides the supreme power of the state, the first legal functionaries, who watched Jesus closely in order to detect him in some breach of the law; the recognised expositors of duty, who lost no opportunity to take exception to his utterances, to blame his conduct, and misrepresent his morals; also the acutest intellects of the nation, who eagerly sought to entangle him in the web of their sophistries, or to confound him by their artful questions. Yet even all these malign influences failed. Jesus was triumphant in argument; he failed only when force interposed its revengeful arm. The passage found in Luke xx. 19-47 is full of instruction on this subject. At the close of this striking Scripture our Lord thus describes these men (ver. 46): 'Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and love greetings in the markets, and the highest seats in the synagogues, and the chief rooms at feasts; which devour widows' houses, and for a show make long prayers.' Their opportunity of assailing our Lord was the greater from their constant vigilance. Winer (*Real-wörterb.*) thinks that they, in union with the high-priests, formed a kind of police, who were on duty in the Temple and the synagogues (Luke xx. 1; Acts vi. 12). Nor was their influence limited to the capital; from Luke v. 17, we learn that members of the body were found in every town of Galilee and Judæa. Like the learned castes of most nations, they were attached to the traditions of the elders (Matt. xv. 1); had ample influence with the people (Luke xx. 46); and though some of them belonged to the free-thinking and self-satisfied Sadducees, they were for the most part of the predominant sect of Pharisees (Luke xi. 45; Acts xxiii. 9; Matt. v. 20; xii. 38; xv. 1).

It may serve to read a lesson to those who reason as if they had a right to expect to find every thing in Josephus, and who are ready to make his silence an argument conclusive against the evangelists, that very little appears in the Jewish historian touching this class of men. In his *Antiquities* (xvii. 6. 2) two are incidentally mentioned as engaged in education, Judas and Matthias, 'two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws, men well beloved by the people, because of the education of their youth; for all those that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day.' This description calls to mind the sophists and philosophers of Greece; indeed, these same persons are termed by Josephus in another part (*De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 2) *σοφισταί*. Hence, however, it is clear that the scribes were the Jewish schoolmasters as well as lawyers. In this character they appear in the Talmud. In the outer courts of the temple were many chambers, in which they sat on elevated platforms to give their lessons to their pupils, who sat on a lower elevation, and so at their feet. Of these dignified instructors Gamaliel was one (Acts v. 34); and before these learned doctors was Jesus found when only twelve years old, hearing and asking questions after the manner in which instruction was communicated in these class-rooms (Luke ii. 46; Acts xxii. 3; Lightfoot (*Horæ Hebraicæ*, pp. 741-3); *Pirke Aboth*, v. 23).—J. R. B.

SCRIPTURE (HOLY), or SCRIPTURES (HOLY), the term generally applied in the Christian Church since the second century, to denote the collective writings of the Old and New Testaments [BIBLE]. The names *Scripture*, or 'writing' (*ἡ γραφή*, 2 Pet. i. 20), *Scriptures* (*αἱ γραφαί*, Matt. xxii. 29; Acts viii. 24), *Holy Scriptures* (*ἱερὰ γράμματα*, 2 Tim. iii. 15), are those generally employed in the New Testament

to denote exclusively the writings of the Old [See PETER, EPISTLES OF]. About A.D. 180, the term *Holy Scriptures* (αἱ ἁγίαι γραφαί) is used by Theophilus (*Ad Autolyc.* iii. 12) to include the Gospels. Irenæus (ii. 27) calls the whole collection of the books of the Old and New Testament, *the Divine Scriptures* (θεῖαι γραφαί), and the *Lord's Scriptures* (Dominicæ Scripturæ, v. 20. 2). By Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii.) they are called the *Scriptures* (γραφαί), and the *inspired Scriptures* (αἱ θεοπνεύστοι γραφαί.) From the end of the second and beginning of the third century, at which time a collection of the New Testament writings was generally received, the term came into constant use, and was so applied as to include all the books contained in the version of the Seventy, as well as those of the Hebrew canon [DEUTEROCANONICAL].

Contents of the Scriptures.—The Scriptures are divided into the books held sacred by the Jews, and those held sacred both by Jews and Christians. The former are familiarly known by the name of the *Old* Testament, and the latter by that of the *New* [BIBLE]. The Old Testament, according to the oldest catalogue extant in the Christian Church, that of Melito, Bishop of Sardis in the second century, consists of the five books of Moses, or the Pentateuch (viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy); Joshua, Judges, and Ruth; four books of Kings and two of *Paralipomena* (Chronicles); the Psalms of David; the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Job; the Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah; the twelve Prophets; the books of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Ezra, under which head Nehemiah and Esther seem to be included (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 26). Origen, in the next century, reckons twenty-two books, calling them by their Hebrew names, which consisted generally of the initial word of the book, viz. Bresith or Genesis; Walmoth, or Exodus; Waikra, or Leviticus; Ammesphekodeim, or Numbers; Ellahadebarim, or Deuteronomy; Joshua ben Nun; Sophetim, or Judges and Ruth; Samuel; Wahammelech Dabid, or 3 and 4 Kings; Dibre Hajammin, or Chronicles; Ezra, which included Nehemiah; Sepher Thillim, or Psalms; Misloth, or Proverbs; Koheleth, or Ecclesiastes; Sir Hasirim, or Canticles; Isaiah; Jeremiah, Lamentations, and the Epistle; Daniel; Ezekiel; Job; and Esther; 'besides which,' he adds, 'is Sarbath Sarbane El, or Maccabees.' He omits, perhaps by an oversight, the book of the twelve minor prophets. To the books enumerated in the preceding catalogue, Origen applies the term *canonical Scriptures* in contradistinction to *secret* (apocryphal) and heretical books. He does not however include in these latter the deuterocanonical (ἐν δεύτερῳ, see Cyril of Jerus. *Catech.* iv. 36) or ecclesiastical books; to which he also applies the terms *Scripture*, the *Divine Word*, and the *Sacred Books* (*De Princip.* ii. 1; Opp. i. pp. 16, 79, &c. &c.; *Cont. Cels.* viii. Opp. i. p. 778). Jerome enumerates twenty-two books, viz.: 1. The Pentateuch, which he terms *Thora*, or the *Law*. 2. The eight Prophets, viz., Joshua; Judges and Ruth; Samuel; Kings; Isaiah; Jeremiah; Ezekiel; and the twelve Prophets. 3. Nine Hagiographa, viz. Job; Psalms; Proverbs; Ecclesiastes; Canticles; Daniel; Chronicles; Ezra; and Esther. Some, he adds, enumerate twenty-four books, placing Ruth and Lamentations among the Hagiographa. The other books, read in the churches, but not found in the Canon, as Wisdom, Sirach, Judith, Tobit, and The Shepherd, he terms *Apocrypha*. With this catalogue agrees his contemporary Rufinus, who accuses Jerome as we have already seen [DEUTEROCANONICAL] of compiling, or rather plundering (compilandi), the Scriptures, in consequence of the rejection by that Father of Susanna and the Benedicite. Cyril of Alexandria divides the canonical books into five of Moses, seven other historical, five metrical, and five prophetical.

With these catalogues the Jews also agree. Josephus enumerates twenty-two books, five of Moses, thirteen prophets, and four books of morality. The Prophets were divided by the ancient Jews into the early Prophets, viz., Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—and the later Prophets, which were again subdivided into the greater, viz., Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; and the twelve lesser Prophets. The Talmud and the modern Jews agree with Jerome's division into eight Prophets, and nine Hagiographa (*Chetubim*).

The Canon of the Alexandrian version includes the other books, called ecclesiastical, which we have already given in their order [DEUTEROCANONICAL]. As the early Christians (who were not acquainted with Hebrew) received this version, for which they had the sanction of its employment by the New Testament writers, and as from it flowed the old Latin, and several other ancient versions, we must not be surprised at finding that all these books, being thus placed in the Bible without any mark of distinction, were received indiscriminately by the primitive Christians, and were, equally with the canonical, read in the churches. Jerome, in his Latin translation of the Bible from the Hebrew, in the fourth century, introduced a distinction by means of his prefaces, prefixed to each book, which continued to be placed, in all the MSS., and in the early printed editions of Jerome's version, in the body of the text, from which they were for the first time removed to the beginning or end of the Bible after the decree of the Council of Trent in A.D. 1546 (See Rev. G. C. Gorham's* Letter to Van Ess, Lond. 1826). Luther was the first who separated these books from the others, and removed them to a place by themselves in his translation. Lonicer, in his edition of the Septuagint, 1526, followed his example, but gave so much offence by so doing that they were restored to their places by Cephalæus in 1529. They were however published in a separate form by Plantin in 1575, and have been since that period omitted in many editions of the Septuagint. Although they were never received into the canon either by the Palestinian or Alexandrian Jews, yet they seem to have been by the latter considered as an appendix to the canon (De Wette, *Einleitung*). There are, besides these, many books cited which have long since perished, as the Book of Jasher† (Josh. x. 13;

* Mr. Gorham is the author of the Historical Examination of the book of Enoch, referred to above in p. 172, note.

† The book of Jasher, published at New York in 1840, is not, as would appear from the Appendix to Parker's translation of De Wette's *Introduction*, a reprint of the Bristol forgery, but

2 Sam. i. 18) [JASHER], and the Book of the Wars of Jehovah (Num. xxi. 14). In regard to the order of the books, the Talmudists and the Masoretes, and even some MSS. of the latter, differ from each other. The Alexandrian translators differ from both, and Luther's arrangement, which is generally followed by Protestants, is made entirely according to his own judgment. The modern Hebrew Bibles are thus arranged, viz. five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, two books of Samuel, two books of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, twelve minor Prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 and 2 Chronicles. The New Testament consists of four Gospels, the Acts, Epistles of St. Paul, Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse: these are differently arranged in the Greek and Latin MSS. All these writings have been considered in the Christian church from the earliest period as divinely inspired (*θεόπνευστοι*, 2 Tim. iii. 14-16), as no doubt the books of the Old Testament were by the Jews (see Talmud, *passim;* Philo, *De Vit. Mosis*, ii.; Josephus, *Cont. Apion*, i. 3, and the manner of their citation in the New Testament). The early Christian writers also constantly maintain their inspiration (Justin Martyr, *Second Apology;* Irenæus, i. 4; Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, *Præf.*), the only difference of opinion being as to its limits. Some of the fathers maintain their verbal inspiration, others only that of the thoughts or sentiments, or that the sacred writers were merely preserved from error (Du Pin, *On the Canon*). But the first controversy raised on this subject was in the sixteenth century, when the theses of the Jesuits [see MACCABEES], who had maintained the lower notion of inspiration, were condemned by the faculties of Louvain and Douai. Jahn observes (*Introd.*) that on this subject the entire Christian world was divided, and that the condemnation of the theses was not sanctioned by the Church or the Roman primate, and that the Council of Trent has pronounced no judgment on the subject. Henry Holden, doctor of the Sorbonne, published his *Analysis Fidei* in 1652, in which he defended that notion of the Fathers, which maintained only an exemption from errors appertaining to doctrine. Jahn further observes (*l. c.*) that most Protestants, until the middle of the eighteenth century, defended the most rigid notions of verbal inspiration; but that, from the time of Toellner and Semler, the idea of inspiration was frittered away and eventually discarded. The high notion of inspiration has been recently revived amongst Protestants, especially in the eloquent work of M. Gaussen of Geneva (*Theopneustia*, 1842). The moderate view has been that generally adopted by English divines (Henderson, *On Inspiration*, Horne's *Introd.;* Appendix to Vol. I.)

Some of the most important subjects connected with the Holy Scriptures having been treated of throughout this work, it may not prove unacceptable to add a brief account of the text of the Bible, and chiefly in respect to its external form.

I. *The Hebrew Text.*—The *text* (textus), or that portion which was composed by the original authors, has descended to our times in MSS., the oldest of which (in Hebrew), are written on skins of animals, and date from the twelfth century. They are written in the present square characters, which subsequently to the exile superseded the old character (see Jerome, *Prolog. Gal.*), somewhat resembling the Samaritan, and still preserved on the Maccabæan coins. The present characters are a modification of the Aramæan, and not dissimilar to those on the Palmyrene inscriptions. The existing MSS. (except the Synagogue rolls) are furnished with vowel and diacritical points, and the words are separated from each other, a practice which appears to have been but partially observed in the more ancient writing (De Wette, *Einleitung*). We have no data on which to form a history of the text previous to that unknown period after the Exile when the Canon was closed, and the separate books formed into a collected whole. It is probable that the other sacred books, as well as the Law, were preserved in or by the side of the ark of the covenant (Deut. xxxi. 24-26); and we learn from Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* vii. 5) that the Law (*Νόμος*) was among the spoils of the Temple which graced the triumph of Titus, who afterwards presented the *sacred books* (*βίβλια ἱερὰ*), upon his requesting them, to that historian (*Vita*, ch. 75). From the period of the return of the Jews from Babylon our information is still but scanty, but we are in possession of two important documents bearing on the history of the text, viz., the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the version of the Seventy. The former of these was known to exist only from the citations of Origen, Jerome, and many others among the Fathers, and was supposed to have been lost, when a MS. of it, written in the thirteenth century, was brought into Europe in A.D. 1616, and was first published in the Paris Polyglott. This work is supposed by some to have existed before the separation of the Tribes, but is more generally assigned to the period of the revolt of Manasseh, who was contemporary with Nehemiah, although Josephus places him in the reign of Alexander the Great. The Pentateuch of the Seventy dates from the commencement of the third century before Christ, and the remainder of the books were completed before the time of Sirach, who lived about B.C. 130. [SEPTUAGINT.] These documents, although the work of inaccurate and capricious, if not sometimes ignorant translators, and although the version of the Seventy has come down to us in a very corrupted state, are notwithstanding sufficiently close in their general resemblance to our Hebrew copies to show that the text in use among the Jews long before the Christian era, was essentially the same with that which is now in our hands.

The Jews of Palestine and Babylon, both before and at the period of the Christian era, were, however, still careful of the original text. This is clear from the fact that the versions of Aquila and other translators executed soon after the Christian era, adhere much more closely than that of the Seventy to the present or Masoretic text. Origen, also, in the third century, and Jerome in the fourth, used manuscripts which must have been

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a translation of the much more respectable (though also spurious) Book of Jasher, which we have already referred to in p. 71 as published at Naples in 1625, and written in excellent Hebrew, before the close of the 15th century. See the American *Christian Examiner* for May, 1840.

nearly identical with our present copies. Down to this period the text was beyond question unfurnished with points or diacritical marks.

In the work called the Talmud, a digest of Jewish laws compiled between the second and sixth centuries, we find evident traces of an anxiety to preserve an accurate text, and even an enumeration of various readings in different MSS., as well as of the words and letters in the Bible. When the Talmud was completed, the Masoretes of Tiberias commenced their labours. The *Masora* (tradition) consisted of scattered annotations handed down by oral tradition from the previous centuries. The *Masora* was written at first in separate books, but afterwards in the margin of manuscripts. The Masoretes continued the labours of the Talmudists, whom they imitated in counting the words and letters, and constantly added fresh annotations to the text until the eleventh century. The text of the early Masoretes, or that of the sixth century, cannot now be separated from that of the later. The emendations which they continued to make on the text were of various kinds, critical, orthographical, and grammatical, founded partly on tradition, partly on conjecture. Of the Masoretic text we now possess two recensions, both dating from the eleventh century, namely, the western, or that of Rabbi ben Asher, a native of Palestine, and the eastern, or that of Rabbi ben Naphthali of Babylon. The variants in these texts amount to near a thousand. From this period dates the completion of the system of vowel points. The earliest manuscripts are all pointed, the unpointed having probably become neglected; nor has any portion of the Hebrew Bible, dating before the twelfth or the close of the preceding century, descended to our times. Our oldest MSS. of the Bible are those of the Greek version, which exceed the Hebrew in antiquity by seven hundred years.

The Jews were not slow in taking advantage of the new and beautiful invention which, in the middle of the fifteenth century, superseded the labours of the calligraphists. So early as 1477 the Psalter was printed at Bologna, in folio, but without points except in a few passages, and without any accents except that which denoted the end of the verse (*Soph Pasuk*). The Pentateuch was printed at the same place, with points, in 1482, folio. This was followed by Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Lamentations, and from the press at Soncino, in 1486, there issued the early and later prophets. At Soncino also, in 1488, the entire Hebrew Bible was first printed, which was followed by an edition at Naples in 1491, and another at Brescia, by Rabbi Gerson, in 1494. This was succeeded by the Hebrew of the Complutensian Polyglott in 1517, and in the following year was published at Venice Bomberg's first edition of his Rabbinical Bible, 4 vols. fol., edited by the learned Jew, Felix Pratensis. This, and Robert Stephens's beautiful editions of 1539-1544, were derived from Gerson's, which was that used by Luther for his German Bible. Sebastian Munster's edition (1536) was also of this family.

Bomberg's second edition (Venice, 1525), which was followed by several others, is the parent of Stephens's editions of 1544-46, and of our present Hebrew Bibles. The Antwerp Polyglott (1569) and Hutter's edition (1587) contain a mixed text. Le Jaye and Walton have retained the text of the Antwerp Polyglott. Other accurate editions were published by Buxtorf (1611 and 1618), and by Athias (1661 and 1667), with a preface by Leusden. Van der Hooght's (1705) is a reprint of the edition of Athias. The various readings are contained in the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, and in the editions of Munster, Van der Hooght, Michaelis, Houbigant, Kennicott, Doederlein, Meisner, Jahn, and the Polyglotts. All these editions represent the Masoretic recension, which, most probably, judging from the ancient translations, represented the text which was received at the introduction of Christianity. The early Protestant divines zealously contended for the integrity of the text of the Masoretic MSS., in opposition to the ante-Masoretic, or that which was the basis of the Septuagint (see Löscher, *De Caus. Ling. Heb.*; Carpzov, *Crit. Sacr.*; Buxtorf, *De Punct. Antiq. et Orig.*); and notwithstanding the learning and acumen with which they were opposed, it is now generally conceded that the Protestants were right. They proceeded too far, however, when they contended for the antiquity, and even the divine origin of the vowel points. 'The Protestants,' says Jahn (*Introd.*), 'who until the middle of the eighteenth century maintained the perfect clearness of the sense of Scripture, contended that the vowel points were coeval with the consonants, in order, doubtless, to obviate the notion that the Scriptures were at one time less clear than at another. But since their rejection of this dogma they agree with us that the points are but a commentary of the middle ages.' Louis Capell, an eminent French Protestant divine, who had contended, in opposition to the two Buxtorfs, against the antiquity of the points, was unable to obtain a licence in France for the publication of his *Arcanum Punctationis*, to which the Protestants of that day were warmly opposed, although their views were contrary to the more correct judgment of Luther, Calvin, and others among the early reformers. The consonants alone are the true objects of sacred criticism.

It was also contended that the sacred text had descended to us in a faultless state. But this notion, against which the critical sceptics Capell, and, in more recent times, our own Kennicott, had to contend (De Wette, § 81), and for which they had to endure much obloquy, has been long exploded. Such was the force of prejudice, that, when Louis Capell in his *Critica Sacra* had formed a collection of various readings and errors which he believed to have crept into the copies of the Bible, the Protestants prevented the impression of it, and it was only after his son, John Capell, had joined the church of Rome, that he obtained the French king's licence to print it, in 1650. The errors of transcribers, either from accident, mistake, or design, the wish to correct seeming difficulties, or the introduction of scholia into the text, abbreviations, &c., &c., are such as are common to all manuscripts, and the true text of the Scriptures must be collected, as in similar cases, and, so far as may be, restored, from a comparison of these, from parallel passages, ancient versions, the Talmud, the Masora, and critical conjecture [Criticism, Biblical.]. The accusation sometimes made against the Jews of designedly falsify-

ing the text in their controversies with the early Christians is now generally considered to be without foundation.

II. *The Greek Text.*—The Greek text, or that of the New Testament, has been noticed under another head [Recensions]. 'The only certain result,' observes De Wette (*Einleitung*) 'which is derived from the enquiries that have been instituted into the history of the text, consists in the fact that certain MSS. and other critical testimonies correspond according to a certain analogy, and again diverge from each other. The Alexandrian do this in the greatest degree, although in these also are many commutations and admixtures.'

The text of the New Testament, observes the same distinguished critic, as it is found in MSS. from the fifth to the fifteenth century, is confessedly free from 'gross and palpable errors.' The vigilance produced by the constant controversies between the catholics and the heretics tended to maintain this purity (De Wette, *l. c.*). This did not, however, preserve the text from numerous errors, which arose here, as well as in the Old Testament, from the commutation of letters, transposition of words, seeing and hearing incorrectly, abbreviations, reception into the text of marginal glosses and parallel passages, and other obvious causes. The text was also altered by attempts at making it clearer, and correcting what appeared difficult or erroneous, as well as from its liturgical use. The various readings arising from these and other causes amounted in Mill's edition (1707) to thirty thousand. This circumstance at one time excited great alarm among religious men, among whom was the amiable Bengel, and was the source of triumph to infidels (Whitby's *Examen var. lect.* Joh. Millii; Bentley's *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, in reply to Collins's *Discourse on Free-thinking*). Some Roman-catholic writers made use of the same fact in order to prove the superior advantage of having recourse only to the Latin 'authentic' Vulgate (Coppinger's *Reasons*), forgetting that the MSS. of the Vulgate were liable to the same charge [Vulgate.] But these delusions have been long since dissipated, and although the various readings have, in consequence of the labours of subsequent editors, increased to one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand, it is now generally felt that the greater part of the variations are only similar to those in all other MSS. that have been frequently copied; and that with the exception of a few important passages they are of no authority or consequence; 'and that it is a matter scarcely worth consideration, as regards the study of our religion and its history, whether, after making a very few corrections, we take the received text formed as it was, or the very best which the most laborious and judicious criticism might produce' (Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. xl.; see also Dr. Wiseman's *Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*, Lect. x.).

The first portion of the Greek Testament that appeared after the invention of printing was the Hymns of Zacharias and Elizabeth, printed at Venice in 1486, and six first chapters of St. John's Gospel, which issued from the press of Aldus Manutius in 1501. But what has been long called the *Received Text* was Elzevir's reprint, in 1624, of Robert Stephens's third edition, or that of 1550, from which, however, it differs in one hundred and thirty places. We shall here give a brief history of this edition, which forms an epoch in Biblical Literature.

The first printed edition of the entire New Testament was that of the Complutensian Polyglott, published at the munificent cost of the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes. The New Testament, in this edition, was commenced in 1502, and bears the date of 1514, but was not published until 1522, four years after the completion of the entire Polyglott. The text of the New Testament was not founded on very ancient manuscripts. The editors state in their preface that they have placed 'the Latin version of St. Jerome between the Hebrew and Greek, to represent the Synagogue and the Oriental church as the two thieves, and Jesus, that is, the Roman or Latin church, in the midst.' It was not, however, meant by this to disparage the original texts, of which Ximenes in his dedication speaks 'in as high terms as Luther could have used' (Marsh's *Michaelis*).

Before this edition saw the light, and consequently before he could have derived any aid from it, Erasmus published his edition, which issued from the press of Basel in 1516. This was followed by the editions of 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. It was in the edition of 1522 that he inserted the disputed clause, 1 John v. 7 [John, Epistles of]. Erasmus's editions are chiefly founded on four Basel cursive manuscripts, B. vi. 27, B. vi. 17, B. vi. 25, B. ix., and B. x. 20, none of which is older than the tenth century. The first of these, which is the most ancient, and contains the whole New Testament except the Apocalypse, represents in the Acts and Epistles what has been called by Griesbach and Scholz the Constantinopolitan; and in the Gospels, which are considered by Bengel the only correct portion of the MS., it harmonizes with what is called the Alexandrian recension. B. vi. 25, from which the press was set, is an incorrect MS. of the Gospels of the (so called) Constantinopolitan recension, and of the fifteenth century. The other MSS. contain only portions of the New Testament. He had for the first edition but one incomplete MS. of part of the Apocalypse, part of which he himself translated from the Latin, correcting in his fourth edition (1527) from the Complutensian text.

The Aldine edition (1518) was founded on the text of Erasmus. This was followed by many others, which it is unnecessary here to particularize.

In 1546 appeared the first, or *O mirificam* edition, of Robert Stephens, 16mo. This principally followed the Complutensian text, compared with that of Erasmus. The second edition (1549) gives nearly the same text. But the third edition (in folio, 1550), which is the most beautiful of all Stephens's editions, had for its basis Erasmus's fifth edition, of which indeed it was little more than a reprint. With this, however, he collated fifteen MSS. in the Royal Library, together with the Complutensian text, adding in the margin their various readings. These MSS. have been identified, one of them being the Cambridge MS. or Cod. Bezæ (D), with another uncial MS. of the ninth century, still in the Royal Library of Paris. Stephens's fourth edi-

tion was published in 1551, and another by his son Robert in 1569.

In respect to all these editions, observes Hug, the editors seized upon the best MSS. in their vicinity, without the slightest knowledge of the critical stores which were within their reach in the obscurity of libraries, of the various critical phenomena occurring in the New Testament, or of the proper principles on which to proceed. They acted without plan, took MSS. at haphazard, and amended them according to their fancy. They belong therefore to the history of Biblical literature and of the typography and cultivation of the sixteenth century, but they are of no use in the criticism of the New Testament, except in tracing back to their origin the mistakes and false readings in our printed editions. The other editions, for a considerable time after this period, were little more than reprints of the Stephanian, Complutensian, and Erasmian editions. The Complutensian was that adopted by Plantin and the editor of the Paris and Antwerp polyglotts; the Erasmian by Cephalæus and others. The most distinguished of the Erasmian are those of Boyard in 1543, and of Colinæus in 1534, the latter with the aid of some MSS. in the Royal Library and that of St. Victor. For the other editions see Hug's *Introd.* § 57.

The first attempt at a critical edition was by the celebrated Theodore Beza, who used for this purpose the collations made for Robert Stephens by his son Henry. His first edition was published in 1565, and his second in 1576, which were followed by those of 1582, 1589, and 1598. He made use of nineteen MSS. (including, for his third edition, the Cambridge and Clermont, both uncials), as well as an Arabic, and the Syrian Peschito version, which had been published by Widmanstadt in 1555. 'It has been Beza's lot to be frequently much commended, and frequently much censured, both with equal reason' (Hug's *Introd.*). No principles, however, had yet been established for reducing to practice his scanty materials. Beza's editions were the basis of Elzevir's, or the Textus Receptus, the first edition of which was published in 1624, and the second in 1633. In the preface it is announced, 'Textum habes ab omnibus receptum in quo nihil immutatum, aut corruptum damus.' There were in all five editions published from this 'infallible press,' amounting to 8000 copies. A new edition was published, with marginal various readings by Curcellæus, in 1633, previous to which there was a splendid reprint of it published by the Roman-catholic editor J. Morinus, at Paris in 1628. This was followed by the editions of Gerhard von Maestricht and Bœcler, in 1711, 1715 and 1760. Walton, however, in the Polyglott, adhered to the third edition of Stephens, adding the various readings of the Codex Alexandrinus (1657).

Bishop Fell's edition of 1625 prepared the way for that of Dr. John Mill, the first truly critical edition (1707), the basis of which was the third of Stephens, whose text he adopted. He furnished the various readings of many MSS. hitherto uncollated, making use of all the ancient versions and the citations of the fathers. He prefixed valuable Prolegomena, but only survived a few days the publication of his work, which commenced an entirely new era in sacred criticism. A new edition was published by Küster, who himself collated for the work the Codex Bœrnerianus of St. Paul's Epistles (1710). [See Vulgate.]

The first of the Germans who engaged in the laudable undertaking of giving a more correct text of the New Testament, was the excellent and conscientious Bengel, a man of great genius in this department, who simplified criticism by classifying all the manuscripts into two distinct *families*, the African and the Asiatic, to which Griesbach afterwards gave the name of *recensions*. The chief value of his work consists in his 'Apparatus,' for he made no change in the *Textus Receptus*, and makes a merit of introducing no reading which had not been already *in print*. His edition was printed at Tübingen in 1734.

Our limits will not allow us to dwell on the peculiar merits of John James Wetstein, whose splendid edition appeared in 1751. He collated all the MSS. used by his predecessors, together with many others, including C., or the Codex Ephræmi. His Prolegomena furnish a rich treasure to the Biblical student. Herein he first denominated the various MSS. by the letters of the alphabet, by which they are still known. He made, however, no alteration in the old printed text. The first who successfully entered this field was the celebrated J. J. Griesbach, whose edition, published in 1775-1777, ushered in the 'golden age' of criticism. Whatever difference of opinion exists as to the correctness of his text, all are agreed in commending his untiring zeal and strict conscientiousness in this department. The various readings which he had collected rendered his edition the most perfect of its kind which had yet appeared. 'With this work,' observes Hug, 'he adorned the evening of a laborious and praiseworthy life, and left behind him an honourable memorial, which may perhaps be surpassed in respect to the critical materials it contains (for these are daily increasing), but hardly in regard to elaborate and accurate criticism.' The peculiarity of Griesbach's *text* (as distinct from his edition) consists in the preference he gives to what he considers the Alexandrian or Oriental readings. In this he has met with a zealous antagonist in the indefatigable Professor Scholz, of Bonn, an eminent critic of the Roman church, who has, in his edition of 1830-35, represented the so-called Constantinopolitan or common text of the modern MSS., to which he attaches a decided preference. To the 674 MSS. of Griesbach he has added no less than 607, which he has the honour of having first made known, but which he has but cursorily and *superficially* inspected, rendering further investigation more indispensable than ever. The Constantinopolitan text, which he merely assumes, from what he considers its internal excellence, as well as from its being the public and authorized text of the Greek church, to correspond with the autographs of the sacred writers, approaches to that of Elzevir, from the accidental circumstance that the earlier editors made use of materials chiefly of this class. Many, who are disposed to adopt his theory from its simplicity, and its satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of the case, are unwilling to commit themselves to all his details. An English scholar and divine, the latest who has treated of this subject, although disposed to favour

Scholz's theory, conceives that his historical demonstration of the truth of his system is likely to carry conviction to few who really know what historical demonstration means, and that on the point of internal evidence his edition is a decided failure. He concludes his valuable observations with expressing his regret that Scholz's edition should have been received in England with a degree of consideration to which it has slender claims. 'I fully,' he adds, 'admit the value of this critic's exertions as a collator of MSS. I admire his diligence, and venerate his zeal. His theory of recensions I conceive to approximate very near to the truth. But he seems disqualified by a lack of judgment for the delicate task of selecting from the mass of discordant readings the genuine text of Holy Scripture' (*Supplement to the Authorized English Version of the New Testament*, by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, M.A., London, 1845).

An edition of Scholz's text, but without the apparatus, was published by Mr. Bagster, in his *Hexapla*, in 4to., in 1841; and another neat edition in 12mo., accompanied with the English version, and the principal variations of Griesbach's text (without a date) in 1843. The anonymous editor of this Testament has, however, departed from Scholz's punctuation and divisions into paragraphs. (Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 15).

Scholz's system of recensions has met with a powerful antagonist in Tischendorf, in his *Prolegomena* to his portable and comprehensive edition of the New Testament, published at Leipsic, in 1841. Tischendorf has furnished the Alexandrian text with the most remarkable various readings, and an excellent critical apparatus. His work is considered by De Wette to be hastily executed. He was the first to apply the St. Gall MS. to the criticism of the Gospels. The theories and criticisms of Vater, Tittmann, Lachmann and others have been referred to in another article. Lachmann rejects all former theories, and admits no MS. which does not represent the text of the first four centuries. He has added to his edition a most valuable text of the Vulgate, which he has formed for himself from two ancient MSS.; and agreeing with Eichhorn and Dr. Wiseman, that the first Latin version was made in Africa, he devotes a large share of attention to the collection of its fragments.

We may now reasonably hope, from the vast accession which is daily making to our stock of materials, that we are approaching the means of forming a more correct estimate of the true state of the text than it has been hitherto our lot to enjoy.

We shall next treat of the divisions and marks of distinction in the several books.

The *divisions of the Hebrew text*, as they are now found in the printed Bibles, have descended from a very remote antiquity. The sections called *parashes* (פרשיות), or paragraphs, are noticed in the Talmud, and were therefore in existence anterior to the times of the Masoretes, whose textual labours, it will be recollected, commenced in the sixth century. Of these *parashes* (*divisions*) the Pentateuch contains 669. They are of two sorts, greater and smaller, or open and shut paragraphs. The *open* paragraphs (פתוחות *petuchoth*) are so called because they commenced the line; and the others סתומות, or *shut*, because they were separated within the line by a space or break. They are also marked in the common MSS. with the initials פ or ס, and the former by a triple space. In the synagogue rolls they are distinguished by spaces merely (which was probably the only aboriginal note of division), and not by those initial letters, and they are in the Talmud referred to Moses himself as their author. There is a similar division, marked by spaces only, in the *Prophets* and *Chethubim*, which are also referred to in the Talmud. These divisions (sometimes called *pisqua*) are found even in some of the hymns which are stichometrically arranged, viz. Judg. v.; 2 Sam. xxii.; Exod. xv.; but they are wanting in those contained in 1 Sam. xxiv. and 2 Sam. i.; and they sometimes even occur in the middle of the verse. Each separate *psalm* is also called in the Talmud a *parash*, as well as each portion of the cxixth Psalm. In the book of Job the transitions from prose to verse, as well as the commencement of Elihu's speech, are marked in the MSS. by a larger space, and everywhere else in the same book the change of speakers is marked by a smaller (Hupfeld, *Ausfürliche Grammatik*). In addition to these there are found in the MSS. of the Pentateuch larger sections, of which there are fifty-four in number, and of which one is read in the synagogues on every Sabbath Day. These are sometimes called *sidarim* (סדרים); they are not mentioned in the Talmud, and appear to have had their origin in the Masora. The smaller sections have been made use of as far as possible for the purpose of dividing the Sabbath lessons among several readers. They have sometimes been considered as subdivisions of the larger sections. When the Sabbath lessons coincide in their commencement with the *parashes*, they are marked with a triple פ פ פ or ס ס ס, according as these are *open* or *shut*. There is one only (Gen. xlvii. 28) which has no space before it. There is also another division, into *sidarim*, found in the Rabbinical Bible of Ben-chaijim, printed in 1525, the number of which amounts in the whole Bible to 447. There is some diversity in the MSS. in the use of the initial letters for marking open and shut sections (see Leusden, *Phil. Heb.*, diss. iv.), and there are further divisions of the text marked by spaces only, several of which are identical with the modern or Latin chapters of the thirteenth century. These sections were divided into פסוקים, short sentences, or *verses*, regulated by the sense [Verse], and the number of *sidarim* or larger sections in each book, together with the number of verses in each, was noted at the end of the book in the Masoretic copies. In Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible the number of verses is marked at the end of each section. There is also, in the prophetical books, a corresponding division into, or rather selection of, הפטרות (*Haphtaroth*) or Sabbath lessons, from הפטרה, a word nearly synonymous with the Latin *missa*, or dismissal, because the people were dismissed when these were read. These הפטרות are also mentioned in the *Mishna*. They are written each on a separate roll.

The divisions found in the MSS. of the ancient Greek, Latin, and other versions are different from these, and more resemble the Ammonio-Eusebian κεφάλαια or *capitula* of the MSS. of the New Testament, which we shall

presently refer to. We find traces of these in the Old Testament in the *Codex Alexandrinus*, where, however, they are confined to the former part of Deuteronomy, and the middle of the book of Joshua. Thus Deut. i. 9 is marked with a ϛ, denoting the second *capitulum*, commencing with καὶ εἶπε; the third *capitulum* commences with our 19th verse; the fourth with our 40th; the fifth with ch. ii. 1; the sixth with ch. ii. ver. 7; the seventh with ver. 14, and the eighth with ver. 24. The numbers are placed in the margin, and the *capitula* commence the line with a capital letter. That such divisions were very ancient is further evident from Tertullian (*Scorpiac.* 2), who, after reciting Deut. xiii. 1-5, proceeds to cite the passage commencing with the next verse, as 'another chapter' (*capitulum*). And Jerome observes that a capitulum had ended in the Sept. where it began in the Hebrew (in Mic. vi. 9; Soph. iii. 14; and *Quæst. Heb.* Gen. xxv. 13–18). In the *Monument. Eccles.* of Cotelerius, Deut. xxv. 8 is cited as the ninety-third capitulum; from which it appears that there were more than one hundred of these short sections in the book of Deuteronomy. Exod. xx. 1 is, in the same document, cited as the sixty-third capitulum, and xx. 22 as the sixty-eighth; also Lev. xxv. as the hundred and twentieth, and Num. xxxv. as the hundred and thirty-seventh. This latter book, therefore, was divided into about one hundred and forty chapters.

In the *Cod. Alex.* the first number noted in Joshua is 12 (ιϐ), coinciding with our ch. ix. 3; the thirteenth commences with ch. x. 1; the fourteenth with ch. x. 16; the fifteenth with ch. x. 29; the sixteenth with ch. x. 31; the seventeenth with ch. x. 34; the eighteenth with ch. x. 36; and the nineteenth with ch. x. 38. The twentieth corresponds with the commencement of our chapter xi.; the twenty-second with our ch. xi. 16; the twenty-third with ch. xi. 21; the twenty-fourth with ch. xii. 1; the twenty-fifth with ch. xii. 4; the twenty-sixth with ch. xii. 7; the twenty-seventh with ch. xiii. 1; the twenty-eighth number is omitted; the twenty-ninth corresponds with ch. xiii. 24; the thirtieth with ch. xiii. 29; the thirty-first with ch. xiv. 1; the thirty-second with ch. xiv. 6; the thirty-third with ch. xviii. 1; the thirty-fourth number is omitted; the thirty-fifth answers to ch. xviii. 8; the thirty-sixth is omitted; the thirty-seventh answers to our ch. xviii. 10; the thirty-eighth to ch. xix. 17; and here the numeration of this ancient codex ends. The above comparison will probably serve to convey to the reader a correct view of the ancient system of capitulation, which appears to be sufficiently unequal and arbitrary, some chapters being comparatively long, and others not exceeding in length one of our present verses. The only other numbers in this codex are those of the Decalogue, in Exod. xx., of which the fourth, fifth, and sixth commandments only (according to the Origenian or Greek division), are numbered, with the letters γ, δ, and ϵ (3, 4, and 5), as in the Latin and Lutheran communions. In the Vatican MS. there exist only the remains of a very obscure division, which is confined to the four prophets (see *Pref. to Roman ed.*) [Decalogue].

In the Aldine edition of the Septuagint and Greek Testament the only capitulated portions are the books of Ezra, Esther, Tobit, Judith, and Job, the first of which is divided into 80 chapters (κεφάλαια); the second into 55; the third into 93; the fourth into 63; and Job into 32. These are all numbered in the margin; and at the beginning of each book (except Tobit and Judith) is a table containing the numbers and the few first words of each κεφάλαιον, thus showing the design and use of the enumeration. These, but no other books (except the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Chronicles), have the Latin chapters, only in Chronicles they are sometimes of double length.

The Latin version of St. Jerome, as published by Martianay, has a somewhat similar division into sections, there designated *tituli*, *capitula*, and *breves*. These are all of unequal and arbitrary length, and at the commencement of each book is a *breviarium* or index, referring to the numbers of the tituli, capitula, and breves, and containing a short *lemma* or abstract of the contents of each. These divisions are confined to the Pentateuch, Joshua, Samuel, and Kings, the two latter books being furnished with titles only. Genesis, *e. g.* has 46 breves, 70 capitula, and 38 titles; and Kings has 222 titles. Each of these has its argument prefixed. These divisions generally commence at the same place, and are sometimes identical. Thus the first *brevis* in Genesis is entitled, 'De lucis exordio, et divisione tenebrarum a luce, et secundâ die' [ch. i. 1-5]; the first *capitulum*, 'De die primo in quo lux facta est' [also vers. 1-5]; and the first *titulus*, 'De creatione mundi et plasmate hominis' [vers. 1; iii. 20]. Exodus contains 18 titles, 21 breves, and 138 capitula or chapters; Leviticus 16 titles, 16 breves, and 88 chapters; Numbers 20 titles, 74 breves, and 97 chapters; Deuteronomy 19 titles, 142 breves, and 155 chapters; Joshua 11 titles, 32 breves, and 110 chapters; Judges 8 titles, 18 breves, and 50 chapters; Samuel 137 titles, and Kings 220. The books of Chronicles are divided into short sentences resembling our verses.

In later manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate there is found a continuous capitulation, carried through the whole books, canonical and uncanonical. Of these the Charlemagne MS. is an example. This valuable document, now the property of the British Museum, has the following divisions:—Genesis contains 82 capitula, Exodus 139, Numbers 74, Deuteronomy 45, Joshua 33, Judges 18 (Ruth is not capitulated), 1 Kings contains 26, 2 Kings 18, 3 Kings 18, 4 Kings 17. There is no capitulation of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, the minor prophets, nor Job, but the paragraphs in these books commence the line with rubricated capitals. The prayer of Jeremiah is divided into sentences, numbered in the margin with Greek letters; and the numbers of the Psalms are also attached in the margin, and each psalm separated by the point ·.· . The Proverbs are divided into 59 chapters, but there are 60 noted in the table of contents. The 59th chapter is entitled, *Sacramentum de muliere forte*, and the 60th, *Retributio de fructibus manuum*. Ecclesiastes contains 31 chapters; the Song of Solomon is not capitulated, but in the body of the text there are rubricated titles, as Vox Ecclesiæ, Vox amicorum, Vox Christi, &c.; Wisdom has 18 capitula, and Ecclesiasticus 127. There is no division whatever in Chronicles, Ezra, or Nehemiah, but there occur a few in the latter part of Esther, with Jerome's notes, commencing with a rubri-

cated capital. There are no divisions in Tobit or Judith, except unrubricated paragraphs, and the portion answering to our present 19th chapter of Tobit, which commences with a red letter. 1 Maccabees contains 61 chapters, and 2 Maccabees 55.

In the New Testament Matthew contains 81 chapters, Mark 46, Luke 73, John 35, and Acts 74. The Epistle of James has 20, 1 Peter 20, and 2 Peter 11, Rom. 51, 1 Cor. 62, 2 Cor. 28, Gal. 37, Eph. 31, Phil. 18, 1 Thess. 25, 2 Thess. 8, Coloss. 31, 1 Tim. 28, 2 Tim. 25, Titus 10, Philem. 4, Heb. 38. After this follows the Epistle to the Laodiceans, which is not capitulated. Then follows the Apocalypse, containing 22 chapters. All the capitulated books are preceded by the capitulation or table of the contents of each chapter, except the Apocalypse, the table prefixed to which contains, instead of such summary, the few first words of each division. The Gospels are marked with the Eusebian canons, and besides the Ammonian numbers, the initial of each evangelist's name referred to in the canons is attached. The Pauline Epistles have also a canon prefixed containing the parallel passages. This is probably the canon which James Faber of Etaples erroneously ascribed to Ammonius (Zucagni, *Monumenta*).

The Decalogue is divided according to the Hieronymian (the same as the Greek) division, with the number of each commandment prefixed, and the table of contents contains the following summary:

Verba legis quæ precepit Dominus custodire.

I. Non erunt tibi dii alii absque me.

II. Non facies tibi idolum neque ullam similitudinem.

III. Non sumes nomen Domini tui in vanum.

IV. In mente habe diem Sabbatorum.

V. Honora patrem tuum et matrem.

VI. Non occides. VII. Non mœchaberis.

VIII. Non furtum facies. VIIII. Non dices falsum testimonium.

X. Non concupisces uxorem proximi tui, neque aliquid ejus.

Later MSS. have the numbers of the capitula inserted in the body of the text; and after the invention of the Latin chapters, the numbers of these latter are placed in the margin. In one of those in the British Museum, Harl. 5021 (written on vellum in the 13th century), the capitulation of which is not completed, Genesis contains about 70 chapters, Exodus 140, Leviticus 24, Numbers 72, Deuteronomy 156, Joshua 34, Judges * * *, Ruth 4, 1 and 2 Kings 96, 3 Kings 56, 4 Kings * * *, 1 Chronicles * * *, 2 Chronicles 20, Ezra 36, Judith 23, Esther 11, Tobit 15, 1 Macc. 57, and 2 Macc. 56.

Divisions of the New Testament. The most ancient MSS. of the New Testament which have descended to our times also contain numerous divisions of the text. Of these the most ancient marked by numbers, are the *Ammonian* chapters, to which the Eusebian canons were afterwards attached,—the larger chapters, pericopæ, or *titles*,—the church-lessons, and other peculiar divisions. Besides these are paragraphs marked by capitals commencing the line, and stichometrical divisions or verses [Verse].

Κεφάλαια, or chapters. We find divisions under this name extant in the time of Tertullian (*Ad Uxor.* 2; *De Pudicit.* xvi.; and *De Carn. Christ.* xix.), who calls by the name of capitulum the phrase 'non ex sanguine, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt.' They are also mentioned in A.D. 260, by Dionysius of Alexandria (ap. Eusebium, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 25), who observes that some have attempted to refute the Apocalypse, criticising every *chapter*, and pronouncing it unintelligible (see Revelation; also Stuart's *Commentary on the Apocalyse*, 1845, § 17).* But the earliest division of which we can speak with historical accuracy is that of Ammonius, the deacon of Alexandria, who published his *Monotessaron*, or *Harmony of the Gospels*, in the middle of the third century. Cæsarius, the brother of Gregory Nazianzen, observes of these (*Dial.* i.), that there are four Gospels containing 1162 chapters; and Epiphanius (*Ancor.* c. 50) makes the same enumeration. These divisions are accurately marked in the margin of several ancient MSS. But the numeral notations were adopted, not for the purpose of reference, or of facilitating citation, according to the usage of modern times, but merely as a companion to the author's harmony or abridgment of the Gospels; of these chapters St. Matthew's Gospel contains 355, St. Mark's 235, St. Luke's 342, and St. John's 232. It has been supposed that this division was confined to Ammonius' own copy, and not generally published (Mill's *Proleg.*); but this copy happening to fall into the hands of Eusebius of Cæsarea, he conceived the idea of forming a perfect Diatessaron by the help of those divisions and the numerals which Ammonius had placed in the margin of his copy (See Eusebius, *Letter to Carpianus*). He for this purpose reduced all the chapters to ten classes, and arranged them in ten tables or canons. Eusebius made no new divisions, but confined himself to those numbered by Ammonius. His ten canons thus contain—1. The sections in which the four Gospels agree; 2. Those in which the first three agree; 3. Those in which Matthew, Luke, and John agree; 4. Those in which Mark and John agree; 5. Those in which Matthew and Luke agree; 6. Those in which Matthew and Mark agree; 7. Those in which Matthew and John agree; 8. Those in which Luke and Mark agree; 9. Those in which Luke and John agree; 10. Those which are peculiar to only one of the Evangelists. He then placed additional numeral letters, rubricated, in the margin of the Gospels referring to each canon, viz., α to denote the first canon, ϐ the second, &c. A single glance at the page thus indicates how many of the Evangelists agree in the subject of each chapter, or otherwise; *e.g.* at Matt. iii. 6 (according to the modern division), 'and Jesus, being baptized, went up out of the water,' there will be found in the margin, besides the Ammonian number ιδ, or xiv, the numeral α signifying canon i., in running the eye down which the number of the chapter again occurs, on a line with which will be perceived the corresponding chapter in the three other Gospels, viz., Mark vi.; Luke xiii.;

* This work, which we conceive to be the best treatise on the Apocalypse that has yet appeared in English, was published subsequently to the articles Revelation and Spurious Revelations having gone to press.

John xv.; answering according to the modern division to Mark i. 9-11, Luke iii. 21, 22, and John i. 32-34. The groundwork of the whole is St. Matthew's Gospel, the figures in the margin of which refer to the parallel passages of the other three Evangelists.

The *Monotessaron* of Ammonius is now no longer extant, but in the eighth century, Victor, bishop of Capua, discovered what he believed to be the identical work, of which he made a Latin translation, attaching to it the Eusebian canons. This work having long sunk into oblivion, was discovered by Michael Memler, a printer at Mayntz, in 1521. Wetstein, however, maintained that this could not have been the genuine work of Ammonius, inasmuch as, besides other reasons, the Latin has the four Gospels in one canon, but Ammonius in four, the Latin only indicating the parallel passages of the other Gospels by numerals; the Latin also has the history of the adulteress, which was not known to Ammonius.

Another ancient numerical division is that of the τίτλοι (*titles* or *inscriptions*) also called by the name of *pericopæ* and *chapters* (κεφάλαια). These are distinct in their nature from the former divisions, and like them, are confined to the four Gospels. Of these divisions there are found in St. Matthew's Gospel 68, St. Mark's 48, St. Luke's 83, and St. John's 18. They are called *titles*, inasmuch as there is a short title or summary of the contents of each placed at the top or bottom of the page, together with a numerical reference in the margin to each *title;* and a table of the titles with the number of each is prefixed to the Gospels. Thus the first chapter is entitled περὶ τῶν μάγων (of the wise men), the second περὶ τῶν παιδίων ἀναιρηθέντων (of the slaughtered infants), &c. A chapter (κεφάλαιον), therefore, denotes a larger section, when the table or index of the chapter is prefixed to the MS., but the same word, when the number is only inserted in the margin, without reference to a table of contents or an inscription at the top of the page, denotes one of the smaller or Ammonian chapters (See Simon's *Histoire Critique*).

There is some difference of opinion as to the age of these larger chapters, some ascribing them to the third, others to the fifth or sixth century. From the silence of Eusebius respecting them (*Letter to Carpianus*), it has been deduced that he was unacquainted with them; nor does Chrysostom ever refer to them, but the *titles* referring to the destruction of the Jews are cited by Athanasius in his third *Orat. adv. Arianos*. They could not have been designed for ἀναγνώσεις or church lessons; for, like the Ammonian chapters, there is an immense irregularity in their respective lengths, both the titles and the Ammonian chapters containing a portion sometimes exceeding an hundred, and at other times amounting to but two or three or even one of our modern verses. Neither could they have been designed for the distinction of subjects; for although the title of the chapter for the most part expresses but one subject, the chapter itself contains several, and even the Ammonian chapters sometimes contain several of the larger chapters or titles, or parts of several. Still less was either division ever designed for the purpose of reference or citation, for we never find a single instance of this kind before Euthymius Eugabenus in the twelfth century, who cites passages which he observes are found in the *sixty-fifth*, *sixty-sixth*, and *sixty-seventh* chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, and the *eightieth* of St. Luke's. The chapters thus cited are the *titles*, not the Ammonian chapters. Mill (*Proleg.*), conceiving that no other object remains to which these larger sections could be applied except that of a harmony, refers them to Tatian the Assyrian, who composed, A.D. 192, his harmony of the Gospels entitled *Diapente*, probably because it included the Gospel of the Ebionites. This work was different in character from the later harmony of Ammonius, being in the form of a diatessaron compiled in the words of the Evangelists. Of this work, which Tatian had written for the benefit of his disciples, Theodoret, bishop of Cyprus in the fourth century, found two hundred copies read in his churches. Mill conjectures that on occasion of this work, Tatian invented the larger chapters, which are marked in the inner margin of the MSS. with capital numerals. We have already perceived that the first of these chapters in St. Matthew's Gospel commences with the journey of the wise men (Matt. ii.); Mark's Gospel commences with i. 23, and Luke's and John's each with our second chapter. The omissions have been accounted for by supposing that the author of these divisions left the commencement vacant in order to supply it with illuminated letters, and that although in the present MSS. the chapters are marked with alphabetical letters in regular order, the author added the titles or inscriptions only in the margin, but that subsequent transcribers transferred them to the top and bottom of the page, placing the numerals by way of reference, which after the year A.D. 500 were added in capital letters in the inner margin (Mill's *Proleg.*). Others account for the omissions by supposing that the numerals were not intended to denote chap. 1, 2, 3, &c., but rather the place of chap. 1, 2, and 3; for as the first section (or title) is placed at the end of the first chapter and the beginning of the second, the title prefixed to chap. 2 must necessarily correspond with A, and that prefixed to chap. 3 with B, which marks the second section (See Rumpæus, *Commentatio Critica*).

We have observed that both these divisions are contained in most of the ancient MSS. Thus A, or the Alexandrian MS. (Brit. Mus.), has the Ammonian chapters and numbers, and the Eusebian canons, together with the larger chapters or titles, and the usual index of the larger chapters at the commencement of the Gospels. This MS. has, besides the numeral capitals, a peculiar mark (ϗ) in Matthew and Mark on the left margin; instead of which the *titles* are indicated by a cross, with the usual letter, *rubricated*, in Luke and John. It has the corresponding titles on the top of the page.

C, or the Codex Ephraemi, has, *a primâ manu*, the Ammonian chapters, but has not the Eusebian canons. This circumstance was first noticed by Tischendorf, all former writers having erroneously stated that it contained the Eusebian canons and the titles, and all *a primâ manu*. With respect to these latter, it is remarkable that although there is a catalogue of them prefixed to the Gospels (that to Matthew is lost), there is no indication of them whatever in the text. Of this celebrated codex,

which had been partially collated by Wetstein and Griesbach, a beautiful and accurate facsimile was published by Tischendorf at Leipsic, in 1843, with valuable Prolegomena. A great portion of the writing of this Palimpsest, which had been hitherto illegible, has been restored by a chemical process (see *Codex Ephræmi Syri Rescriptus*. Lipsiæ, 1843, 4to.).*

D, or the Cod. Bezæ, has also, but not *a primâ manu*, the Ammonian chapters and numerals only, without the Eusebian canons. Probably it was intended by the copyist to add these. Bishop Marsh (*Notes to Michaelis*) thinks that the division itself was different from the Ammonian. This MS. has also the ἀναγνώσματα, or church lessons, marked in the margin, but not *a primâ manu*. Z, or the Dublin Palimpsest, corresponds with C in having the Ammonian sections without the canons; it has the titles or larger chapters, of which, however, but a few reminiscences have escaped the ravages of time. There remains, indeed, but one of the Ammonian numbers, viz., in plate xxxiii., No. ροη, [ch. xvii.], and of the titles, the No. ΔΖ at the same place; in plate xvii., at the top of the page, the twentieth title, viz. κ. περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ῥήματος πρὸ . . . Ἰωάννην; and in plate lix. the title περὶ τῶν δέκα παρθένων, but without the number; in plate lxvii. the title τύπος μυστικός; and in plate lxiv. ἄρνησις Πέτρου.

B, or the celebrated Vatican MS., contains neither the Ammonian nor the larger chapters, but has divisions peculiar to itself, distinguished only by red numerals in the margin; of which Matthew contains 170, Mark 72, Luke 152, and John 80; Acts 79, James 9, 1 Peter 8, 1 John 11, and Jude 2. St. Paul's Epistles in this MS. have a peculiar and unique numeration, being capitulated in one continued series, as if they made one book. There are ninety-three chapters, of which fifty-nine extend to the close of the Epistle to the Galatians; then Ephesians immediately commences with ch. lxx., the ten omitted numbers being applied to the margin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is placed after those to the Thessalonians. The last part of Hebrews is wanting in this MS., together with the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, and the Apocalypse (Zacagni, *Monumenta*). The Codex Cyprius, and the Codex Regius 62 (Stephens's η), both MSS. of the eighth century, have the Ammonio-Eusebian divisions, and the κεφάλαια, long before which period they had become firmly established, and were adopted into most Greek MSS., as well as into the Latin version. They were inserted in the editions of Erasmus, and in Robert Stephens's beautiful folio edition (1550).

There was an edition of St. Paul's Epistles, with capitular divisions, published at the desire of a certain bishop in the fifth century by Euthalius, the deacon, afterwards bishop of Sulca. Euthalius was not himself the author, but, as he informs us, a Syrian bishop, 'one of the wisest of the fathers,' who also wrote an ἔκθεσις, or summary of the contents of each chapter. The anonymous author is conjectured by Mill, with much probability, to have been no other than the celebrated commentator, Theodore of Mopsuestia. This edition had been completed on the 29th June, A.D. 396. The following are the divisions which it contains:—Romans 19 chapters, 1 Cor. 9, 2 Cor. 11, Gal. 12, Eph. 10, Phil. 7, Col. 10, 1 Thess. 7, 2 Thess. 6, Heb. 22, 1 Tim. 12, 2 Tim. 18, Titus 6, Philem. 2. Euthalius himself, at a later period, published his stichometrical edition of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, at the desire of Athanasius the younger, bishop of Alexandria, in which he himself introduced a similar division and summary of the contents of each chapter. The Acts contained 11 chapters, the Epistles of James 6, 1 Peter 8, 2 Peter 4, 1 John 7, 2 and 3 John 1 each, and Jude 4. Euthalius also subdivided his chapters by marking them with asterisks in rubric, and distinguished the chapters by numeral letters, as we still find them in MSS. of the Euthalian chapters. He also marked the citations from the Old Testament by numerals, as well as by including them in parentheses, and placing the references to the books in the margin. This edition of Euthalius was completed in the year 458.

Another very ancient division, probably the most ancient of all, was that into church lessons, ἀναγνώσματα. It was probably introduced in imitation of the divisions of the Law and the Prophets, which were read in the first Christian assemblies. Euthalius, in his edition, has given the division into church lessons as follows:—Acts contains 16 lessons, James 2, 1 Peter 2, 2 Peter 1, 1 John 2, 2 John 1, 3 John 1, Jude 1, Rom. 5, 1 Cor. 5, 2 Cor. 4, Gal. 2, Eph. 2, Phil. 2, Col. 2, 1 Thess. 1, 2 Thess. 1, Heb. 3, 1 Tim. 1, 2 Tim. 1, Titus 1, Philem. 2. These lessons, or *Pericopæ*, as they are called, in speaking of the lessons of the prophets, by Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.*), were regulated by the number of Sundays, to which the additional three were for the festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. The Gospels had a similar division; but, according as church festivals increased, the number of church lessons increased also, and these were therefore proportionably brief. These divisions are the foundation of our present Epistles and Gospels. At the close of the fifth century, Lectionaries were published in the Western Church, which were divided into Epistolaria and Evangelaria, generally in the order in which the church lessons were read; but these books were not introduced among the Greeks before the eighth century.

All these divisions (viz., the longer and shorter chapters, and the church lessons) are marked in the MSS. by a space or point, and sometimes by both, in the middle of the line, and frequently by commencing the line with a capital letter extending into the margin. But the section itself, in order to save parchment, often commences with a small letter after a point or space in the middle of the line, the line still commencing with a capital letter, which, therefore, is sometimes placed in the middle of a word. The church lessons are also distinguished by the word

* Tischendorf discovered the remains of the transverse line of the Θ in ΟΣ or ΘΣ (1 Tim. iii. 15) in this MS., which had escaped the observation of Wetstein and Griesbach. He is, however, convinced that this, as well as the mark of abbreviation above the ΘΣ, proceeded from the second corrector, who lived in the ninth century. He is satisfied, from personal examination, that ὃς, not θεὸς, was the original reading of the Codex Alexandrinus in the same passage.

ἀρχή, or sometimes A, at the commencement, and τέλος or T. at the end. At the close of the fifth century, Andrew, bishop of Cappadocia, introduced an imitation of the ancient capitular divisions into the Apocalypse, distinguishing it into twenty-four λόγοι, or *sermones*, and seventy-four *titles*. The former were, except in two instances, identical with our present chapters.

The ancient divisions are marked in some of the early printed editions, especially those of Erasmus and Robert Stephens. In the Aldine edition of the New Testament, there is no capitular, nor any division whatever, of either the Gospels or Acts, except occasionally short spaces generally within the line; but some of St. Paul's Epistles are divided into short chapters, with numbers annexed, of which Romans contains 14, 1 Cor. 67, and 2 Cor. 26, where the numeration and division cease.

But all these divisions were superseded in the middle of the thirteenth century by the present division into chapters, the origin of which is involved in some obscurity. Inasmuch as in some of the books of the New Testament, these sections tally with some of the more ancient divisions, Croius (*Observat.*) is anxious to ascribe to them all a more ancient date than is justified by the historical evidence. Among other arguments, he adduces the index to each Gospel ascribed to Theophylact, which contains the present chapters, but this index is evidently a later addition. Bale, Bishop of Ossory, the celebrated antiquarian, with great appearance of probability ascribes these divisions to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury in the thirteenth century (*Hist. Eccles.* Cent. xiii. c. 7, 10). Genebrard (*Chron.* iv. p. 644) says that the authors of our present chapters were the scholastics who were perhaps the authors of the Concordance ascribed to Cardinal Hugh of St. Cher, who at this period (A.D. 1262) published his *Biblia cum Postilla*, wherein the references are for the first time made to these divisions. It is certain that their application to this Concordance brought them into repute, and from this period we may date the practice of citing by chapters, which had been hitherto done merely by a reference to the book (see Heb. iv. 7), as was the custom of the Fathers, or to the subject, or some remarkable word therein, as was the case with the Jews and Samaritans. An example of this appears in Mark ii. 26, where 1 Sam. xxi. xxii. is referred to as 'Abiathar,' and xii. 26, 'the bush' refers to Exod. iii.; also Rom. xi. 2, the word 'Elias' refers to 1 Kings xvii.—xix. [See also HAGIOGRAPHA.] In this Concordance, however, there was no reference to a division of *verses*, as Professor Moses Stuart supposes (*Bib. Sac.* No. ii. 1843, p. 264).* The subordinate references were indicated in Hugh's Bible by the capital letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, placed at equal distances from each other in the margin when the chapters were long, or by a proportionably lesser number of capitals according to the size of the chapters. The references to the verses by their number had its origin at a much later period, viz. in A.D. 1438-45, when Rabbi Nathan wrote his Concordance to the Hebrew Bible, which he named מאיר נתיב, *the illuminator of the path*, נתיבות עולם, *the path of the world*, and אור זרוע, *the light sown*. Those Jews who wished to avail themselves of this Concordance must have marked the references thereto in their MSS. of the Hebrew Scriptures. Dean Prideaux observes that 'the first publishing of Nathan's Concordance happening about the time that printing was invented [1440], it hath since that time undergone several editions,' and Mr. Horne (*Introd.*) follows Prideaux in stating that Nathan, instead of adopting the marginal letters of Hugo, marked every fifth *verse* with a Hebrew numeral; but we conceive this to be an error. Rabbi Nathan's Concordance, which was an adaptation of the Latin Concordance of Peter Arlot, was not printed before A.D. 1523 or 1524, when it issued from Bomberg's press at Venice. It afterwards indeed passed through several editions, and was published in a Latin translation by Anthony Reuchlin, in 1556, fol. at the press of Henry Peter, in Basel. There is also a translation in MS. by Nicholas Fuller, in the Bodleian Library. Now in all these the reference is to the chapter, and to each single verse; or, as Nathan himself expressed it in his preface, 'As I observed that the Latin translation has each book divided into a certain number of sections and chapters, which are not in our [Hebrew] Bibles, I have therefore marked all the verses, according to their numbers, together with the number of each chapter; I have also marked the numbers of the verses, as they exist in our [Hebrew] Bibles, for the greater facility of finding each passage referred to.' We have examined ourselves attentively all the early printed editions of the Hebrew Bible, and while we find the Latin chapters marked with Hebrew letters in all those editions, commencing with Bomberg's of 1518 (for Jahn is mistaken in stating (*Introd.* §. 102) that the chapters were first marked in Bomberg's edition of 1525), we yet find no edition of the Hebrew Bible in which there is any reference to the verses by their numbers before the edition of the Pentateuch, Megilloth, and Haphtaroth, published at Sabionetta in Italy in 1557, 12mo. In this edition every fifth verse is marked with a Hebrew numeral, and De Rossi observes of it, 'Me quidem judice prima omnium hæc est editio, saltem primorum una in quibus hoc obvium est' (*Annales Typog. Sabionet.*, 1788). And every fifth verse is equally marked throughout the whole Bible in the edition of Plantin, printed in 1566. Sebastian Munster, in his edition (1534), marked the number of the chapters in Latin as well as Hebrew numerals in the margin. The chapters were first separated in Hebrew in Plantin's beautiful edition of 1574. In this edition each separate verse of the first twelve chapters of Genesis is also marked in the margin with an Arabic numeral, except the fifth verse, which is indicated as before by a Hebrew letter, after which the Latin numeration of verses is discontinued throughout the whole of the Old Testament. Pagninus, however, had long before, viz. in 1528, marked all the verses in his translation of the Bible with an Arabic figure in the margin opposite each verse. Although this practice had, after Robert Stephens's edition of the Latin Vulgate in 1555, become general both in this and the modern versions, it was not until the year 1661 that the whole

* Notice of Hahn's ed. of Titmann's text of the New Testament, stereotyped at New York, 1842, under the care of Professor Robinson.

Hebrew Bible was thus marked, when Athias introduced the Arabic figures opposite each verse, at the instigation of Leusden (see his *Philol. Heb.*) in his accurate edition published at Antwerp in that year.

The Latin chapters were not adopted by the Greeks before the fifteenth century, when they were first introduced by those Greeks who fled into the west after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. It was in this century, and generally in Italy, that most of the MSS. now extant of the Greek Testament were written, and this fact is of material importance in fixing the date of MSS. Thus we have already observed [JOHN, EPISTLES OF] that the *Codex Montfortianus* (which most suppose to be the *Cod. Britannicus* of Erasmus; see Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*) contains the Latin chapters; but we are enabled to add, on the authority of a letter which we have received from Dr. Todd, the librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, that these divisions are not marked by their number, but only by a space left in the text for an initial letter, which letter does not appear to have been in any one case inserted. The numbers of the chapters, indeed, are added in a clumsy way by a recent hand, but the Eusebian numbers are marked with Greek numerals in a coeval hand in good rubric in the margin, as far as Matt. x., and in bad red ink as far as Luke xii., but thenceforward they are discontinued. The paragraphs into which the text of the New Testament has been divided by Bengel, Vater, and others, are a decided improvement on the Latin chapters.

Language of the Scriptures. The old Testament is written in Hebrew [HEBREW LANGUAGE], with the exception of parts of the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, which are in Chaldee [CHALDEE]. The New Testament is written in Greek, or rather in what has been called Hellenistic or Hebraizing Greek. The most Hebraizing book is the Apocalypse, and the most correct Greek the Epistle to the Hebrews; but the voice of antiquity favours the opinion that this was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic (*Prælectio Theologica*, auctore Gul. Hodge Mill, S. T. P., 1843). A Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel has been also contended for.

POLYGLOTTS, &c. Among the most useful aids to the study of Biblical Literature must be reckoned the diglott, triglott, and polyglott editions. These are accurately described in Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and Simon's *Histoire Critique*. We shall confine ourselves to a brief notice of the *Polyglotts*.

Although the earliest specimen of a Polyglott was that of a projected work of the celebrated printer Aldus Manutius, of which one page only was published, the first of this kind was the COMPLUTENSIAN POLYGLOTT, entitled *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, nunc primum impressa*, &c., comprised in 6 vols. fol. We are indebted for this work to the celebrated Cardinal, Statesman, and General, Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, who published it at his own expense, at the cost of 50,000 ducats. It was commenced in 1502, completed in 1517, and published in 1522. The editors were Ælius Antonius, Ducas, Pincianus, Stunica, Zamora, Coronellus, and Johannes de Vergera. The three last were originally Jews. The first four volumes contain the Old Testament, with the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, in three columns, the Targum, and a Latin version of the same. The fifth volume contains the Greek Testament, with the Latin Vulgate. The last volume consists of Vocabularies, Indexes, &c. &c. The Greek Testament, as has been already observed [JOHN'S EPISTLES], was finished in 1517; but the MSS. were modern, and not of much critical value. (See Dr. Bowring's letter, *Monthly Repository* for 1827, p. 572). There is little doubt that the celebrated text of the three witnesses in this edition was translated from the Latin. There were 600 copies only printed of this splendid work, of which three were on vellum. One of these was sold in England, in 1829, for 600 guineas.

The *Antwerp Polyglott* was published in 1569-72, in 8 vols. fol., at the expense of Philip II., King of Spain. It contains, in addition to the Complutensian texts, a Chaldee Paraphrase, the Syriac version, and the Latin translation of Arias Montanus, which was a correction of that of Pagninus. It also contains lexicons and grammars of the various languages of the originals and versions.

The *Paris Polyglott*, in addition to the contents of the former works, has a Syriac and Arabic version of both the Old and New Testaments, with the Samaritan Pentateuch, now published for the first time, and edited by J. Morinus. This Polyglott also contains the Samaritan *version* of the same. It was published in 1645, in 10 vols. large folio. The editor of this valuable, but unwieldy work, was Michael le Jay, who was ruined by the publication.

The *London Polyglott*, edited by Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, is much more comprehensive than any of the former. It was published in 1657, in 6 vols. fol. The first vol., besides prolegomena, contains the Pentateuch, exhibiting on one page the Hebrew text, with the interlinear Latin version of Arias Montanus, the Latin Vulgate of the Clementine edition, the Septuagint of the Roman edition, and the various readings of the Cod. Alex., the Latin version of Flaminius Nobilius, the Syriac, with a Latin version, the Targum of Onkelos, with a Latin version, the Samaritan Pentateuch, with the Samaritan version of the same, and a Latin translation serving for both, and the Arabic, with a Latin version. The second volume comprises the historical books, with the Targums of Jonathan. The third volume contains the books from Job to Malachi, and, besides the versions in all the former languages, the Psalms in Ethiopic, and a Latin translation. The fourth volume has all the Dutero-canonical books in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Syriac; the two Hebrew texts of Tobit [TOBIT], and two Chaldee and a Persian Targum on the Pentateuch, with Latin versions. The fifth volume has the New Testament, with Arias Montanus's translation; the Syriac, Persic, Latin Vulgate, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions. These, with separate Latin versions of the oriental translations, are all given on one page. The sixth volume contains various readings and critical remarks. The whole of this stupendous labour was completed in four years. It was published by subscription, under the patronage of Oliver Cromwell, who died before its completion. This gave occasion to the cancelling of two leaves of the pre-

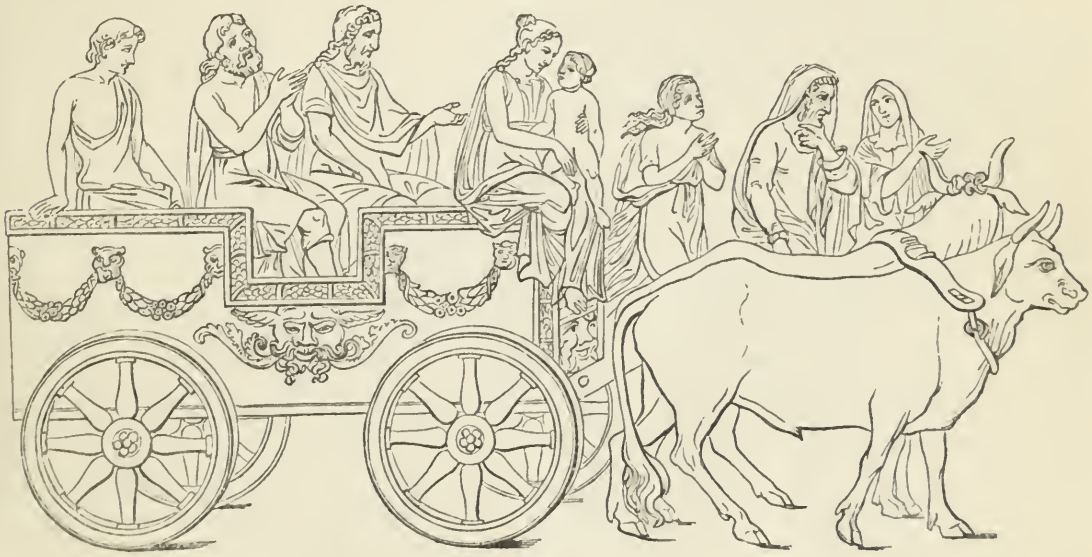
face, in order to transfer to King Charles II. the compliments addressed to Cromwell. There are, in consequence, both *Republican* and *Royal* copies, the former of which are the most scarce and valuable. For the variations between these, see Butler's *Horæ Biblicæ* and Adam Clark's *Succession of Sacred Literature*. This Polyglott was accompanied by Castell's *Heptaglott Lexicon*, in 2 vols. fol.

Mr. Bagster's *Polyglott*, fol., London, 1831, contains in one volume the Hebrew text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac versions, the Greek text of Mill in the New Testament, together with Luther's German, Diodati's Italian, Ostervald's French, Scio's Spanish, and the English authorized versions of the Bible. The quarto edition, part of the impression of which was destroyed by fire, contains the Hebrew and Samaritan texts, the Greek text of the New Testament, with the Septuagint, Vulgate, and English versions. There are valuable Prolegomena by Dr. Lee.

There are also Polyglotts of several portions of the Bible, of which one of the most valuable is that published at Constantinople. in Hebrew, Chaldee, Persian, and Arabic, in 1546.

For the interpunction of the Bible, see VERSE.
For WRITING MATERIALS, see WRITING.
SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY, see CHRONOLOGY.*

—W. W.



485. [A Scythian Family.]

SCYTHIAN (Σκύθης), a name which occurs only in Col. iii. 11. It was anciently applied sometimes to a particular people, and sometimes to all the nomade tribes which had their seat to the north of the Black and Caspian seas, stretching



486. [1. A Scythian. 2. A Scythian General.]

indefinitely eastward into the unknown regions of Asia. It had thus much the same latitude as 'Tartars,' and was in like manner synonymous with Barbarian, Βάρβαρος. The name also occurs in 2 Macc. iv. 47, and Joseph. *Cont. Apion.* ii. 37. The Scythians were, in fact, the ancient representatives of the modern Tartars, and like them moved from place to place in carts drawn by oxen. It is from this circumstance that they, or a tribe nearly allied to them, may be recognised on the monuments of Egypt. About seven centuries before Christ, the Scythians invaded South-Western Asia, and extended their incursions as far as Egypt (Herodot. i. 103). In doing this they could not but have touched on or passed through Palestine: and it is even supposed that Bethshan derived its classical name of Scythopolis from them [BETHSHAN]. It is singular, however, that the Hebrew writers take no notice of this transaction; for we cannot admit that the prophecies of Joel and Zephaniah have reference to it, as some writers have imagined.

SEA. The term יָם *yam*, or 'sea,' was used by the Hebrews more extensively than with us, being applied generally to all large collections of water, as they had not a set of terms such as we employ (defectively, indeed) to discriminate the

* The following important works on this subject have appeared since this article went to press: *A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church*, &c., by the Rev. S. F. Jarvis, D.D., Historiographer of the [Protestant Episcopal] Church of the U. S., and *The Times of Daniel, Chronological and Prophetical*, by George, Duke of Manchester, London, 1845.

different kinds. 'Sea' for large collections, and 'pool' for smaller, formed the extent of their vocabulary; although, indeed, pools were distinguished into אגם *agom*, a natural pool or pond (Ps. cvii. 35; cxiv. 8; Isa. xxxv. 7; xli. 18, &c.), and ברכה *bereekah*, the same as the Arabic *beerkeh*, an artificial pool or reservoir (2 Sam. ii. 13; iv. 12; Nah. ii. 9). The term 'sea' is applied to various parts of the ocean, and also to lakes, for ים is used for these in Job xiv. 11.

1. The Mediterranean, being on the west, and therefore behind a person facing the east, is called in Scripture the *Hinder Sea* (הים האחרון, Deut. xi. 24; Joel ii. 20), that is, *Western Sea;* and also, 'the *Sea of the Philistines*' (Exod. xxiii. 31), as that people possessed the largest proportion of its shore in Palestine. Being also the largest sea with which the Hebrews were acquainted, they called it by pre-eminence, '*the Great Sea*' (Num. xxxiv. 6, 7; Josh. i. 4; ix. 1; Ezek. xlvii. 10, 15, 20); or simply 'the sea' (Josh. xv. 47).

2. The Red Sea.—This gulf of the Indian Ocean is called in Hebrew ים סוף *Yam Suph* (Exod. x. 19; xiii. 18; Ps. cvi. 7, 9, 22), which is also its Egyptian name, and is supposed to mean 'weedy sea' (Michaelis, *Suppl.* p. 1726; Jablonsky, *Opuscul.* i. 266). This designation has been by some supposed to refer to the quantity of sea-weed found in it. But Bruce, who traversed its whole extent, declares that he never saw any sort of weed in it, and gives it as his opinion that it is from the large trees or plants of white coral, spread every where over the bottom of the sea, and greatly resembling plants on land, that it derived its name. It is also called 'the Egyptian sea' (Isa. xi. 15). In other places, where the context plainly indicates what sea is intended, it is called simply 'the sea.' In the New Testament it bears its usual Greek name, ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα (Acts vii. 36; Heb. xi. 29; also 1 Macc iv. 9; Herodot. i. 1; Diod. Sic. iii. 18), whence our 'Red Sea.' How it came by the name of Red Sea is not agreed. Prideaux assumes (*Connection*, i. 14, 15) that the ancient inhabitants of the bordering countries called it *Yam Edom*, or, 'the sea of Edom' (it is *never* so called in Scripture), as its north-eastern part washed the country possessed by the Edomites. Now Edom means *red* (Gen. xxv. 30), and the Greeks, who borrowed the name from the Phœnicians, mistook it for an appellative instead of a proper name, and rendered it by ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, that is, 'the Red Sea.' Some information in correction of this notion seems, however, to have been afterwards acquired: for Strabo (xvi. p. 766), Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 23), Mela (iii. 8), Agatharcides (p. 2, ed. Oxon.), Q. Curtius (viii. 9; x. 1), Philostratus (iii. 15), and others, distinctly admit that the sea obtained this name, not from any redness in its waters, but from a great king called Erythrus, who reigned in the adjacent country. The word Erythrus means the same in the Greek that Edom does in the Phœnician and Hebrew languages; which seems to prove that this king Erythrus was no other than Edom, whose name was given to the country over which his descendants reigned. This explanation seems satisfactory; but Prideaux, from whom we take it, by a very strange confusion of ideas, in an immediately preceding page (i. 10), ascribes the name Red Sea, as applied to *another part* of the Erythræan Sea, to 'the waters appearing of a reddish colour by reason of the fierceness of the sunbeams, constantly beating upon it in that hot climate.' Such a fancy needs no answer, as neither water nor the rays of the sun are the more red for being more hot. Others have conjectured that the Arabian Gulf derived its name from the coral rocks and reefs in which it abounds; but the coral of the Red Sea is white, not red. In so large a tract of shore and water it would be strange if some red objects did not appear, and minds on the watch for some physical cause for the name would naturally refer to circumstances which would not otherwise have engaged attention. Some of the mountains that stretch along the western coast have a singularly red appearance, looking, as Bruce expresses it, as if they were sprinkled with Havannah or Brazil snuff, or brick-dust; and from this a notion is derived that these mountains, presenting their conspicuous sides to the early navigators of the sea, induced them to give it a name from that predominant colour. Salt indicates a fact which affords a basis for another conjecture as to the origin of the name. He says—'At one o'clock on the 7th of February, the sea for a considerable distance around the ship became so extremely red.... As we were anxious to ascertain the cause of this very singular appearance, a bucket was let down into the water, by which we obtained a considerable quantity of the substance floating on the surface. It proved to be of a jelly-like consistence, composed of a numberless multitude of very small mollusca, each of which having a small red spot in the centre, formed, when in a mass, a bright body of colour nearly allied to that produced by a mixture of red lead with water.' This account has been more recently confirmed by Ehrenberg.

The ancients applied the name of Erythræan Sea not only to the Arabian Gulf, but to that part of the Indian Ocean which is enclosed between the peninsulas of India and Arabia; but in modern usage the name of Red Sea is restricted to the Arabian Gulf, which enters into the land from the Indian Ocean in a westerly direction, and then, at the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, turns N.N.W., maintaining that direction till it makes a near approach to the Mediterranean, from which its western arm is only separated by the isthmus of Suez. It thus separates the western coast of Arabia from the eastern coast of the north-eastern part of Africa. It is about 1400 miles in length from Suez to the straits, and on an average 150 miles in breadth. On approaching its northern termination the gulf divides into two branches, which enclose between them the peninsula of Sinai. The western arm, which terminates a little above Suez, is far more extensive than the other, and is that which was crossed by the Israelites in their escape from Egypt. An account of this important transaction has been given under another head [Exodus]. This arm, anciently called Heroopoliticus Sinus, and now the Gulf of Suez, is 190 miles long by an average breadth of 21 miles; but at one part (Birket el-Faroun) it is as wide as 32 miles. The eastern arm, which terminates at Akabah, and bears the name of the Gulf of Akabah, was anciently called Ælaniticus Sinus, from the port of Ælana, the Scriptural Elath, and is about 112 miles long by an average breadth of 15 miles. Towards its extremity were the ports

of Elath and Eziongeber, celebrated in the history of the attempts made by the Hebrew kings to establish a maritime traffic with the East [see the several words].

3. The Sea of Chinnereth, יַם כִּנֶּרֶת (Num. xxxiv. 11), called in the New Testament 'the Sea of Galilee' (Matt. iv. 18), the 'Sea of Tiberias' (John xxi. 1), and 'the sea' or 'lake of Gennesareth' (Matt. xiv. 34; Mark vi. 53; Luke v. 17); which last is but a variation of the Hebrew name.

This lake lies very deep, among fruitful hills and mountains, from which, in the rainy season, many rivulets descend: its shape will be seen from the map. The Jordan enters it on the north, and quits it on the south; and it is said that the river passes through it without the waters mingling. Its extent has been greatly over-rated: Professor Robinson considers that its length, in a straight line, does not exceed eleven or twelve geographical miles, and that its breadth is from five to six miles. From numerous indications it is inferred that the bed of this lake was formed by some ancient volcanic eruption, which history has not recorded: the waters are very clear and sweet, and contain various kinds of excellent fish in great abundance. It will be remembered that several of the apostles were fishermen of this lake, and that it was also the scene of several transactions in the life of Christ: it is thus frequently mentioned in the New Testament, but very rarely in the Old. The borders of the lake were in the time of Christ well peopled, being covered with numerous towns and villages; but now they are almost desolate, and the fish and water-fowl are but little disturbed.

The best descriptions of the lake of Tiberias are those of Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 332), Buckingham (*Palestine*, ch. xxvi.), Irby and Mangles (p. 295), Jowett (pp. 172-176), Hardy (pp. 237-241), Elliott (ii. 342-350), Schubert (iii. 231-240), Robinson (ii. 372-402), Olin (iii. 253, 261-265), Lord Nugent (*Lands, Classical and Sacred*, ii. 209).

4. The Dead Sea, called in Scripture the *Salt Sea*, יָם הַמֶּלַח (Gen. xiv. 3), the *Sea of the Plain*, or the *Arabah*, יָם הָעֲרָבָה (Dent. iv. 40), and *the Eastern Sea*, הַיָּם הַקַּדְמוֹנִי (Joel ii. 20; Ezek. xlvii. 18; Zech. xiv. 8). It is not named or alluded to in the New Testament. It is called by Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 7) λίμνη Ἀσφαλτίτης, by which name, or in the Latin form of Lacus Asphaltites, it was known to the classical writers. This designation it obtained from the large quantities of asphaltum which it afforded. The Arabs call it *Birket Lut*, 'the Sea of Lot.' From its history and qualities, it is the most remarkable of all the lakes of Palestine. It was long assumed that this lake did not exist before the destruction of Sodom and the other 'cities of the plain' (Gen. xix.); and that before that time the present bed of the lake was a fertile plain, in which these cities stood. It was also concluded that the river Jordan then flowed through this plain, and afterwards pursued its course, through the great valley of Arabah, to the eastern arm of the Red Sea. The careful observations of Professor Robinson have now, however, rendered it more probable that a lake which, as now, received the river Jordan, existed here before Sodom was destroyed; but that an encroachment of the waters southward then took place, overwhelming a beautiful and well-watered plain which lay on the southern border of the lake, and on which Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar were situated. The promontory, or rather peninsula, towards the south, which is so distinct a feature of this lake, probably marks the original boundary of the lake in that direction, and shows the point at which the waters broke into the plain beyond.

The Dead Sea is about thirty-nine or forty geographical miles long from north to south, and nine or ten miles wide from east to west: it lies embedded very deep between lofty cliffs on the western side, which are about 1500 feet high, and mountains on the eastern shore, the highest ridges of which are reckoned to be from 2000 to 2500 feet above the water. The water of the lake is much salter than that of the sea. From the quantity of salt which it holds in solution it is thick and heavy, and no fish can live or marine plants grow in it. The old stories about the pestiferous qualities of the Dead Sea and its waters are mere fables or delusions; the actual appearances being the natural and obvious effects of the confined and deep situation, the intense heat, and the uncommon saltness of the waters. Lying in its deep cauldron, surrounded by lofty cliffs of naked limestone rock, exposed for seven or eight months in the year to the unclouded beams of a burning sun, nothing but sterility and solitude can be looked for upon its shores; and nothing else is actually found, except in those parts where there are fountains or streams of fresh water; in all such places there is a fertile soil and abundant vegetation. Birds also abound, and they are observed to fly above and across the sea without being, as old stories tell, injured or killed by its exhalations. Professor Robinson was five days in the vicinity of its shores, without being able to perceive that any noisome smell or noxious vapour arose from the bosom of the lake. Its coasts have always been peopled, and are so now; and although the inhabitants suffer from fevers in summer, this is not more than might be expected from the concentrated heat of the climate in connection with the marshes. The same effects might be experienced were there no lake, or were the waters fresh instead of salt.

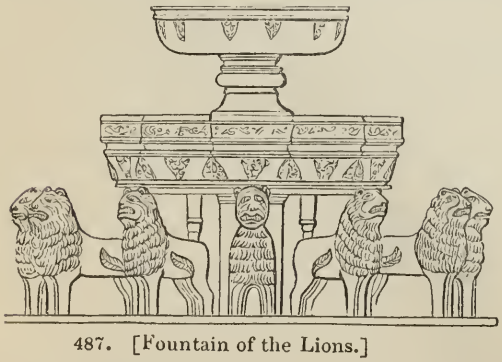
On the borders of this lake is found much sulphur, in pieces as large as walnuts, and even larger. There is also a black shining stone, which will partly burn in the fire, and which then emits a bituminous smell: this is the 'stinkstone' of Burckhardt. At Jerusalem it is made into rosaries and toys, of which great quantities are sold to the pilgrims who visit the sacred places. Another remarkable production, from which, indeed, the lake takes one of its names, is the *asphaltum*, or bitumen. Josephus says, that 'the sea in many places sends up black masses of asphaltum, which float upon the surface, having the size and shape of headless oxen' (*De Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, 4). From recent information it appears that large masses are rarely found, and then generally only after earthquakes. The substance is doubtless produced from the bottom of the sea, in which it coagulates, and rises to the surface; or possibly the coagulation may have been ancient,

and the substance adheres to the bottom until detached by earthquakes and other convulsions, when its buoyancy brings it to the surface. We know that 'the vale of Siddim' (Gen. xiv. 10) was anciently 'full of slime-pits,' or sources of bitumen; and these, now under the water, probably supply the asphaltum which is found on such occasions.

An admirable and very full account of the Dead Sea is given by Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 216-238). See also Nau (*Nov. Voyage*, pp. 577-588), Morison (*Voyage*, ch. xxx.), Shaw (ii. 157-158), Hasselquist (pp. 130, 131, 284), Burckhardt (*Syria*), Seetzen (in Zach's *Monat. Corresp.* xviii. 440, sq.), Irby and Mangles (pp. 351-356; 446-459), Elliot (ii. 479-486), Stephens (ii. ch. xv.), Paxton (pp. 150-163), Schubert (iii. 84-94), Olin (ii. 234-245).

5. The Lake Merom is named once only in Scripture, where it is called מי מרום, *waters of Merom* (Josh. xi. 5, 7). By Josephus it is called Semechonitis (Σεμεχωνίτις, *Antiq.* v. 5. 1), and at present bears the name of Huleh: this is the uppermost and smallest of the three lakes on the Jordan. It serves as a kind of reservoir to collect the waters which form that river and again to send them forth in a single stream. In the spring, when the waters are highest, the lake is seven miles long and three and a half broad; but in summer it becomes a mere marsh. In some parts it is sown with rice, and its reeds and rushes afford shelter to wild hogs. (Pococke, ii. p. 72; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 514; Richardson, ii. 445, 446; Lindsay, ii. 91; Robinson, iii. 339-342.) A full description of the three lakes of the Jordan (Lake Huleh, Lake of Gennesareth, and the Dead Sea) is given in Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, ch. vi.

SEA, MOLTEN (יָם מוּצָק). The immense brazen reservoir which, with smaller lavers [Laver], stood in the court of Solomon's temple, was thus, by hyperbole, denominated. It was of a hemispherical figure, ten cubits in width, five deep, and thirty in circumference. In 1 Kings vii. 23, it is stated to have contained 2000 baths, equal to 16,000 gallons; but in 2 Chron. iv. 5, it is said to have contained 3000 baths, and the latter estimate is followed by Josephus. It was probably capable of holding the larger quantity, but did not usually contain more than the smaller.



487. [Fountain of the Lions.]

It was decorated on the upper edge with figures resembling lilies in bloom, and was enriched with various ornamental objects; and it rested, or seemed to rest, upon the backs of twelve oxen, three looking to the north, three to the east, three to the south, and three to the west (1 Kings vi. 26; vii. 40-47; 2 Chron. iv. 3-5). The Jewish writers state that this great basin was supplied with water by a pipe from the well of Etam, although some few allege that it was filled by the manual labour of the Gibeonites. It was, according to the same accounts, kept constantly flowing, there being spouts which discharged for use from the basin as much water as it received from the well of Etam. If this be correct, it is not improbable that the spouts discharged their water through the mouths of the oxen—or, as some suppose, through embossed heads in the sides of the vessel. This is perhaps the largest vessel of molten brass which was ever made—other large reservoirs, which might compete in dimensions with it, being either of wood, marble, or sheet copper. The Fountain of the Lions in the Moorish palace (Alhambra), at Grenada, is of stone, and the animals which support it are lions: but it supplies some remarkable analogies to Solomon's great work, in imitation of which it is said to have been constructed. The conception, and still more the successful execution of this great work, gives a very favourable idea of the state of the metallurgical arts in the time of Solomon.

SEAL. There seem to have been two kinds of seals in use among the Hebrews. A notion appears to exist that all ancient seals, being signets, were rings, intended to be worn on the hand. But this was by no means the case; nor is it so now in the East, where signet rings are still, probably, as common as they ever were in ancient times. Their general use of seals was very different from ours, as they were employed not for the purpose of impressing a device on wax, but in the place of a sign manual, to stamp the name of the owner upon any document to which he desired to affix it. The name thus impressed had the same legal validity as the actual signature, as is still the case in the East. This practice may be illustrated by a circumstance which occurred in the last days of George IV. When he became too ill to affix his sign manual to the numerous documents which required it, a fac-simile was engraved on a stamp, by which it was in his presence impressed upon them. By this contrivance any one may give to any paper the legal sanction of his name, although he may be unable to write; and the awkward contrivance to which we resort in such cases, of affixing a cross or mark with the signature of an attesting witness, is unnecessary. For this purpose the surface of the seal is smeared with a black pigment, which leaves the figure of the body of the seal upon the paper, in which the characters appear blank or white. The characters required are often too large or too many to be conveniently used in a signet ring, in which case they are engraved on a seal shaped not unlike those in use among ourselves, which is carried in the bosom, or suspended from the neck over the breast. This custom was ancient, and, no doubt, existed among the Hebrews (Gen. xxxviii. 18; Cant. viii. 6; Haggai ii. 23). These seals are often entirely of metal—brass, silver, or gold; but sometimes of stone set in metal. As an appendage thus shaped might be inconvenient from the pressure of its edges, the engraved stone was sometimes made to turn in its metal frame, like our swivel seals, so as to present a flat surface

to the body. Very ancient Egyptian seals of this kind have been found.

If a door or box was to be sealed, it was first fastened with some ligament, over which was placed some well compacted clay to receive the impression of the seal. Clay was used because it hardens in the heat which would dissolve wax; and this is the reason that wax is not used in the East. A person leaving property in the custody of strangers—say in one of the cells of a caravanserai—seals the door to prevent the place from being entered without legal proof of the fact. The simplicity of the Eastern locks, and the ease with which they might be picked, render this precaution the more necessary. We have sometimes seen a coarsely engraved and large wooden seal employed for this purpose. There are distinct allusions to this custom in Job xxxviii. 14; Cant. iv. 12.

Signet rings were very common, especially among persons of rank. They were sometimes wholly of metal, but often the inscription was borne by a stone set in silver or gold. The impression from the signet ring of a monarch gave the force of a royal decree to any instrument to which it was affixed. Hence the delivery or transfer of it to any one gave the power of using the royal name, and created the highest office in the state (Gen. xli. 42; Esth. iii. 10, 12; viii. 2; Jer. xxii. 24; Dan. vi. 10, 13, 17: comp. 1 Kings xxi. 8). Rings being so much employed as seals, were called טבעות *tabbaoth;* which is derived from a root signifying to imprint, and also to seal. They were commonly worn as ornaments on the fingers—usually on the little finger of the right hand (Exod. xxxv. 22; Luke xv. 22: James ii. 2).

SEASONS. [Palestine.]

SEBAC (סְבָךְ) occurs in two or three places of the Old Testament, and is considered by some to be the name of a particular plant, as the bramble, smilax, jasmine, atriplex; by others it is supposed to denote briars or thorns. Celsius, however, has shown that the meaning of the term is *perplexitas*, 'id quod densum et intricatum est;' that it is especially applied to the branches of trees, shrubs, and climbing plants, and is hence rightly translated in the Auth. Vers., in Gen. xxii. 13, 'And Abraham beheld a ram caught in a *thicket* (*sebac*) by his horns.' So in Isa. ix. 18; x. 34.—J. F. R.

SECUNDUS (Σεκουνδος), a disciple of Thessalonica, who accompanied Paul in some of his voyages (Acts xx. 4).

SEER. [Prophecy.]

SEIR (שֵׂעִיר, *hairy;* Sept. Σηείρ). 1. A phylarch or chief of the Horim, who were the former inhabitants of the country afterwards possessed by the Edomites.

2. Seir, Mount. The mountainous country of the Edomites, extending from the Dead Sea to the Elanitic Gulf. The name is usually derived from the Seir above-mentioned, and as he was a great chief of the original inhabitants, it is difficult to reject such a conclusion. Some, however, as Gesenius, would rather regard Seir as an appellative, and as denoting 'the shaggy mountain,' *i. e.* clothed or bristly with woods and forests; but this is not, in any marked way, a characteristic of the range in question. These mountains were first inhabited by the Horim (Gen. xiv. 6; Deut. ii. 12); then by Esau (Gen. xxxii. 3; xxxiii. 14, 16) and his posterity (Deut. ii 4, 19; 2 Chron. xx. 10). The northern part of them now bears the designation of Jebal, and the southern that of esh-Sherah, which seems no other than a modification of the ancient name. In modern times these mountains were first visited and described by Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 40), but they have often since been visited by other travellers, among whom Dr. Robinson has perhaps furnished the best description of them (*Bib. Researches*, ii. 551, 552). At the base of the chain are low hills of limestone or argillaceous rock; then lofty masses of porphyry, which constitute the body of the mountain; above these is sandstone broken into irregular ridges and grotesque groups of cliffs; and again, further back and higher than all, are long elevated ridges of limestone without precipices. Beyond all these stretches off indefinitely the high plateau of the great eastern desert. The height of the porphyry cliffs is estimated by Dr. Robinson at about 2000 feet above the Arabah (the great valley between the Dead Sea and Elanitic Gulf); the elevation of Wady Musa [Selah] above the same is perhaps 2000 or 2200 feet; while the limestone ridges further back probably do not fall short of 3000 feet. The whole breadth of the mountainous tract between the Arabah and the eastern desert above does not exceed 15 or 20 geog. miles. These mountains are quite different in character from those which front them on the other (west) side of the Arabah. The latter seem to be not more than two-thirds as high as the former, and are wholly desert and sterile; while those on the east appear to enjoy a sufficiency of rain, and are covered with tufts of herbs and occasional trees. The valleys are also full of trees and shrubs and flowers, the eastern and higher parts being extensively cultivated, and yielding good crops. The general appearance of the soil is not unlike that around Hebron; though the face of the country is very different. It is indeed the region of which Isaac said to his son Esau: 'Behold, thy dwelling shall be of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above' (Gen. xxvii. 39).

3. A mountain in the territory of Judah (Josh. xv. 10).

SELAH. [Psalms.]

SELAH, or rather Sela (סֶלַע, 'rock,' with the article in 2 Kings xiv. 7, הַסֶּלַע, 'the rock;' Gr. ἡ Πέτρα, Petra, which has the same signification as Selah; sometimes plural, αἱ Πέτραι), the metropolis of the Edomites in Mount Seir. In the Jewish history it is recorded that Amaziah, king of Judah, 'slew of Edom in the valley of Salt ten thousand, and took Selah by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day' (2 Kings xiv. 7). This name seems however to have passed away with the Hebrew rule over Edom, for no further trace of it is to be found; and it is still called Selah by Isaiah (xvi. 1). These are all the certain notices of the place in Scripture; for it may well be doubted whether it is designated in Judg. i. 36 and Isa. xlii. 11, as some suppose. We next meet with it as the Petra of the Greek writers, which is merely a translation of the native name Selah. The earliest notice of it under that name by them is

connected with the fact that Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, sent two expeditions against the Nabathæans in Petra (Diod. Sic. xix. 94-98). For points of history not immediately connected with the city, see EDOMITES; NABATHÆANS. Strabo, writing of the Nabathæans in the time of Augustus, thus describes their capital:—'The metropolis of the Nabathæans is Petra, so called; for it lies in a place in other respects plain and level, but shut in by rocks round about, but within having copious fountains for the supply of water and the irrigation of gardens. Beyond the enclosure the region is mostly a desert, especially towards Judæa' (*Geog.* xvi. p. 906). At this time the town had become a place of transit for the productions of the east, and was much resorted to by foreigners (Diod. Sic. xix. 95; Strabo, *l. c.*). Pliny more definitely describes Petra as situated in a valley less than two miles (Roman) in amplitude, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, with a stream flowing through it (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 28). About the same period it is often named by Josephus as the capital of Arabia Petræa, with which kingdom it passed under the immediate sway of the Romans in the time of Trajan, whose successor Hadrian seems to have bestowed on it some advantage, which led the inhabitants to give his name to the city upon coins, several of which are still extant (Mionnet, *Med. Antiques*, v. 587; Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* ii. 503). In the fourth century, Petra is several times mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome; and in the Greek ecclesiastical Notitiæ of the fifth and sixth centuries it appears as the metropolitan see of the third Palestine (Reland, *Palæst.* pp. 215, 217); the last-named of the bishops is Theodorus, who was present at the council of Jerusalem in A.D. 536 (*Oriens Christ.* iii. 725). From that time not the slightest notice of Petra is to be found in any quarter; and as no trace of it as an inhabited site is to be met with in the Arabian writers, the probability seems to be that it was destroyed in some unrecorded incursion of the desert hordes, and was afterwards left unpeopled. It is true that Petra occurs in the writers of the era of the Crusades; but they applied this name to Kerek, and thus introduced a confusion as to the true Petra which is not even now entirely removed. It was not until the reports concerning the wonderful remains in Wady Musa had been verified by Burckhardt, that the latter traveller first ventured to assume the identity of the site with that of the ancient capital of Arabia Petræa. He expresses this opinion in a letter dated at Cairo, Sept. 12th, 1812, published in 1819, in the preface to his *Travels in Nubia;* but before its appearance the eminent geographer, Carl Ritter, had suggested the same conclusion on the strength of Seetzen's intimations (*Erdkunde*, ii. 117). Burckhardt's view was more amply developed in his *Travels in Syria*, p. 431, published in 1822, and received the high sanction of his editor, Col. Leake, who produces in support of it all the arguments which have since been relied upon, namely, the agreement of the ancient descriptions with this site, and their inapplicability to Kerek; the coincidence of the ancient specifications of the distances of Petra from the Elanitic Gulf and from the Dead Sea, which all point to Wady Musa, and not to Kerek; that Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome testify that the Mount Hor where Aaron died was in the vicinity of Petra; and that to this day the mountain which tradition and circumstances point out as the same, still rears its lonely head above the vale of Wady Musa, while in all the district of Kerek there is not a single mountain which could in itself be regarded as Mount Hor; and even if there were, its position would be incompatible with the recorded journeyings of the Israelites (Leake's Preface to Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, pp. vii.-ix.; Robinson's *Palestine*, ii. 576-579; 653-659).



488. [Petra, from above the Amphitheatre.]

The ruined city lies in a narrow valley, surrounded by lofty, and, for the most part, perfectly precipitous mountains. Those which form its southern limit are not so steep as to be impassable; and it is over these, or rather through them, along an abrupt and difficult ravine, that travellers from Sinai or Egypt usually wind their laborious way into the scene of magnificent desolation. The ancient and more interesting entrance is on the eastern side, through the deep narrow gorge of Wady Syke. It is not easy to determine the precise limits of the ancient city, though the precipitous mountains by which the site is encompassed mark with perfect distinctness the boundaries beyond which it never could have extended. These natural barriers seem to have constituted the real limits of the city; and they give an extent of more than a mile in length, nearly from north to south, by a variable breadth of about half a mile. Several spurs from the surrounding mountains encroach upon this area; but, with inconsiderable exceptions, the whole is fit for building on. The sides of the valley are walled up by perpendicular rocks, from four hundred to six or seven hundred feet high. The northern and southern barriers are neither so lofty nor so steep, and they both admit of the passage of camels. A great many small recesses or side valleys open into the principal one, thus enlarging as well as varying almost infinitely the outline. With only one or two exceptions, however, they have no outlet, but come to a speedy and abrupt termination among the overhanging cliffs, as precipitous as the natural bulwark that bounds the principal valley. Including these irregularities, the whole circumference of Petra may be four miles or more. The length of this irregular outline, though it gives no idea of the extent of the area within its embrace, is perhaps the best

measure of the extent of the excavations. A small stream, or rather mountain torrent, enters the valley from the east through the Wady Syke, and after a course of less than half a mile, passes out nearly opposite to the point of entrance on the western side. This pretty brook flows with a scanty stream within the gorge of Wady Syke, but is usually quite dry after entering the valley. Two smaller streams flow in the season of rain from the gorges of the northern mountain, and join the principal torrent along courses nearly at right angles with it. The bottom of this river, as for distinction it may be called, was paved for the better preservation of its water from waste and filth, and its sides were faced with a wall of hewn stone. Considerable remains of the wall and pavement, and some large flagstones belonging to a paved way that ran along the side of the river, still remain; as do the foundations of several bridges which spanned its channel.

The chief public buildings occupied the banks of the river and the high ground further south, as their ruins sufficiently show. One sumptuous edifice remains standing, though in an imperfect and dilapidated state. It is on the south side of the river, near the western side of the valley, and seems to have been a palace, rather than a temple. It is called Pharaoh's house, and is thirty-four paces square. The walls are nearly entire, and on the eastern side they are still surmounted by a handsome cornice. The front, which looks toward the north, was ornamented with a row of columns, four of which are standing. An open piazza, behind the colonnade, extended the whole length of the building. In the rear of this piazza are three apartments, the principal of which is entered under a noble arch, apparently thirty-five or forty feet high. It is an imposing ruin, though not of the purest style of architecture, and is the more striking as the only edifice now standing in Petra.

A little east of this, and in a range with some of the most beautiful excavations in the mountain on the east side of the valley, are the remains of what appears to have been a triumphal arch. Under it were three passages, and a number of pedestals of columns, as well as other fragments, would lead to the belief that a magnificent colonnade was connected with it.

A few rods south are extensive ruins, which probably belonged to a temple. The ground is covered with fragments of columns five feet in diameter. Twelve of these, whose pedestals still remain in their places, adorned either side of this stately edifice. There were also four columns in front and six in the rear of the temple. They are prostrate on the ground, and Dr. Olin counted thirty-seven massive frusta, of which one of them was composed.

Still further south are other piles of ruins—columns and hewn stones—parts no doubt of important public buildings. The same traveller counted not less than fourteen similar heaps of ruins, having columns and fragments of columns intermingled with blocks of stone, in this part of the site of ancient Petra. They indicate the great wealth and magnificence of this ancient capital, as well as its unparalleled calamities. These sumptuous edifices occupied what may be called the central parts of Petra. A large surface on the north side of the river is covered with substructions, which probably belonged to private habitations. An extensive region still farther north retains no vestiges of the buildings which once covered it. The same appearances are observable in Thebes, Athens, and Rome. Public wealth was lavished on palaces and temples, while the houses of the common people were slightly and meanly built, of such materials as a few years, or at most a few centuries, were sufficient to dissolve.

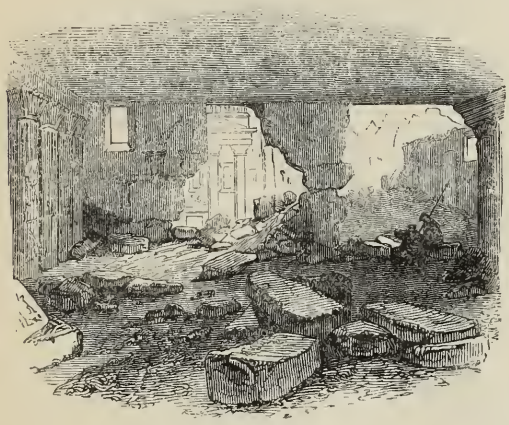


489. [Ruined Temple]

The mountain torrents which, at times, sweep over the lower parts of the ancient site, have undermined many foundations, and carried away many a chiselled stone, and worn many a finished specimen of sculpture into unshapely masses. The soft texture of the rock seconds the destructive agencies of the elements. Even the accumulations of rubbish, which mark the site of all other decayed cities, have mostly disappeared; and the extent which was covered with human habitations can only be determined by the broken pottery scattered over the surface, or mingled with the sand—the universal, and, it would seem, an imperishable memorial of populous cities that exist no longer. These vestiges, the extent of which Dr. Olin took great pains to trace, cover an area one-third as large as that of Cairo, excluding its large gardens from the estimate, and very sufficient, he thinks, to contain the whole population of Athens in its prosperous days.

The attention of travellers has however been chiefly engaged by the excavations which, having more successfully resisted the ravages of time, constitute at present the great and peculiar attraction of the place. These excavations, whether formed for temples, tombs, or the dwellings of living men, surprise the visitor by their incredible number and extent. They not only occupy the front of the entire mountain by which the valley is encompassed, but of the numerous ravines and recesses which radiate on all sides from this enclosed area. They exist too in great numbers in the precipitous rocks which shoot out from the principal mountains into the southern, and still more into the northern part of the site, and they are seen along all the approaches to the place, which, in the days of its prosperity, were perhaps the

suburbs of the overpeopled valley. Were these excavations, instead of following all the sinuosities of the mountain and its numerous gorges, ranged in regular order, they probably would form a street not less than five or six miles in length. They are often seen rising one above another in the face of the cliff, and convenient steps, now much worn, cut in the rock, lead in all directions through the fissures, and along the sides of the mountains, to the various tombs that occupy these lofty positions. Some of them are apparently not less than from two hundred to three or four hundred feet above the level of the valley. Conspicuous situations, visible from below, were generally chosen; but sometimes the opposite taste prevailed, and the most secluded cliffs, fronting towards some dark ravine, and quite hidden from the gaze of the multitude, were preferred. The flights of steps, all cut in the solid rock, are almost innumerable, and they ascend to great heights, as well as in all directions. Sometimes the connection with the city is interrupted, and one sees in a gorge, or upon the face of a cliff, fifty or a hundred feet above him, a long series of steps rising from the edge of an inaccessible precipice. The action of winter torrents and other agencies have worn the easy ascent into a channel for the waters, and thus interrupted the communication.



490. [Interior of a Tomb.]

The situations of these excavations are not more various than their forms and dimensions. Mere niches are sometimes cut in the face of the rock, of little depth and of various sizes and forms, of which it is difficult to conjecture the object, unless they had some connection with votive offerings and religious rites. By far the largest number of excavations were manifestly designed as places for the interment of the dead; and thus exhibit a variety in form and size, of interior arrangement and external decorations, adapted to the different fortunes of their occupants, and conformable to the prevailing tastes of the times in which they were made. There are many tombs consisting of a single chamber, ten, fifteen, or twenty feet square by ten or twelve in height, containing a recess in the wall large enough to receive one or a few deposits; sometimes on a level with the floor, at others one or two feet above it, and not unfrequently near the ceiling, at the height of eight or ten feet. Occasionally oblong pits or graves are sunk in the recesses, or in the floor of the principal apartment. Some of these are of considerable depth, but they are mostly choked with stones and rubbish, so that it is impossible to ascertain it. In these plebeian tombs there is commonly a door of small dimensions, and an absence of all architectural decorations; in some of larger dimensions there are several recesses occupying two or three sides of the apartment. These seem to have been formed for family tombs. Besides these unadorned habitations of the humble dead, there is a vast number of excavations enriched with various architectural ornaments. To these unique and sumptuous monuments of the taste of one of the most ancient races of men with whom history has made us acquainted, Petra is indebted for its great and peculiar attractions. This ornamental architecture is wholly confined to the front, while the interior is quite plain and destitute of all decoration. Pass the threshold, and nothing is seen but perpendicular walls, bearing the marks of the chisel, without mouldings, columns, or any species of ornament. But the exteriors of these primitive and even rude apartments exhibit some of the most beautiful and imposing results of ancient taste and skill which have remained to our times. The front of the mountain is wrought into façades of splendid temples, rivalling in their aspect and symmetry the most celebrated monuments of Grecian art. Columns of various orders, graceful pediments, broad rich entablatures, and sometimes statuary, all hewn out of the solid rock, and still forming part of the native mass, transform the base of the mountain into a vast splendid pile of architecture, while the overhanging cliffs, towering above in shapes as rugged and wild as any on which the eye ever rested, form the most striking and curious of contrasts. In most instances it is impossible to assign these beautiful façades to any particular style of architecture. Many of the columns resemble those of the Corinthian order; but they deviate so far both in their forms and ornaments from this elegant model, that it would be impossible to rank them in the class. A few are Doric, which are precisely those that have suffered most from the ravages of time, and are probably very ancient.

But nothing contributes so much to the almost magical effect of some of these monuments as the rich and various colours of the rock out of which, or more properly in which, they are formed. The mountains that encompass the vale of Petra are of sandstone, of which red is the predominant hue. Their surface is a good deal burned and faded by the elements, and is of a dull brick colour, and most of the sandstone formations in this vicinity, as well as a number of the excavations of Petra, exhibit nothing remarkable in their colouring which does not belong to the same species of rock throughout a considerable region of Arabia Petræa. Many of them, however, are adorned with such a profusion of the most lovely and brilliant colours as it is scarcely possible to describe. Red, purple, yellow, azure or sky blue, black and white, are seen in the same mass distinctly in successive layers, or blended so as to form every shade and hue of which they are capable—as brilliant and as soft as they ever appear in flowers, or in the plumage of birds, or in the sky when illuminated by the most glorious sunset. The red perpetually shades into pale, or deep rose or flesh colour, and

again approaches the hue of the lilac or violet. The white, which is often as pure as snow, is occasionally just dashed with blue or red. The blue is usually the pale azure of the clear sky, or of the ocean, but sometimes has the deep and peculiar shade of the clouds in summer when agitated by a tempest. Yellow is an epithet often applied to sand and sandstone. The yellow of the rocks of Petræa is as bright as that of saffron. It is more easy to imagine than describe the effect of tall, graceful columns, exhibiting these exquisite colours in their succession of regular horizontal strata. They are displayed to still greater advantage in the walls and ceilings of some of the excavations where there is a slight dip in the strata.

We have thus endeavoured to give the reader a general idea of this remarkable place. Detailed descriptions of the principal monuments have been furnished by Laborde (*Voyage en Arabia Petræa*), Robinson (*Biblical Researches*), and Olin (*Travels in the East*, from which the above description has been chiefly taken). Interesting notices of Petra may also be found in the respective *Travels, Journeys*, &c. of Burckhardt, Macmichael, Irby and Mangles, Stephens, Lord Lindsay, and Schubert.

SELEUCIA (Σελεύκεια), a city of Syria, situated west of Antioch on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the Orontes; sometimes called Seleucia Pieria, from the neighbouring Mount Pierus: and also Seleucia ad Mare, in order to distinguish it from several other cities of the same name, all of them denominated from Seleucus Nicanor. Paul and Barnabas on their first journey embarked at this port for Cyprus (Acts xiii. 4; see also 1 Macc. xi. 8; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 8).

SENEH (סְנֶה) occurs in the well known passage of Exod. iii. 2, where the angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flaming fire, out of the midst of a *bush* (*seneh*), and the bush was not consumed. It occurs also in vers. 3 and 4, and in Deut. xxxiii. 16. The Septuagint translates *seneh* by the Greek word βάτος, which usually signifies the *Rubus* or *Bramble;* so in the New Testament βατος is employed when referring to the above miracle of the burning bush. The monks of the monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, have a species of *rubus* planted in their garden, near their Chapel of the Burning Bush; but this cannot be considered as any proof of its identity with the *seneh*, from the little attention which they have usually paid to correctness in such points. Bové says of it, 'C'est une espèce de Rubus, qui est voisin de notre R. fruticosus.' The species of *rubus* are not common either in Syria or Arabia. *Rubus sanctus*, the holy bramble, is found in Palestine, and is mentioned by Dr. Russell as existing in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and Hasselquist found a *rubus* among the ruins of Scanderetta, and another in the neighbourhood of Seide. It is also found among the ruins of Petra (?) (Calcott). Celsius and others quote Hebrew authors as stating that Mount Sinai obtained its name from the abundance of these bushes (*seneh*), 'Dictus est mons Sinai de nomine ejus.' But no species of *rubus* seems to have been discovered in a wild state on this mountain. This was observed by Pococke. He found, however, on Mount Horeb several hawthorn bushes, and says that the holy bush was more likely to have been a hawthorn than a bramble, and that this must have been the spot where the phenomenon was observed, being a sequestered place and affording excellent pasture, whereas near the chapel of the holy bush not a single herb grows. Shaw states that the *Oxyacantha arabica* grows in many places on St. Catherine's mountain. Bové says, on ascending Mount Sinai, 'J'ai trouvé entre les rochers de granit un *mespilus* voisin de l'oxyacantha.' Dr. Robinson mentions it as called *zarur;* but it is evident that we cannot have anything like proof in favour of either plant.—

J. F. R.

SENIR. [Hermon.]

SENNACHERIB, king of Assyria, who, in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah (B.C. 713), came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them; on which Hezekiah agreed to pay the Assyrian monarch a tribute of three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold. This, however, did not satisfy Sennacherib, who sent an embassy with hostile intentions, charging Hezekiah with trusting on 'this bruised reed Egypt.' The king of Judah in his perplexity had recourse to Isaiah, who counselled confidence and hope, giving a divine promise of miraculous aid. Meanwhile 'Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia,' and of Thebes in Egypt, had come out to fight against the Assyrians, who had threatened Lower Egypt with an invasion. On learning this, Sennacherib sent another deputation to Hezekiah, who thereon applied for aid to Jehovah, who promised to defend the capital. 'And it came to pass that night that the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses' (2 Kings xviii. 13, sq.). On this, Sennacherib returned to Nineveh, and was shortly after murdered by two of his sons as he was praying in the house of Nisroch his god (2 Kings xix. 36, sq.; 2 Chron. xxxii.; Isa. xxxvii.).

With this narrative other authorities (as given in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt.* i. 140, sq.) are found to agree. The Tirhakah mentioned in the Bible, as given above (2 Kings xix. 9), was king of Upper Egypt at the time that Sethos, a priest of Pthah, ruled the lower country (B.C. 710 to 689). During Tirhakah's reign Sennacherib threatened to invade Lower Egypt. Sethos, from his sacerdotal predilections, was averse to the soldiery, whom he treated with indignity. They therefore were ill-affected towards their priest-king, whose dominions were consequently in great danger of being overrun. Indeed the troops refused to march against the enemy, when their effeminate master retired to the shrine of his god to bewail his misfortunes. There sinking into a profound sleep, he saw the Deity in a dream, who promised him safety if he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched to meet the enemy. Sethos thereupon proceeded to Pelusium, the key of Lower Egypt, with an army made up solely of tradesmen and artisans. The promised assistance soon came. Tirhakah had heard of the approach of Sennacherib, and at once came down the country, entered Palestine, and

defeated the Assyrian monarch, thus delivering the territory of Sethos as well as that of Hezekiah. The priests of Memphis, however, who were the informants of Herodotus, gave this event a colouring which suited their own purposes. According to their account, the victory was owing to the miraculous interposition of the god Pthah. Keeping out of sight the effective aid rendered by Tirhakah, these priests told Herodotus that when the Assyrians and the feeble army of Sethos stood over against each other, a prodigious number of rats entered the enemy's camp by night, and gnawed in pieces their quivers and bows, as well as the handles of their shields, so that the Assyrians in the morning finding themselves without arms, fled in confusion, and suffered considerable loss of men. In order to commemorate the event, a marble statue of Sethos was erected in the temple of Pthah, at Memphis, representing the king, holding a rat in his hand, with this inscription, 'Whoever thou art, learn from my fortune to reverence the gods.'

The rationalistic school would put these two accounts on the same footing, and so reduce the miracle of Scripture to a level with the fiction or the legend recorded in Herodotus. A less prejudiced state of mind will think it very probable that what is common in the two narratives rests on, as it intimates, some extraordinary event, or, in other words, some unusual and special display of the power of Him whose will is law, and whose word is either life or death. A comparison of the two narratives in the original sources and statements would serve to illustrate the value, as well as the credibility, of the Biblical records.—J. R. B.

SEORAH (שְׂעֹרָה, said to be derived from שַׂעֲרָה, 'hair'), by some written also *shoreh*, derives its name in Hebrew, according to Lexicographers, from its long awns, or beards, as they are also called, somewhat resembling hair. The word is very similar to the Arabic *shair*, which means the same thing, and has already been treated of under the head of Barley.—J. F. R.

SEPHAR (סְפַר; Sept. Σαφηρά), 'a mountain of the east,' a line drawn from which to Mesha formed the boundary of the Joktanite tribes (Gen. x. 30). The name may remind us of Saphar, which the ancients mention as a chief place of South Arabia. The excellent map of Berghaus exhibits on the south-west point of Arabia a mountain called Sabber, which perhaps supplies the spot we seek. If this be the case, and Mesha be (as usually supposed) the Mesene of the ancients, the line between them would intersect Arabia from north-east to south-west. That Sephar is called 'a mountain of *the east*,' is to be understood with reference to popular language, according to which Arabia is described as the 'east country.' See Baumgarten, *Theolog. Commentar zum A. T.* i. 152.

SEPHARAD (סְפָרַד; Sept. Ἐφραθά), a region to which the exiles from Jerusalem were taken (Obad. 20). Most of the Rabbins regard Sepharad as Spain, interpreting the whole passage with reference to their present captivity or dispersion; and so we find it in the Syriac and Chaldee. Jerome informs us that the Hebrew who was his instructor told him that Bosphorus was called Sepharad, whither Adrian is said to have sent the Jews into exile. That the district Sepharad is to be sought somewhere in the region of the Bosphorus, has lately been confirmed by a palæographic discovery. In the celebrated cuneiform inscription containing a list of the tribes of Persia (Niebuhr, tab. 31, lett. i.), after Assyria, Gorydene, Armenia, *Cappadocia*, and before Ionia and Greece, is found the name CPaRaD, as read both by Bournouf and Lassen; and this was recognized also by De Sacy as the Sephar of Obad. 20. It was therefore a district of Western Asia Minor, or at least near to it (Bournouf, *Mém. sur Deux Inscr. Cuneif.*, 1836, p. 147; Gesenius, *Thesaur.* s. v.).

SEPHARVAIM (סְפַרְוַיִם; Sept. Σεπφαρουαΐμ), a city of the Assyrian empire, whence colonists were brought into the territory of Israel, afterwards called Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 24; xviii. 34; xix. 13; Isa. xxxvi. 19; xxxvii. 13). The place is probably represented by Sipphara in Mesopotamia, situated upon the east bank of the Euphrates above Babylon.

SEPTUAGINT. The oldest version of the Old Testament in any language is the Greek translation commonly called the Septuagint, either because it was approved and sanctioned by the Jewish Sanhedrim consisting of seventy-two persons; or rather from the Jewish account, which states that so many individuals were employed in making it. The history of this version is obscure. Few notices of its origin are extant; and even such as do exist are suspicious and contradictory.

The space allotted to the present article will only allow the writer to *touch upon the chief points* relating to the Septuagint. A radical and minute investigation, such as the subject *now* demands, cannot therefore be expected. *Results alone* must be *briefly* stated.

The oldest writer who makes mention of the Septuagint is Aristobulus, an author referred to by Eusebius (*Præpar. Evangel.*), and Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*). According to Eusebius, he was a Jew, who united the Aristotelian with the Jewish philosophy, and composed a commentary on the law of Moses, dedicated to Ptolemy Philometor. He is also mentioned in 2 Macc. i. 10. Both Clement and Eusebius make him contemporary with Philometor; for the passages in their writings, in which they speak of him under Philadelphus, must either have been corrupted by ignorant transcribers, or have been so written by mistake (Valckenaer, §§ 10, 11; Dæhne, p. 81, sq.). His words relative to the Septuagint are: ἡ δ' ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως—Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων. The entire passage, of which the preceding words form a brief portion, has occasioned much conjecture and discussion. It is given by Valckenaer, Thiersch, and Frankel. It appears to us, that the words of Aristobulus do not speak of any *prior Greek translation*, as Hody supposes, or indeed of any translation whatever. They rather refer to some brief extracts relative to Jewish history, which had been made from the Pentateuch into a language commonly understood by the Jews in

Egypt, before the time of Demetrius. *The entire law, ἡ δ' ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων,* was first rendered into Greek under Philadelphus. Hody, and after him Eichhorn, conjectured that the fragments of Aristobulus preserved by Eusebius and Clement were written in the second century by another Aristobulus, a Christian; and that Aristobulus, the professed Peripatetic, was a heathen. But the quotation of Cyril of Alexandria (*contra Julianum*, lib. vi.), to which they appeal, was erroneously made by that father, as may be seen by comparing it with Clement. Richard Simon also denied the authenticity of Aristobulus's remains (*Histoire Critique du V. T.*, p. 189). But Valckenaer has sufficiently established their authenticity. The testimony of Aristobulus is corroborated by a Latin scholion recently found in a MS. of Plautus at Rome, which has been described and illustrated by Ritschl in a little book entitled '*Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken und die Sammlung der Homerischen Gedichte nach Anleitung eines Plautinischen Scholium's*, Berlin, 1838.' From the passage of Aristobulus already quoted, it appears, that in the time of Aristobulus, *i. e.* the beginning of the second century B.C., this version was considered to have been made when Demetrius Phalereus lived, or in the reign of Ptolemy Soter. Hody, indeed, has endeavoured to show that this account contradicts the voice of certain history, because it places Demetrius in the reign of Philadelphus. But the version may have been begun under Soter and completed under Philadelphus his successor. In this way may be reconciled the discordant notices of the time when it originated; for it is well known that the Palestinian account, followed by various fathers of the church, asserts, that Ptolemy Soter carried the work into execution; while according to Aristeas, Philo, Josephus, &c. &c., his son Philadelphus was the person. Hody harmonises the discrepancy, by placing the translation of the Pentateuch in the two years during which father and son reigned conjointly, 286 and 285 B.C. The object of Demetrius, in advising Soter to have in his library a copy of the Jewish laws in Greek, is not stated by Aristobulus; but Aristeas relates that the librarian represented it to the king as a desirable thing that such a book should be deposited in the Alexandrian library. Some think that *a literary*, rather than *a religious* motive, led to the version. So Hävernick. This, however, may be reasonably doubted. Hody, Sturz, Frankel, and others, conjecture that the object was *religious* or *ecclesiastical*. Eichhorn refers it to *private impulse*; while Hug takes the object to have been *political*. It is not probable, however, that the version was intended for the king's use, or that he wished to obtain from it information respecting the best mode of governing a nation, and enacting laws for its economic well-being. The character and language of the version unite to show that an Egyptian king, probably ignorant of Greek, could not have understood the work. Perhaps *an ecclesiastical* motive prompted the Jews, who were originally interested in it; while Demetrius Phalereus and the king may have been actuated by some other design.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain, whether Aristobulus's words imply that *all* the books of the Old Testament were translated into Greek under Philadelphus, or simply the Pentateuch. Hody contends that *νόμος*, the term used by Aristobulus, meant at that time the Mosaic books alone; although it was afterwards taken in a wider sense, so as to embrace all the Old Testament. Valckenaer thinks that *all* the books were comprehended under it. It is certainly more natural to restrict it to the Pentateuch. The Pentateuch, therefore, was completed under Philadelphus.

The next historical testimony regarding the Septuagint, is the prologue of Jesus the son of Sirach, a document containing the judgment of a Palestinian Jew concerning the version before us. His words are these: *οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα*—'and not only these things, but the law itself, and the prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small difference when they are spoken in their own language.' Frankel has endeavoured to throw suspicion on this passage, as though it were unauthentic; but his reasons are extremely slender (p. 21, note w). It appears from it, that the law, the prophets, and the other books, had been translated into Greek in the time of the son of Sirach, *i. e.* that of Ptolemy Physcon, 130 B.C.

The account given by Aristeas comes next before us. This writer pretends to be a Gentile, and a favourite at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt. In a letter addressed to his brother Philocrates, he relates that Philadelphus, when forming a library at great expense, was advised by Demetrius Phalereus to apply to the Jewish high priest Eleazar for a copy of the book containing the Jewish laws. Having previously purchased the freedom of more than a hundred thousand captive Jews in Egypt, the king sent Aristeas and Andreas to Jerusalem, with a letter requesting of Eleazar seventy-two persons as interpreters, six out of each tribe. They were dispatched accordingly, with a magnificent copy of the law; and were received and entertained by the king for several days, with great respect and liberality. Demetrius led them to an island, probably Pharos, where they lodged together. The translation was finished in seventy-two days, having been written down by Demetrius, piece by piece, as agreed upon after mutual consultation. It was then publicly read by Demetrius to a number of Jews whom he had summoned together. They approved of it; and imprecations were uttered against any one who should presume to alter it. The Jews requested permission to take copies of it for their use; and it was carefully preserved by command of the king. The interpreters were sent home, loaded with presents. Josephus agrees in the main with Aristeas; but Philo's account differs in a number of circumstances. Justin Martyr endeavoured to harmonise the various traditions current in his day, but without success. Exaggerations and glaring falsehoods had been added to the story of Aristeas, in the days of Justin and Epiphanius, which these credulous men received without hesitation, and to which it is probable they themselves contributed. The interpreters are said to have been shut up in separate cells, where they made separate versions, which were

found on comparison to agree in every minute particular. Hence they were looked upon as inspired, and their version as infallibly correct. Most of the fathers received this tradition, and the early Jewish Rabbins equally believed it. Even Philo regarded the translators as inspired; but it is evident that he was ignorant of Hebrew. Jerome seems to have been the first who distinctly rejected the story of their inspiration, although he did not doubt the veracity of Aristeas, whose simpler narrative makes no mention of inspiration. Until the latter half of the seventeenth century, the origin of the Septuagint as given by Aristeas, was firmly believed; while the numerous additions that had been made to the original story, in the progress of centuries, were unhesitatingly received as equally genuine. The story was first reckoned improbable by L. Vives (in a note to Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*); then Scaliger asserted that it was written by a Jew; and Richard Simon was too acute a critic not to perceive the truth of Scaliger's assertion. Hody was the first who demonstrated with great learning, skill, and discrimination, that the narrative could not be authentic. It is now universally pronounced fabulous.

The work of Aristeas, which was first published in the original Greek by Simon Schard, at Basel, 1561, 8vo., and several times reprinted, was also given by Hody in Greek and Latin, in his book entitled *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Græcis, et Latina Vulgata*, Oxonii, 1705, fol. The most accurate edition, however, is that by Gallandi, in the *Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum*, vol. ii. It was translated into English by Whiston, and published at London in 1727, 8vo.

It is a difficult point to determine the extent to which truth is mixed up with fable in this ancient story. However absurd the traditions may appear in the view of modern criticism, *some* truth must lie at the basis of them. In separating the true from the fabulous, it appears to us that Hody has not been successful. From the extreme credulity manifested in the reception of the fable, he has gone to the extreme of scepticism. Yet he has been generally followed. That the Pentateuch was translated a considerable time before the prophets, is not warranted by the language of Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Hilary of Poitiers; although we are aware that Aristeas, Josephus, Philo, the Talmudists, and Jerome, mention *the law only* as having been interpreted by the seventy-two. Hody thinks that the Jews first resorted to the reading of the prophets in their synagogues when Antiochus Epiphanes forbade the use of the law; and, therefore, that the prophetic portion was not translated till after the commencement of Philometor's reign. It is wholly improbable, however, that Antiochus interdicted the Jews merely from reading the Pentateuch (comp. 1 Macc. i. 41, &c.; and Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 5; Frankel, pp. 48, 49). The interval between the translating of the law and the prophets, of which many speak, was probably very short. Hody's proof that the book of Joshua was not translated till upwards of twenty years after the death of Ptolemy Lagi, founded upon the word γαισός, is perfectly nugatory; although the time assigned cannot be far from the truth. The epilogue to the book of Esther does *not* state that this part of the Old Testament was translated under Ptolemy Philometor, or that it was dedicated to him. On the contrary, it refers to a certain epistle containing apocryphal additions to the canonical book of Esther (Valckenaer, pp. 33, 63). It is a fruitless task to attempt to ascertain the precise times at which separate portions of the version were made. All that can be known with any degree of probability is, that it was begun under Lagi, and finished before the thirty-eighth year of Ptolemy Physcon.

It is obvious, from internal evidence, that there were several translators; but certainly not seventy-two. Hody has endeavoured to parcel out their version into small portions, assigning each part to a separate person, and affirming that they were put together in one cento without revision; but his notions of rigid uniformity in the translators are such as exclude perspicuity, freedom, variety, and elegance. There is no ground for believing that the Pentateuch proceeded from more than one interpreter, who was unquestionably the most skilful of all. The entire work was made by five or six individuals at least; and must, consequently, be of unequal value.

In opposition to the Pseudo-Aristeas, we cannot but maintain that the translators were *Alexandrian*, not *Palestinian* Jews. The internal character of the entire version, particularly of the Pentateuch, sufficiently attests the fact. We find, accordingly, that proper names, and terms peculiar to Egypt are rendered in such a manner as must have been unintelligible to a Greek-speaking population other than the Egyptian Jews. That the translators were Egyptians has been proved to the satisfaction of all by Hody; although some of his examples, such as the words γένεσις and ἱππόδρομος, are not appropriate or conclusive. Frankel supposes that the version was made not only at different times, but *at different places*. This is quite arbitrary. There is no reason for believing with him, that different books originated after this fashion, the impulse having gone forth from Alexandria, and spreading to localities where the Jews had settled, especially Cyrene, Leontopolis, and even Asia Minor.

Next to the Pentateuch, in point of goodness, is the version of the Proverbs. The translator of Job, though familiar with the Greek poets, and master of an elegant diction, was very imperfectly acquainted with Hebrew. The Psalms and Prophets have been indifferently executed. Jeremiah is best translated among the prophetic books. Amos and Ezekiel stand in the next rank. Isaiah met with a very incompetent translator. The version of Daniel is the worst. The version of Theodotion was very early substituted for it. Michaelis and Bertholdt conjecture that Daniel was first translated after the advent of Christ. It is certain that Jerome did not know the reason why Theodotion's had been substituted in place of that belonging to the Septuagint. Most of the historical books are not well interpreted.

With regard to *the external form* of the MS. or MSS. from which this version was made, it is not difficult to see that the letters were substantially the same as the present square characters —that there were no vowel-points—that there was

no separation into words; no final letters; that the letter ϐ wanted the *diacritic point;* and that words were frequently abbreviated. The division into verses and chapters is much later than the age of the translators. Our present editions have been printed in conformity with the division into chapters made in the twelfth century; though they are not uniform in this particular. Still, however, many MSS. have separations in the text. The Alexandrine codex is said by Grabe to have one hundred and forty divisions, or as they may be called, *chapters*, in the book of Numbers alone (*Prolegomena*, c. i. § 7).

The titles given to the books, such as Γένεσις, &c., could hardly have been affixed by the translators, since often they do not harmonise with the version of the book itself to which they belong.

It has been inquired, whether the translator of the Pentateuch followed a Hebrew or a Samaritan codex. The Septuagint and Samaritan harmonise in more than a thousand places, where they differ from the Hebrew. Hence it has been supposed that the Samaritan edition was the basis of the version. Various considerations have been adduced in favour of this opinion; and the names of De Dieu, Selden, Whiston, Hottinger, Hassencamp, and Eichhorn, are enlisted on its behalf. But the irreconcilable enmity subsisting between the Jews and the Samaritans, both in Egypt and Palestine, effectually militates against it. Besides, in the prophets and hagiographa the number of variations from the Masoretic text is even greater and more remarkable than those in the Pentateuch; whereas the Samaritan extends no farther than the Mosaic books. No solution, therefore, can be satisfactory, which will not serve to explain at once the cause or causes both of the differences between the Seventy and Hebrew in the Pentateuch, and those found in the remaining books. The problem can be fully solved only by such an hypothesis as will throw light on the remarkable form of the Septuagint in Jeremiah and Esther, where it deviates most from the Masoretic MSS., presenting such transpositions and interpolations as excite the surprise of the most superficial reader. How, then, is the agreement between the Samaritan and Septuagint to be explained?

Some suppose that the one was *interpolated* from the other—a conjecture not at all probable. Jahn and Bauer imagine that the Hebrew MS. used by the Egyptian Jews agreed much more closely with the Samaritan in the text and forms of its letters, than the present Masoretic copies. This hypothesis, however, even if it were otherwise correct, would not account for the great harmony existing between the Samaritan and Septuagint.

Another hypothesis has been put forth by Gesenius (*Commentatio de Pent. Samar. orig., indole, et auctor.*), viz. that both the Samaritan and Septuagint flowed from a common recension (ἔκδοσις) of the Hebrew Scriptures, one older than either, and different in many places from the recension of the Masoretes now in common use. 'This supposition,' says Prof. Stuart, by whom it is adopted, 'will account for the differences and for the agreements of the Septuagint and Samaritan.'

The following objections have been made to this ingenious and plausible hypothesis.

1. It assumes, that before the whole of the Old Testament was written there had been a recension or revision of several books. But there is no record or tradition in favour of the idea, that *inspired* men applied a correcting hand in this manner till the close of the canon. To say that *others* did so, is not in unison with right notions of the inspiration of Scripture, unless it be equally affirmed that they *corrupted*, under the idea of *correcting*, the holy books.

2. This hypothesis implies, that a recension took place at a period comparatively early, before any books had been written except the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and the writings of David and Solomon. If it be improbable that a revised edition was made before the completion of the canon, it is much more improbable that it was undertaken when few books were written.

3. It supposes, that an older recension was still current after Ezra had revised the whole collection and closed the canon. In making the Septuagint version, it is very improbable that the Jews, who were the translators, followed a recension far inferior in their estimation to the copy of the sacred books corrected by Ezra. This objection rests on the assumption that Ezra completed the canon of the Old Testament, having been prompted, as well as inspired, to arrange and revise the books of Scripture. Such is the Jewish tradition; and although a majority of the German critics disallow its truth, yet it is held by very able and accomplished men.

Prof. Lee (*Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott*) accounts for the agreement between the Septuagint and Samaritan in another way. He conjectures that the early Christians interspersed their copies with Samaritan glosses, which ignorant transcribers afterwards inserted in the text. But he has not shown that Christians in general were acquainted with the Samaritan Pentateuch and its additions to the Hebrew copy; neither has he taken into account the reverence entertained by the early Christians for the sacred books. We cannot, therefore, attribute the least probability to this hypothesis.

Another hypothesis has been mentioned by Frankel, viz. that the Septuagint flowed from a Chaldee version, which was used before and after the time of Ezra—a version inexact and paraphrastic, which had undergone many alterations and corruptions. This was first proposed by R. Asaria di Rossi, in the midst of other conjectures.

Frankel admits that the assumption of such a version is superfluous, except in relation to the Samaritan Pentateuch, where much is gained by it. This Chaldee version circulated in various transcripts here and there; and as the same care was not applied in preserving its integrity as was exercised with respect to the original Hebrew, the copies of it presented considerable differences among themselves. Both the Greek version and the Samaritan Pentateuch were taken from it. Frankel concedes that this hypothesis is not satisfactory with regard to the Septuagint, because the mistakes found in that version must have frequently originated in misunderstanding *the Hebrew* text. There is no evidence, however, that any Targum or Chaldee version had been made before Ezra's time, or soon after. *Explanations of the lessons publicly read by the Jews* were given in Chaldee, not regularly perhaps, or

uniformly; but it can scarcely be assumed that a Chaldee version had been made out in writing, and circulated in different copies. Glosses, or short expositions of words and sentences, were furnished by the public readers for the benefit of the people; and it is by no means improbable that several of these traditional comments were incorporated with the version by the Jewish translators, to whom they were familiar.

In short, no hypothesis yet proposed commends itself to general reception, although the *Vorstudien* of Frankel have probably opened up the way towards a correct solution. The great source from which the striking peculiarities in the Seventy and the Samaritan flowed, appears to us to have been *early traditional interpretations* current among the Jews, *targums*, or *paraphrases*—not written perhaps, but orally circulated. Such glossarial versions, which must have circulated chiefly in Palestine, require to be traced back to an early epoch; to the period of the second temple. They existed, *in substance* at least, in ancient times, at once indicating and modifying the Jewish mode of interpretation. The Alexandrian mode of interpretation stood in close connection with the Palestinian; for the Jews of Egypt looked upon Jerusalem as their chief city, and the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem as their ecclesiastical rulers. If, therefore, we can ascertain the traditional paraphrases of the one, those of the other must have been substantially the same (see Gieseler's *Eccles. Hist.*, transl. by Cunningham, vol. i. p. 30).

Tychsen (*Tentamen de variis codd. Heb. V. T. MSS. gener.*) thought that the Septuagint was made from the Hebrew transcribed into Hebrew-Greek characters. It is almost unnecessary to refer to such a notion. It never obtained general currency, having been examined and refuted by Dathe, Michaelis, and Hassencamp.

The Septuagint does not appear to have obtained *general authority* as long as Hebrew was understood at Alexandria. It is remarkable that Aristobulus quotes the original, even where it departs from the text of the Seventy. The version was indeed spread abroad in Egypt, northern Africa, and Asia Minor; but it may be doubted, whether it was ever so highly esteemed by the Jews as to be publicly read in their synagogues, *in place of the original.* The passages quoted by Hody from the fathers go to prove no more than that it was found in the synagogues. From the 146 Novella of Justinian it would seem, that some Jews wished the public interpreter, who read the lessons out of the law and the prophets in Hebrew, to give his explanations of them in Greek; while others desired to have them in Chaldee. The reader, therefore, employed this translation as explanatory of the sections recited in the original. It cannot be shown that, after the Septuagint had been made, the Jews commonly laid aside the original, and *substituted* the Greek in the synagogue-service. Though they highly esteemed the Greek, they did not regard it as equal to the Hebrew. Philo and Josephus adopted it; and it was universally received by the early Christians. Even the Talmudists make honourable mention of its origin. It is true that the Talmud also speaks of it as an abomination to the Jews in Palestine; but this refers to the second century and *the time following*, not to the period *immediately* after the appearance of Christ.

When controversies arose between Christians and Jews, and the former appealed with irresistible force of argument to this version, the latter denied that it agreed with the Hebrew original. Thus by degrees it became odious to the Jews—as much execrated as it had before been commended. They had recourse to the translation of Aquila, who is supposed to have undertaken a new work from the Hebrew, with the express object of supplanting the Septuagint, and favouring the sentiments of his brethren.

After the general reception of the Septuagint version, numerous mistakes were made in the transcription and multiplication of copies. In the time of the early fathers its text had already been altered; and the Jews, in argument with the Christians, commonly said, that such and such things were not in the Hebrew original. This affirmation was generally sufficient to silence the professors of the Christian religion, who were unable to follow their critical antagonists into the Hebrew text.

In order to rectify the text of the Septuagint, and to place Christians on even ground with their Jewish opponents, Origen undertook to revise it. After travelling about for twenty-eight years in quest of materials, and meeting with six Greek translations,—three belonging to Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion respectively; and three anonymous—he began his great work, probably at Alexandria, and finished it, according to the best accounts, at Tyre. Some think that he published at first his *Tetrapla*, containing in four columns the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the Seventy. Thus the *Tetrapla* was only preparatory to his projected emendation of the Seventy. In an enlarged edition, he added the Hebrew text in Hebrew and in Greek letters; and as the work then consisted of six columns, it was termed *Hexapla.* Such is the opinion of Hody, Montfaucon, and Bauer; but Eichhorn, Eichstaedt, and Frankel, think that the Tetrapla was not a distinct work preparatory to the Hexapla, but only an abridgment of the latter. In some parts he used two other Greek versions made by unknown authors, and occasionally a third anonymous translation. Hence the names *Octapla* and *Enneapla.* Thus the different appellations by which the work is distinguished, refer merely to the number of columns. The following is their order:—1. The Hebrew text in its proper characters; 2. The same in Greek letters; 3. Aquila; 4. Symmachus; 5. Septuagint; 6. Theodotion; 7, 8, and 9. The three anonymous Greek versions were called the fifth, sixth, and seventh, in relation to the other four (see a specimen of the *Enneapla* in Davidson's *Bib. Criticism*, p. 53).

Origen's object in this laborious work was not so much to correct the Septuagint, as to show where and how it differed from the original Hebrew. When he discovered a word in Hebrew, or in the Greek versions, which was not in the Seventy, he inserted it out of Theodotion. If Theodotion wanted it also, he made up the deficiency from Aquila, and occasionally from Symmachus. In every case, he put the name of the translation from which a supplement was made, with an asterisk at the commencement, and two

dots at the end, to show the extent of the supplied matter. And where the Septuagint, as compared with other Greek versions and the original, seemed to be redundant, he did not expunge the superfluity, but appended marks to point out this particular. His recension is called the *Hexaplarian* text, to distinguish it from the text as it existed before, which has been styled the *common* (κοινή) or *ante-hexaplarian*.

This great work, consisting of about fifty volumes, is thought to have perished at Cæsarea, when the town was sacked by the Saracens, A.D. 653. It was never transcribed.

In the beginning of the fourth century, Pamphilus and Eusebius copied the column containing the text of the Seventy, with the passages and scholia out of the other translators, and the critical marks used by Origen. It is to be regretted that this copy was soon extensively corrupted. The Hexaplarian text, coming through such a transcript, with fragments of the other versions, was published by Montfaucon, at Paris, 1714, 2 vols. fol.; and afterwards reprinted, in an abridgment, by Bahrdt, Leipzig, 1769-70, 2 vols. 8vo.

At the beginning of the same century, Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, undertook to amend the text of the Seventy, after the Hebrew original. This recension was called the *editio vulgata* (κοινή and also Λουκιανός), and became current in various churches. Another revision was undertaken about the same time by Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, which, according to Jerome, was generally used in the churches of Egypt. Hesychius and Lucian probably used the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, not the Hebrew text; although Hody thinks otherwise. From these three recensions all our printed editions have been derived. In the two great MSS. of the Seventy, the Vatican and Alexandrine, the basis of the former is the *common*, or earlier text; while the latter exhibits more of the readings and interpolations of the Hexaplarian text. Both have not been always kept distinct. The Vatican text is far purer than the Alexandrine. It is free from the asterisks, obeli, and other marks used by Origen, as well as the transpositions which he made. Besides, the Alexandrine has been very frequently conformed to the Masoretic text, which must be considered as a corruption.

All printed editions of the Septuagint may be reduced to four; viz., the Aldine, the Complutensian, the Roman, and the Grabian.

The Aldine or Venetian appeared at Venice in 1518, fol. The editor has not specified the MSS. from which the text was taken. He merely affirms that he collated many very ancient copies, and was favoured with the advice of some learned men. According to Walton, the text of this edition is purer than the Complutensian, and resembles most the Roman text. It has been interpolated, however, in various instances, out of Theodotion, Aquila, and the New Testament.

The Complutensian was published in 1522, as a column of the Complutensian Polyglott. Perhaps the text of it has been *occasionally* adapted to that of the Masoretic Hebrew copies; but certainly not to the extent assumed by Ussher, Walton, and Hody. Most of its *alterations*, as they are called in relation to the text of other editions, were probably taken from Greek MSS. containing Origen's improved Hexaplaric text, as Simon believed.

The Roman edition appeared under the auspices of Sixtus the Fifth, in 1587, fol., superintended by Cardinal Carafa. The text follows closely the celebrated *codex Vaticanus*. Yet the editors made alterations in the orthography, and in particulars which they looked upon as the mistakes of copyists. Other MSS. were necessarily used, since almost the entire book of Genesis is wanting in cod. B., besides Psalms 105—138, and the books of the Maccabees.

The Grabian edition appeared at Oxford, in 1707 and following years, 4 vols. fol., and 8 vols. 8vo., being prepared for the press by Dr. Grabe, a learned Prussian, and published in part by himself. This edition exhibits the text of the Codex Alexandrinus, but not perfectly; since Grabe altered and improved many places.

The latest and most splendid critical edition is that begun in 1798 by Dr. Holmes, and finished by Parsons, Oxford, 1798-1827, five vols. folio, with a large critical apparatus. The continuator appears to have become weary of his task, for he has only selected the readings most important in his own judgment. The text is that of the Roman edition. The work has not satisfied the reasonable expectations of the learned; and a *good* edition is still a desideratum. The Roman is still the best; although *no one edition* should be followed *absolutely* (see Credner's *Beiträge*, vol. ii. pp. 74-98).

The best Lexicon to the Septuagint is that of *Schleusner*, published at Leipzig, in 1820, in five parts, and reprinted at Glasgow. The best Concordance is that of *Trommius*, published at Amsterdam, 2 vols. fol. 1718.

A great number of other versions have been founded on the Seventy. 1. Various early Latin translations, the chief of which was the *Vetus Itala*; 2. The Coptic and Sahidic, belonging to the first and second centuries; 3. The Ethiopic, belonging to the fourth century; 4. The Armenian, of the fifth century; 5. The Georgian, of the sixth century; 6. Various Syriac versions, of the sixth and eighth centuries; 7. Some Arabic versions [Arabic Versions]; 8. The Slavonic, belonging to the ninth century.

Great value should unquestionably be attached to this version. In the criticism and interpretation of the Old Testament, it holds a conspicuous place. Yet most of the translators were incompetent. They often mistook the sense of the original. They indulged in many liberties with regard to the text. They inserted glosses, and paraphrased with unmeaning latitude. Their errors are neither few nor small. It must be recollected, however, that the text is in a state of irremediable disorder. The labours of Origen, however laudable the motive that prompted them, introduced great confusion. On the whole, the translation is *free* rather than *literal*. Figures, metaphors, and anthropomorphic expressions are frequently resolved. Still the document is important, not only in the criticism, but also in the exposition of the Old Testament.

(For a more copious account of the Septuagint, the reader is referred to Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*, and the books there specified. On the Pentateuch part of it, the best work is that of Thiersch, *De Pentateuchi Versione Alexan-*

drina, libri tres, Erlangæ, 1841, 8vo., in which the character of the diction employed by the translator is minutely and admirably investigated. See also Toepler, *De Pentateuchi interpretationis Alexandrinæ indole critica et hermeneutica*, Hal. Sax. 1830, 8vo.; Plüschke, *Lectiones Alexandrinæ et Hebraicæ, &c.* Bonn, 1837, 8vo. This writer would correct the present Hebrew text by the Seventy in many cases, although the idea of doing so is preposterous. *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, von Dr. Z. Frankel; Leipzig, 1841, 8vo. This is the most remarkable and most important work on the Septuagint that has appeared for many years. The present is only the first part of the first volume, and we are unable to say whether more has been published. Gfrörer, *Urchristenthum*, Th. i. B. ii., Stuttgart, 1831, 8vo.; Dähne, *Judisch-Alexandrinische Philosophie*, Th. ii. Halle, 1834, 8vo.; Fabricii *Bibliotheca Sacra*, ed. Harless, vol. 3; Michaelis's *Oriental. Bibliothek*, and *Neue Orient. Biblioth.*; Eichhorn's *Allgem. Bibliothek* and *Repertorium;* Studer, *De Versionis Alexandrinæ origine, historia, usu, et abusu critico*, Bernæ, 1823, 8vo.; Grabe's *Prolegomena* to his edition of the Seventy; Holmes's *Præfatio* to his edition; Credner's *Beiträge zur Einleitung*, u. s. w., 2 vols. 8vo. Halle, 1838, B. ii.; Amersfoordt, *Dissertatio de variis lectionibus Holmesianis*, Lugd. Bat. 1815, 4to.; Valckenaer, *Diatribe de Aristobulo Judæo*, ed. Joh. Luzac., Lugd. Bat., 1806, 4to.).—S. D.

SEPTUAGINT CHRONOLOGY. [Chronology.]

SEPULCHRE. [Burial.]

SERAIAH (שְׂרָיָה and שְׂרָיָהוּ, 'warrior of Jehovah;' Sept. Σαραΐας). There are several persons of this name in Scripture.

1. Seraiah, the scribe or secretary of David (2 Sam. viii. 17). This person's name is in other places corrupted into שְׁוָא, Auth. Vers. Sheva (1 Sam. xx. 25), שִׁישָׁא, Shisha (1 Kings iv. 3), and שַׁוְשָׁא, Shavsha (1 Chron. xviii. 16).

2. Seraiah, the father of Ezra (Ez. vii. 1).

3. Seraiah, the high priest at the time that Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldæans. He was sent prisoner to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, who put him to death (2 Kings xxv. 18; 1 Chron. vi. 14; Jer. lii. 24; Ez. vii. 1).

4. Seraiah, son of Azriel, one of the persons charged with the apprehension of Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. xxxvi. 26).

5. Seraiah, son of Neriah, who held a high office in the court of King Zedekiah, the nature of which is somewhat uncertain. In the Auth. Vers. we have, 'This Seraiah was a quiet prince,' where the words rendered 'quiet prince' are שַׂר מְנוּחָה, which, according to Kimchi, means 'a chamberlain,' or one who attended the king when he retired to rest; but better, perhaps, according to Gesenius, 'chief of the quarters' for the king and his army, that is *quarter-master-general.* This Seraiah was sent by Zedekiah on an embassy to Babylon, probably to render his submission to that monarch, about seven years before the fall of Jerusalem. He was charged by Jeremiah to communicate to the Jews already in exile a book, in which the prophet had written out his prediction of all the evil that should come upon Babylon. It is not stated how Seraiah acquitted himself of his task; but that he accepted it at all, shows such respect for the prophet as may allow us to conclude that he would not neglect the duty which it imposed.

6. Seraiah, son of Tanhumeth, an accomplice of Ishmael in the conspiracy against Gedaliah (2 Kings xxv. 23; Jer. xl. 8).

SERAH (שֶׂרַח, '*abundance;*' Sept. Σάρα), daughter of Asher, named among those who went down into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 17; Num. xxvi. 46; 1 Chron. vii. 30). The mention of a female in a list of this kind, in which no others of her sex are named, and contrary to the usual practice of the Jews, seems to indicate something extraordinary in connection with her history or circumstances. This has sufficed to excite the ever active imaginations of the Rabbins, and Serah shares with the princess of Egypt who saved Moses, with Jochebed his mother, and with Deborah, the honour of occupying a prominent place in their fables.

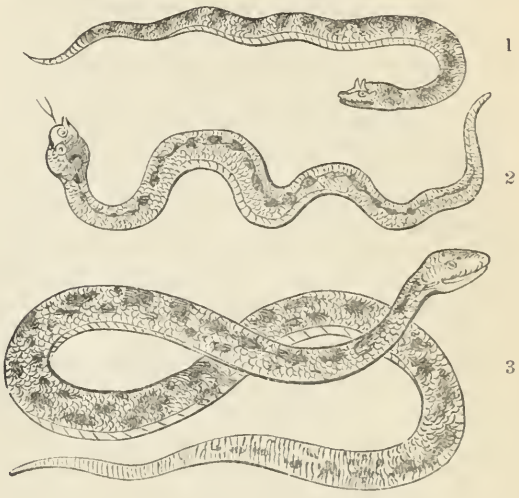
SERAPHIM (שְׂרָפִים; Sept. Σεραφίμ), or Seraphs, the plural of the word שָׂרָף *saraph*, 'burning,' or 'fiery:' celestial beings described in Isa. vi. 2-6, as an order of angels or ministers of God, who stand around his throne, having each six wings, and also hands and feet, and praising God with their voices. They were therefore of human form, and, like the Cherubim, furnished with wings as the swift messengers of God. Some have indeed identified the Cherubim and Seraphim as the same beings, but under names descriptive of different qualities; *Seraphim* denoting the burning and dazzling appearance of the beings elsewhere described as *Cherubim.* It would be difficult either to prove or disprove this; but there are differences between the *cherubim* of Ezekiel, and the *seraphim* of Isaiah, which it does not appear easy to reconcile. The 'living creatures' of the former prophet had four wings; the 'seraphim' of the latter, six; and while the cherubim had four faces, the seraphim had but one (comp. Isa. vi. 2, 3; Ezek. i. 5-12). If the figures were in all cases purely symbolical, the difference does not signify; and whether they were so, or not, must be determined by the considerations which have been indicated under Cherubim.

There is much symbolical force and propriety in the attitude in which the Seraphim are described as standing; while two of their wings were kept ready for instant flight in the service of God, with two others they hid their face, to express their unworthiness to look upon the divine Majesty (comp. Exod. iii. 6), and with two others they covered their feet, or the whole of the lower part of their bodies—a practice which still prevails in the East, when persons appear in a monarch's presence. It may be seen in the article Serpent, that a species of serpent was called *Saraph;* and this has led some to conceive that the Seraphim were a kind of basilisk-headed Cherubim (Bauer, *Theolog. A. T.* p. 189); or else that they were animal forms with serpents' heads, such as we find figured in the ancient temples of Thebes (Gesen. *Comment. in Jes.*). Hitzig and others identify the Seraphim with the Egyptian Serapis; for although it is true that the worship of Serapis was

not introduced into Egypt till the time of the Ptolemies, it is known that this was but a modification of the more ancient worship of Kneph, who was figured under the form of a serpent of the same kind, the head of which afterwards formed the crest of Serapis.

SERGIUS PAULUS (Σέργιος Παῦλος), a Roman proconsul in command at Cyprus, who was converted by the preaching of Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiii. 7). The title given to this functionary exhibits one of those minute accuracies which, apart from its inspiration, would substantiate the sacred book as a genuine and contemporary record. Cyprus was originally a *prætorian* province (στρατηγική), and not *proconsular;* but it was left by Augustus under the Senate, and hence was governed by a proconsul (ἀνθύπατος), as stated by the Evangelist (Acts xiii. 6, 8, 12; Dion Cass. liv. p. 523; Kuinoel, on Acts xiii. 7; see also the art. Cyprus). Sergius is described by the Evangelist as a 'discreet' or 'intelligent' man; by which we are probably to understand that he was a man of large and liberal views, and of an inquiring turn of mind. Hence he had entertained Elymas, and hence also he became curious to hear the new doctrine which the apostle brought to the island. Nothing of his history subsequent to his conversion is known from Scripture. There is no reason to suppose that he abandoned his post as governor of Cyprus; but the legends assert that he did so, and followed Paul; and that eventually he went with the apostle into Spain, and was left by him at Narbonne in France, of which he became the bishop, and died there.

SERPENT (נָחָשׁ *nachash*). Systematical nomenclators and travellers enumerate considerably more than forty species of serpents in Northern Africa, Arabia, and Syria. Of these it is scarcely possible to point out with certainty a single one named in the Bible, where very few descriptive indications occur beyond what in scientific language would now be applied generically. It is true that, among the names in the list, several may be synonyms of one and the same species; still none but the most recent researches give characters sufficient to be depended upon, and as yet nothing like a complete erpetology of the regions in question has been established; for snakes being able to resist a certain degree of cold, and also the greatest heat, there are instances of species being found, such as the *hayes*, precisely the same, from the Ganges to the Cape of Good Hope; others, again, may be traced from Great Britain to Persia and Egypt, as is instanced in the common viper and its varieties. Instead therefore of making vain efforts at identifying all the serpents named, it will be a preferable course to assign them to their proper families, with the exception of those that can be pointed out with certainty; and in so doing it will appear that even now species of importance mentioned by the ancients are far from being clearly established. Serpents may be divided generally into two very distinct sections,—the first embracing all those that are provided with moveable tubular fangs and poison-bags in the upper jaw; all regarded as ovoviviparous, and called by contraction *vipers:* they constitute not quite one-fifth of the species hitherto noticed by naturalists. The second section, much more numerous, is the *colubrine*, not so armed, but not therefore always entirely innocuous, since there may be in some cases venomous secretions capable of penetrating into the wounds made by their fixed teeth, which in all serpents are single points, and in some species increase in size as they stand back in the jaws. The greater part, if not all, the innocuous species are oviparous, including the largest or giant snakes, and the *pelamis* and *hydrophis*, or water-serpents, among which several are venomous.



491. [1. Shephiphon: Cerastes. 2. Peten: Coluber Lebatina. 3. Python tigris Albicans; probably Thaibanne.]

Scriptural evidence attests the serpent's influence on the early destinies of mankind; and this fact may be traced in the history, the legends, and creeds of most ancient nations. It is far from being obliterated at this day among the pagan, barbarian, and savage tribes of both continents, where the most virulent and dangerous animals of the viviparous class are not uncommonly adored, but more generally respected, from motives originating in fear; and others of the oviparous race are suffered to abide in human dwellings, and are often supplied with food, from causes not easily determined, excepting that the serpent is ever considered to be possessed of some mysterious superhuman knowledge or power. Hence, beside real species, ideal forms, taken from the living, but combining other or additional properties, occur, at the most early periods, as metaphorical types, in fable and history, and in the hieroglyphics and religious paintings of many nations. Such are the innumerable fables in Hindu lore of Nagas and Naga Kings; the primæval astronomy which placed the serpent in the skies, and called the milky way by the name of Ananta and Sesha Naga; the Pagan obscure yet almost universal record of the deluge typified by a serpent endeavouring to destroy the ark; which astronomy has likewise transferred to the skies in the form of a dragon about to devour the moon, when, in an eclipsed state, it appears in the form of an amphipromnos or crescent-shaped boat; and, strange as it may seem, lunar eclipses still continue to be regarded in this character, and to excite general apprehension in Central Africa, as well as in China; in the South Sea Islands, as well as in America [Dragon]. The nations of the North once believed in the Jormunds Gander, or Kater serpent of the deep;

and they, together with the Celts and Basques, and all Asia, had legends of the Orm, the Paystha, the dragon-guardian of riches, brooding on gold in caverns deep below the surface of the earth, or lying in huge folds on dreary and extensive heaths. These fables were a residue of that antique dragon worship which had its temples from High Asia and Colchis to the north of Great Britain, and once flourished both in Greece and Northern Africa—structures with avenues of upright stones of several miles in length, whereof the ruins may still be traced at Carnak in Brittany, Abury in Wiltshire, and Redruth in Cornwall—the two last mentioned more particularly showing their connection with the circle constituting a form of the mundane egg, which again was an emblem of the deluge and the ark. The Hesperian, Colchian, and Lernæan dragons are only Greek legends of the same doctrine, still more distorted, and affording ample proof how far the Pagan world had departed from the simplicity of Scriptural truth, from the excessive use of metaphorical descriptions and fanciful symbols. In Egypt, the early centre of Ophiolatry, this debasing service was so deeply rooted, that a Christian sect of heretics, called Ophitæ, or according to Clemens Alexandrinus, Ophiani, arose in the second century of our era. As an emanation of the Gnostics their errors are particularly noticed by Tertullian, and form a signal instance of human perverseness ingeniously misleading itself and others by the abuse of symbols; yet when the anguine type did not pass into long distorted legends, it is evident, from the brazen serpent raised by Moses in the wilderness, that it was correctly appreciated by the people as a sign, not in itself a power, of Divine aid; and that its true symbolical meaning did not even escape Pagan comprehension appears from profane history, in Meissi, the good serpent, being likewise properly understood by the Egyptians, until idolatry distorted all the national reminiscences, and the promise of what was not fully revealed till the Saviour appeared on earth was obliterated. Ob, Oub, the Coptic Hof, Obion in Kircher, was, however, the general name for serpents in Egypt; and Kneeph, or Cnuphis, or Ihh-Nuphi, the good genius, always figured as the Nachash or Thermuth, is therefore the same as Naga Sahib, or lord-serpent of India [Adder], and still a personification of the vanquisher of the deluge—Vishnu, with many others, being Pagan denominations of Noah. In this sense the good genius Cnuphis was a type of the Saviour of men, and called by them the spirit pervading nature, the creator from whose mouth proceeded the mundane egg: being referred, after the loss of the true interpretation, to any typical form of the patriarch, the events of the deluge and the creation, thus confounding the operations of the Almighty with the ministry of his servant.

There was, however, another idolized snake of the great destroyer Python tribe, which devour even each other; it is represented on Egyptian monuments bearing a mummy figure on its tail, and gliding over a seated divinity with an egg on the head, while human sacrifice by decapitation is performed before it. This serpent is so carefully drawn that we recognise the Thaîbanne, Thebanus Ophites, which grows to twelve or more feet in length, is still found in Upper Egypt, and is a congener, if not the same as Python Tigris Albicans, the great snake even at present worshipped in Cutch: it may be the Aphophis of the Egyptians. To descant further on this subject would lead us too far from our purpose; but the Egyptian Python here noticed, changing its character from being a type of the deluge to that of an emblem of the ark carrying the spirit of human life within or upon it, was not without its counterpart in England, where lately, in digging out the deep black mud of a ditch, a boat-shaped Python, carrying the eight Eones (?) or Noachidæ, has been discovered, with emblems that denote them to be the solar regenerators of mankind. Parts of these objects, in hard black wood, are now in possession of Sir Samuel R. Meyrick.

Thus, as is ever the case in polytheistical legends, the type disappears through multiplied transitions and the number of other symbols and personifications characterized by the same emblem: it was so in this instance, when the snake form was conferred also on abstractions bearing the names of divinities, such as Ranno, Hoph, Bai, Hoh or Hih, and others.

The asserted longevity of the serpent tribe may have suggested the representation of the harmless house-snake biting its tail as typical of eternity; and this same quality was no doubt the cause why this animal, entwined round a staff, was the symbol of health, and the distinctive attribute of the classical Æsculapius and Hygia. There are species of this genus common to Palestine and the southern parts of continental Europe; they were domesticated in Druidical and other Pagan sanctuaries, and were employed for omens and other impostures; but the mysterious Ag or Hagstone was asserted to be produced by the venomous viper species. It is indeed with the section of noxious serpents that Biblical research has most to do. In the article Adder we have already noticed those of the present genus Haye, the hooded snake, or Cobra de Capello, which in one or more of its species is generically included in the Hebrew נחש *nachash*, and עכשוב *achsub*, the first being a general appellation, and the second probably confined to the Hayes proper, or to one of the species or varieties.

שרף *saraph*, the supposed winged serpent, we take also to be a Haye, one of the more eastern species or varieties, which have the faculty of actually distending the hood, as if they had wings at the side of the head, and are the same as, or nearly allied to, the well known spectacle-snake of India; and this interpretation seems to accord with the words of Moses, הנחשים השרפים *han-nechashim has-seraphim* (Num. xxi. 6). The serpent may exhibit this particular state of irritation when it stands half erect with its hood distended, or it may be that variety which is possessed of this faculty to the greatest extent. Naga Reflectrix, the Pof or Spooch adder of the Cape colonists, is reported by Dr. Smith to be scarcely distinct from the Egyptian Naga Haye. With regard to the faculty of flying, the lengthened form, the muscular apparatus, the absence of air-cells, and the whole osteological structure, are all incompatible with flight or the presence of wings: hence Herodotus, in his search for flying serpents at Buto, may have observed heaps of exuviæ of locusts cast on shore by the sea—a phenomenon not un-

frequent on that coast—but most assuredly not heaps of bones and ribs of serpents. As for those of Plutarch, they may have been noxious sandflies. Flying serpents are only found represented in the symbolical pictures of Egypt, where they occur with birds' wings. Those of history, and of barbarous nations excessively habituated to figurative forms of speech, are various, some being so called because of their rapid motion, others on account of a kind of spring they are said to make at their victims, and a third class because they climb trees, and are reported to swing themselves from thence upon their victims, or to other trees. Now, many species of serpents are climbers; many hang by the tail from slender branches of low trees in highly heated glens, snapping at insects as they wheel around them; but all are delicately jointed; and if any should swing further than merely to change their hold, and should miss catching a branch, they would most certainly be dislocated, and, if not killed, very seriously injured. From personal experiments we can attest that serpents are heavy in proportion to their bulk, and without the means of breaking their fall; that few, large or small, could encounter the shock of twelve or fourteen feet elevation without fracturing many spinous processes of their vertebræ, and avoid being stunned for a length of time, or absolutely crushed to death. Being instinctively conscious of the brittleness of their structure, nearly all snakes are timid, and desirous of avoiding a contest, unless greatly provoked. This remark applies, we believe, to all innoxious serpents, the great boas perhaps excepted, and to most of the poisonous, exclusive of several species of viper and cobra de capello.

Of the so-called flying, or rather darting serpents, Niebuhr found, near Basra, a venomous species called Heie Sursurie, and Heie Thiare, that is, 'flying serpent,' because it was said to fling itself from one tree to another. Admiral Anson heard, at the island of Quibo, of snakes flying without wings: we may notice the Acontias and Prester, that fell like arrows from the tops of trees, and the green Ætula of Ceylon, said to spring from trees at the eyes of cattle—an accusation repeated of more than one species in tropical America. Next we have the Uler Tampang Hari, seen in a forest near the river Pedang Bessie, somewhere, we believe, in the Austral-Asian islands, under circumstances that most certainly require confirmation; since this fiery serpent, so called from the burning pain and fatal effect of its bite, swung itself from one tree to another, 240 feet distant, with a declination to the horizon of only about fifteen degrees!

We find Leffah and Bætan, both conjectured to be the Saraph and Tsimmaon, without being able to point out the species in natural history, where, nevertheless, it seems most likely that varieties or perhaps different species of the common viper may be meant, as is likewise assumed of Acontias and Prester, since that family, in hot and dry climates, is far more virulently noxious than in Europe. The Leffah, though little more than a foot long, regarded by Shaw at least as the most formidable serpent of Northern Africa, is one of this genus, and may be the אפעה *Ephoch*, Arabic *Epha*, and Persian *Mar-iefy*; but as there is some difference in dimensions and markings, as well as a still greater extent of region assigned to these, more than one species of viper is most likely included in the above names. But that the Ephoeh is a name of most ancient date is plain from its being employed in Job xx. 16, and Isaiah xxx. 6; while under the form of ἔχιδνα, that is, 'viper,' it occurs in the New Testament, Matt. iii. 7; xii. 34; xxiii. 33; Luke iii. 7; and Acts xxviii. 3. The last of these texts confirms the common superstitious belief of antiquity, which regarded the bite of one of these serpents as a punishment directly inflicted by Heaven.

פתן *pethen* (Deut. xxxii. 33; Job xx. 14, 16; Ps. lviii. 4; xci. 13; Isa. xi. 8) is more properly the Bætan of Forskal; the *Coluber (vipera) Lebetina* of Linn., and by him characterized as one foot in length, the body spotted with black and white, and oviparous (?), though excessively poisonous. The learned author evidently never saw this species in a living state, and appears to have derived all he knew upon the subject from the literati of Cyprus, who call it *Asp*, and the vulgar *Kufi* (κουφη), 'deaf.' Such an authority is of little weight: a serpent of Cyprus may not belong to Palestine or Egypt, and an oviparous species may not be poisonous. It is referred to the Aspis of the ancients, as to which it is still in dispute whether it should be identified with *Vipera Ammodytes*, *Vipera Berus*, or *Vipera Prester*, all ovoviviparous, and as such strikingly illustrative of the words of Isaiah (lix. 5). It may here be remarked that the so-called 'deaf adder' (Ps. lviii. 5, 6) is not without hearing, but is only not obedient to the musical notes which the serpent-charmers produce in order to make their captured snakes vibrate in a particular erect posture as if they were dancing; and it is asserted of some, that while in a free state they are actually enticed to come to and follow the musician.

צמאון *tzimmaon* (Deut. viii. 15) appears to be the 'Drought' of some versions, so called because of the intolerable thirst occasioned by its bite. If this translation be correct, it will form in modern nomenclature one of the genus Hurria, and sub-genus Dipsas or Bongarus. But no species of this division of snakes has yet been found in Western Asia, albeit there are several in India; and Avicenna locates the Torrida Dipsas in Egypt and Syria; whereupon Cuvier remarks that Gesner's figure of Dipsas belongs precisely to the sub-genus here pointed out. As one of the Colubrine family it should not be venomous; but the last-mentioned writer remarks that several of these are regarded in their native localities with great dread; and on examination it is found that, although they have no erectile tubercular fangs, with a poison-bag at the roots, there is on the long back teeth a groove, and a large gland at the base of the maxilla, which it is not unlikely contains, in some at least, highly venomous matter. It may be further observed, that when the Acontias, or darting serpent, perhaps the Turreiki of Shaw, is mentioned, it must be considered as belonging to the oviparous section, for a characteristic of the venom snakes is to be slow in their motions, and to watch being attacked rather than to court hostilities. This character may be supposed to exist even in the צפע *tzepha*, or צפעני *tziphoni*, translated 'cockatrice' in Prov. xxiii. 32, and Isa. xi. 8. This is an indefinite English name, which belongs to no identified serpent, and

now appears only in the works of ancient compilers and heralds, where it is figured with a crest, though there is no really crested or frilled species known to exist in the whole Ophidian order. Crested serpents occur, it is true, on Greek and Etruscan vases; but they are invariably mythological representations, probably derived from descriptive rumours of the hooded Nagas, Cerastes, and perhaps Murænæ: the first of these having what may be likened to a turbaned, the other to a coronated head, and the third fins at the operculum. But it is from the apparently crowned form that the denominations of Basilisk and Regulus were derived. There are, however, two very distinct species of horned serpents in Egypt and Northern Africa, probably extending to Syria and Arabia. They are of different genera; for the Cerastes, supposed to be the

שְׁפִיפֹן *shephiphon* of the Bible, is a viper with two scales on the head, one above each eye, standing erect somewhat in the form of horns. This is a dangerous species, usually burrowing in sand near the holes of jerboas, and occasionally in the cattle-paths; for there are now few or no ruts of cart-wheels, where it is pretended they used to conceal themselves to assault unwary passers. It is still common in Egypt and Arabia. The other species is the *Eryx Cerastes* of Daudin, also small, having no moveable poison-fangs, but remarkable for two very long back teeth in the lower jaw, which pass through the upper jaw, and appear in the shape of two white horns above its surface. It is known to the Egyptian Arabs by the name of Harbagi, which may be a distortion of Οὐβαῖος in Horapollo, and is classed by Hasselquist among slow-worms, because in form the tail does not taper to a point. Its colours are black and white marblings, and the eyes being lateral and very near the snout, the species has an exceedingly sinister aspect, which may be the cause of the ancient opinion that the מלכה *melekah*, or basilisk, for we take it for this species, killed with its looks, and had a pointed crown on the head: now serpents in the form of slow-worms, reputed to kill by their sight, are evidently not rapid in their movements.

In conclusion, we may observe again with reference to the figurative form of the Semitic tongues, that the proper names of objects, and particularly of animals, are very often descriptive of characters which are not exclusively applicable to specific individuals, and consequently that the same sounds or names readily suggest themselves when the property which distinguishes the appellative term recurs in another object. Thus we have on one or two occasions 'young lions' for 'venom-snakes,' Tseboa (hyænas) likewise for serpents, probably because in the first case the idea of slaughter or destruction is associated with both, and because in the second the notion of striped or varied is predominant. So also in Achsub, either a serpent striking backwards, or a scorpion, or a tarantula doing the same thing, may be understood, from the same faculty being ascribed to them all.—C. H. S.

SERVANT. [Slave.]

SERUG (שְׂרוּג, *shoot, tendril;* Sept. and New Test. Σερούχ), son of Reu, and father of Nahor the grandfather of Abraham (Gen. xi. 20; 1 Chron. i. 6). He was 130 years old at the birth of Nahor, and died at the age of 330. The name occurs in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 35). The Jewish traditions affirm that Serug was the first of his line who fell into idolatry; and this seems to be sanctioned by, and is probably built upon, the charge of idolatry brought against Terah and the fathers beyond the Euphrates in Josh. xxiv. 2.

SETH (שֵׁת, *compensation;* Sept. Σήθ), the third son of Adam, to whom Eve gave this name in consequence of regarding him as sent to replace Abel, whom Cain had slain (Gen. iv. 25, 26; v. 3, sq.).

SEVEN, &c. (Heb. שֶׁבַע, whence the Greek ἑπτά, the aspirate breathing being substituted for the sibilant letter, as in ἕξ for שֵׁשׁ, &c., which, however, appears again in the Latin *septem*, and English *seven*). This word is used to express the number 6 + 1. Thus Balaam said unto Balak, 'Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven oxen and seven rams; and Balak and Balaam offered on every altar a bullock and a ram' (Num. xxiii. 1, 2. Sept. ἑπτά). The Vulgate reads, 'Ædifica mihi hic septem aras et para totidem vitulos, ejusdem numeri arietes.' (In the New Test. see Matt. xv. 34-36; xxii. 25, &c.) The Lexicons generally, both ancient and modern, also assign to the word and its derivatives the farther office of a round or indefinite number, to express a small number, in the sense of several (as we use *ten* or a *dozen*). Thus Suidas says, 'ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ πλήθους τάττεται.' And Gesenius says the same; but his first reference under this head to Gen. xli. 2, &c., is inappropriate; for there the word certainly denotes the particular number, namely, the 'seven well-favoured kine of Pharaoh's dream, which ate up the seven ill-favoured, and the seven thin ears of corn which ate up the seven good ones,' and which are respectively interpreted by Joseph to mean seven years of plenty and seven years of famine, and are recorded to have been *numerically* fulfilled (comp. 2-7; 25-30; 47-54). It appears to us possible to resolve all the other passages referred by Gesenius and others to this class, into the idea of sufficiency, satisfaction, fulness, completeness, perfection, abundance, &c., intimated in the Hebrew root שבע, from which the numeral in question is derived. For instance, Gesenius refers to 1 Sam. ii. 5, 'The barren hath born seven,' that is, hath been blessed with an ample family (Vulg. Sterilis peperit plurimos); to Isa. iv. 1, 'Seven women shall take hold of one man,' where the idea seems to be that of abundance of females compared with the men, so many of the latter having been slain in the war (see Lowth *in loc.*); to Ruth iv. 15, 'Better to thee than seven sons,' *i. e.* an abundance of them; to Prov. xxvi. 25. 'There are seven abominations in his heart,' *i. e.* completeness of depravity (comp. Prov. vi. 31), where the thief is said to make a 'sevenfold,' that is, complete restitution (comp. Exod. xxii. 1-4). Thus also the phrase, 'To flee seven ways' (Deut. xxviii. 7), denotes a total overthrow; to 'punish seven times' (Lev. xxvi. 24), to punish completely; 'Six and seven troubles,' a very great and entire calamity (Job v. 19); 'Give a portion to seven, also to eight,' be not only duly liberal, but abundant; 'Silver purified seven times,' perfectly purified (Psa. xii. 6); 'Seven times a day do I praise

thee,' I fully perform the duty of thanksgiving (Psa. cxix. 164). Rabbi Solomon, however, contends for the literal interpretation of this passage, which seems to have been acted upon by certain Jews and Christians. Some of the Greek versions in Montfaucon's *Hexapla* render the Hebrew word by πλειστάκις, 'often,' 'frequently.' The above explanation applies to Gesenius's instances of 'poetical fictions,' viz., Job's seven sons and seven thousand sheep (i. 2, 3), and the seven days and seven nights during which his friends sat with him in silence on the ground (ii. 13). The word is used in the New Testament to express the same idea of abundance or completeness; thus, 'Mary Magdalene, out of whom Jesus cast seven devils' (Mark xvi. 9); where we must either suppose the Evangelist to give by inspiration a numerical statement, or that his words mean a most entire case of extraordinary and not understood disease. Our Lord's comparison of the men of that generation to the case of the demon which had gone out of a man, returning with seven other spirits more wicked than himself, seems to mean that if Jesus were to grant the sign demanded by the Pharisees, no other result would ensue than a momentary conviction, followed by consummate unbelief (Matt. xii. 43). 'The seven spirits before the throne' would seem to be a periphrasis of perfection, denoting the Holy Spirit (Rev. i. 4). Multiples of this number convey the idea of superabundance. Thus, Gen. iv. 24, 'If Cain be avenged sevenfold [that is abundantly], surely Lamech seventy and sevenfold,' whose guilt from accidental homicide is so much less. Similar is St. Peter's question respecting the forgiveness of injuries, and the answer he received. It is most likely that the idea of sufficiency and completeness became originally associated with the number seven, from the Creator having finished, completed, or made sufficient, all his work on the seventh day; and that hence also it was adopted as a sacred number, or a number chiefly employed in religious concerns, in order to remind mankind of the creation and its true author. Thus there were seven offerings in making a covenant (Gen. xxi. 28); seven lamps in the golden candlestick (Exod. xxxvii. 23); the blood was sprinkled seven times (Lev. iv. 16, 17); every seventh year was sabbatical, seven sabbaths of years in the jubilee (xxv. 8); seven trumpets, seven priests that sounded them seven days round Jericho, seven lamps, seven seals, &c. &c. We also find, as might naturally be expected, the number seven introduced into forms of superstition, &c. Thus Samson said, 'If they bind me with seven green withs, if thou weavest the seven locks of my head,' from which it may be inferred that the Nazarite bound up his hair in this number of curls or plaited locks (Judg. xvi. 7-13). Balaam ordered seven altars to be erected. It was considered a fortunate number among the Persians (Esth. i. 10-14; ii. 9). Cicero calls it the knot and cement of all things, as being that by which the natural and spiritual world are comprehended in one idea (*Tusc. Quæst.* i. 10). Nor is this subject devoid of practical utility. The references which occur in the patriarchal history to the number seven, as denoting a week or period of seven days, sufficiency, &c., and a sacred number, afford a minute, indirect, but not an inconsiderable argument, that the institution of the Sabbath was both established and observed from the commencement; and not, as Paley thinks, during the wandering in the wilderness: an argument abundantly confirmed by the regard to the seventh day which has prevailed too far and wide among various nations, to be attributed to their comparatively late intercourse with the Jews (Josephus, *Cont. Ap.* ii. 39).—J. F. D.

SHAALBIM (שַׁעַלְבִים, *city of foxes;* Sept. Σαλαβίν), called also SHAALBIN, a city of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 42), but of which it could not for a long while dispossess the Amorites (Judg. i. 35). In the time of Solomon it was the station of one of the twelve officers or intendants appointed to regulate the collection of provisions for the court (1 Kings iv. 9). One of David's worthies belonged to this place (2 Sam. xxiii. 32; 1 Chron. xi. 32).

SHAALIM (שַׁעֲלִים, *foxes' region;* Sept. Σεγαλίμ), a district named in 1 Sam. ix. 4; probably that in which Shaalbim was situated.

SHAASHGAZ (שַׁעַשְׁגַּז; Sept. Γαί), the appropriate name (meaning in Persian, *servant of the beautiful*) of a Persian eunuch, the keeper of the women in the court of Ahasuerus (Esth. ii. 14).

SHADDAI (שַׁדַּי; Sept. παντοκράτωρ; Vulg. in Pentateuch, *Omnipotens*), an epithet or name applied to JEHOVAH, sometimes with (Gen. xvii. 1; Exod. vi. 3), and sometimes without (John v. 7; vi. 4; viii. 3, 13; Gen. xlix. 5; Ruth i. 20, 21, and elsewhere), the prefix אֵל *El.* In the Authorized Version the name is given as EL-SHADDAI where it first occurs; but is everywhere else rendered by 'Almighty,' which is the true signification, the word being a pluralis excellentiæ from the singular שַׁד, 'mighty,' 'powerful.'

SHADRACH, one of the three friends of Daniel, who were delivered from the burning, fiery furnace [ABEDNEGO].

SHAIT. [THORNS.]

SHAKED (שָׁקֵד) occurs in several passages of Scripture, and is generally acknowledged to mean the *almond;* as in Gen. xliii. 11, where Jacob desires his sons to take into Egypt of the best fruits of the land *almonds* (*shakedim*), &c. In Exod. xxv. 33, 34; xxxvii. 19, bowls are directed to be made like unto *almonds.* In Num. xvii. 8, the rod of Aaron is described as having 'brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded *almonds*' (*shakedim*). The word occurs in the singular in Eccles. xii. 5, and in Jer. i. 11. In the article LUZ, we have already stated, that from the similarity of that word to the Arabic Louz, there could be no doubt of the former having the same meaning as the latter, both denoting the almond. There is nothing remarkable in a tree like this, so conspicuous from its early flowering, showy appearance, and useful fruit, having two names; one (*luz*) applicable to the tree, and the other (*shaked*), to the fruit. Rosenmüller says, 'The difference between *luz* and *shaked* seems to be, that the former word designates the "wild," the latter the "cultivated" tree.' The almond tree is said to be called *shaked*, because it flowers earlier in the spring than other trees. R. Solomon, on Eccles. xii. 5, as translated by Celsius (*Hierobot.* i. p. 297), says, '*Shaked* est

arbor Amygdalarum, et sic dicitur, quia flores mature profert ante omnes arbores.' This is well known to be the case even in this country. It was observed by the ancients, as Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xvi. 25) remarks, 'Ex his quæ hyeme aquila exoriente concipiunt, floret prima omnium Amygdala mense Januario: Martio vero pomum maturat.' The name *shaked* is said to be derived 'a verbo שָׁקַד *shakad*, assiduus et diligens fuit;' and which is also translated 'to make haste,' 'to awake



492. [Almond Tree.]

early.' As the almond tree is a native of Syria and Palestine, and extends from thence to Affghanistan, and is not likely to have been indigenous in Egypt, almonds were very likely to form part of a present from Jacob, even to the great men of Egypt; the more especially as the practice of the East is for people to present what they can afford in their respective stations. The form of the almond would lead to its selection for ornamental carved work, independently of its forming an esteemed esculent, as well as probably yielding a useful oil. In Eccles. xii. 5, it is said, 'The almond tree shall flourish, and the fruit of the caper [ABIYONAH] droop, because man goeth to his long home.' This evidently refers to the profuse flowering and white appearance of the almond tree when in full bloom, and before its leaves appear. It is hence adduced as illustrative of the hoary hairs of age, in the same way as the drooping of the fruit of the caper seems to refer to the hanging down of the head. Mr. Kitto mentions the almond among the first trees that flower in January. 'There are two species of Amygdalus in Palestine; the common *almond* tree, and the *peach* tree, and both are this month in blossom in every part of Palestine, on both sides of the Jordan. It was doubtless from this winter blossoming of the almond tree, not less than from the snowy whiteness of the blossoms, that the hoary head of the aged man is, by a beautiful metaphor, said in Scripture, to flourish like the almond tree' (*Physic. Hist. of Palestine*).

—J. F. R.

SHALISHA (שָׁלִישָׁה; Sept. Σελχά), a district in the vicinity of the mountains of Ephraim (1 Sam. ix. 4), in which appears to have been situated the city of Baal-Shalisha (2 Kings iv. 22). This city is called by Eusebius Beth-Shalisha, and is placed by him 15 miles from Diospolis (Lydda), towards the north.

SHALLUM (שַׁלֻּם, *retribution*; Sept. Σελλούμ), the fifteenth king of Israel. In the troubled times which followed the death of Jeroboam II., B.C. 772, his son Zechariah was slain in the presence of the people by Shallum, who by this act extinguished the dynasty of Jehu. Shallum then mounted the throne (B.C. 771), but occupied it only one month, being opposed and slain by Menahem, who mounted the throne thus vacated (2 Kings xv. 10-15).

2. A king of Judah, son of Josiah (Jer. xxii. 11), better known by the name of Jehoahaz [JEHOAHAZ II.].

3. The husband of Huldah the prophetess (2 Kings xxii. 14). Several other persons of this name occur in Ezra ii. 42; vii. 2; x. 24, 42; Neh. iii. 12; vii 45; 1 Chron. ii. 40.

SHALMANESER, king of Assyria [ASSYRIA].

SHAMGAR (שַׁמְגַּר; Sept. Σαμεγάρ), son of Anath, and third judge of Israel. It is not known whether the only exploit recorded of him was that by which his authority was acquired. It is said that he 'slew of the Philistines 600 men with an ox-goad' (Judg. iii. 31). It is supposed that he was labouring in the field, without any other weapon than the long staff armed with a strong point, used in urging and guiding the cattle yoked to the plough, when he perceived a party of the Philistines, whom, with the aid of the husbandmen and neighbours, he repulsed with much slaughter. The date and duration of his government are unknown, but may be probably assigned to the end of that long period of repose which followed the deliverance under Ehud. In Shamgar's time, as the song of Deborah informs us (Judg. v. 6), the condition of the people was so deplorably insecure that the highways were forsaken, and travellers went through by-ways, and, for the same reason, the villages were abandoned for the walled towns.

1. SHAMIR, a precious stone, named in Jer. xvii. 1; Ezek. iii. 9; Zech. vii. 12. The Sept. in Jer. xvii. 1, and the Vulgate in all the passages, take it for the diamond. The signification of the word, 'a sharp point,' countenances this interpretation, the diamond being for its hardness used in perforating and cutting other minerals. Indeed, this use of the *shamir* is distinctly alluded to in Jer. xvii. 1, where the *stylus* pointed with it is distinguished from one of iron (comp. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 15). The two other passages also favour this view by using it figuratively to express the hardness and obduracy of the Israelites. Our Authorized Version has 'diamond' in Jer. xvii. 1, and 'adamant' in the other texts: but in the original the word is the same in all. Bochart, however (*Hieroz.* iii. 843, sq.), rejects the usual explanation, and comparing the word *shamir* with the Greek σμίρις or σμύρις, conceives it to mean 'emery.' This is a calcined iron mixed with siliceous earth, occurring in livid scales of such

hardness that in ancient times, as at present, it was used for polishing and engraving precious stones, diamonds excepted (Hoffmann, *Mineral.* i. 561, sq.). Rosenmüller is in favour of the diamond in his *Scholia;* but in his *Alterthumskunde*, he takes up Bochart's notion, and urges that if the Hebrews had been acquainted with the diamond, and the manner of working it, we should doubtless have found it among the stones of the high-priest's breastplate; and that, as the *shamir* was not one of the stones thus employed, therefore it was not the diamond. But to this Winer well answers, that it was perhaps not used because it could not be engraved on, or was possibly not introduced until a later period. The argument drawn from the rarity of the word in the Old Testament is of little weight, and there is no necessity for seeking an Oriental origin of the word *σμύρις*, or ground for considering it identical with *shamir*, as it may easily be traced from the Greek itself. (See Passow, s. v.; Eichhorn, *De Gemmis Sculpt. Hebr.*)

2. SHAMIR, a city of Judah (Josh. xv. 48).

3. SHAMIR, a city in the mountains of Ephraim, where Tola lived and was buried (Judg. x. 1, 2).

4. SHAMIR [Thorns].

SHAMMAH (שַׁמָּה, *astonishment;* Σαμαΐα), one of the three chief of the thirty champions of David. The exploit by which he obtained this high distinction, as described in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, 12, is manifestly the same as that which in 1 Chron. xi. 12-14, is ascribed to David himself, assisted by Eleazar the son of Dodo. The inference, therefore, is, that Shammah's exploit lay in the assistance which he thus rendered to David and Eleazar. It consisted in the stand which the others enabled David to make, in a field of lentiles, against the Philistines. Shammah also shared in the dangers which Eleazar and Jashobeam incurred in the chivalric exploit of forcing a way through the Philistine host to gratify David's thirst for the waters of Bethlehem (2 Sam. xxiii. 16).

Other persons of this name occur. 2. A son of Reuel (Gen. xxxvi. 13, 17). 3. A brother of David (1 Sam. xvi. 9; xvii. 3), who is elsewhere called Shimeah (2 Sam. xiii. 3, 32) and Shimma (1 Chron. ii. 13). 4. One of David's thirty champions, seemingly distinct from the chief of the same name (2 Sam. xxiii. 33). 5. Another of the champions distinguished as Shammah the Harodite; he is called Shammoth in 1 Chron. xi. 27, and Shamhuth in 1 Chron. xxvii. 8. That three of the thirty champions should bear the same name is somewhat remarkable.

SHAPHAN (שָׁפָן), occurs in Lev. xl. 5; Deut. xiv. 7; Ps. civ. 18; Prov. xxx. 26. Commentators, in general, now conclude, on the most satisfactory grounds, that those versions which give Cony for the Hebrew Shaphan are incorrect; but several still maintain that the species to which Shaphan belongs ruminates, which is equally an error. The Shaphan is, in truth, as Bruce justly indicated, the same as the Ashkoko, the Ganam, not Daman, Israel, the Wabber of the Arabs, and in scientific zoology is one of the small genus Hyrax, distinguished by the specific name of Syrian (*Syriacus*). In the upper jaw it has no incisors, but two rather pointed tusks directed downwards, with an open space between them; in the lower are four short, separated, roundish incisors, pointing obliquely forward; there are six molars on each side, above and below, the upper round on the surface, somewhat resembling the human back teeth, and the lower more narrow, but neither composed of alternate laminæ of bony and enamel substance as in ruminants; nor is the jaw-bone articulated so as to admit freely of a similar action; finally, the internal structure as well as the whole osteology represents that of a rhinoceros in miniature, and has no appearance of the complicated four-fold stomachs of ruminants; therefore the hyrax is neither a rodent like hares and rabbits, nor a ruminant, but is anomalous, and most nearly allied to the great Pachyderms of systematic zoology. Externally, the hyrax is somewhat of the size, form, and brownish colour of a rabbit, and, though it has short round ears, sufficiently like for inexact observers to mistake the one for the other. Navigators and colonists often carry the local names of their native land to other countries, and bestow them upon new objects with little propriety: this seems to have been done in the instance before us; there being reason to believe that the Phœnicians, on visiting the western shores of the European side of the Mediterranean, found the country, as other authorities likewise assert, infested with rabbits or conies, and that without attending to the difference they bestowed upon them the Hebrew or Phœnician name of Shaphan, applying it also to the country itself by forming שפן *sphan*, into שפניה *sphanih*, which they intended should mean 'the land of conies;' and from this misnomer 'Hispania" and our 'Spain' are presumed to be derived.



493. [Hyrax Syriacus.]

The hyrax is of clumsier structure than the rabbit, without tail, having long bristly hairs scattered through the general fur; the feet are naked below, and all the nails are flat and rounded, save those on each inner toe of the hind feet, which are long and awl-shaped; therefore the species cannot dig, and is by nature intended to reside, not, like rabbits, in burrows, but in the clefts of rocks. This character is correctly applied to the Shaphan by David.

Their timid gregarious habits, and the tenderness of their paws, make them truly 'the wise and feeble folk' of Solomon; for the gems lives in colonies in the crevices of stony places in Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Eastern Egypt, Abyssinia, and even at the Cape of Good Hope, where one or two additional species exist. In every locality, they are quiet, gentle creatures, loving to bask in the sun, never stirring far from their retreats, moving with caution, and shrinking from the shadow of a passing bird; for they are often the prey of eagles and hawks; their habits are strictly diurnal, and they feed on vegetables and

seeds. It may be that the peculiar structure of their anterior teeth is convenient for stripping off the seeds of grasses and tritica, and that these in part retained in the mouth cause a practice of working the jaws, which, to common observers, may appear to be chewing the cud. In hares and rats a similar appearance is produced by a particular friction of the incisors or nippers, which, growing with great rapidity, would soon extend beyond a serviceable length, if they were not kept to their proper size by constant gnawing, and by working the cutting edges against each other. This action, observed in the motion of the lips of most rodents, when in a state of rest, caused the belief of rumination in the hare, though, like the hyrax, all rodentia are equally unprovided with the several stomachs, and want the muscular apparatus necessary to force the food back into the mouth for remastication at pleasure, which constitute the leading peculiarities of the anatomical structure of the ruminantia. But they may possess, in common with pachydermata, like the horse and hog, the peculiar articulation and form of jaws which give them the power of grinding their food, and laminated teeth, fitted for the purpose.—C. H. S.

SHAPHAN, the scribe or secretary of King Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 3, 12; Jer. xxxvi. 10; comp. Ezra viii. 11). Contemporary with him was a state officer named Ahikam, constantly mentioned as 'the son of Shaphan' (2 Kings xxii. 12; xxv. 22; Jer. xxvi. 24; xxxix. 14; and perhaps xxxix. 3); but this Shaphan, the father of Ahikam, can hardly be the same with Shaphan the scribe, although the heedless reader may be apt to confound them.

SHARAB (שָׁרָב). This word properly means 'heat of the sun,' as in Isa. xlix. 10. Hence it is used to designate a phenomenon which is frequent in Arabia and Egypt, and may be occasionally seen in the southern parts of Europe; called by the Arabs *Serab*, and by the French *le Mirage*, by which name it is also commonly known in English. Descriptions of this illusion are often given by travellers. It consists in the presentation to the view of a lake or sea in the midst of a plain where none in reality exists. It is produced by the refraction of the rays of light, during the exhalation of vapours, by the excessive heat of the sun; and it frequently exhibits, along with the undulating appearance of water, the shadows of objects within or around the plain, both in a natural and in an inverted position. The deception is most complete; and to the weary traveller who is attracted by it, in the highest degree mortifying; since, instead of refreshing water, he finds himself in the midst of nothing but glowing sand. It is often used proverbially, or for the sake of comparison, by the Arabs, as in the Koran (Sur. xxiv. 39): 'But as for those who believe not, their works are like the Serab of the plain: the thirsty imagines it to be water, but when he reaches it he finds it is nothing.' The same figure occurs in Isa. xxxv. 7: 'The *sharab* shall become a lake,' *i. e.* the illusive appearance of a lake in the desert shall become a real lake of refreshing waters. See Gesenius and Henderson on Isaiah, and comp. the descriptions and explanations in Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, pp. 147, 150, 151.

SHAREZER (שַׂרְאֶצֶר, Persic, *prince of fire*; Sept. Σαρασάρ), a son of Sennacherib, one of those who slew his father (2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38). Another person of this name occurs in Zech. vii. 2.

SHARON (שָׁרוֹן; Sept. Σάρων), a level tract along the Mediterranean, between Mount Carmel and Cæsarea, celebrated for its rich fields and pastures (Josh. xii. 18; Cant. ii. 1; Isa. xxxiii. 9; xxxv. 2; lxv. 10; 1 Chron. xxvii. 9). See the head 'Plains,' in the art. PALESTINE.

SHAVE. [BEARD; HAIR; MOURNING.]

SHAVEH (שָׁוֵה; Sept. Σαβύ), a valley on the north of Jerusalem, called also the King's Dale (Gen. xiv. 17; comp. 2 Sam. xviii. 18).

SHAVEH-KIRJATHAIM (Gen. xiv. 5), a plain near the city of Kirjathaim, beyond Jordan, which eventually belonged to Reuben (Num. xxxii. 37; Josh. xiii. 19).

SHEALTIEL (שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל, *asked of God*; Sept. Σαλαθιήλ), the father of Zerubbabel (Ezra iii. 2; Neh. xii. 1; Hag. i. 12, 14; ii. 2); called also *Salathiel* (1 Chron. iii. 7).

SHEAR-JASHUB (שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב, *the remnant shall return*; Sept. ὁ καταλειφθεὶς Ἰασούβ), son of the prophet Isaiah, who accompanied his father when he proceeded to deliver to king Ahaz the celebrated prophecy contained in Isa. vii. (see verse 3). As the sons of Isaiah sometimes stood for signs in Israel (Isa. viii. 18), and the name of Maher-shalal-hash-baz was given to one of them by way of prophetic intimation, it has been conjectured that the somewhat remarkable name of Shear-jashub intimated that the people who had then retired within the walls of Jerusalem should return in peace to their fields and villages. But we cannot build on this, as it is not distinctly stated that the name of Shear-jashub was chosen, like that of his brother, with any prophetic intention.

SHEBA, SEBA, SABÆANS. As much confusion has been introduced by the variety of meanings which the name *Sabæans* has been made to bear, it may be proper to specify in this place their distinctive derivations and use. In our Authorized Version of Scripture the term seems to be applied to *three* different tribes. 1st. To the *Sebaiim* (סְבָאִים, with a *samech*), the descendants of Seba or Saba, son of Cush, who ultimately settled in Ethiopia (see the article *Seba*). 2nd. To the *Shebaiim* (שְׁבָאִים, with a *shin*), the descendants of Sheba, son of Joktan, the *Sabæi* of the Greeks and Romans, who settled in Arabia Felix. They are the 'Sabæans' of Joel iii. 8, to whom the Jews were to sell the captives of Tyre. The unpublished Arabic Version, quoted by Pocock, has 'the people of Yemen.' Hence they are called 'a people afar off,' the very designation given in Jer. vi. 20 to Sheba, as the country of frankincense and the rich aromatic reed, and also by our Lord in Matt. xii. 42, who says, the queen of Sheba, or 'the south,' came, ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, 'from the earth's extremes.' 3rd. To another tribe of *Shebans* (שְׁבָא, also with a *shin*), a horde of Bedawee marauders in the days of Job (ch. i. 15); for whether we place the





Drawn by M. Stanley from a Sketch by Lieut. Col. M. Niven

Engraved by W. Chapman

NABLUS.

(SHECHEM.)

land of Uz in Idumæa or in Ausitis, it is by no means likely that the Arabs of the south would extend their excursions so very far. We must, therefore, look for this tribe in Desert Arabia; and it is singular enough, that besides the Seba of Cush, and the Shaba of Joktan, there is another Sheba, son of Jokshan, and grandson of Abraham, by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 33); and his posterity appear to have been 'men of the wilderness,' as were their kinsmen of Midian, Ephah, and Dedan. To them, however, the above-cited passage in the prophecy of Joel could not apply, because in respect neither to the lands of Judah nor of Uz could they be correctly described as a people 'afar off.' As for the *Sabaim* of Ezek. xxiii. 42 (which our version also renders by 'Sabæans'), while the Keri has סְבָאִים, the Kethib has סוֹבְאִים, *i. e.* 'drunkards,' which better suits the context.

Yet, as if to increase the confusion in the use of this name of 'Sabæans,' it has also been applied—4th. To the ancient star-worshippers of Western Asia, though they ought properly to be styled *Tsabians*, and their religion not Sabaism but *Tsabaism*, the name being most probably derived from the object of their adoration, צָבָא, *the host*, *i. e.* of heaven (see an excursus by Gesenius in his translation of Isaiah, *On the Astral Worship of the Chaldæans*). 5th. The name of Sabæans, or Sabians, has also been given to a modern sect in the East, *the Mandaïtes*, or, as they are commonly but incorrectly called, the 'Christians' of St. John; for they deny the Messiahship of Christ, and pay superior honour to John the Baptist. They are mentioned in the Koran under the name of *Sabionna*, and it is probable that the Arabs confounded them with the ancient Tsabians above mentioned. Norberg, however, says that they themselves derive their own name from that which they give to the Baptist, which is *Abo Sabo Zakrio;* from Abo, 'father;' *Sabo*, 'to grow old together;' and Zakrio, *e. g.* Zecharia. 'The reason they assign for calling him *Sabo* is because his father, in his old age, had this son by his wife *Aneschbat* (Elizabeth), she being also in her old age (see Norberg's *Codex Nasaræus*, *Liber Adami Apellatus*, and Silvestre de Sacy, in the *Journal des Savans* for 1819).

Seba (סְבָא) was the eldest son of Cush (Gen. x. 7; 1 Chron. i. 9), and gave name to the country of Seba or Saba, and to one of the tribes called Sabæans, not, however, the *Shebaiim* (with a *shin*), but the *Sebaiim* (with a *samech*). There seems no reason to doubt that their ultimate settlement was in that region of Africa which was known to the Hebrews as the land of Cush, and to the Greeks and Romans as Ethiopia; and the Scriptural notices respecting them and their country have been already anticipated in the articles Cush and Ethiopia. If the kingdom of *Seba* was the far-famed Meroë, and the kingdom of *Sheba* the no less famous Yemen, then it is with peculiar propriety that the king of African Seba in the west, and the king of Asiatic Sheba in the east, are represented by the Psalmist (Ps. lxxii. 10) as bearing their united homage to the 'great king of Judah.' The commerce and wealth of these Sabæans of Ethiopia, as also their gigantic stature, are alluded to by the prophet Isaiah (ch. xliii. 3; xlv. 14), and his testimony is confirmed by the profane writers of antiquity. The passages quoted, however, are the only places in Scripture where the Sabæans of Africa are expressly mentioned; for the Sabæans of Job i. 15 were a tribe of Bedowees, or 'men of the desert,' descended from Sheba, grandson of Keturah; and the Sabæans of Joel iii. 8 were the posterity of another Sheba, son of Joktan, in Arabia Felix. There was, indeed, another Sheba, the son of Raagmah and the grandson of Cush, and consequently the nephew of the Seba who is the subject of the present article, but his posterity appear to have mingled with those of his uncle. As for the 'Sabæans' mentioned in our version at Ezek. xxiii. 42, although the Keri reading be סְבָאִים *Sabaim*, the Kethib has סוֹבְאִים *Sobeim*, 'drunkards,' which gives a better sense; besides that elsewhere the African Sabæans are not styled Sabaiim but Sebaiim, and the Arab Sabæans, Shebaiim.—N. M.

SHEBAT (שְׁבָט; Sept. Σαβάτ), the eleventh month of the Hebrew year, from the new moon of February to the new moon of March. The name only occurs once in Scripture (Zech. i. 7), and is the same which is given in the Arabic and Syriac languages to the same month.

SHEBNA (שֶׁבְנָא, *a youth;* Sept. Σομνᾶς), the prefect of the palace to king Hezekiah (Isa. xxii. 15); afterwards promoted to be scribe or secretary to the same monarch, when his former office was given to Eliakim (Isa. xxii. 15; xxxvi. 3; 2 Kings xviii. 26, 27; xix. 2).

SHECHEM (שְׁכֶם; Sept. Συχέμ, also τὰ Σίκιμα), a town of central Palestine, in Samaria, among the mountains of Ephraim (Josh. xx. 7; 1 Kings xii. 25), in the narrow valley between the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (comp. Judg. ix. 7; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8. 44), and consequently within the tribe of Ephraim (Josh. xxi. 20). It is in N. lat. 32° 17′, E. long. 35° 20′, being thirty-four miles north of Jerusalem and seven miles south of Samaria. It was a very ancient place, and appears to have arisen as a town in the interval between the arrival of Abraham in Palestine and the return of Jacob from Padan-aram, for it is mentioned only as a place, described by reference to the oaks in the neighbourhood, when Abraham came there on first entering the land of Canaan (Gen. xii. 6). But, in the history of Jacob it repeatedly occurs as a town having walls and gates: it could not, however, have been very large or important if we may judge from the consequence which the inhabitants attached to an alliance with Jacob, and from the facility with which the sons of the Patriarch were able to surprise and destroy them (Gen. xxxiii. 18, 19: xxxiv. 1, 2, 20, 24, 26). After the conquest of the country, Shechem was made a city of refuge (Josh. xx. 7), and one of the Levitical towns (Josh. xxi. 21), and during the lifetime of Joshua it was a centre of union to the tribes (Josh. xxiv. 1, 25), probably because it was the nearest considerable town to the residence of that chief in Timnath-serah. In the time of the judges, Shechem became the capital of the kingdom set up by Abimelech (Judg. ix. 1, sq.), but was at length conquered and destroyed by

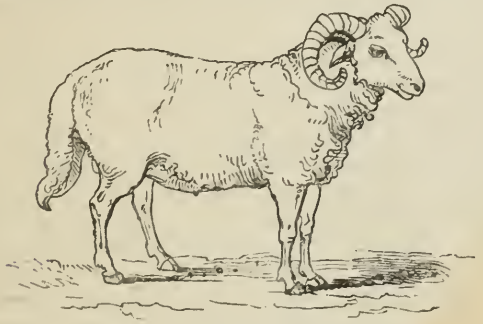
him (Judg. ix. 34). It must, however, have been ere long rebuilt, for it had again become of so much importance by the time of Rehoboam's accession, that he there gave the meeting to the delegates of the tribes, which ended in the separation of the kingdom (1 Kings xii. 10). It was Shechem which the first monarch of the new kingdom made the capital of his dominions (1 Kings xii. 25; comp. xiv. 17), although later in his reign the pleasantness of Tirzah induced him to build a palace there, and to make it the summer residence of his court; which gave it such importance, that it at length came to be regarded as the capital of the kingdom, till Samaria eventually deprived it of that honour (1 Kings xiv. 7; xvi. 24; see ISRAEL). Shechem, however, still throve. It subsisted during the exile (Jer. xli. 5), and continued for many ages after the chief seat of the Samaritans and of their worship, their sole temple being upon the mountain (Gerizim), at whose foot the city stood (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 8. 6; comp. John iv. 20; and see also the articles EBAL and GERIZIM, SAMARITANS). The city was taken, and the temple destroyed, by John Hyrcanus, B.C. 129 (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6). In the New Testament it occurs under the name of Sychar (Συχάρ; John iv. 5), which seems to have been a sort of nick-name (perhaps from שֶׁקֶר *sheker*, 'falsehood,' spoken of idols in Hab. ii. 18; or from שִׁכּוֹר *shikkor*, 'drunkard,' in allusion to Isa. xviii. 1, 7),—such as the Jews were fond of imposing upon places they disliked; and nothing could exceed the enmity which existed between them and the Samaritans, who possessed Shechem. Stephen, however, in his historical retrospect, still uses the proper and ancient name (Acts vii. 16). Not long after the times of the New Testament the place received the name of Neapolis, which it still retains in the Arabic form of Nablus, being one of the very few names imposed by the Romans in Palestine which have survived to the present day. It had probably suffered much, if it was not completely destroyed, in the war with the Romans, and would seem to have been restored or rebuilt by Vespasian, and then to have taken this new name; for the coins of the city, of which there are many, all bear the inscription, Flavia Neapolis—the former epithet no doubt derived from Flavius Vespasian (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 433; Mionnet, *Méd. Antiq.* v. 499). The name occurs first in Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 1), and then in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 14), Ptolemy (*Geog.* v. 16). There had already been converts to the Christian faith at this place under our Saviour, and it is probable that a church had been gathered here by the Apostles (John iv. 30-42; Acts viii. 25; ix. 31; xv. 3). Justin Martyr was a native of Neapolis (*Apolog.* ii. 41). The name of Germanus, bishop of Neapolis, occurs in A.D. 314; and other bishops continue to be mentioned down to A.D. 536, when the bishop John signed his name at the synod of Jerusalem (Reland, *Palæst.* p. 1009). When the Moslems invaded Palestine, Neapolis and other small towns in the neighbourhood were subdued while the siege of Jerusalem was going on (Abulfeda, *Annal.* i. 229). After the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, Neapolis and other towns in the mountains of Samaria tendered their submission, and Tancred took possession of them without resistance (Will. Tyr. ix. 20). Neapolis was laid waste by the Saracens in A.D. 1113; but a few years after (A.D. 1120) a council was held here by king Baldwin II., to consult upon the state of the country (Fulcher, p. 424; Will. Tyr. xii. 13). Neapolis was not made a Latin bishopric, but belonged probably to that of Samaria, and the property of it was assigned to the abbot and canons of the Holy Sepulchre (Jac. de Vitriacus, ch. lviii.). After some disasters in the unquiet times which ensued, and after some circumstances which show its remaining importance, the place was finally taken from the Christians in A.D. 1242, by Abu Ali, the colleague of Sultan Bibars, and has remained in Moslem hands ever since.

There is no reason to question that the present town occupies the site of the ancient Shechem, although its dimensions are probably more contracted. The fertility and beauty of the deep and narrow valley in which the town stands, especially in its immediate neighbourhood, have been much admired by travellers, as far exceeding what they had seen in any other part of Palestine. This valley is not more than 500 yards wide at the town, which stands directly upon its water-shed, the streams on the eastern part flowing off east into the plain, and so towards the Jordan, while the fountains on the western side send off a pretty brook down the valley N.W. towards the Mediterranean. The town itself is long and narrow, extending along the N.E. base of Mount Gerizim, and partly resting upon its declivity. The streets are narrow; the houses high, and in general well built, all of stone, with domes upon the roofs as at Jerusalem. The bazaars are good and well supplied. There are no ruins which can be called ancient in this country, but there are remains of a church of fine Byzantine architecture, and a handsome arched gateway, both apparently of the time of the first crusades. These occur in the main street, through the whole length of which a stream of clear water rushes down—a rare circumstance in the East. The population of the place is rated by Dr. Olin at 8000 or 10,000, of whom 500 or 600 are Christians of the Greek communion, and the rest Moslems, with the exception of about 130 Samaritans, and one-third that number of Jews. The inhabitants bear the character of being an unusually valiant as well as a turbulent race, and some years since maintained a desperate struggle against the Egyptian government in some bloody rebellions (Robinson, *Palestine*, ii. 94-136; Olin, *Travels*. ii. 339-365; *Narrative of the Scottish Deputation*, p. 208-218; Schubert, *Morgenland*, iii. 136-154; Winer, *Real-wört.* s. v.; Lord Nugent, *Lands Classical and Sacred*, ii. 172-180.

2. SHECHEM, son of Hamor prince of the country or district of Shechem, in which Jacob formed his camp on his return from Mesopotamia. This young man having seen Jacob's daughter Dinah, was smitten with her beauty, and deflowered her. This wrong was terribly and cruelly avenged by the damsel's uterine brothers, Simeon and Levi, as described in the article DINAH (Gen. xxxv.). It seems likely that the town of Shechem, even if of recent origin, must have existed before the birth of a man so young as Hamor's son appears to have

been; and we may therefore suppose it a name preserved in the family, and which both the town and the princes inherited. Shechem's name is always connected with that of his father Hamor (Gen. xxxiii. 19; xxxv.; Acts vii. 16).

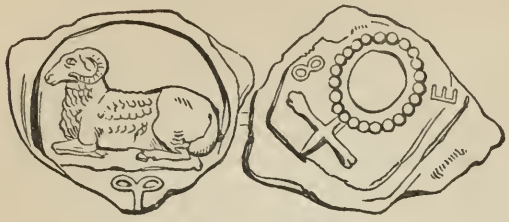
SHEEP, שֶׂה *seh*, צאן *tzon*, both it appears occasionally used as a collective term, including goats; Arab. *zain;* כֶּבֶשׂ *kebes*, a lamb under a year old; אַיִל *ajil*, the adult ram, but originally applied also to the males of other ruminants, such as deer, &c.; רחל *rachal*, a female or ewe sheep—all referable to Hebrew roots with apposite meanings, deserving the more confidence since the earliest patriarchs of the nation, being themselves shepherds and graziers, had never at any time received this portion of their domesticated cattle from foreign nations, and therefore had indigenous names for them.



494. [Syrian Sheep.]

Domestic sheep, moreover, although commonly regarded as the progeny of one particular wild species, are probably an instance, among many similar, where the wisdom of Providence has provided subsistence for man in different regions, by bestowing the domesticating and submissive instincts upon the different species of animals which the human family might find in their wanderings; for it is certain that even the American *argali* can be rendered tractable, and that the Corsican *musmon* will breed with the common sheep. The normal animal, from which all or the greater part of the western domestic races are assumed to be descended, is still found wild in the high mountain regions of Persia, and is readily distinguished from two other wild species bordering on the same region. What breeds the earliest shepherd tribes reared in and about Palestine can now be only inferred from negative characters; yet they are sufficient to show that they were the same, or nearly so, as the common horned variety of Egypt and continental Europe: in general white, and occasionally black, although there was on the upper Nile a speckled race; and so early as the time of Aristotle the Arabians possessed a rufous breed, another with a very long tail, and above all a broad-tailed sheep, which at present is commonly denominated the Syrian. These three varieties are said to be of African origin, the red hairy, in particular, having all the characteristics to mark its descent from the wild Ovis Tragelaphus or Barbatus (كبش), or Kebsch of the Arabian and Egyptian mountains [Rams' Skins, Red]. Flocks of the ancient breed, derived from the Bedouins, are now extant in Syria, with little or no change in external characters, chiefly the broad-tailed and the common horned white, often with black and white about the face and feet, the tail somewhat thicker and longer than the European. The others are chiefly valued for the fat of their broad tails, which tastes not unlike marrow; for the flesh of neither race is remarkably delicate, nor are the fleeces of superior quality. Sheep in the various conditions of existence wherein they would occur among a pastoral and agricultural people, are noticed in numerous places of the Bible, and furnish many beautiful allegorical images, where purity, innocence, mildness, and submission are pourtrayed—the Saviour himself being denominated 'the Lamb of God,' in twofold allusion to his patient meekness, and to his being the true paschal lamb, 'slain from the foundation of the world' (Rev. xiii. 8). The meaning of the Hebrew word קשיטה *kesitah*, occurring only in Gen. xxxiii. 19, and Job xlii. 11, has, we think, been contested with more earnestness than candour, Bochart himself pointing to the Greek, Onkelos, Syrian, Arabic, and Vulgate translations, where we find *sheep* or *lambs*—these authorities being supported by the Chaldee. On the other hand, the Rabbinical expounders have rendered it *money;* while in Costard's dissertation on the subject neither interpretation seems to him satisfactory; for he, in common with Bochart and others, finding no Hebrew word or root to justify the version *sheep* or *lambs*, would prefer *money*, but that, according to him, there was none coined till the era of Cyrus, and never any bearing the impression of a lamb, &c. Now here we have assumptions, and not proofs; there is no reason why sheep should not in the East, a land eminently pastoral, have been an object of barter in kind, and why in process of time the same word should not have been applied to a piece of metal, as *pecus* in Italy, which likewise at first denoted sheep or ox, and subsequently a coin. There is every reason to believe that metals, very anciently, in the shape of mere rings or plates of a given weight, represented the value of sheep in a more convenient form. The Jewish שקל *shakal*, 'to weigh,' indicates this early character of money; and its use is plainly shown in Gen. xxiii. 16, where Abraham, buying a field and cave, weighs out four hundred shekels of silver, a kind of current money, the medium of exchange between merchants, but not therefore coin, which implies a characteristic impression on the metal. In Gen. xxxiii. 19, *Kesitah* may be a Canaanitish, or more properly a Scytho-Chaldaic designation of sheep in the time of Jacob, already represented by silver, most probably cast in the form of that animal, and of a standard weight, for the Hebrews were not as yet a people, and the Egyptians cast their weights in metal shaped like cattle, &c.; and that Phœnicia, at a later period, had sheep actually impressed on a silver coin, is proved by that figured in the travels of Clarke. It is a medal found in Cyprus, of irregular form, with the impression of a ram recumbent on one side, and on the other a sun-flower, Heliotropium or Calendula, which occurs also on the peltæ of Amazons, and among Indian bas-reliefs. Two Phœnician letters are visible at the sides of the flower. But in Job xlii. 11, where *Kesitah* is rendered in the Authorized Version by 'money,'

we think it may have designated 'sheep;' since rings of gold, translated 'ear-rings,' follow imme-



495. [Supposed Kesitah.]

diately after; and it is now known that gold, during the earlier ages, was in Egypt worked into rings, as an article of exchange, and is frequently represented instead of money among the objects of tribute. Rings were surely more likely to be presented to Job as money, than as ornaments for the ears. It would lead us beyond our limits to show the probable affinity of Kesita and Kebesch with ancient Scythian roots, whereof Kaisak, Kupjak, Kirtak, Kutschi, and even the Persian and Turkish Kotschkui and Dachkutch are all mutations, having reference to 'sheep' or 'fleece.' *Kesitah* was a foreign term, and might perhaps be traced to the Pelhevi, or some other more eastern language.—C. H. S.

SHEKEL. [Weights and Measures.]

SHEKINAH or Shechinah (שְׁכִינָה), a term applied by the ancient Jews, especially in the Chaldee Targums, to that visible symbol of the divine glory which dwelt in the tabernacle and temple. The word, though nowhere met with in this form in the Scriptures, is a direct derivative from the Hebrew root שכן *shûkan*, 'to dwell,' 'to dwell in a tent or tabernacle,' which is of frequent occurrence in the sacred writers, and is used mainly to imply the *tabernacled presence and residence* of the Most High, by a visible symbol among the chosen people. Though found in several connections where the sense of *secular* habitation is obvious, yet there can be no doubt that the dominant idea is that of *sacred* indwelling, of which the following passages afford striking specimens: Exod. xxv. 8, 'Let them make me a tabernacle that I may *dwell* (שכנתי) among them.' Exod. xxix. 45, 'And I will *dwell* (שכנתי) among the children of Israel, and will be their God.' Num. v. 3, 'That they defile not their camps, in the midst whereof I *dwell* (שכנתי).' Ps. lxviii. 16, 'This is the hill which God delighteth to dwell in, yea, the Lord will *dwell in it* (ישכן) for ever.' Ps. lxxiv. 2, 'Remember—this Mount Zion wherein thou hast *dwelt* (שכנת).' It is more especially employed when the Lord is said to 'cause his name to dwell,' implying the stated visible manifestation of his presence. Ezra vi. 12, 'And the God that hath *caused his name to dwell there* (שכן שמה, literally, *hath shakinized his name*)' (comp. Deut. xii. 11; xiv. 23; xvi. 6; xxvi. 2). It is emphatically employed in speaking of the cloud of the divine glory dwelling upon Mount Sinai: Exod. xxiv. 16, 'And the glory of the Lord *abode* (וישכן) upon Mount Sinai.' The term *shekinah* (שכינה) is defined by Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* voc. שכן) as meaning primarily *habitation*, or *inhabitation*, but as having a dominant reference to *the divine glory in its outward visible manifestation*. The term is of very frequent occurrence in the Chaldee Targums, where it is employed interchangeably with 'Glory,' 'Glory of the Lord,' 'Angels of the Lord,' and often with 'Lord' (Jehovah) itself The citations that follow will more fully disclose the usage in this respect: Ps. lxxii. 2, 'Remember thy congregation which thou hast purchased of old, this Mount Zion wherein thou hast dwelt.' Targ. Exod. xxv. 8, 'Let them make me a tabernacle that I may dwell among them.' Chal. 'I will make *my shekinah* to dwell among them.' Arab. 'I will make my light (or splendour) to dwell among them.' Haggai i. 8, 'Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house, and I will take pleasure, and will be glorified, saith the Lord.' Targ. 'I will make my *shekinah* to dwell there in glory.' Ps. lxxxv. 10, 'His salvation is nigh them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land.' Thus explained by Aben Ezra, 'That *the shekinah* may be established in the land.' It would be easy to multiply these quotations to almost any extent, but sufficient has been produced to illustrate the *usus loquendi*, and to show that we have ample authority for employing the term with the utmost freedom in reference to the divine *theophanies* or *manifestations*.

From the tenor of these and a multitude of similar texts, it is evident that the Most High, whose essence no man hath seen, or can see, was pleased anciently to manifest himself to the eyes of men by an external visible symbol.* As to the *precise nature* of the phenomenon thus exhibited, we can only say, that it appears to have been a concentrated glowing brightness, a preternatural splendour, an effulgent something, which was appropriately expressed by the term 'Glory;' but whether in philosophical strictness it was material or immaterial, it is probably impossible to determine. A luminous object of this description seems intrinsically the most appropriate symbol of that Being of whom, perhaps in allusion to this very mode of manifestation, it is said, that 'he is light,' and that 'he dwelleth in light unapproachable, and full of glory.' The presence of such a sensible representation of Jehovah seems to be absolutely necessary in order to harmonize what is frequently said of 'seeing God' with the truth of his nature as an incorporeal and essentially invisible spirit. While we are told in one place that 'no man hath seen God at any time,' we are elsewhere informed that Moses and Aaron, and the seventy elders, '*saw* the God of Israel,' when called up to the summit of the Holy Mount. So also Isaiah says of himself (Isa. vi. 1, 5) that 'in the year that king Uzziah died he *saw* the Lord sitting upon his throne,' and that, in consequence, he cried out, 'I am undone; for mine eyes have *seen* the Lord of hosts.' In these cases it is obvious that the object seen was not God in his essence, but some external visible symbol, which, because it stood for God, is called by his name.

* Even at the early period of the expulsion of our sinning progenitors from Paradise, such a manifestation seems to have been made in connection with the cherubim which the Most High *placed* (Heb. וישכן *yishkan*, shekinized) at the east of the garden of Eden, and which, probably, constituted that 'presence of the Lord,' from which Cain fled after the murder of his brother.'

It seems beyond question that the divine appearances vouchsafed in the earlier ages of the world, to the patriarchs and prophets, was under the aspect, or with the accompaniment of light or fire, or that which conveys to the mind the idea of 'Glory.' Thus, in Stephen's account of the call of Abraham (Acts vii. 2), 'And he said, men, brethren, and fathers, the *God of Glory* appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia,' &c. This is a phrase very unwonted in plain narrative prose, and doubtless carries with it an allusion to the fact of God's appearing in a *glorious* manner, with a bright and overpowering effulgence, or, in other words, by the symbol of the *shekinah*. So too when he appeared to Moses in the burning bush, it was doubtless by the usual symbol; and this supernatural light or fire, glowing with a lambent and vivid, but innocuous flame, was no other than the splendour of the *shekinah*. To this august phenomenon the apostle plainly alludes, when, speaking of the distinguished prerogatives of the covenanted race (Rom. ix. 4), 'to whom pertaineth the adoption, and *the glory*, and the covenants, and the giving of the law,' &c.

But of all these ancient recorded theophanies, the most signal and illustrious was undoubtedly that which was vouchsafed in the pillar of cloud that guided the march of the children of Israel through the wilderness on their way to Canaan. A correct view of this subject clothes it at once with a sanctity and grandeur which seldom appear from the naked letter of the narrative. There can be little doubt that the columnar cloud was the seat of the *shekinah*. We have already seen that the term *shekinizing* is applied to the abiding of the cloud on the summit of the mountain (Exod. xxiv. 16). Within the towering aërial mass, we suppose, was enfolded the inner effulgent brightness, to which the appellation 'Glory of the Lord' more properly belonged, and which was only *occasionally* disclosed. In several instances in which God would indicate his anger to his people, it is said that they looked to the cloud and beheld the 'Glory of the Lord' (Num. xiv. 10; xvi. 19, 42). So when he would inspire a trembling awe of his Majesty at the giving of the Law, it is said, the 'Glory of the Lord appeared as a devouring fire' on the summit of the Mount. Nor must the fact be forgotten in this connection, that when Nadab and Abihu, the two sons of Aaron, offended by strange fire in their offerings, a fatal flash from the cloudy pillar instantaneously extinguished their lives. The evidence would seem then to be conclusive, that this wondrous pillar-cloud was the seat or throne of the *shekinah*, the visible representative of Jehovah dwelling in the midst of his people.

But it will be proper, in a matter of so much importance, to enter somewhat more fully into the genius of that mode of diction which obtains in regard to the *shekinah*; particularly the usage by which the term 'Angel' is applied to this visible phenomenon, deserves our investigation. This term occurs frequently in the Arabic version of those passages which speak of the divine manifestations, especially as made in connection with the cloudy pillar. Thus, when we read (Exod. xiii. 21), 'That the Lord went before them in a pillar of cloud by day, and by night in a pillar of fire,' the Arabic translation has it, 'The *angel of the Lord* went before them.' This is countenanced by the express language of Exod. xiv. 19, 'And the *angel of God* which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the *pillar of the cloud* went from before their face, and stood behind them.' Here it is obvious that the same object is set before us under two different forms of expression; the 'Pillar of Cloud' in the last clause being evidently the same as 'Angel of God' in the first. In seeking the true solution of this phraseology, it is necessary to bear in mind that 'Angel,' in the Scripture idiom, is a term of *office*, and not of *nature* [ANGELS]. It is by no means confined to any order of rational, intelligent, or *personal* beings, whether celestial or terrestrial. Though primarily employed to denote *messengers*, yet nothing is clearer than that it is used in speaking of *impersonal* agents, such as winds, fires, pestilences, remarkable dispensations—any thing in fact which might serve as a *medium* to make known the divine will, or to illustrate the divine working. 'He maketh the winds his angels, and the flaming fires his ministers.'

From the wide and extensive use of the term *angel*, in the language of Holy Writ, we are prepared to recognise at once the propriety of its application to the *theophanies*, or special manifestations of the Deity, of which so much is said in the Old Testament. We perceive that we are furnished from this source with a key to all those passages in which mention is made of the appearance of the *angel of the Lord*, whether to Abraham, to Isaac, to Jacob, to Hagar, to Moses, or any of the ancient worthies. So far as the letter is concerned the intimation would seem, in many cases, to be, that a created and delegated angel was sent upon various messages to the patriarchs, and became visible to their eyes and audible to their ears. These celestial messengers have been supposed occasionally to speak in the name, and even in the person, of Him whose mandates they communicated. Thus, when Abraham was about to offer up Isaac we are told that the *angel of the Lord* called to him out of heaven, and said (Gen. xxii. 15-18), 'By myself I have sworn, that in blessing I will bless thee, and that in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven,' &c. This might seem at first view to be the voice of an angel-messenger speaking in the name, and by the authority, of him who sent him. But from the usage now developed, we understand that it was the *visible object that appeared*, which is called the angel. So when it is said that 'the angel of the Lord appeared to Moses in the burning bush,' we see it was the burning bush itself that was called the angel, because it was the *medium of manifestation* to Jehovah in making this communication to his servant. The language which he utters on that occasion is evidently not competent to any created being, and must be considered as proceeding from the *shekinah*, to which no other than the infinite Spirit was present. The appropriation, therefore, of this language to the majestic pillar of cloud viewed as the *shekinah* of Jehovah, receives a countenance which cannot be questioned. We see no room to hesitate in believing, that when it is said, 'the *angel of God* went before them,' the meaning is, that the pillar of cloud

went before them, or, in other words, that the pillar is called 'the angel.'

In pursuance then of this train of investigation, we advance to another phasis of the mystic column that marshalled the way of the sojourning hosts, in their march to Canaan. In Exod. xxiii. 2, it is said, 'Behold I send an angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place that I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name is in him.' The first impression, upon the perusal of this, would perhaps be, that a created and tutelary angel was intended, one whom, whether visible or invisible, they used to treat with the greatest reverence as a kind of personal representative of Jehovah himself. This representative and commissioned character would be apt to be recognised in the phrase, 'My name is in him,' equivalent, as would be supposed, to the declaration, 'My *authority* is in him.' But then, on the other hand, we have shown that the term 'angel' *is* applied to the cloudy pillar, and as we have no intimation of any other angel being visibly present with the travelling tribes, the inference is certainly a fair one, that the angel here mentioned is but the designation of that glorious object which stood forth to the eye of the congregation, as having the *shekinah* essentially connected with it.

And now with the light of this peculiar usage to guide us, can we hesitate in regard to the genuine scope of the following passage from Isaiah, which we must assuredly recognise as a parallelism (Isa. lxiii. 8)? 'For he said, surely they are my people, children that will not lie; so he was their Saviour. In all their afflictions he was afflicted, and *the angel of his presenee* saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bore them and carried them all the days of old.' The allusion is undoubtedly to the same grand symbolical object which we are now considering. After what has been said we can have no difficulty in understanding why the title, 'Angel of his presence,' is applied to the cloudy column of the wilderness. It was evidently so termed, because it was the medium of manifestation to the divine presence. The invisible Deity, in some mysterious manner, dwelt in it, and was associated with it. It was called the 'Angel of the Divine Presence,' or, more literally, *faee* (פני), because, as the human face is the grand medium of expression to the human spirit, so the *shekinah* was the medium of manifestation or expression to the Divine Spirit. Indeed Moses, on one occasion, when apprehensive that the guiding glory of his people would be withdrawn on account of their transgressions, makes use of this language, 'If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence. And the Lord said, my presence shall go with thee.' So also in Deut. iv. 37, we find the word *presence* or *faee* used with a personal import, 'And because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them, and brought thee out *in his sight* (בפניו, *with, by, or through, his presenee, i. e.* the angel of his presence), with his mighty power out of Egypt.' We see not, therefore, that anything is hazarded in the position, that *the angel of God's presence*, of whom Isaiah speaks, is essentially the same with *the angel of God's pillar*, of which Moses speaks, and which is invested with personal attributes, because the Israelites were taught to view it in a personal character as a visible representative of their covenant God.

But our conception of the subject is essentially incomplete without the exhibition of another aspect of the cloudy pillar. This is as the *oraele* of the chosen people. So long as that sublime symbol continued as the outward visible token of the divine presence, it performed the office of an oracle in issuing commands and delivering responses. 'They called upon the Lord,' says the Psalmist (Ps. xcix. 6, 7), 'and he answered them. He *spake unto them in the eloudy pillar;*' that is, the cloudy pillar was the medium of his communications. This is indeed sufficiently express; but still more unequivocal is the language of Exod. xxxiii. 9, 'And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and *talked with* Moses.' It is true indeed that in our established version we read that '*the Lord* talked with Moses,' but the words 'the Lord' are printed in italics to show that there is nothing in the original answering to them. We have given a literal translation; still there is no special impropriety in supplying the words as above, if it be borne in mind that the mystic pillar was regarded as a visible embodiment of Jehovah, and, therefore, that in the diction of the sacred writer the two terms are equivalent and convertible. This is evident from what follows in the connection, 'And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand at the tabernacle door, and the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend.' The 'Lord' here must unequivocally be applied to the symbol of the Lord, or the *shekinah*, which was the true organ of communication with the people. It would be easy to carry out this line of investigation to still further results: but the considerations which have been offered will suffice to indicate the general bearings of this interesting subject.

See Lowman, *On the Shekinah;* Taylor's *Letters of Ben Mordeeai;* Skinner's *Dissertation on the Shekinah;* Watts's *Glory of Christ;* Upham, *On the Logos;* Bush's *Notes on Exodus;* Tenison, *On Idolatry;* Fleming's *Christology.*—G. B.

SHEM (שֵׁם, *name;* Sept. Σήμ), one of the three sons of Noah (Gen. v. 32), from whom descended the nations enumerated in Gen. x. 22, sq., and who was the progenitor of that great branch of the Noachic family (called from him Shemitic or Semitic) to which the Hebrews belong. The name of Shem is placed first wherever the sons of Noah are mentioned together; whence he would seem to have been the eldest brother. But against this conclusion is brought the text Gen. x. 21, which, according to the Authorized, and many other versions, has 'Shem the brother of Japheth the elder;' whence it has been conceived very generally that Japheth was really the eldest, and that Shem is put first by way of excellency, seeing that from him the holy line descended. But this conclusion is not built upon a critical knowledge of the Hebrew, which would show that הגדול, 'the elder,' must in this text be referred not to Japheth but to Shem, so that it should be read 'Shem....the elder brother of Japheth.' The current version of the

text is sanctioned only by the Septuagint among the ancient versions, and it is there supposed by some to be corrupt. The Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate, adopt the other interpretation, which indeed is the only one that the analogy of the Hebrew language will admit. The whole Bible offers no other instance of such a construction as that by which אחי יפת הגדול becomes 'the brother of Japhet the elder,' which indeed would be an awkward phrase in any language. The object of the sacred writer is to mark the seniority and consequent superiority of Shem. He had already told us (Gen. ix. 24) that Ham was, if not the youngest, at least a younger son of Noah, and he is now careful to acquaint us that Shem, the stem of the Hebrews, was older than Japheth (See Baumgarten, *Theolog. Commentar zum Alten Test.*; Geddes, *Critical Remarks:* respecting the posterity of Shem see NATIONS, DISPERSION OF).

1. SHEMAIAH (שְׁמַעְיָה, *whom Jehovah hears;* Sept. Σαμαίας), a prophet of the time of Rehoboam, who was commissioned to enjoin that monarch to forego his design of reducing the ten tribes to obedience (1 Kings xii. 22-24). In 1 Chron. xii. 15, this Shemaiah is stated to have written the Chronicles of the reign in which he flourished.

2. SHEMAIAH, a person who, without authority, assumed the functions of a prophet among the Israelites in exile. He was so much annoyed by the prophecies which Jeremiah sent to Babylon, the tendency of which was contrary to his own, that he wrote to Jerusalem, denouncing the prophet as an impostor, and urging the authorities to enforce his silence. In return he received new prophecies, announcing that he should never behold that close of the bondage which he fancied to be at hand, and that none of his race should witness the re-establishment of the nation (Jer. xxix. 24-32).

SHEMARIM (שְׁמָרִים, from שָׁמַר *shâmar, to keep, to preserve*). This term is generally understood to denote the *lees* or *dregs* of wine, and it is asserted that the radical idea expresses the fact that these *preserve* the strength and flavour of the wine. There is evidently a reference to this in Ps. lxxv. 8:—'For in the hand of Jehovah there is a cup, and the wine (יין *yayin*) is red (or thick and turbid, חמר *khâmar*): it is full of mixture (מסך *meseech*), and he poureth out this; but the dregs thereof (שמריה *shemâreyhâ*) all the rebels of the earth shall press and suck;' in which verse we have four of the terms rendered 'wine' by the translators of the English Bible. This verse is interesting, as indicating accurately the import of the term under discussion, at least in this particular passage. *Shemârim* are here the sediments in a cup compounded with articles, two of which, at least, are designated by terms invariably used in the Scriptures to designate something obtained from the vine. *Yayin* is employed in the Mishna (*Tr. Nedarim*, vi. 9) to designate a drink obtained from apples (יין תפוחים); but this is different from its Scriptural use. The inference is, that *shemârim* here denotes the dregs of wine. This cannot be the meaning of the term, however, in Isa. xxv. 6, where, we think, it must refer to some rich *preserves* appropriate to the feast of which that text speaks (*Tirosh lo Yayin*, iv. 8). The verse may be rendered thus:—'And Jehovah of hosts shall make to all peoples in this mountain a feast of fat things (*shemânim*), a feast of preserves (*shemârim*), of the richest fatness, of preserves well refined.' Considerable diversity of opinion has obtained among biblical critics in regard to both the literal meaning and prophetic bearing of this text. The most usual interpretation supposes a reference to *wines on the lees;* but there are strong objections to this view, the most obvious of which is, that it is exceedingly inappropriate. There is no mention of wine in the original, but simply of dregs; and interpreters have been forced to suppose a reference to the former, from a conviction that the latter was altogether inapt. The mention of dregs does not naturally call up (by synecdoche, as is supposed, though dregs are not a *part* of the wine which has been purified from them) the idea of wine which has been drawn from them. The trope here supposed is at variance with a fundamental principle of figurative language, which takes advantage of 'that great variety of relations between objects, by means of which the mind is assisted to pass easily from one to another; and by the name of the one, understands the other to be meant. It is always some accessory idea, which recalls the principal to the imagination; and commonly recalls it with more force than if the principal idea had been expressed' (Blair's *Lectures on Rhet. and Bell. Lett.*, lect. xiv.). Vitringa, indeed, renders the language with apparent literal propriety, *a feast of dregs* (*convivium fæcum*), but he explains it of *wine purified from its dregs* (ex *vino defæcato*, a fæcibus purgato) (*Comm. in loc.*). Vitringa may well say of the expression as thus rendered: 'phrasi quidem fateor singulari et insolente.' Munster supposes very absurdly a reference to a highly intoxicating wine ('convivium vino unde omnes inebriabuntur'), which would prove a curse rather than a blessing, and refers to the supposed fulfilment of the prophecy in Gog and Magog, when 'Dominus tanquam ebrios faciet eos ruere in mutuam cædem' (*Critici Sacri*, in loc.). Clarius, Forerius, and Grotius render it, *a feast of vine-fruit* (vindemiæ); but Clarius gives also the same explanation as Munster. Our readers, we trust, will agree with us in rejecting the idea of intoxication from this beautiful passage; which, indeed, has but few supporters. We agree with the great majority of interpreters, that a signal blessing is here referred to; but we cannot agree with those who suppose that wine drawn off from dregs is made the emblem of that blessing. Such wine would evidently not answer the purpose. It was not the best wine. In reference to the separation of *dregs* and *sediment* from wine before it was drunk, Professor Ramsay says, 'Occasionally a piece of linen cloth (σάκκος, *saccus*) was placed over the τρύγοπος or *colum* (Pollux, vi. 19; x. 75), and the wine (σακκίας, *saccatus*) filtered through (Martial, viii. 15). The use of the *saccus* was considered objectionable for all delicate wines, since it was believed to injure (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 51), if not entirely to destroy, their flavour, and in every instance to *diminish the strength* of the liquor. For this reason it was employed by the dissipated *in order that they might be able to*

swallow a greater quantity without becoming intoxicated' (Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, art. VINUM). Vitringa and others suppose that the wine in the passage before us was prepared by the very method which Professor Ramsay justly says was believed *to injure, if not entirely to destroy its flavour*. Columella, Cato, and Pliny, speak of wine made from dregs or lees; but none of them speak of it as of superior excellence: on the contrary, they mention it as rather inferior.

These considerations have induced us to think of another interpretation of the term. We regard it as indicating something excellent in its kind, and the best of its kind. It seems to refer to some rich *preserves* made from grapes or other fruits. We thus fall back on the radical idea of the word, and connect that idea with its use in the present passage, which is different from its use in other texts. These preserves might be usually prepared from the grape, but it is not necessary to limit them to such a preparation; thus we find עָסִיס *asis*, properly the *juice* of the grape (Joel i. 5), used to denote the *juice* of the pomegranate (Cant. viii. 2).

It is difficult to say how these *preserves* were prepared. 'In the East grapes enter very largely into the provisions at an entertainment. Thus Norden was treated by the Aga of Assaoun with coffee, and some bunches of grapes of an excellent taste' (Robinson's *Calmet*, art. VINE). It is probable, however, that some solid preparation of the dried grape ('uva passa') is here intended. The very best grapes were anciently, and still are, employed to make such preparations in Palestine. The finest grapes in that country grow in the vineyards around Hebron. 'The produce of these vineyards,' says Professor Robinson, 'is celebrated throughout Palestine. No wine, however, nor 'Arak is made from them, except by the Jews, and this is not in great quantity. The wine is good. *The finest grapes are dried as raisins;* and the rest, being trodden and pressed, the juice is boiled down to a syrup, which, under the name of Dibs (our author states in a note that 'this is the Hebrew word דִּבְשׁ *debhash*, signifying *honey*, and also *syrup of grapes*') is much used by all classes, wherever vineyards are found, as a condiment with their food. It resembles thin molasses, but is more pleasant to the taste' (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii. 442). The fact here stated regarding the use made of the finest grapes, supplies us with an article worthy of the feast mentioned in the text. Buckingham, a well-known traveller, mentions the following interesting facts:—'By way of dessert, some walnuts and dried figs were afterwards served to us, besides a very curious article, probably resembling the dried wine of the ancients, which they are said to have preserved in cakes. They were of the size of a cucumber, and were made out of the fermented juice of the grape formed into a jelly, and in this state wound round a central thread of the kernel of walnuts; the pieces of the nuts thus forming a support for the outer coat of jelly, which became harder as it dried, and would keep, it is said, fresh and good for many months, forming a welcome treat at all times, and being particularly well adapted for sick or delicate persons, who might require some grateful provisions capable of being carried in a small compass, and without risk of injury on a journey' (*Travels among the Arabs*, p. 137). Whether this intelligent traveller is right in asserting that the article mentioned by him was made out of the fermented juice of the grape, we cannot determine. If so, it must have been entirely different from our fermented wines, for none of them could be 'formed into a jelly.' The article, as he found it, was in a solid state, having become hard as it dried, and was, probably, free of the intoxicating principle.

Were we able to say how the article designated by *shemârim* was prepared, we could easily explain the force of the epithet מְזֻקָּקִים *mezukkâkim*. It is the passive participle of the pual (or intensitive) species of the verb זָקַק *zâkak*, which is usually explained as signifying *to purify*, a meaning sufficiently applicable in the present case. The preserves might be purified by clearing out the skins of the grapes, the stones, &c. Rosenmüller (*Scholia, in loc.*), following Vitringa, supposes here a reference to filtration, by which the dregs were separated from the wine, and by which consequently the wine was purified. We have already given a reason why this interpretation must be rejected. The following remark of Horace (*Sat.* ii. 4. 51) is directly opposed to it, and shows that wine thus prepared would have no claim to stand side by side with the rich delicacies mentioned in the text:—

'Massica si cœlo suppones vina sereno,
Nocturna, si quid crassi est, tenuabitur aura,
Et decedet odor nervis inimicus: at illa
Integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.'

'The sky serene, put out your Massic wine;
In the night air its foulness shall refine,
And lose the scent, unfriendly to the nerves,
But filtrated, no flavour it preserves.'

Francis.

Dr. E. Henderson (*Notes on Isaiah*) and Barnes (*Notes on Isaiah*) suppose that purification by fermentation is here referred to; but these distinguished writers, to be thoroughly consistent, should adopt the opinion of Munster. Some have sought a resemblance between the process by which metals are purified, and that employed to refine the *shemârim*, the same word being used in connection with each (Job xxviii. 1; 1 Chron. xxviii. 18; xxix. 4; Ps. xii. 6 [*Heb.* 7]; Mal. iii. 3); but probably the *fact* of refinement is all that may be intended, without reference to the *process*. Other interpretations (as that of Seb. Ravius, in *Diatribe de epulo funebri gentibus dando ad Jes.*, cap. xxv. 6, 7, 8; Traj. ad Rhen., 1747, p. 23, sq.; of J. D. Michaelis, in *Supplem. ad Lex. Hebr.*, p. ii. 642) we omit, as anticipated in the preceding observations, or unworthy of notice.

After a full consideration of the subject, we conclude that the *shemârim* of this text was a solid article, different from אֲשִׁישָׁה *ashishah*, *grape-cake* (Gesenius, *Heb. Lex.*, sub voc.), as not being pressed in any particular form, and different from צִמֻקִּים *tsimmukim*, *dried grapes*, as being refined and prepared for being served up at a sumptuous entertainment.

This subject might be further illustrated by a consideration of the Hebrew taste in regard to the produce of the vineyard. It will not be denied that the figurative language of the Scriptures is to be illustrated by reference to Jewish

customs. Those commentators, however, who suppose that Isaiah here speaks of *good old fermented wine*, advocate an article which is rather offensive than agreeable to the Hebrew taste. In Cant. ii. 4, the bride says of the object of her affection, 'He brought me to the house of grapes' (בית היין), an arbour being referred to, probably similar to those found in our gardens and orchards, or perhaps larger (Robinson's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 314), such houses or tents being common in vineyards, and resorted to at the time of the vintage. The sweetness of honey seems to have been preferred in their wines; for in Cant. v. 1, the bridegroom says, 'I have eaten my honey (not honey-comb, as 'some have falsely and carelessly rendered it'—Gesenius) [HONEY], with my grape syrup;' and the mildness of milk was also agreeable, for he adds, 'I have drunk my wine with my milk.' That which 'goeth down sweetly' is approved of (Cant. vii. 9), as well as that which has the flavour of spices, with the addition of the juice of the pomegranate (Cant. viii. 2), or that of other fruits. Wisdom, too (Prov. ix. 2), is said to have 'mingled her wine,' a circumstance which plainly indicates that the wine referred to was thick and syrupy, and for use required to be mingled with a quantity of water equal to that which had been evaporated by boiling. The ancient Jews had two objects in view in mingling their wine—one of which we have now mentioned, and the other was by the mixture of drugs to produce a highly-intoxicating drink (Isa. v. 22). It would be no compliment, therefore, to a sober Israelite to be promised an abundant supply of old fermented wine at a rich entertainment; in fact, it would be regarded as a kind of mockery.

We may state briefly the results to which the preceding observations conduct us:—

(*a.*) The term *shemárim* does not naturally call up the idea of wine.

(*b.*) It properly signifies *preservers* or *preserves*.

(*c.*) There is a paronomasia in the text in the words *shemânim* (delicacies) and *shemârim* (preserves), the beauty of which is increased by the repetition of these terms.

(*d.*) The interpretation of *rich preserves* is the only one that suggests an article worthy of being placed side by side with the *rich delicacies* which interpreters acknowledge to be designated by the accompanying term.

(*e.*) Wine filtered or drawn off from the lees was not in high repute.

(*f.*) The Hebrew taste was in favour of a solid preparation of the grape.

Neither of the other passages (Jer. xlviii. 11, Zeph. i. 12), which relate to *shemárim*, is invested with special interest. The wine was separated from the lees, sometimes at least, by being drawn off from one vessel to another, as appears from Jeremiah xlviii. 11, which Bishop Lowth renders thus:—

'Moab hath been at ease from his youth,
And he hath settled upon his lees;
Nor hath he been drawn off from vessel to vessel,
Neither hath he gone into captivity:
Therefore his taste remaineth in him,
And his flavour is not changed.'

Moab is here represented as spending a life of quiet indifference, living undisturbed in sin. Such, too, was the situation of those of whom Jehovah says (Zeph. i. 12), 'I will punish the men that are settled on their lees;' that is, those who disregarded his admonitions, and prosecuted their sinful courses, unmoved by his threatenings.—P. M.

SHEMEBER (שֶׁמְאֶבֶר, *lofty flight;* Sept. Συμοβόρ), king of Zeboim, one of the five 'cities of the plain' (Gen. xiv. 2).

SHEMER (שֶׁמֶר, *lees;* Sept. Σεμήρ), the owner of the hill of Samaria, which derived its name from him. Omri bought the hill for two talents of silver, and built thereon the city, also called Samaria, which he made the capital of his kingdom (1 Kings xvi. 24) [see SAMARIA]. As the Israelites were prevented by the law (Lev. xxv. 23) from thus alienating their inheritances, and as his name occurs without the usual genealogical marks, it is more than probable that Shemer was descended from those Canaanites whom the Hebrews had not dispossessed of their lands.

SHEMINITH. [PSALMS.]

SHEOL. [HADES.]

1. SHEPHATIAH (שְׁפַטְיָה, *whom Jehovah defends;* Sept. Σαφατία), a son of David by Abital (2 Sam. iii. 4).

2. SHEPHATIAH, one of the nobles who urged Zedekiah to put Jeremiah to death (Jer. xxxviii. 1).

3. SHEPHATIAH, one of the heads of families who settled in Jerusalem after the exile (Neh. xi. 6).

4. SHEPHATIAH, the head of one of the families, numbering three hundred and seventy-two persons, of the returned exiles (Ezra ii. 4, 57).

The same name, with a slight variation in the original (שְׁפַטְיהוּ), but not in the Authorized Version, occurs in the following:

5. SHEPHATIAH, a son of king Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xxi. 2).

6. SHEPHATIAH, one of the chief of those valiant men who went to David when at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 5).

7. SHEPHATIAH, the governor of the tribe of Simeon in the time of David (1 Chron. xxvii. 16).

SHEPHERD. [PASTURAGE.]

SHESH (שֵׁשׁ), ALSO SHESHI, translated *fine linen* in the Authorized Version, occurs twenty-eight times in Exodus, once in Genesis, once in Proverbs, and three times in Ezekiel. Considerable doubts have, however, always been entertained respecting the true meaning of the word; some have thought it signified *fine wool*, others *silk;* the Arabs have translated it by words referring to colours in the passages of Ezekiel and of Proverbs. Some of the Rabbins state that it is the same word as that which denotes the number six, and that it refers to the number of threads of which the yarn was composed. Thus Abarbanel on Gen. xxv. says: 'Schesch est linum Ægyptiacum, quod est pretiosissimum inter species lini. Quum vero tortum est sex filis in unum, vocatur *schesch*, aut *schesch moschsar*. Sin ex unico filo tantum, dicitur *bad*' (Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. p. 260). This interpretation, however, has satisfied but few. The Greek Alexandrian translators used the word βύσσος, which by some has been supposed to indicate 'cotton,' and by others 'linen.'

In the article Byssus we have seen that the word *bad*, translated *linen*, occurs in various passages of the Old Testament, but that the word *butz*, translated *fine linen* and *white linen*, is employed only at a later period. Under the word Karpas, used in Esth. i. 6, we have shown the probability of its being derived from the Sanscrit *karpasum*, and that it signifies 'cotton.' We have there stated our opinion that cotton was known to the Hebrews when in Persia, and that *butz*, which is not used before the time when the book of Chronicles was written, probably also signifies cotton. *Ethun*, as well as ὀθόνιον, appears to have been applied either to linen or cotton cloth. *Bad* we conceive may mean linen only. *Pishtah*, flax, we know was one of the great productions of Egypt.

Shesh, however, must now be taken into consideration. In the several passages where we find the word used, we do not obtain any information respecting the plant; but it is clear it was spun by women (Exod. xxx. 25), was used as an article of clothing, also for hangings, and even for the sails of ships, as in Ezekiel xxvii. 7, '*Fine linen* (*shesh*) with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail.' It is evident from these facts, that it must have been a plant known as cultivated in Egypt at the earliest period, and which, or its fibre, the Israelites were able to obtain even when in the desert. As cotton does not appear to have been known at this very early period, we must seek for *shesh* among the other fibre-yielding plants, such as flax and hemp. Both these are suited to the purpose, and were procurable in those countries at the times specified. Lexicographers do not give us much assistance in determining the point, from the little certainty in their inferences. The word *shesh*, however, appears to us to have a very great resemblance, with the exception of the aspirate, to the Arabic name of a plant, which, it is curious, was also one of those earliest cultivated for its fibre, namely, *hemp*. Of this plant, one of the Arabic names is حشيش *husheesh*, or the herb *par excellence*, the term being sometimes applied to the powdered leaves only, with which an intoxicating electuary is prepared. This name has long been known, and is thought by some to have given origin to our word assassin or hassasin. Makrizi treats of the hemp in his account of the ancient pleasure-grounds in the vicinity of Cairo, 'famous above all for the sale of the hasheesha, which is still greedily consumed by the dregs of the people, and from the consumption of which sprung the excesses, which led to the name of "assassin" being given to the Saracens in the holy wars.'

Hemp is a plant which in the present day is extensively distributed, being cultivated in Europe, and extending through Persia to the southernmost parts of India. In the plains of that country it is cultivated on account of its intoxicating product, so well known as *bang*; in the Himalayas both on this account and for its yielding the ligneous fibre which is used for sack and rope-making. Its European names are no doubt derived from the Arabic *kinnab*, which is supposed to be connected with the Sanscrit *shanapee*. There is no doubt, therefore, that it might easily have been cultivated in Egypt. Herodotus mentions it as being employed by the Thracians for making garments. 'These were so like linen that none but a very experienced person could tell whether they were of hemp or flax; one who had never seen hemp would certainly suppose them to be linen.' Hemp is used in the present day for smockfrocks and tunics; and Russia sheeting and Russia duck are well known. *Cannabis* is mentioned in the works of Hippocrates on account of its medical properties. Dioscorides describes it as being employed for making ropes, and it was a good deal cultivated by the Greeks for this purpose. Though we are unable at present to prove that it was cultivated in Egypt at an early period, and used for making garments, yet there is nothing improbable in its having been so. Indeed as it was known to various Asiatic nations, it could hardly have been unknown to the Egyptians, and the similarity of the word *husheesh* to the Arabic *shesh* would lead to a belief that they were acquainted with it, especially as in a language like the Hebrew it is more probable that different names were applied to totally different things, than that the same thing had two or three different names. Hemp might thus have been used at an early period, along with flax and wool, for making cloth for garments and for hangings, and would be much valued until cotton and the finer kinds of linen came to be known.

Flax and Linen. Reference has been made to this article from Byssus and from Pishtah, for an account of flax and the cloth made from it. So many words are translated *linen* in the Authorized Version of the Scriptures, that it has been considered doubtful whether they indicate only different qualities of the same thing, or totally different substances. The latter has by some been thought the most probable, on account of the poverty of the Hebrew language; hence, instead of considering the one a synonym of the other, we have been led to enquire, as above, whether *shesh* may not signify cloth made of *hemp* instead of flax. This would leave *bad* and *pishtah* as the only words peculiarly appropriated to *linen* and *flax*. The passages in which *bad* occurs have already been indicated [Byssus]. On referring to them we find that it is used only when articles of clothing are alluded to. It is curious, and probably not accidental, that the Sanscrit word *pat* signifies cloth made from flax-like substances. It has been remarked that the official garments of the Hebrews, like those of the Egyptians, were all made of linen; and we find in the several passages where *bad* occurs, that linen garments and clothes, linen breeches, linen girdle, linen ephod, linen mitre, are intended; so in Exod. xxxix. 28, and they made for Aaron and his sons 'a mitre of fine linen, and goodly bonnets of fine linen, and linen breeches of fine twined linen.' In the article Cotton we have seen that the mummy cloths are composed very generally, if not universally, of linen cloth.

Pishtah (פִּשְׁתָּה) no doubt refers to the flax plant, if we may judge from the context of the passages in which it occurs. Thus, in Exod. ix. 31, in the plague of the hail storm, it is related, 'And the *flax* (*pishtah*) and the barley was smitten: for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled,' or in blossom, according to

Gesenius. As the departure of the Israelites took place in the spring, this passage has reference no doubt to the practice adopted in Egypt, as well as in India, of sowing these grains partly in the months of September and October, and partly in spring, so that the wheat might easily be in blade at the same time that the barley and flax were more advanced. From the numerous references



496. [Flax.]

to flax and linen, there is no doubt that the plant was extensively cultivated, not only in Egypt, but also in Palestine. As to Egypt we have proof in the mummy cloth being made of linen, and also in the representations of the flax cultivation in the paintings of the Grotto of El Kab, which represent the whole process with the utmost clearness; and numerous testimonies might be adduced from ancient authors, of the esteem in which the linen of Egypt was held. Flax continues to be extensively cultivated in the present day. That it was also much cultivated in Palestine, and well known to the Hebrews, we have proofs in the number of times it is mentioned; as in Josh. xi. 6, where Rahab is described as concealing the two Hebrew spies with the stalks of flax which she had laid in order upon the roof. In several passages, as Lev. xiii. 47, 48, 52, 59; Deut. xxii. 11; Jer. xcii. 1; Ezek. xl. 3; xliv. 17, 18, we find it mentioned as forming different articles of clothing, as girdles, cords, and bands. In Prov. xxxi. 13, the careful housewife 'seeketh wool and flax, and worketh it willingly with her hands.' The words of Isaiah (xlii. 3), 'A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench,' are evidently referred to in Matt. xii. 20, where λίνον is used as the name of flax, and as the equivalent of *pishtah*. But there can be no doubt of this word being correctly understood, as it has been well investigated by several authors. (Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. p. 283; Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, p. 253.)—J. F. R.

SHESHACH (שֵׁשַׁךְ), a name twice given by Jeremiah to Babylon (Jer. xxv. 26; li. 41). Its etymology and proper signification are doubtful. The Jewish interpreters, followed by Jerome, suppose שֵׁשַׁךְ *Sheshach* to stand for בבל *Babel*, according to the secret or cabbalistic mode of writing called *athbash*, in which the alphabet is inverted, so that ת, the last letter, is put for א the first, ש the penultimate letter for ב the second, and so on; and this they suppose was done by the prophet for fear of the Chaldæans. But Gesenius very properly asks, even supposing these cabbalistic mysteries of trifling had been already current in the time of Jeremiah, which cannot by any means be admitted, how comes it to pass that Babylon is in the very same verse mentioned under its own proper name? C. B. Michaelis ingeniously conjectures that שֵׁשַׁךְ comes from שכשך *shikshach*, 'to overlay with iron or other plates,' so that it might designate Babylon as χαλκόπυλος. Von Bohlen thinks the word synonymous with the Persian *Shih-Shah*, i. e. 'house of the prince;' but it is doubtful whether, at so early a period as the age of Jeremiah, Babylon could have received a Persian name that would be known in Judæa.

SHESHAN (שֵׁשָׁן, *lily;* Sept. Σωσάν), a Hebrew, who during the sojourn in Egypt gave his daughter in marriage to his freed Egyptian slave (1 Chron. ii. 34) [JARHAH].

SHESHBAZZAR. [ZERUBBABEL.]

SHETHAR (שֵׁתָר; Pers., *a star;* Sept. Σαρσαθαῖος), one of the seven princes of Persia and Media, 'who saw the king's face, and sat the first in the kingdom' (Est. i. 14).

SHETHAR-BOZNAI (שֵׁתַר בּוֹזְנַי; Pers., *shining star;* Sept. Σαθαρβουζαναῖ), one of the Persian governors in Syria, who visited Jerusalem in company with Tatnai, to investigate the charges made against the Jews (Ezra v. 3; vi. 6) [TATNAI].

SHEVA. [SERAIAH.]

SHEW-BREAD. In the outer apartment of the tabernacle, on the right hand, or north side, stood a table, made of acacia (shittim) wood, two cubits long, one broad, and one and a half high, and covered with laminæ of gold. The top of the leaf of this table was encircled by a border or rim of gold. The frame of the table, immediately below the leaf, was encircled with a piece of wood of about four inches in breadth, around the edge of which was a rim or border, similar to that around the leaf. A little lower down, but at equal distances from the top of the table, there were four rings of gold fastened to the legs, through which staves covered with gold were inserted for the purpose of carrying it (Exod. xxv. 23-28; xxxvii. 10-16). These rings were not found in the table which was afterwards made for the temple, nor indeed in any of the sacred furniture, where they had previously been, except in the ark of the covenant. Twelve unleavened loaves were placed upon this table, which were sprinkled with frankincense (the Sept. adds salt; Lev. xxiv. 7). The number twelve represented the twelve tribes, and was not diminished after the defection of ten of the tribes from the worship of God in his sanctuary, because the covenant with the sons of Abraham was not formally abrogated, and because there were still many true Israelites among the apostatizing tribes. The twelve loaves were also a constant record against them, and served as a standing

testimonial that their proper place was before the forsaken altar of Jehovah.

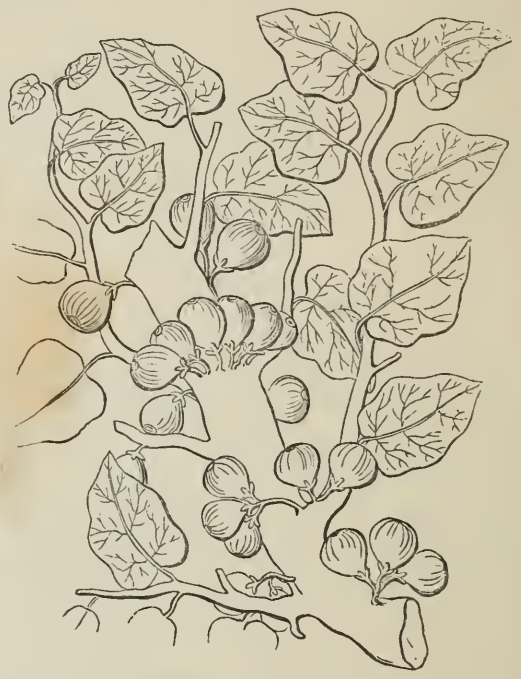
The loaves were placed in two piles, one above another, and were changed every Sabbath day by the priests. The frankincense that had stood on the bread during the week was then burnt as an oblation, and the removed bread became the property of the priests, who, as God's servants, had a right to eat of the bread that came from his table; but they were obliged to eat it in the holy place, and nowhere else. No others might lawfully eat of it; but in a case of extreme emergency the priest incurred no blame if he imparted it to persons who were in a state of ceremonial purity, as in the instance of David and his men (1 Sam. xxi. 4-6; Matt. xii. 4). The bread was called לחם פנים, 'the bread of the face,' or, 'of the presence,' because it was set forth before the face or in the presence of Jehovah in his holy place. This is translated 'shew-bread.' It is also called לחם המערכה, 'the bread arranged in order,' and לחם תמיד, 'the perpetual bread,' because it was never absent from the table (Lev. xxiv. 6, 7; 1 Chron. xxiii. 29).

Wine also was placed upon the table of 'shew-bread,' in bowls, some larger, קערות, and some smaller, כפות; also in vessels that were covered, קשׂות, and in cups, מנקיות, which were probably employed in pouring in and taking out the wine from the other vessels, or in making libations. Gesenius calls them 'pateræ libatoriæ;' and they appear in the Authorized Version as 'spoons' (See generally Exod. xxv. 29, 30; xxxvii. 10-16; xl. 4, 24; Lev. xxiv. 5-9; Num. iv. 7).

SHIBBOLETH (שִׁבֹּלֶת). The word means a stream or flood, and was hence naturally suggested to the followers of Jephthah, when, having seized the fords of the Jordan to prevent the retreat of the defeated Ephraimites, they sought to distinguish them through their known inability to utter the aspirated sound *sh*. The fugitives gave instead the unaspirated *s*, *sibboleth*, on which they were slain without mercy (Judg. xii. 6). The certainty which was felt that the Ephraimites could not pronounce *sh*, is very remarkable, and strongly illustrates the varieties of dialect which had already arisen in Israel, and which perhaps even served to distinguish different tribes, as similar peculiarities distinguish men of different counties with us. If what is here mentioned as the characteristic of a particular tribe had been shared by other tribes, it would not have been sufficiently discriminating as a test. [Hebrew Language.]

SHIELD. [Arms.]

SHIKMOTH (שִׁקְמוֹת) and SHIKMIM (שִׁקְמִים), translated 'sycomore,' occur in several passages of the Old Testament, but always in the plural. From the context it is evident that it must have been a tree of some size, common in the plains, unable to bear great cold, with wood of inferior quality, but still cultivated and valued on account of its fruit. It was not what is called sycamore in this country, which is a kind of maple, and in some of its characters the reverse of what is required. The Septuagint everywhere renders it *συκάμινος*, which signifies the mulberry. In the Arabic translation the word جميز *jumeez* is used as synonymous. Now *jumeez* is applied by the Arabs in the present day, and has been so from ancient times, to a great tree of Egypt. According to Abu'l Fadli, as translated by Celsius, 'Giummeis nomen est Syriacum arbori simili ficui, sed foliis morum referenti.' These few words would be sufficient to direct us to the tree which was called *συκόμορος* by the Greeks, from *συκῆ*, a fig, and *μόρος*, the mulberry tree, and which is the *Ficus Sycomorus* of botanists, being a genuine species of *Ficus*, to which the ancient name has been added as the specific one. The fruit in its general characters resembles that of the fig, while the leaves resemble those of the mulberry tree. Prosper Alpinus says of it, 'Arbor vastissima ab Ægyptiis *Zumez* vocata, in Ægypto provenit, quam nostri Sycomorum, ac ficum Ægyptiam appellant.'



497. [Sycamore-Fig. Ficus Sycomorus.]

The ancients were well acquainted with it; and it is common in Egypt as well as in Syria. In Egypt, being one of the few trees indigenous in that country, its wood was proportionally much employed, as in making mummy-cases, though it is coarse grained, and would not be valued where other trees are more common. Thus, in Isa. ix. 10, 'The sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars.' By this the Israelites intimate that they will soon be able to repair their losses, and rebuild in greater perfection than ever. So in 1 Kings x. 27; 2 Chron. i. 15, the riches introduced by Solomon, and the improvements made by him are, in like manner, intimated by contrasting the cedar with the sycamore:—'And the king made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he as the sycamore trees that are in the vale for abundance.' Though the wood of this sycamore is coarse grained, it is yet very durable in a dry climate like that of Egypt; hence the mummy-cases even in the present day seem as if made with fresh wood. This may no doubt be partly ascribed

to the preservative effects of the resinous coats, paints, &c. with which they are impregnated. The late Professor Don was of opinion that this wood was that of *Cordia Myæa*, or the Sebesten tree; but it hardly grows large enough. The sycamore being a tree abundant in Egypt must necessarily be one suited to plains and vales, and hence would also be one likely to be injured by cold, as in Psa. lxxviii. 47, 'He destroyed their vines with hail, and their sycamore trees with frost.' That the sycamore was cultivated and esteemed in Palestine we learn from 1 Chron. xxvii. 28, 'And over the olive trees and the *sycamore* trees that were in the low plains was Baal-hanan the Gederite.' This was on account of its fruit, which it bears on its stem and branches, like the common fig, and continues to produce in succession for months. The fruit is palatable, sweetish in taste, and still used as food in the East. One mode of ripening the fruit is supposed to be alluded to in Amos vii. 14, 'I was an herdman, and a *gatherer* of sycamore fruit;' but the latter part of the sentence is understood to mean 'scraping or making incisions in the sycamore fruit,' and to refer to the practice mentioned by Hasselquist as existing even in modern times. When the fruit has reached the size of an inch in diameter, the inhabitants pare off a part at the centre point. They say that without this operation it would not come to maturity. The same practice is mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny, &c. As the sycamore is a lofty, shady tree, it was well suited for climbing up into, as described in Luke xix. 4, where Zacchæus ascends one to see Jesus pass by.—J. F. R.

SHILOH (שִׁילֹה), the epithet applied, in the prophetic benediction of Jacob on his death-bed (Gen. xlix. 10), to the personage to whom 'the gathering of the nations should be,' and which has ever been regarded by Christians and by the ancient Jews as a denomination of the Messiah. The oracle occurs in the blessing of Judah, and is thus worded—'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come: and unto him the gathering of the people shall be.' The term itself, as well as the whole passage to which it belongs, has ever been a fruitful theme of controversy between Jews and Christians, the former, although they admit for the most part the Messianic reference of the text, being still fertile in expedients to evade the Christian argument founded upon it. Neither our limits nor our object will permit us to enter largely into the theological bearings of this prediction; but it is perhaps scarcely possible to do justice to the discussion as a question of pure philology, without at the same time displaying the strength of the Christian interpretation, and trenching upon the province occupied by the proofs of Jesus of Nazareth being the Messiah of the Old Testament prophecies.

Before entering upon the more essential merits of the question, it may be well to recite the ancient versions of this passage, which are mostly to be referred to a date that must exempt them from the charge of undue bias towards any but the right construction. Influences of this nature have, of course, become operative with Jews of a later period. The version of the Sept. is peculiar—'A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a captain out of his loins, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, *until the things come that are laid up for him*.' In some copies another reading is found, ᾧ ἀπόκειται, *for whom it is laid up;* meaning, doubtless, *in the kingdom*,—for whom the kingdom is laid up in reserve. This rendering is probably to be referred to an erroneous lection, אשר לו, *whose it is*. Targ. Onk., 'One having the principality shall not be taken from the house of Judah, nor a scribe from his children's children, until the Messiah come, whose the kingdom is.' Targ. Jerus., 'Kings shall not fail from the house of Judah, nor skilful doctors of the law from their children's children, till the time when the King's Messiah shall come.' Syr., 'The sceptre shall not fail from Judah, nor an expounder from between his feet, till he come whose it is;' *i. e.* the sceptre, the right, the dominion. Arab., 'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a lawgiver from under his rule, until he shall come whose it is.' Sam., 'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a leader from his banners, until the Pacific shall come.' Lat. Vulg., 'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah, nor a leader from his thigh—donec veniet qui mittendus est, *until he shall come who is to be sent*.' This is evidently founded upon mistaking in the original שילה for שילח, which latter comes from the root שלח, signifying *to send*. It is, however, adopted by Grotius as the truest reading, the present form of the word being owing, in his opinion, to the error of transcribers in substituting ה for ח.

Various other etymologies have been assigned to the term, the advocates of which may be divided into two classes: those who consider the word שילה as a compound; and those who deem it a radical or simple derivation. Those of the first class coincide, for the most part, with the ancient interpreters, taking שילה as equivalent to שלו, and this to be made up of ש, the contraction of אשר, *who*, and לו, the dative of the third personal pronoun. The rendering, accordingly, in this case, would be *cujus est*, or *cui est*, *whose it is, to whom it belongs*, *i. e.* the sceptre or dominion. This interpretation is defended by Jahn (*Einl. in A. T.* i. p. 507, and *Vat. Mes.* ii. p. 179). It is approved also by Hess, De Wette, Krummacher, and others. The authority of the ancient versions, already alluded to, is the principal ground upon which its advocates rely. But to this sense it is a serious objection, that there is no evidence that the abbreviation of אשר into ש was known in the time of Moses. There is no other instance of it in the Pentateuch, and it is only in the book of Judges that we first meet with it. However the rendering of the old translators is to be accounted for, there is no sufficient ground for the belief that the form in question was the received one in their time. If it was, we should doubtless find some traces of it in existing manuscripts. But though these copies exhibit the reading שילו, not one of them gives שלו, and but very few שלה: which Hengstenberg deems of no consequence, as the omission of the yod was merely a defective way of writing, which

often occurs in words of similar structure. An argument for this interpretation has indeed been derived from Ezek. xxi. 27, where the words, 'until he shall come, whose is the dominion, אשר לו המשפט,' are regarded as an obvious paraphrase of שלו or שלה. But to this it may be answered, that while Ezekiel may have had the present passage in his eye, and intended an allusion to the *character* or *prerogatives* of the Messiah, yet there is no evidence that this was designed as an *interpretation of the name* under consideration. The reasons, therefore, appear ample for setting aside, as wholly untenable, the explication of the time here propounded, without adverting to the fact, that the ellipsis involved in this construction is so unnatural and violent, that no parallel to it can be found in the whole Scriptures.

Another solution proposed by some expositors is, to derive the word שילה from שיל, *child*, and the suffix ה for ו. This will yield the reading, 'until his (Judah's) *son* or *descendant*, the Messiah, shall come.' Thus the Targ. Jon., 'Until the time when the king's Messiah shall come, *the little one of his sons*.' This view is favoured by Calvin (*in loc.*) and by Knapp (*Dogm.* ii. p. 138), and also by Dathe. But as this resolves שילה into a synonym with שליה, *afterbirth* (Deut. xxviii. 57), rendered 'young one,' it requires us to adopt the unnatural supposition, that the term properly denoting the *secundines*, or the membrane that encloses the fœtus, is taken for the fœtus itself. Besides, this exposition has an air of grossness about it which prompts its involuntary rejection.

The second class consists of those who consider שילה as a radical or simple derivative. Of these we may remark, that it is principally among the Jews that the opinion of Aben Ezra finds currency, who makes שילה here to be the name of the place (Shiloh) where the tabernacle was first fixed after the conquest of Canaan. The sense of the oracle, according to this construction, will be, that Judah was to be the leader of the tribes during the whole journey to Canaan, until they came to Shiloh. Subsequent to this event, in consequence of the distribution of the tribes according to the boundaries assigned them, it was to lose its pre-eminence. But there is no mention made of Shiloh elsewhere in the Pentateuch, and no probability that any such place existed in the time of Jacob. It is, moreover, scarcely conceivable that such a splendid train of prediction should be interrupted by an allusion to such an inconsiderable locality. It is so utterly out of keeping with the general tone of the prophecy, that it is surprising that any mind not infatuated by Rabbinic trivialities, should entertain the theory for a moment. Yet Teller, Mendelsohn, Eichhorn, Ammon, Rosenmüller (in first edition), Kelle, and others have enrolled themselves in favour of this crude conceit.

But an exposition of far more weight, both from its intrinsic fitness, and from the catalogue of distinguished names which have espoused it, is that which traces the term to the root שלה *quievit, to rest, to be at peace*, and makes it equivalent to Pacificator, Tranquillizer, or Great Author of Peace. This is a sense accordant with the anticipated and realized character of the Messiah, one of whose crowning denominations is 'Prince of Peace.' Still it is an objection to this sense of the term, that it is not sufficiently sustained by the analogy of forms. The idea conveyed by the proposed interpretation, is that of *causing* or *effecting* peace; an idea for which the Hebrew has an appropriate form of expression, and which, in this word, would normally be משליה *mashliah*. The actual form, however, is wholly diverse from this, and though several examples are adduced by the advocates of this interpretation, of analogous derivations from a tri-literal root, as בידור from בדר, כישור from כשר, קיטור from קטר, &c., yet it is certain that the original characteristic of this form is a *passive* instead of an *active* sense, which שילה obviously requires according to the exegesis proposed.

In these circumstances we venture to suggest another origin for the term. In our view the legitimate derivation is from שאל, *to ask, seek, require*, so that its true import is *the desired, the longed for one*. The appropriate participial form for this is שאול, or its equivalent שאיל, in which the passive sense is predominant. In words of this class the weak guttural א not only remits its vowel to the preceding letter, but falls out in the writing, as פי for פאי, שלה for שאלה, רשית for ראשית, ויארב for וירב, שרית for שארית. We obtain by this process שיל for שאיל, or שאול, *the asked, the desired*, which leaves the passive import unimpaired. We have then to account for the supplementary letters וה *oh* (שילוה=שילה). It would perhaps be reasonable to expect that the form שאול would not be retained in this connection, as it might be confounded with שאול, *hades*, from the same root. In order, therefore, to distinguish it, and at the same time to convey in the word itself an intimation of the divine character of the personage announced, we may suppose that two of the letters of the word יהוה *Jehovah* are appended; than which nothing is more common in the construction of proper names in Hebrew. Thus, in the names of Abraham and Sarah we recognise the insertion of the letter ה as a fragment of the divine title יהוה; and it is well known that the termination *el* and *oh*, in nearly all the proper names of Scripture, are derived from the divine designation (Simonis, *Onomast.* § x.). As there is nothing then on the ground of strict philology which can be objected to this pedigree of the term, and as the idea conveyed by it is wholly in accordance with the *character* of the predicted Messiah, we do not hesitate to give it the decided preference over any other that has been assigned. An expression in Abarbanel's *Commentary* on this passage, would seem to indicate that he had at least a gleam of this as its true import. In speaking of the requisite characters of the Messiah, he says, 'The eighth condition and attribute to be found in the promised King is, that *the nations should require him*, שאליו, and that his rest should be glorious.' The reader who

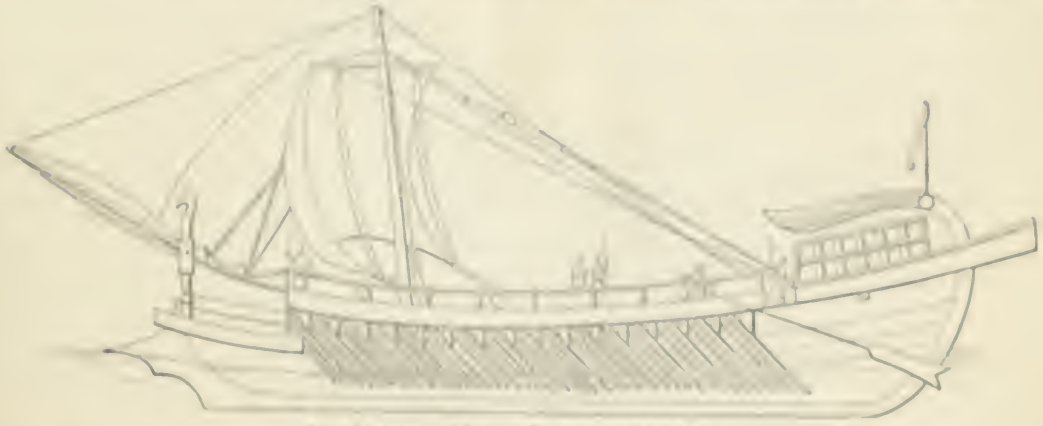
would pursue the inquiry into this subject, may consult with advantage Jacobi, *Alting Schilo*, iii. 8; Hengstenberg, *Christol.* ch. ii. 1 *a*, p. 41, Keith's Transl.—G. B.

2. SHILOH, a city in the tribe of Ephraim, situated among the hills to the north of Bethel, eastward of the great northern road, where the tabernacle and ark remained for a long time, from the days of Joshua, during the ministry of all the judges, down to the end of Eli's life (Josh. xviii. 1; 1 Sam. iv. 3). To this circumstance Shiloh owed all its importance; for after the loss of the ark—which never returned thither after it had been restored to Israel by the Philistines—it sunk into insignificance. It was, indeed, the residence of Ahijah the prophet (1 Kings xi. 29; xii. 15; xiv. 2), but it is more than once mentioned as accursed and forsaken (Ps. lxxviii. 60; Jer. vii. 12, 14; xxvi. 6). The last mention of it in Scripture is in Jer. xli. 5, which only shows that it survived the exile. Dr. Robinson identifies it with a place named Seilun, a city surrounded by hills, with an opening by a narrow valley into a plain on the south. The ruins consist chiefly of an old tower with walls four feet thick, and of large stones and fragments of columns indicative of an ancient site (see Robinson's *Palestine*, iii. 85-89).

SHIMEI (שִׁמְעִי, *renowned*; Sept. Σεμεΐ), a member of the family of Saul, residing at Bahurim, who grievously insulted king David when he fled from Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 5-13). The king not only saved him from the immediate resentment of his followers, but on his triumphant return by the same road after the overthrow of his rebellious son, he bestowed on Shimei the pardon which he implored (2 Sam. xix. 16). It seems, however, that it was policy which chiefly dictated this course, for it was by the advice of David himself (1 Kings ii. 8, 9) that Solomon, after his father's death, made Shimei a prisoner at large in Jerusalem (1 Kings ii. 36, 37). Three years after he broke his parole by leaving Jerusalem in pursuit of some runaway slaves, and was, on his return, put to death by order of the king (1 Kings ii. 39-46).

SHINAR (שִׁנְעָר; Sept. Σενναάρ), the proper name of Babylonia, particularly of the country around Babylon (Gen. x. 10; xiv. 1; Isa. xi. 11; Dan. i. 2; Zech. v. 11); see BABYLONIA.

SHIP. In few things is there greater danger of modern associations misleading the reader of the Scriptures than in regard to the subject of the present article. To an Englishman a ship calls up the idea of 'the wooden walls of old England,' which have so long withstood the 'battle and the breeze,' and done so much to spread the fame and the influence of the British nation throughout the world. But both the ships and the navigation of the ancients, even of the most maritime states, were as dissimilar as things of the same kind can well be to the realities which the terms now represent. Navigation confined itself to coasting, or if necessity, foul weather, or chance drove a vessel from the land, a regard to safety urged the commander to a speedy return, for he had no guide but such as the stars might afford under skies with which he was but imperfectly acquainted. And ships, whether designed for commercial or warlike purposes, were small in size and frail in structure, if our immense piles of oak and iron be taken as the objects of comparison.



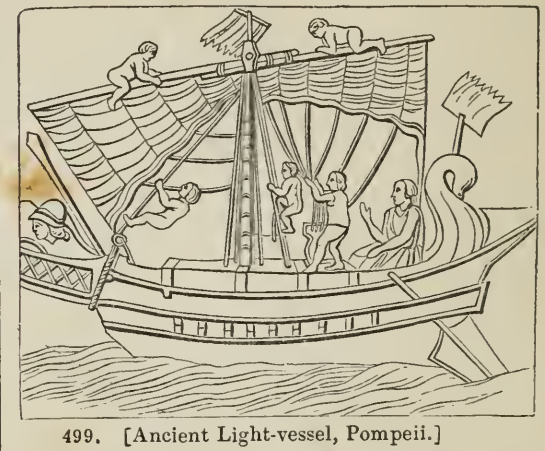
438. [Ancient Ship of the largest kind.]

The Jews cannot be said to have been a seafaring people; yet their position on the map of the world is such as to lead us to feel that they could not have been ignorant of ships and the business which relates thereunto. Phœnicia, the north-western part of Palestine, was unquestionably among, if not at the head of, the earliest cultivators of maritime affairs. Then the Holy Land itself lay with one side coasting a sea which was anciently the great highway of navigation, and the centre of social and commercial enterprise. Within its own borders it had a navigable lake. The Nile, with which even the fathers of the nation had become acquainted in their bondage, was another great thoroughfare for ships. And the Red Sea itself, which conducted towards the remote east, was at no great distance even from the capital of the land. Then at different points in its long line of sea-coast there were harbours of no mean repute. Let the reader call to mind Tyre and Sidon in Phœnicia, and Acre (Accho) and Jaffa (Joppa) in Palestine. Yet the decidedly agricultural bearing of the Israelitish constitution checked such a development of power, activity, and wealth, as these favourable opportunities might have called forth on behalf of seafaring pursuits. There can, however, be no doubt that the arts of ship-building and of navigation came to Greece and Italy from the East, and immediately from the Levant; whence we may justifiably infer that these arts, so far as they were cul-

vated in Palestine, were there in a higher state of perfection at an early period, at least, than in the more western parts of the world (Ezek. xxvii.; Strabo, lib. xvi.; Comenz, *De Nave Tyriâ*). In the early periods of their history the Israelites themselves would partake to a small extent of this skill and of its advantages, since it was only by degrees that they gained possession of the entire land, and for a long time were obliged to give up the sovereignty of very much of their seaboard to the Philistines and other hostile tribes. The earliest history of Palestinian ships lies in impenetrable darkness, so far as individual facts are concerned. In Gen. xlix. 13 there is, however, a prophecy, the fulfilment of which would connect the Israelites with shipping at an early period: 'Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for a haven of ships, and his border shall be unto Zidon' (compare Deut. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xix. 10, sq.): words which seem more fitly to describe the position of Asher in the actual division of the land. These local advantages, however, could have been only partially improved, since we find Hiram, King of Tyre, acting as carrier by sea for Solomon, engaging to convey in floats to Joppa the timber cut in Lebanon for the temple, and leaving to the Hebrew prince the duty of transporting the wood from the coast to Jerusalem. And when, after having conquered Elath and Ezion-geber on the further arm of the Red Sea, Solomon proceeded to convert them into naval stations for his own purposes, he was still, whatever he did himself, indebted to Hiram for 'shipmen that had knowledge of the sea' (1 Kings ix. 26; x. 22). The effort, however, to form and keep a navy in connection with the East was not lastingly successful; it soon began to decline, and Jehoshaphat failed when at a later day he tried to give new life and energy to the enterprise (1 Kings xxii. 49, 50).

In the time of the Maccabees Joppa was a Jewish seaport (1 Macc. xiv. 5). Herod the Great availed himself of the opportunities naturally afforded to form a more capacious port at Cæsarea (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.*, iii. 9. 3). Nevertheless no purely Jewish trade by sea was hence even now called into being. Cæsarea was the place whence Paul embarked in order to proceed as a prisoner to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2). His voyage on that occasion, as described most graphically in the Acts of the Apostles (ch. xxvii., xxviii.), if it requires some knowledge of ancient maritime affairs in order to be rightly understood, affords also rich and valuable materials towards a history of the subject, and might, we feel convinced, be so treated as of itself to supply many irresistible evidences of the certainty of the events therein recorded, and, by warrantable inferences, of the credibility of the evangelical history in general. No one but an eye-witness could have written the minute, exact, true, and graphic account which these two chapters give.

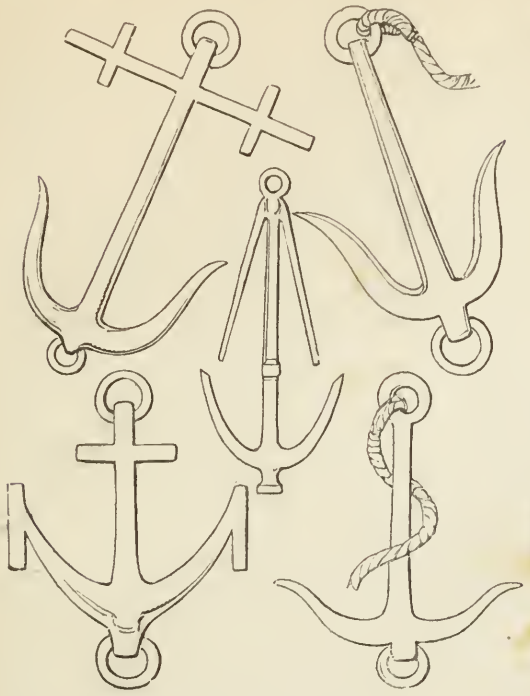
The reader of the New Testament is well aware how frequently he finds himself with the Saviour on the romantic shores of the sea of Gennesareth. There Jesus is seen, now addressing the people from on board a vessel, πλοῖον (Matt. xiii. 2; Luke v. 3); now sailing up and down the lake (Matt. viii. 23; ix. 1; xiv. 13; John vi. 17). Some of his earliest disciples were proprietors of barks which sailed on this inland sea (Matt. iv. 21: John xxi. 3; Luke v. 3). These 'ships' were indeed small. Josephus designates the ships here employed by the term σκάφη. They were not, however, mere boats. They carried their anchor with them (*De Bell. Jud.*, iii. 10. 1; *Vit.* xxxiii.). There was too a kind of vessel larger than this, called σχεδία by Josephus, who narrates a sea-fight which took place on the lake, conducted on the part of the Romans by Vespasian himself (*De Bell. Jud.*, iii. 10. 9). It thus appears that the lake was not contemptible, nor its vessels mean; and those should hence learn to qualify their language who represent the Galilean fishermen as of the poorest class.



499. [Ancient Light-vessel, Pompeii.]

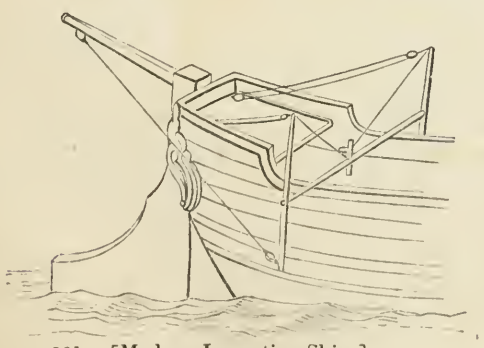
The vessels connected with Biblical history were for the most part ships of burden, almost indeed exclusively so, at least within the period of known historical facts, though in a remote antiquity the Phœnician states can hardly fail to have supported a navy for warlike, as it is known they did for predatory, purposes. This peculiarity, however, of the Biblical ships exonerates the writer from entering into the general subject of the construction of ancient ships and their several sub-divisions. A good general summary on that head may be found in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 875, sq. A few details respecting chiefly ships of burden may be of service to the Scriptural student. In a ship of this kind was Paul conveyed to Italy. They (naves onerariæ) were, for the purposes to which they were destined, rounder and deeper than ships of war, and sometimes of great capacity. In consequence of their bulk, and when laden, of their weight, they were impelled by sails rather than by oars. On the prow stood the insignia from which the ship was named, and by which it was known. These in Acts (xxviii. 11) are called παράσημον, 'sign,' which it appears consisted in this case of figures of Castor and Pollux—lucida sidera—brilliant constellations, auspicious to navigators (Horat. *Od.*, i. 3; Liv. xxxvii. 92; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 34; Ovid, *Fast.* i. 10. 1). Each ship was provided with a boat, intended in the case of peril to facilitate escape, σκάφη (Acts xxvii. 16; xxx. 32; Cic. *De Invent.* ii. 51); and several anchors (Acts xxvii. 29, 40; Cæs. *Civ.* i. 25); also a plumb-line for sounding (Acts xxvii. 28; Isidor. *Orig.* xix. 4). Among the sails one bore the name of ἀρτέμων, translated in Acts xxvii. 40, by 'mainsail;' but pos-

sibly the word may rather mean what is now termed the 'topsail' (*Schol. ad Juven.* xii. 68).



500. [Ancient Anchors.]

In great danger it was customary to gird the vessel with cables, in order to prevent her from falling to pieces under the force of wind and sea (Acts xxvii. 17: Polyb. xxvii. 3. 3; Athen. v. 204; Hor. *Od.* i. 14. 6). The various expedients that were employed in order to prevent shipwreck are described to the eye in the passage in the Acts. First, the vessel was lightened by throwing overboard all lumber, luggage, and everything that could be spared. The term employed by Luke is σκευή (xxvii. 19), one of a very wide signification, which the words we have just employed do not, we think, more than equal. If the peril grew more imminent, the freight was sacrificed (xxvii. 38). When hope or endurance had come to a period, recourse was had to the boat, or efforts were made to reach the shore on spars or rafts (xxvii. 38, 44). The captain was denominated ναύκληρος (xxvii. 11), steersman, though he was a different person from him who had the actual charge of the helm, who bore the name of κυβερνήτης, which is the root



501. [Modern Levantine Ship.]

of our word 'governor' (Lat. gubernator, helmsman).

The dangers of the ocean to sailors on board such ships as these were, and in the then ignorance of navigation, caused sailing to be restricted to the months of spring, summer, and autumn; winter was avoided. To the Romans the sea was opened in March and closed in November (Cæs. *Bell. Gall.* iv. 36; v. 23; Philo, *Opp.* iv. 548; Acts xxvii. 9); and ships which towards the end of the year were still at sea earnestly sought a harbour in which to pass the winter (Acts xxvii. 12).

Schlözer, *Vers. einer Allg. Geschichte d. Handels u. d. Schiffart in den alt. Zeiten*, Rostock, 1760; *La Marine des Anciens Peuples*, par le Roy, Paris, 1777; Berghaus, *Gesch. d. Schiffartskunde*, 1792; Benedict, *Vers. e. Gesch. d. Schiff. u. d. Handels bei den Alten*, 1809; Howell, *On the War Galleys of the Ancients*; A. Jal, *Archéologie Navale*, Paris, 1840; Böckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*.—J. R. B.

SHISHAK (שִׁישַׁק; Sept. Σουσακίμ), a king of Egypt contemporary with Jeroboam, to whom he gave an asylum when he fled from Solomon (1 Kings xi. 40). This was indicative of his politic disposition to encourage the weakening of the neighbouring kingdom, the growth of which under David and Solomon was probably regarded by the kings of Egypt with some alarm. After Jeroboam had become king of Israel, and probably at his suggestion, Shishak invaded the kingdom of Judah, B.C. 971, at the head of an immense army; and after having taken the fortified places, advanced against Jerusalem. Satisfied with the submission of Rehoboam, and with the immense spoils of the Temple, the king of Egypt withdrew without imposing any onerous conditions upon the humbled grandson of David (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26; 2 Chron. xii. 2-9). Shishak has been identified as the first king of the 22nd or Diospolitan dynasty, the Sesonchis of profane history. His name has been found on the Egyptian monuments. He is said to have been of Ethiopian origin, and it is supposed that, with the support of the military caste, he dethroned the Pharaoh who gave his daughter to Solomon (1 Kings iii. 1). In the palace-temple of Karnak there still exists a large bas-relief representing Sesonchis, who bears to the feet of three great Theban gods the chiefs of vanquished nations. To each figure is attached an oval, indicating the town or district which he represents. One of the figures, with a pointed beard and a physiognomy which some decide to be Jewish, bears on his oval characters which M. Champollion interprets Yooda Melchi, or 'kingdom of Judah,' a name whose component letters agree with the hieroglyphics, though Sir J. G. Wilkinson and others think that the place it holds is not sufficiently marked to satisfy the scruples of a rigid sceptic. It is well to observe that this figure has not, as some have hastily conceived, been alleged to represent the king, but to personify the kingdom of Judah (Champollion, *Système Hieroglyph.* p. 205; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, i. 85; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 37; Cory, *Chronological Inquiry*, p. 5).

SHITTAH (שִׁטָּה) and SHITTIM (שִׁטִּם) occur in several passages of Exodus, and indicate the kind of wood which was employed in making various parts of the tabernacle while the Israelites were wandering in the wilderness. It

is mentioned also as forming part of the offerings, as in Exod. xxv. 5, 'rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and *shittim* wood;' and in xxxv. 7, 24. In Isa. xli. 19, it is mentioned as a tree worthy of planting, 'I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the *shittah* tree, and the myrtle, and the oil tree,' &c. But considerable doubts have been entertained respecting the kind of wood or tree intended; hence the great diversity of rendering, some translators retaining the original word. It is evident that the wood must either have been brought to the coast of the Red Sea from Egypt or some other country, or it must have been one of the few timber trees indigenous in the desert where the Israelites wandered. It is curious that a wood has for many ages formed an article of commerce from India to the Red Sea, and that its name, *sheeshum* or *seesum*, is very similar in sound to the *shittim* of Scripture. This wood we have already mentioned in the article Hobnim, and identified it with the *sheeshum* of Forskal, considering it as probably the same as the *sesamina* of the *Periplus* of Arrian. This would seem to afford some grounds for the opinion held by some authors, that the shittah of Scripture was some valuable foreign wood.



502. [Acacia Seyal.]

But there does not appear any proof that *shittim* was an imported wood, and it is more probable that it was the wood of a tree of the desert. Rosenmüller (after Celsius, ii. p. 499) says: 'the Hebrew name, which is properly *shintah*, was formed from the Egyptian word *shant*, the double *t* being substituted for the *nt*, for the sake of sound and an easier pronunciation.' The Arabs also call it قرظ *kart* or *karatz*, written also *kharad*. The Arabs pronounce the Egyptian name *sont*. This is a tree of the genus *Acacia*, found both in Egypt and in the deserts of Arabia. Thus Prosper Alpinus (*De Plantis Ægypti*, p. 6): 'Acacia, quam *sant* Ægyptii appellant, in Ægypti locis a mari remotis nascitur: hujusque arbores copiosissimæ in montibus Synai, pene rubrum mare positis proveniunt.' Celsius, moreover, quotes Eugene Roger (*T. S.* p. 17) as stating, 'Le Sethim ne se trouve que dans l'Arabie deserte, et croist proche de la terre des Madianites, peu eloignée du mont Sinai, en un lieu qu'on appelle *Sethim* ou *Sethe*, soit que l'arbre tire son nom du lieu, ou que l'arbre donne le nom au lieu mesme de sa naissance. Son bois est leger, de tres bonne odeur, et incorruptible aussi bien que le bois de cedre, c'est du bois de *sethim* que fut fabriquée l'arche d'alliance.' 'The acacia tree,' says Dr. Shaw, 'being by much the largest and most common tree in these deserts (Arabia Petræa), we have some reason to conjecture that the *shittim* wood was the wood of the acacia, especially as its flowers are of an excellent smell, for the *shittah* tree is, in Isa. xli. 19, joined with the myrtle and other fragrant shrubs.' Mr. Bruce, again, as quoted by Dr. Harris, remarks, that 'the acacia seems the only indigenous tree in the Thebaid. The male is called the *Saicl;* from it proceeds the gum-arabic on incision with an axe. This gum chiefly comes from Arabia Petræa, where these trees are most numerous.' Mr. Kitto says: The required species is found in either the *Acacia gummifera*, or in the *A. Seyel*, or rather in both. They both grow abundantly in the valleys of that region in which the Israelites wandered for forty years, and both supply products which must have rendered them of much value to the Israelites. We think the probability is, that the *A. Seyel* supplied the shittim wood, if, indeed, the name did not denote acacia wood in general. This tree grows from fifteen to twenty feet in height.' So M. Bové: 'Le lendemain, en traversant le Voodé (Wady) Schen, je vis un grand nombre *d'Acacia Seyel;* cet arbre s'élève à la hauteur de vingt à vingt-cinq pieds. Les Arabes font avec son bois du charbon qu'ils vont vendre à Suez.' Robinson and Smith frequently mention the *Seyel* as occurring in the same situations. It is very probable therefore that it yielded the shittim wood of Scripture.—J. F. R.

SHITTIM, a spot in the plain of Moab, east of the Dead Sea, where the Israelites formed their last encampment before passing the Jordan (Num. xxv. 1; comp. Micah vi. 5). See Wandering.

SHITTIM, VALLEY OF, mentioned in Joel iii. 18. It must certainly have been west of the Jordan, and probably in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, although the particular vale cannot now be distinguished. The name is probably to be regarded as an appellative—'acacia vale' denoting, perhaps, as that tree delights in a dry soil, an arid, unfruitful vale.

SHOE. [Sandal.]

SHOHAM (שֹׁהַם), a precious stone mentioned in Gen. ii. 12; Exod. xxviii. 9; xxxv. 9-27; Job xxviii. 16; Ezek. xxviii. 13. That it is really unknown is evinced by the variety of opinions which have been hazarded concerning it. In the two last texts the Sept. makes it the beryl (*βηρύλλιον*), and is followed by the Vulgate. Josephus also gives it the same name (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 5). This is a great weight of authority; and whether the beryl be the *shoham* or not, it is a Scriptural stone by virtue of the mention of it in Rev. xxi. 20. There is no doubt that the stone which we call beryl is the substance to which the ancients gave the same name. It is of a pale sea-green colour, inclining sometimes to water blue, and sometimes to yellow. In its crystallized

form it exhibits sexagonal columns striped longitudinally. The *shoham* furnished the shoulder-pieces in the breastplate of the high-priest, on each of which six names were engraven, and for this purpose the stalky beryl, consisting of long, stout, hexagonal pieces, was peculiarly suited. Beryls are found, but not often, in collections of ancient gems. In Gen. ii. 12, the *shoham* is named as the product of Havilah; in Job xxviii. 16, it is mentioned as a stone of great value, being classed with the sapphire and the gold of Ophir; in Ezek. xxviii. 13, it appears as a valuable article of commerce.

In Gen. ii. 12, the Sept. renders the word, which it elsewhere gives as the beryl, by λίθος ὁ πράσινος, or the 'chrysoprasus,' according to its etymology 'leek-green stone;' but as the ancients did not nicely distinguish between stones of similar quality and colour, it is probable that the beryl is still intended by the translator in this text. The chrysoprasus (χρυσόπρασος) is, however, a Scriptural stone, being named in Rev. xxi. 20. It is, as the name imports, of a greenish golden colour, like a leek; *i. e.* usually apple-green, passing into a grass-green (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxvii. 20, 21).

Luther, relying upon the authority of some ancient versions, makes the *shoham* to have been the onyx, an interpretation which Braun, Michaelis, Eichhorn, and others support on etymological grounds. This indeed is the stone usually given for the Shoham in Hebrew lexicons, and is the one which the Authorized Version has also adopted.

SHUAL. שׁוּעָל *shual*, and אִי *aye* or *ije*, jackal (?), are both somewhat arbitrarily interpreted by the word 'fox;' although that denomination is not uniformly employed in different texts (Judg. xv. 4; Neh. iv. 3; xi. 27; Ps. lxiii. 10; Cant. ii. 15; Lam. v. 18; Ezek. xiii. 4). Fox is thus applied to two or more species, though only strictly applicable in a systematic view to *Taaleb*, which is the Arabic name of a wild canine, probably the Syrian fox, *Vulpes Thaleb* or *Taaleb* of modern zoologists, and the only genuine species indigenous in Palestine. Fox is again the translation of ἀλώπηξ, in Matt. viii. 20; Luke ix. 5-8; xiii. 32: but here also the word in the original texts may apply generically to several species rather than to one



503. [Syrian Fox.]

only. There is in the language of the ancients a vague and often an indiscriminating use of zoological names; while among the moderns the contrary tendency exists, it being often attempted to apply specifically those ancient terms which in their original acceptation were more or less generic; and mere scholars, not familiar with the principles which guide the reasoning of systematists, often disregard their conclusions, and follow the still more fallacious inferences drawn from arbitrary etymologies and the fancied authority of similarity of names in kindred languages. Yet every modern tongue of the west, notwithstanding the greater attention that is paid to a more definite terminology, abounds in similar transferences of the same radical names from one species to another, and often to genera totally distinct. These remarks apply forcibly in the present case; for, of vulpine animals, though the taaleb alone is considered indigenous, there is the so-called Turkish fox (*Cynalopex Turcicus*) of Asia Minor, not unknown to the south as far as the Orontes, and therefore likely to be an occasional visitant at least of the woods of Libanus. This animal is one of an osculant group, with the general characters of vulpes, but having the pupils of the eyes less contractile in a vertical direction, and a gland on the base of the tail, marked by a dark spot. There, is besides, one of a third group, namely, *Thous anthus*, or *deeb* of the Arabs, occasionally held to be the wolf of Scripture, because it resembles the species in general appearance, though so far inferior in weight, size, and powers, as not to be in the least dangerous, or likely to be the wolf of the Bible. The two first do not howl, and the third is solitary and howls seldom; but there is a fourth (*Canis Syriacus*, Ehrenb.) which howls, is lower and smaller than a fox, has a long ill-furnished tail, small ears, and a rufous-grey livery. This may be the *Canis aureus*, or jackal of Palestine, though certainly not the χρύσεος of Ælian. The German naturalists seem not to have considered it identical with the common jackal (*Sacalius aureus*), which is sufficiently common along the coast, is eminently gregarious, offensive in smell; howls intolerably in complete concert with all others within hearing; burrows; is crepuscular and nocturnal, impudent, thievish; penetrates into outhouses; ravages poultry-yards more ruinously than the fox; feeds on game, lizards, locusts, insects, garbage, grapes; and leaves not even the graves of man himself undisturbed. It may ultimately turn out that *Canis Syriacus* is not a jackal, but a chrysens, or wild dog, belonging to the group of Dholes, well known in India, and, though closely allied to, distinct from, the jackal. But whether the last-mentioned is the אִי and אִיִּים, is a question which Bochart does not solve by making *thoes* synonymous with أوي *awi*, and *beni-awi*, since that denomination is only a slight mutation of *U'awa*, the name applied to wild dogs in India, China, and even in South America, being an imitation of barking; while *thoes*, *thos*, the Phrygian *daus*, Greek θώς, are of the same radical origin as our dog, and Teutonic *docke*, *dogue;* and in Semitic tongues appears in the forms of *tokla*, *tulke*, *tilki*, applied to species not of the same genus.

Russell heard of four species of Canidæ at Aleppo, Emprich and Ehrenberg of four in Libanus, not identical with each other; nor are any of these clearly included in the thirteen species which the last-named writers recognise in Egypt. They still omit, or are not cognizant of, wild dogs, already mentioned in this work [Dogs], and likewise other wild species in Arabia and Persia; all, including foxes, having migratory habits, and

therefore not unlikely to visit Palestine. Some of these may have accompanied the movements of the great invasions of antiquity, or the caravans, and become acclimated; and, again, may have departed, or have been gradually extinguished by local circumstances, such as the destruction of the forests or of the inhabitants, and the consequent reduction of the means of subsistence; or finally, they may have been extirpated since the introduction of gunpowder.

We have therefore no proof that *shual* denotes exclusively the fox, and that *aye* or *ije* and *iyim*, and Hasselquist's little foxes, refer solely to jackals; particularly as these animals were, if really known, not abundant in Western Asia, even during the first century of the Roman empire; for they are but little noticed by the Greek writers and sportsmen who resided where now they are heard and seen every evening; these authorities offering no remark on the most prominent characteristic of the species, namely, the chorus of howlings lasting all night — a habit so intolerable that it is the invariable theme of all the Semitic writers since the Hegira whenever they mention the jackal. We may therefore infer that *shual*, if a general denomination, and that *ajim*, if the etymology be just, is derived from howling or barking, and may designate the jackal, though more probably it includes also those wild Canidæ which have a similar habit.

Vulpes Taaleb, or *Taleb*, the Syrian fox, is of the size of an English cur fox, and similarly formed; but the ears are wider and longer, the fur in general ochry-rufous above, and whitish beneath: there is a faint black ring towards the tip of the tail, and the back of the ears are sooty, with bright fulvous edges. The species burrows, is silent and solitary, extends eastward into Southern Persia, and is said to be found in Natolia. Ehrenberg's two species of *Taleb* (one of which he takes to be the *Anubis* of ancient Egypt, and Geoffroy's *Canis Niloticus*, the Abou Hossein of the Arabs) are nearly allied to, or varieties of the species, but residing in Egypt, and further to the same south, where it seems they do not burrow. The Syrian *Taleb* is reputed to be very destructive in the vineyards, or rather a plunderer of ripe grapes; but he is certainly less so than the jackal, whose ravages are carried on in troops and with less fear of man.

None of the explanations which we have seen of the controverted passage in Judg. xv. 4, 5, relative to the *shualim*, foxes, jackals, or other canines, which Samson employed to set fire to the corn of the Philistines, is altogether satisfactory to our mind. First, taking Dr. Kennicott's proposed explanation of the case by changing שועלים to שעלים, thus reading 'foxes' instead of 'sheaves,' and translating וכב, 'ends,' instead of 'tails,' the meaning then would be, that Samson merely connected three hundred shocks of corn, already reaped, by bands or ends, and thus burned the whole. We admit that this, at first view, appears a rational explanation; but it should be observed that three hundred shocks of corn would not make two stacks, and therefore the result would be quite inadequate, considered as a punishment or act of vengeance upon the Philistine population, then predominant over the greater part of Palestine: and if we take shocks to mean corn-stacks, then it may be asked how, and for what object, were three hundred corn-stacks brought together in one place from a surface of country at least equal to Yorkshire? The task, in that hilly region, would have occupied all the cattle and vehicles for several months; and then the corn could not have been thrashed out without making the whole population travel repeatedly, in order finally to reload the grain and take it to their threshing floors.

Reverting to the interpretation of foxes burning the harvest by means of firebrands attached to their tails, the case is borne out by Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 681)—

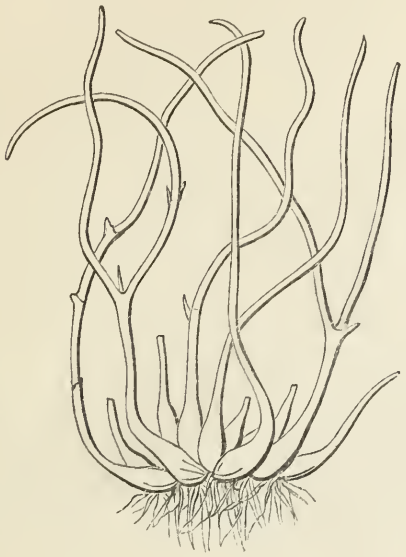
> 'Cur igitur missæ junctis ardentia telis
> Terga ferunt vulpes.'

And again, in the fable of Apthonius, quoted by Merrick; but not, as is alleged, by the brick with a bas-relief representing a man driving two foxes with fire fastened to their tails, which was found twenty-eight feet below the present surface of London; because tiles of similar character and execution have been dug up in other parts of England, some representing the history of Susanna and the elders, and others the four Evangelists, and therefore all derived from biblical, not pagan sources.

Commentators, following the reading of the Sept., have with common consent adopted the interpretation, that two foxes were tied together by their tails with a firebrand between them. Now this does not appear to have been the practice of the Romans, nor does it occur in the fable of Apthonius. We understand the text to mean, that each fox had a separate brand; and most naturally so; for it may be questioned whether two united would run in the same direction. They would assuredly pull counter to each other, and ultimately fight most fiercely; whereas there can be no doubt that every canine would run, with fire attached to its tail, not from choice but necessity, through standing corn, if the field lay in the direction of the animal's burrow: for foxes and jackals, when chased, run direct to their holes, and sportsmen well know the necessity of stopping up those of the fox while the animal is abroad, or there is no chance of a chace. We therefore submit that by the words rendered 'tail to tail' we should understand the end of the firebrand attached to the extremity of the tail. Finally, as the operation of tying 300 brands to as many fierce and irascible animals could not be effected in one day by a single man, nor produce the result intended if done in one place, it seems more probable that the name of Samson, as the chief director of the act, is employed to represent the whole party who effected his intentions in different places at the same time, and thereby insured that general conflagration of the harvest which was the signal of open resistance on the part of Israel to the long-endured oppression of the Philistine people. These observations, though by no means sufficiently answering all the objections, are the best we can offer on a difficult question which could not be passed over altogether without notice [Dog; Wolf].—C. H. S.

SHUMIM (שׁוּמִים) occurs only once in Scripture, and that in the passage which has already been quoted under Abattachim, &c., where the Israelites are described as murmuring, among

other things, for the leeks, the onions, and the garlic (*shumim*) of Egypt. There can be no doubt of its being correctly so translated, as the Arabic ثوم (*thom*) still signifies a species of garlic, which is cultivated and esteemed throughout Eastern countries. Ancient authors mention that garlic was cultivated in Egypt. Herodotus



504. [Shallot. Allium Ascalonicum.]

enumerates it as one of the substances upon which a large sum (1600 talents) was spent for feeding labourers employed in building the Pyramids; so also Pliny, who, moreover, states that it was so highly esteemed, that 'allium cepasque inter Deos in jurejurando habuere olim Ægyptii.' The species considered to have been thus cultivated in Egypt, is *Allium Ascalonicum*, which is the most common in Eastern countries, and obtains its specific name from having been brought into Europe from Ascalon. It is now usually known in the kitchen garden by the name of 'eschalot' or 'shallot,' and is too common to require a fuller notice.—J. F. R.

SHUNEM (שׁוּנֵם; Sept. Σουνάμ), a town of the tribe of Issachar (Josh. xix. 18), where the Philistines encamped before Saul's last battle (1 Sam. xxviii. 4), and to which belonged Abishag, the last wife of David (1 Kings i. 3), and 'the Shunamite woman,' with whom Elisha lodged (2 Kings iv. 8-37; viii. 1-6). Eusebius and Jerome describe it as, in their day, a village, lying five Roman miles from Mount Tabor towards the south. They call it Sulem (Σουλήμ). It has of late years been recognised in a village called Solam, three miles and a half north of Zerin (Jezreel), which is a small place on the slope of a hill, where nothing occurs to denote an ancient site (Elliot, ii. 378; Schubert, iii. 165; Robinson, iii. 169, 170).

SHUR (שׁוּר; Sept. Σούρ), a city on the confines of Egypt and Palestine (Gen. xvi. 7; xx. 1; xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7); xxvii. 8). Josephus makes it the same as Pelusium (*Antiq.* vi. 7, 3; comp. 1 Sam. xv. 7); but this city bore among the Hebrews the name of Sin. More probably Shur was somewhere in the vicinity of the modern Suez. The desert extending from the borders of Palestine to Shur, is called in Exod. xv. 22, the 'desert of Shur,' but in Num. xxxiii. 8, the 'desert of Etham.'

SHUSHAN (שׁוּשָׁן), also Shushannah (שׁוֹשַׁנָּה; Sept. κρίνον), occurs in several passages of the Old Testament, and is translated *lily* in the Authorized Version. In the article Krinon we have mentioned that several plants have been adduced as the lily of the New Testament, such as *Amaryllis lutea*, *Ixiolirion montanum*, &c., but that *Lilium chalcedonicum*, or the scarlet martagon lily, appears to be the one alluded to by our Saviour. Besides the above, there are no doubt several other plants indigenous in Syria, which might be grouped with them, and come under the denomination of lily, when that name is used in a general sense, as it often is by travellers and others. The term *shoshun* or *sosun* seems also to have been employed in this sense. It was known to the Greeks; for Dioscorides describes the mode of preparing an ointment called *susinon*, which others, he says, call κρινινόν, that is, *lilinum*. So Athenæus, as translated by Celsius: '*Suson* enim id significare Persis, quod κρίνον Græcis.' The Arabic authors also use the word in a general sense, several varieties being described under the head سمسن *sosun*. The name is applied even to kinds of Iris, of which several species, with various coloured flowers, are distinguished.



505. [Lotus. Water-lily.]

The *shushan* of Scripture has been variously interpreted by translators, being by some thought to be the rose, by others the violet, or convallaria, a jasmine, or some one or more of the plants included under the general name of lily. But it appears to us that none but a plant which was well known and highly esteemed would be found occurring in so many different passages. Thus, in 1 Kings vii. 19-26, and 2 Chron. iv. 5, it is mentioned as forming the ornamental work of the pillars and of the brazen sea, made of molten brass, for the house of Solomon, by Hiram of Tyre. In Canticles the word is frequently mentioned; and it is curious that in

five passages, Cant. ii. 2 and 16; iv. 5; vi. 2 and 3, there is a reference to feeding among lilies: which appears unaccountable, when we consider that the allusion is made simply to an ornamental or sweet-smelling plant; and this the *shushan* appears to have been from the other passages in which it is mentioned. Thus in Cant. ii. 1, 'I am the rose of Sharon and the *lily* of the valleys;' ver. 2, 'as the *lily* among thorns, so is my love among the daughters;' v. 13, 'his lips like *lilies*, dropping sweet-smelling myrrh;' vii. 2, 'thy belly is like an heap of wheat set about with *lilies*.' If we consider that the book of Canticles is supposed to have been written on the occasion of the marriage of Solomon with a princess of Egypt, it is natural to suppose that some of the imagery may have been derived from her native country, and that the above lily may be a plant of Egypt, rather than of Palestine. And this appears to us to be the case, especially as the water lily or lotus of the Nile seems suitable to most of the above passages, as we may endeavour on some future occasion to prove. Thus Herodotus (ii. 92) says: 'When the waters have risen to their extremest height, and all the fields are overflowed, there appears above the surface an immense quantity of plants of the lily species, which the Egyptians call the lotus; having cut down these they dry them in the sun. The seed of the flowers, which resembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread: they also eat the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavour, and about the size of an apple. There is a second species of the lotus, which grows in the Nile, and which is not unlike a rose. The fruit, which grows from the bottom of the root resembles a wasp's nest: it is found to contain a number of kernels of the size of an olive stone, which are very grateful either fresh or dried.' All this exists even to the present day. Both the roots and the stalks form articles of diet in Eastern countries, and the large farinaceous seeds of both the nymphæa and nelumbium are roasted and eaten. Hence probably the reference to feeding among lilies in the above quoted passages.

In confirmation of this view we may adduce also the remarks of Dr. W. C. Taylor in his '*Bible illustrated by Egyptian monuments*,' where he says that the lilies of the xlv. and lxix. Psalms have puzzled all Biblical critics. The title, 'To the chief musician upon Shoshannim,' has been supposed to be the name of some unknown tune to which the Psalm was to be sung. But Dr. Taylor says, 'the word Shoshannim is universally acknowledged to signify lilies, and lilies have nothing to do with the subject of the ode. But this hymeneal ode was intended to be sung by the female attendants of the Egyptian princess, and they are called "the lilies," not only by a poetic reference to the lotus lilies of the Nile, but by a direct allusion to their custom of making the lotus lily a conspicuous ornament of their head-dress.' Thus, therefore, all the passages of Scripture in which *Shoshan* occurs appear to be explained by considering it to refer to the lotus lily of the Nile.—J. F. R.

2. SHUSHAN, or Susa, the chief town of Susiana, and capital of Persia, in which the kings of Persia had their winter residence (Dan. viii. 2; Neh. i. 1; Esther i. 2, 5). It was situated upon the Eulæus or Choaspes, probably on the spot now occupied by the village Shus (Rennel, *Geog. of Herodotus*; Kinneir, *Mem. Pers. Empire;* K. Porter, *Travels*, ii. 4, 11; Ritter, *Erdkunde Asien*, ix. 294; *Pictorial Bible*, on Dan. viii. 2). Others believe the site to be that of Shuster (Vincent, *Commeree and Navig. of the Ancients;* Von Hammer, in *Mem. of the Geog. Soc. of Paris*, ii. 320, sq.; 333, sq.). At Shus, which is the more likely position, there are extensive ruins, stretching perhaps twelve miles from one extremity to the other, and consisting, like the other ruins of this region, of hillocks of earth and rubbish covered with broken pieces of brick and coloured tile. At the foot of these mounds is the so-called tomb of Daniel, a small building erected on the spot where the remains of that prophet are locally believed to rest. It is apparently modern; but nothing but the belief that this was the site of the prophet's sepulchre could have led to its being built in the place where it stands (Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, i. 255, 256); and it may be added that such identifications are of far more value in these parts, where occasion for them is rare, than among the crowded 'holy places' of Palestine. The city of Shus is now a gloomy wilderness, infested by lions, hyænas, and other beasts of prey. It is in N. lat. 31° 56′ and E. long. 48° 26′.

SIDON. [Zidon.]

SIHON (סִיחוֹן, *sweeping away; i. e.* a warrior sweeping all before him; Sept. Σηών), the king of the Amorites, reigning at Heshbon, who was destroyed, and his kingdom subjugated, in the attempt to resist the progress of the Israelites through his dominions (Num. xxi. 21, 23, sq.) [Amorites].

SIHOR (שִׁחוֹר), more properly Shichor, the Hebrew proper name for the Nile (Isa. xxiii. 3; Jer. ii. 18). The word means 'black;' and a corresponding name or epithet (Μέλας) was by the Greeks applied to the same river (Serv. *ad Virg. Georg.* iv. 291), on account of the black slime left after the subsidence of the inundation. In Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Chron. xiii. 5, Sihor is put as the south-western limit of Palestine, where one would rather expect 'the torrent of Egypt;' see River.

SIHOR-LIBNATH (שִׁיחוֹר לִבְנַת), a small stream or river emptying itself into the sea in the territory of Asher (Josh. xix. 26). Michaelis (*Hist. Vitri*, § 2, in *Com. Soc. Gott.* iv.) translates it 'glass-river,' and identifies it with the Belus, which joins the sea near Acre, and from whose sands the first glass was made by the Phœnicians (Strabo, xvi. p. 758; Tacit. *Hist.* v. 7; Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 10. 2).

SILAS (Σίλας), a contraction of Silvanus (Σιλουανός), a distinguished Christian teacher in the church at Jerusalem, who, with Barnabas, was associated by that church with Paul (Acts xv. 22, 32), and accompanied him in his second journey through Asia Minor to Macedonia (Acts xv. 40; xvi. 19, 25; xvii. 4). He remained behind at Berea for a short time, when Paul was obliged to flee from that place (Acts xvii. 10, 14). They met again at Corinth (Acts xviii. 5; comp. Thess. i. 1), where Silas was active in the work of an evangelist (2

Cor. i. 19). He is invariably called Silvanus in the Epistles, but the contraction Silas is always used in the Acts. Whether this Silvanus is the same person who was the bearer of St. Peter's epistle to the churches in Asia Minor (1 Pet. v. 12), cannot be ascertained. The traditions (ap. Dorothæum et Hippolytum) regard Silas and Silvanus as different persons, making the former bishop of Corinth, and the latter bishop of Thessalonica. See Fabricius, *Lux Evang.* p. 117; Cellarius, *Diss. de Sila Viro Apostol.*

SILOAH. [Siloam.]

SILOAM (Σιλωάμ), or Shiloah (שִׁלֹחַ). The name Siloah or Siloam is found only three times in Scripture as applied to water; once in Isaiah (viii. 6), who speaks of it as running water; again, as a pool, in Nehemiah ii. 15; and lastly, also as a pool, in the account of our Lord's healing the man who had been born blind (John ix. 7-11). None of these passages affords any clue to the situation of Siloam; but this silence is supplied by Josephus, who makes frequent mention of it as a fountain (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 4, § 1, 2), and indicates its situation at the mouth of the valley of Tyropœon, where the fountain, now and long since indicated as that of Siloam, is still found. He describes its waters as sweet and abundant. Jerome (*Comment.* in Esa. viii. 6), indicating its situation more precisely, also mentions its irregular flow—a very remarkable circumstance, which has been noticed by most subsequent pilgrims and travellers. This assures us that the present fountain of Siloam is that which he had in view; and that it is the same to which the Scriptural notices refer there is no reason to doubt. The pool of Siloam is within and at the mouth of the valley of Tyropœon, and about eighty paces above its termination is that of Jehoshaphat. The water flows out of a small artificial basin under the cliff, the entrance to which is excavated in the form of an arch, and is immediately received into a larger reservoir, fifty-three feet in length by eighteen feet in width. A flight of steps leads down to the bottom of the reservoir, which is nineteen feet deep. This large receptacle is faced with a wall of stone, now slightly out of repair. Several columns stand out of the side walls, extending from the top downward into the cistern, the design of which it is difficult to conjecture. The water passes out of this reservoir through a channel cut in the rock, which is covered for a short distance; but subsequently it opens and discloses a lively copious stream, which is conducted into an enclosed garden planted with fig-trees. It is afterwards subdivided, and seems to be exhausted in irrigating a number of gardens occupied with figs, apricots, olive and other trees, and some flourishing legumes. The small upper basin or fountain excavated in the rock is merely the entrance, or rather the termination of a long and narrow subterranean passage beyond, by which the water comes from the Fountain of the Virgin. This has been established beyond dispute by Dr. Robinson, who, with his companion, had the hardihood to crawl through the passage. They found it 1750 feet in length, which, owing to its windings, is several hundred feet more than the direct distance above ground. It is thus proved that the water of both these fountains is the same, though some travellers have pronounced the water of Siloam to be bad, and that of the other fountain good. It has a peculiar taste, sweetish and very slightly brackish, but not at all disagreeable. Late in the season, when the water is low, it is said to become more brackish and unpleasant. The most remarkable circumstance is the ebb and flow of the waters, which, although often mentioned as a characteristic of Siloam, must belong equally to both fountains. Dr. Robinson himself witnessed this phenomenon in the fountain of the Virgin, where the water rose in five minutes one foot in the reservoir, and in another five minutes sunk to its former level. The intervals and the extent of the flow and ebb in this and the fountain of Siloam, vary with the season; but the fact, though it has not yet been accounted for, is beyond dispute (see Robinson's *Palestine*, i. 460, 492-498; Olin's *Travels*, ii. 153, 154; Williams's *Holy City*, pp. 378, 379.

SILVANUS. [Silas.]

SILVER. There is no mention of this metal in Scripture until the time of Abraham. Before that time brass and iron appear to have been the only metals in use (Gen. iv. 22). Abraham was rich in gold and silver, as well as in flocks and herds, and silver in his day was in general circulation as money. It was uncoined, and estimated always by weight. Coined money was not in use among the Israelites until an advanced period of their history. The Romans are said to have had only copper money until within five years of the first Punic war, when they began to coin silver (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxx. 3). Their coins were extensively introduced into Judæa after it became a Roman province.

Silver, as well as gold, is frequently mentioned in Scripture. They were both largely used by the Jews in the manufacture of articles of ornament, and of various vessels for domestic purposes, and also for the service of the temple. Many of the idols, and other objects belonging to the idolatrous nations, are stated to have been of silver. This metal was so abundant as to be little thought of in the days of Solomon, although it was at that time, and both before and long afterwards, the principal medium of exchange among the Jews—the only recognised standard or measure of value [Metals].—G. M. B.

SIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן, *favourable hearing*; Συμεών), the second son of Jacob, born of Leah (Gen. xxix. 33), and progenitor of the tribe of the same name. He was the full brother of Levi (Gen. xxxiv. 25; xxxv. 23), with whom he took part in cruelly avenging upon the men of Shechem the injury which their sister Dinah had received from the son of Hamor (Gen. xxxiv. 25-30); see Dinah. The ferocity of character thus indicated probably furnishes the reason that Joseph singled Simeon out to remain behind in Egypt, when his other brethren were the first time dismissed (Gen. xlii. 24); but when they returned he was restored safely to them (Gen. xliii. 23). Nothing more of his personal history is known. The tribe descended from Simeon contained 59,300 able bodied men at the time of the Exode (Num. i. 23), but was reduced to 22,000 before entering Palestine (Num. xxvi. 14). This immense decrease in the course of one generation was greater than that sustained by all the other tribes together, and reduced Simeon from

the third rank to the lowest of all in point of numbers. It cannot well be accounted for but by supposing that the tribe erred most conspicuously, and was punished most severely in those transactions which drew down judgments from God. As it appeared that Judah had received too large a territory in the first distribution of lands, a portion of it was afterwards assigned to Simeon. This portion lay in the south-west, towards the borders of Philistia and the southern desert, and contained seventeen towns (Josh. xix. 1-9). However, the Judahites must afterwards have re-appropriated some of these towns; at least Beersheba (1 Kings ix. 3) and Ziklag (1 Sam. xxvii. 6) appear at a subsequent period as belonging to the kingdom of Judah. The remarkable passage in 1 Chron. iv. 41-43 points to an emigration of or from this tribe, perhaps more extensive than the words would seem to indicate, and suggests that when they ceased to have common interests, this small tribe was obliged to give way before the greater power of Judah and the pressure of its population (comp. Gen. xlix. 7). Nothing more of this tribe is recorded, although its name occurs in unhistorical intimations (Ezek. xlviii. 24; Rev. vii. 8).

2. SIMEON, the aged person who, when Jesus was presented by his mother at the temple, recognised the infant as the expected Messiah, and took him in his arms and blessed him, glorifying God (Luke ii. 25-35). The circumstance is interesting, as evincing the expectations which were then entertained of the speedy advent of the Messiah; and important from the attestation which it conveyed in favour of Jesus, from one who was known to have received the divine promise that he should 'not taste of death till he had seen the Lord's Christ.' It has been often supposed that this Simeon was the same with Rabban Simeon, the son of the famous Hillel, and father of Gamaliel; but this is merely a conjecture, founded on circumstances too weak to establish such a conclusion.

SIMON (Σίμων), the same name, in origin and signification, as SIMEON.

1. SIMON MACCABÆUS. [MACCABÆAN FAMILY.]

2. SIMON, the apostle, to whom Christ gave the name of Peter, after which he was rarely called by his former name alone, but usually by that of Peter, or else Simon Peter [PETER].

3. SIMON, surnamed ZELOTES (Σίμων ὁ Ζηλωτής), one of the twelve apostles (Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13), and probably so named from having been one of the Zealots. He is also called 'The Canaanite' (Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης) in Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 18. This, however, is not, as is usually the case, to be taken for a Gentile name, but is merely an Aramaic word signifying 'zeal,' and therefore of the same signification as Zelotes. Simon is the least known of all the apostles, not a single circumstance, beyond the fact of his apostleship, being recorded in the Scriptures. He is probably to be identified with Simon the son of Cleophas; and if so, the traditions concerning that person, given by those who make them distinct, must be assigned to him. These traditions, however, assign a different destiny to this Simon, alleging that he preached the Gospel throughout North Africa, from Egypt to Mauritania, and that he even proceeded to the remote isles of Britain.

4. SIMON, son of Cleophas and Mary, brother of the apostles James and Jude, and a kinsman of Jesus (Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3). He is probably the same with the Simon Zelotes above mentioned, and in that case we must regard the separate traditions respecting him as apocryphal, and take those assigned to the present Simon as proper to both. They amount to this, that after St. James had been slain by the Jews in A.D. 62, his brother Simon was appointed to succeed him in the government of the church at Jerusalem, and that forty-three years after, when Trajan caused search to be made for all those who claimed to be of the race of David, he was accused before Atticus, the governor of Palestine, and after enduring great torture was crucified, being then 120 years of age (Epiphanius, *Hæres.* c. 14; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 32; Tillemont, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 204).

5. SIMON, father of Judas Iscariot (John vi. 71; xii. 4; xiii. 2, 26).

6. SIMON, a Pharisee who invited Jesus to his house (Luke vii. 40, 43, 44).

7. SIMON THE LEPER, so called from having formerly been afflicted with leprosy (Matt. xxvi. 6; Mark xiv. 3). He was of Bethany, and after the raising of Lazarus, gave a feast, probably in celebration of that event, at which both Jesus and Lazarus were present (comp. John xii. 2). He was, therefore, probably a near friend or relation of Lazarus: some suppose that he was his brother; others that he was the husband of Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who at this feast anointed the Lord's feet, and that Lazarus abode with them. But all this is pure conjecture.

8. SIMON THE CYRENIAN, who was compelled to aid in bearing the cross of Jesus (Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26). Whether this surname indicated that Simon was one of the many Jews from Cyrene, who came to Jerusalem at the Passover, or that he was originally from Cyrene, although then settled at Jerusalem, is uncertain. The latter seems the more likely opinion, as Simon's two sons, Alexander and Rufus, were certainly disciples of Christ; and it was perhaps the knowledge of this fact which led the Jews to incite the soldiers to lay on him the burden of the cross. The family of Simon seems to have resided afterwards at Rome; for St. Paul, in his epistle to the church there, salutes the wife of Simon with tenderness and respect, calling her his 'mother,' though he does not expressly name her: 'Salute Rufus, and his mother and mine' (Rom. xvi. 13).

9. SIMON THE TANNER, with whom St. Peter lodged at Joppa (Acts ix. 43; x. 6; xvii. 32). He was doubtless a disciple. His house was by the sea side, beyond the wall, as the trade of a tanner was one which the Jews did not allow to be carried on inside their towns.

10. SIMON MAGUS. In the eighth chapter of the Acts we read that Philip the Evangelist, whilst preaching the Gospel in a city of Samaria, came in contact with a person of the name of Simon, who had formerly exercised immense power over the minds of the people by his skill in the resources of magic. So high were the pretensions of this impostor, and so profound the impression he had made on the minds of the multitude, that they not only received with readiness all that he taught, but admitted his

claim to be regarded as an incarnation of the demiurgic power of God. The doctrines of Philip, however, concerning Christ as the true and only incarnation of Deity, supported by the unparalleled and beneficent miracles which he performed, had the effect of dispelling this delusion, and inducing the people to renounce their allegiance to Simon and receive baptism as the disciples of Christ. On the mind of Simon himself a deep impression was also produced. In his former pursuits he had been probably not a little of a dupe as well as a deceiver, for the belief in the reality of magical power was so widely diffused through the East that we can easily suppose Simon to have been thoroughly convinced, not only that the possession of such power was attainable, but that the charms of which he was master actually conferred upon him a portion of that power, though very far short of what he pretended to have. To his mind, therefore, the idea in all probability suggested by the miracles of Philip, the reality of which he could not doubt, was, that here was a magician of a higher order than himself—one who was possessed of charms and secrets more powerful and mysterious than those which he had obtained. To Philip, consequently, as a greater master of his science than himself, he deemed it wise to succumb, in the hope doubtless of being able ere long to participate in his knowledge and to wield his power. With this view he professed himself a disciple of Jesus, and as such was baptised by Philip.

On the news of Philip's success reaching Jerusalem, Peter and John went down to Samaria to confer upon the new converts the spiritual gifts which were vouchsafed to the primitive churches. During their visit Simon discovered that by means of prayer and the imposition of hands the Apostles were able to dispense the power of the Holy Ghost; and supposing probably that in this lay the much-prized secret of their superior power, he attempted to induce the Apostles to impart to him this power by offering them money. This, which for such a man was a very natural act, intimated to the Apostles at once his true character (or rather, to express more accurately our conviction, it enabled them to manifest to the people and publicly to act upon what their own power of discerning spirits must have already taught them of his true character); and accordingly Peter indignantly repudiated his offer, proclaimed his utter want of all true knowledge of Christian doctrine (so we understand the words οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ver. 21), and exhorted him to repentance and to prayer for forgiveness. The words of Peter on this occasion, it is justly remarked by Neander, 'present the doctrine of the Gospel, which so expressly intimates the absolute necessity of a right state of mind for the reception of all that Christianity conveys, in direct opposition to the Magianism, which denies all necessary connection between the state of mind and that which is divine and supernatural, brings down the divine and supernatural within the sphere of ordinary nature, and imagines that divine power may be appropriated by means of something else than that which is allied to it in man's nature, and which supplies the only point of union between the two' (*Apostol. Zeitalt.* i. 82). The solemn and threatening words of the Apostle struck dread into the bosom of the impostor, who besought the Apostle to pray for him that none of the things he had threatened might come upon him—an entreaty which shows that his mind still laboured under what Neander above describes as the chief error of the Magian doctrine.

After this we read no more of Simon Magus in the New Testament. By the ecclesiastical writers, however, he is frequently referred to, and several curious particulars are recorded concerning him, some of which must unquestionably be abandoned to the region of fable, but many of which are apparently true. According to Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. § 26), Theodoret (*Hæret. fab.* i. 1), Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxi. 55), and others, he was a native of Gitton or Gittum, a town of Samaria. The Clementine Homilies (ii. 22), inform us that he studied at Alexandria; but their authority is very doubtful. Josephus speaks of a Simon Magus who was a dependant of Felix and the minister of his vices (*Antiq.* xx. 7. 2), and whom Neander regards as the same person with the one now under notice (*Lib. cit.* p. 84). Justin says he went to Rome in the reign of Claudius, where he attracted much attention, and gained such reverence that he was worshipped as a God. The same writer affirms that he even saw a statue erected in the Tiber, between the two bridges, to his memory, and bearing the inscription 'Simoni Deo Sancto,' and this is repeated by many of the fathers. It is now, however, very generally supposed that Justin's partial acquaintance with the Latin language and mythology led him to mistake a statue of the Sabine deity, Semo, for one to Simon, a supposition which it is hardly possible to resist when we know that a piece of marble has been found in an island of the Tiber actually bearing the inscription Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio Sacrum (Salmasius, *Ad Spartianum*, p. 38; Van Dale, *De Oraculis*, p. 579; Burton, *Heresies of the Apostolic Age*, p. 374, &c.). Eusebius adds (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 13, 14), that the popularity of the impostor was completely destroyed by St. Peter's coming to Rome; and later writers give us a wonderful legend of his destruction by the miraculous power of the Apostle's prayers joined to those of St. Paul. All are agreed in regarding these legendary accounts as fabulous, but Dr. Burton has with much ingenuity endeavoured to expiscate the truth which may be involved in them. According to his view it is probable that Simon, in endeavouring to work something that should pass for a miracle, and to maintain his credit against the Apostles, met with an accident which ended in his death (*Lib. cit.* p. 371). To us it appears more probable that the whole is a mythic fable; the silence of all the earlier fathers regarding it is sufficient to invalidate its pretensions to be viewed as history.

Simon's doctrines were substantially those of the Gnostics, and he is not without reason regarded as the first who attempted to engraft the theurgy and egotism of the Magian philosophy upon Christianity. He represented himself, according to Jerome (*In Matt.*, Opp. iv. 114), as the Word of God, the Perfection, the Paraclete, the Almighty, the All of Deity; and Irenæus (i. 20) tells us he carried with him a beautiful female named Helena, whom he set forth as the

first idea (ἔννοια) of Deity. If this be not exaggerated fable on the part of his enemies, we must suppose that such modes of speech and representation were adopted by him as suited to the highly allegorical character of Orientalism in his day; for were we to suppose him to have meant such utterances to be taken literally, we should be constrained to look upon him in the light of a madman.

Comp. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 158, ff.; Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichée*, tom. i.; Ittigius, *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Capita*, v. 16, &c.; Mosheim, *Hist. of the Church*, Cent. ii. 5, 12; *De Rebus Christianorum*, &c. p. 190 ff.; Burton's *Heresies of the Apostolic Age*, Lect. iv.; Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 96, ff., &c.— W. L. A.

SIN (סִין; Sept. Σαΐς), a city of Egypt, which is mentioned in Ezek. xxx. 15, 16, in connection with Thebes and Memphis, and is described as 'the strength of Egypt,' showing it to have been a fortified place. The Sept. makes it to have been Saïs, but Jerome regards it as Pelusium. This latter identification has been generally adopted, and is scarcely open to dispute. Sin means 'mire,' and Pelusium, from the Greek *pelos*, has the same meaning, which is, indeed, preserved in the modern name Tineh, 'clay,' all doubtless derived from the muddy nature of the soil in the vicinity. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, however, supposes that the ancient native name more nearly resembled the Peremoun or Pheromis of the Copts; and the latter is, doubtless, the origin of the Farama of the Arabs, by which it is still known. Pelusium was anciently a place of great consequence. It was strongly fortified, being the bulwark of the Egyptian frontier on the eastern side, and was considered the 'key,' or, as the prophet terms it, 'the strength' of Egypt (*Hist. Bell. Alexand.* p. 20, 27; Liv. xlv. 11; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 8. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 8. 7; i. 9. 3). It was near this place that Pompey met his death, being murdered by order of Ptolemy, whose protection he had claimed. It lay among swamps and morasses on the most easterly estuary of the Nile (which received from it the name of Ostium Pelusiacum), and stood twenty stades from the Mediterranean (Strabo, xvi. p. 760; xvii. 801, 802; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 11). The site is now only approachable by boats during a high Nile, or by land when the summer sun has dried the mud left by the inundation: the remains consist only of mounds and a few fallen columns. The climate is very unwholesome (Wilkinson's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 406, 444; Savary's *Letters on Egypt*, i. let. 24; Henniker's *Travels*).

SIN, the desert which the Israelites entered on turning off from the Red Sea (Exod. xvi. 1; xvii. 1: Num. xxxiii. 12) [Sinai].

SINAI (סִינַי; Sept. Σινά). The Hebrew name, denoting a district of broken or cleft rocks, is descriptive of the region to which it is applied. That region, according to Exod. xix. 1; Lev. vii. 38; Num. i. 1, 3, 4, is a wild mountainous country in Arabia Petræa, whither the Israelites went from Rephidim, after they had been out of Egypt for the space of three months. Here the law was given to Moses, which fact renders this spot one of special and lasting interest. From the magnitude and prominence of the Sinaitic group of mountains, the entire district of which it forms a part has received the name of the peninsula of Sinai. This peninsula may be roughly described as formed by a line running from Suez to Ailah, all that lies on the south of this line falling within the peninsula. In the present day the name Sinai is given by Christians to the cluster of mountains to which we have referred; but the Arabs have no other name for this group than Jebel et-Tar, sometimes adding the distinctive epithet Sina. In a stricter sense the name Sinai is applied to a very lofty ridge which lies between the two parallel valleys of Sher and el-Lega. Of this ridge the northern end is termed Horeb, the southern Sinai, now called Jebel Mûsa, or Moses' Mount. The entire district is a heap of lofty granite rocks, with steep gorges and deep valleys. The several mountains in the peninsula seem all to ascend gradually till they reach their highest point in the group of Sinai, which presents a wild aspect of broken, cleft, and irregular masses, with pointed tops and precipitous sides. The entire group is made up of four huge ranges, which run south and north with an inclination eastward. The ranges are separated from each other by deep valleys or watercourses. Of the four longitudinal masses of mountain, Sinai lies the most easterly but one, namely, Jebel ed-Deir. The range which lies on the west of Sinai is designated at its southern extremity Jebel Catharine, which is the highest mountain in the district, for Sinai is 7033, and Catharine 8063 Parisian feet above the level of the Mediterranean (the highest point of Hermon being 10,000 feet). The Sinai ridge, including Horeb, is at least three miles in length. It rises boldly and majestically from the southern end of the plain Rahah, which is two geographical miles long, and ranges in breadth from one-third to two-thirds of a mile, making at least one square mile. This space is nearly doubled by extensions of the valley on the west and east. 'The examination convinced us,' says Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, i. 141), 'that here was space enough to satisfy all the requisitions of the Scriptural narrative, so far as it relates to the assembling of the congregation to receive the law.' Water is abundant in this mountainous region, to which the Bedouins betake themselves when oppressed by drought in the lower lands. As there is water, so also is there in the valleys great fruitfulness and sometimes luxuriance of vegetation, as well as beauty. What was the exact locality from which the law was given, it may not be easy to ascertain. The book of Deuteronomy (i. 6; iv. 18, &c.) makes it to be Horeb, which seems most probable; for this, the north end of the range, rises immediately from the plain of which we have just spoken as the headquarters of the Israelites. Sinai is, indeed, generally reputed to be the spot, and, as we have seen, the southern extremity of the range is denominated Moses' Mount; but this may have arisen from confounding together two meanings of Sinai, inasmuch as it denotes 1, a district; 2, a particular part of that district. It was no doubt on Horeb, in the region of Sinai, that the law was promulgated. Robinson imputes the common error to tradition, and declares that 'there is not the slightest reason for supposing that Moses had any thing to do with the summit which now bears his name. It is three miles distant from the plain

on which the Israelites must have stood, and hidden from it by the intervening peaks of modern Horeb. No part of the plain is visible from the summit, nor are the bottoms of the adjacent valleys, nor is any spot to be seen around it where the people could have been assembled.' Robinson also ascended the northern extremity of the ridge, and had there a prospect which he thus describes: — 'The whole plain, er-Râhah, lay spread out beneath our feet with the adjacent Wadys and mountains. Our conviction was strengthened that here, or on some one of the adjacent cliffs, was the spot where the Lord "descended in fire," and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount that could be approached and touched, if not forbidden; and here the mountain brow where alone the lightnings and the thick cloud would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trump be heard when "the Lord came down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai." We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene, and read with a feeling that will never be forgotten the sublime account of the transaction and the commandment there promulgated.' On descending, Robinson came to a convent (5366 feet above the sea), his description of the vicinity of which will impress on the reader's mind what we have before said as to the fruitfulness of spots in these lofty regions. 'A large plantation of olive-trees extends far above and below the convent along the valley. Just around the buildings is also a garden of other fruit trees, in which apple and apricot trees were in blossom (March 26), and not far off is a small grove of tall poplars, here



506. [The summit of Mount Sinai.]

cultivated for timber. In this garden too was a rill of water. A family of serfs was here to keep the garden. As we entered, the sweet voice of a prattling Arab child struck my ear, and made my heart thrill as it recalled the thoughts of home' (i. 159). Tradition seems to have been busily and freely at work in the district. A rock is pointed out as that whence Moses made the water gush. It is in a narrow valley, and Robinson affirms that there is not the slightest ground for assuming any connection between it and Rephidim; but, on the contrary, every thing against such a supposition.

Having thus given a general view of Sinai, we shall now briefly trace the Israelites in their journey to the mountain. Another article [WANDERING] will follow their course into the Land of Promise. If the reader will turn back to EXODUS, he will find that we there conducted the fugitive horde through the Red Sea to the eastern shore of the gulf of Suez. The Biblical authorities for the portion of the task immediately before us may be found in Exod. xvi. 22; xvii., xviii., xix., 1 and 2; and Num. xxiii. 8-15. When safe on the eastern shore, the Israelites, had they taken the shortest route into Palestine, would have struck at once across the desert in a south-easterly direction to el-Arish or Gaza. But this route would have brought them into direct collision with the Philistines, with whom they were as yet quite unable to cope. Or they might have traversed the desert of Paran, following the pilgrim road of the present day to Elath, and, turning to the north, have made for Palestine. In order to accomplish this, however, hostile hordes and nations would have to be encountered, whose superior skill and experience in war might have proved fatal to the newly liberated tribes of Israel. Wisely, therefore, did their leader take a course which necessitated the lapse of time, and gave promise of affording intellectual and moral discipline of the highest value. A regard to this discipline chiefly determined Moses in the selection of his route. He resolved to lead his flock

to Sinai in order that they might see the wonders there to be exhibited, and hear the lessons there to be given. At Sinai, and on the journey thither, might the great leader hope that the moral brand which slavery had imprinted on his people would be effaced, and that they would acquire that self-respect, that regard to God's will, that capacity of self-guidance, which alone could make liberty a blessing to the nation, and enable Moses to realise on their behalf the great and benign intentions which God had led him to form. There were, however, two ways by which he might reach Sinai. By following a south-easterly direction, and proceeding across the desert el-Tyh, he would have reached at once the heart of the Sinaitic region. This was the shorter and the more expeditious road. The other route lay along the shore of the Red Sea, which must be pursued till an opening gave the means of turning suddenly to the east, and ascending at once into the lofty district. The latter was preferable for the reason before assigned, namely, the additional opportunities which it offered for the education of the undisciplined tribes of recently emancipated slaves. It, therefore, was wisely adopted by Moses.

Moses did not begin his arduous journey till, with a piety and a warmth of gratitude which well befitted the signal deliverance that his people had just been favoured with, he celebrated the power, majesty, and goodness of God in a triumphal ode, full of the most appropriate, striking, and splendid images; in which commemorative festivity he was assisted by 'Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron,' and her associated female band, with poetry, music, and dancing. The nature of these festivities gives us full reason to conclude, that if the people at large were still slaves in intellect and morals, there were not wanting individuals in the camp who were eminently skilled in the best refinements of the age. The spot where these rejoicings were held could not have been far from that which still bears the name of Ayûn Mûsa, 'the fountains of Moses,' the situation of which is even now marked by a few palm-trees. This was a suitable place for the encampment, because well supplied with water. Here Robinson counted seven fountains, near which he saw a patch of barley, and a few cabbage plants. Hence the Israelites proceeded along the coast, three days' journey, into what is termed the wilderness of Shur. During this march they found no water. The district is hilly and sandy, with a few watercourses running into the Red Sea, which, failing rain, are dry. 'These Wadys,' says Robinson, 'are mere depressions in the desert, with only a few scattered herbs and shrubs, now withered and parched with drought.' At the end of three days the Israelites reached the fountain Marah, but the waters were bitter, and could not be drunk. The stock which they had brought with them being now exhausted, they began to utter murmurings on finding themselves disappointed at Marah. Moses appealed to God, who directed him to a tree, which, being thrown into the waters, sweetened them. The people were satisfied and admonished. About this station authorities are agreed. It is identified with the fountain Hawârah. The basin is six or eight feet in diameter, and the water Robinson found about two feet deep. Its taste is unpleasant, saltish, and somewhat bitter. The Arabs pronounce it bitter, and consider it as the worst water in all these regions. Near the spring are numerous bushes of the shrub *ghurkud*—a low, bushy, thorny shrub, producing a small fruit, which ripens in June, not unlike the blackberry, very juicy, and slightly acidulous. It delights in a saline soil, and is found growing near the brackish fountains in and around Palestine, affording a grateful refreshment to travellers. By means of the berries, or, if they were not ripe, the leaves of this plant, the bitterness may have been removed from the waters of Marah. Not improbably the miracle in the case lay in this, that Jehovah directed Moses to use the tree (bush) itself, instead of what was usual, the berries, as from the time of year, shortly after Easter, they could hardly have been ripe.

The next station mentioned in Scripture is Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and three score and ten palm-trees. As is customary with travellers in these regions, 'they encamped there by the waters' (Exod. xvi. 1). The indications given in the Bible are not numerous, nor very distinct. Neither time nor distance is accurately laid down. Hence we can expect only general accuracy in our maps, and but partial success in fixing localities. Elim, however, is generally admitted to be Wady Ghurundel, lying about half a day's journey south-east from Marah. The way from Egypt to Sinai lies through this valley, and on account of its water and verdure it is a chief caravan station at the present day. From Elim the Israelites marched, encamping on the shore of the Red Sea, for which purpose they must have kept the high ground for some time, since the precipices of Jebel Hûmmâm—a lofty and precipitous mountain of chalky limestone—run down to the brink of the sea. They, therefore, went on the land side of this mountain to the head of Wady Taiyikeh, which passes down south-west through the mountains to the shore. On the plain at the mouth of this valley was the encampment 'by the Red Sea' (Num. xxxiii. 10).

According to Num. xxxiii. 11, the Israelites removed from the Red Sea, and encamped next in the wilderness of Sin. This Robinson identifies with 'the great plain which, beginning near el-Mûrkhâh, extends with greater or less breadth almost to the extremity of the peninsula. In its broadest part it is called el-Kâ-a' (i. 106). Thus they kept along the shore, and did not yet ascend any of the fruitful valleys which run up towards the centre of the district. They arrived in the wilderness of Sin on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departure out of the land of Egypt; and being now wearied with their journey, and tired of their scanty fare, they began again to murmur. Indeed, it is not easy to see how the most ordinary and niggard food could have been supplied to them, constituting as they did nearly two millions of persons, in such a country as that into which they had come. It is true that some provision might have been made by individuals ere the march from Suez began. It is also possible that the accounts of encampments which we have, are to be regarded as chiefly those of Moses and his principal men, with a chosen body of troops, while the multitude were allowed to traverse the open country, and forage in the valleys. Still the region was unfavour-

able for the purpose, and we are brought to the conclusion that here we have one of those numerical difficulties which are not uncommon in the Old Testament Scriptures, and which make us suspect some radical error in our conceptions of the Hebrew system of numbers. The contrast between the scant supply of the desert and the abundance of Egypt, furnished the immediate occasion of the outbreak of dissatisfaction. Bread and flesh were the chief demand; bread and flesh were miraculously supplied; the former by manna, the latter by quails. Manna grows in some of the neighbouring valleys; but the Israelites were in the wilderness, so that the supply could not have proceeded from natural resources, even had such existed to a sufficient extent for the purpose.

The next station mentioned in Exodus is Rephidim; but in Numbers Dophkah and Alush are added. The two latter were reached after the people had taken 'their journey out of the wilderness of Sin.' Exact precision and minute agreement are not to be expected. The circumstances of the case forbid us to look for them. In a desert, mountainous, and rarely frequented country, the names of places are not lasting. There was the less reason for permanence in the case before us, because the Israelites had not taken the shorter and more frequented road over the mountains to Sinai, but kept along the shore of the Red Sea. It still deserves notice, that in Exodus (xvii. 1) there is something like an intimation given of other stations besides Rephidim in the words 'after their journeys.' Dophkah is probably to be found near the spot where Wady Feirân runs into the gulf of Suez. Alush may have lain on the shore near Ras Jehan. From this point a range of calcareous rocks, termed Jebal Hemam, stretches along the shore, near the southern end of which the Hebrews took a sudden turn to the north-east, and going up Wady Hibrân, reached the central Sinaitic district. On the opposite side, the eastern, the Sinaitic mountains come to a sudden stop, breaking off, and presenting like a wall nearly perpendicular granite cliffs. These cliffs are cut by Wady Hibrân, and at the point of intersection with the plain which runs between the two ranges, lay Rephidim.

This was the last station before Sinai itself was reached. Naturally enough is it recorded, that 'there was no water for the people to drink.' The road was an arid gravelly plain; on either side were barren rocks. A natural supply was impossible. A miracle was wrought, and water was given. The Scripture makes it clear that it was from the Sinaitic group that the water was produced (Exod. xvii. 6). The plain received two descriptive names: Massah, 'Temptation;' and Meribah, 'Strife.' It appears that the congregation was not allowed to pursue their way to Sinai unmolested. The Arabs thought the Israelites suitable for plunder, and fell upon them. These hordes are termed Amalek. The Amalekites may have been out on a predatory expedition, or they may have followed the Israelites from the north, and only overtaken them at Rephidim; any way no conclusion can be gathered from this fact as to the ordinary abode of these nomades. It appears, however, that the conflict was a severe and doubtful one, which by some extraordinary aid ended in favour of the children of Israel. This aggression on the part of Amalek gave occasion to a permanent national hatred, which ended only in the extermination of the tribe (Num. xxiv. 20; Exod. xvii. 14-16). In commemoration of this victory Moses was commanded to write an account of it in a book: he also erected there an altar to Jehovah, and called the name of it 'Jehovah, my banner.' There is no occasion to inquire whether or not there was space for a battle in the spot where Moses was. It was a nomade horde that made the attack, and not a modern army. The fight was not a pitched battle. The word Horeb, applied by Moses to the place whence the water was gained, suggests the idea that Horeb was the general, and Sinai the specific name; Horeb standing for the entire district, and Sinai for one particular mountain. Many passages sanction this distinction. But in the New Testament Sinai only is read, having then apparently become a general name, as it is at the present day (Acts vii. 30-38; Gal. iv. 24). It is a monkish usage which gives the name Sinai to Jebel Mûsa, and Horeb to the northern part of the same ridge.

The district of Sinai is remarkable for the numerous inscriptions engraved on the face of the rocks. They are found on all the routes which lead from the west towards the mountain, as far south as Tûr, and extend to the very base of Sinai. The spot where they exist in the greatest number is the Wady, which hence derives its name, W. Mukatteb, 'Written Valley,' through which the usual road to Sinai passes before reaching Wady Teirân. Here inscriptions occur by thousands on the rocks, chiefly at such points as would form convenient resting-places for travellers or pilgrims during the noon-day sun. Many of them are accompanied by crosses. The characters are every where the same, and till recently had defied all the efforts of the ablest palæographists. In the year 1839, Professor Beer, of the university of Leipzig, succeeded in deciphering them. The characters of the Sinaitic inscriptions the Professor finds to belong to a distinct and independent alphabet; some being wholly peculiar, others having more or less affinity with the Cufic, which may have been developed from them. The contents hitherto ascertained (1839) consist of proper names, preceded by some such word as '*peace; blessed; in memory of.*' The word *son* often occurs between the names. No Jewish nor Christian name has been found. Beer thinks the writers were pilgrims: it is probable, from the presence of the cross, that they were also Christians. The inscriptions are ascribed to the fourth century, and may have been made by the native inhabitants of the mountains. The Leipzig Professor considers them as the only remains of the language and character once peculiar to the Nabathæans of Arabia Petræa. Inscriptions have also been discovered on the rocks of Hisn Ghorab in Hadramaut, on the southern extremity of Arabia, of which, and of the deciphering of which, a very interesting account may be found in Forster's recently published and very valuable work, *The Historical Geography of Arabia, or the Patriarchal Evidences of Revealed Religion*, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1844. Robinson's work before referred to is a classical one on the subject, though we are unable to assent to all his views. The celebrated Rauмer's *Beiträge* to his *Palestine* should be studied in connection with Robinson. Within the last few

years very much has been done for laying open the regions through which our minds have passed, by Niebuhr, Burckhardt, and Laborde. See also Büsching, *Erdbeschreibung*, v.; and Rosenmuller, *Alterthum.* iii. 131, sq.—J. R. B.

SINAPI (Σίναπι), translated 'mustard tree' in the Auth. Vers. of the New Testament, has engaged the attention of many commentators, great difficulty having been experienced in finding a plant with the requisite characteristics, notwithstanding the several attempts which have been made. The subject was investigated by the present writer in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, on the 16th March, 1844. Having referred to the passages of the New Testament in which the word occurs (Matt. xiii. 31; xvii. 20; Mark iv. 31; Luke xiii. 19; xvii. 6), he first showed how unsuitable were the plants which had been adduced to the circumstances of the sacred narrative, and mentioned that his own attention had been turned to the subject in consequence of the present Bishop of Lichfield having informed him that Mr. Amuény, a Syrian student of King's College, was well acquainted with the tree. Mr. A. stated that this tree was found near Jerusalem, but most abundantly on the banks of the Jordan and round the sea of Tiberias; that its seed was employed as a substitute for mustard, and that it was called *khardal*, which, indeed, is the common Arabic name for mustard. In the writer's *MS. Materia Medica of the East*, mentioned in vol. i. p. 6, he had enumerated, 1. *Khardal*, or common mustard; 2. *Khardal barree*, or wild mustard; 3. *Khardal roomee*, Turkish mustard. The last appeared to be the plant referred to, but nothing more than this name was known of it. In his *Illustrations of Himalayan Botany*, he found a tree of N. W. India, which was there called *kharjal*, and which appeared possessed of the requisite properties, but he could not find it mentioned in any systematic work, or local Flora, as a native of Palestine. The plant is *Salvadora Persica*, a large shrub, or tree of moderate size, a native of the hot and dry parts of India, of



507. [Salvadora Persica.]

Persia, and of Arabia. Dr. Roxburgh describes the berries as much smaller than a grain of black pepper, having a strong aromatic smell, and a taste much like that of garden cresses. Dr. Lindley informed the writer that he had seen them in a collection made by Bové. Lastly, Irby and Mangles, in their travels, mention a tree which they suppose to be the mustard tree of Scripture. They met with it while advancing towards Kerek, from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. It bore its fruit in bunches resembling the currant; and the seeds had a pleasant, though strongly aromatic taste, nearly resembling mustard. They say, 'We think it possible that this is the tree our Saviour alluded to in the parable of the mustard seed, and not the mustard plant which we have in the north, and which, even when growing large, can never be called a tree, whereas the other is really such, and birds might easily, and actually do, take shelter under its shadow.' On further inquiry, the writer learned that a specimen of the tree had been brought home by Mr. W. Barker, and that it had been ascertained by Messrs. Don and Lambert to be the *Salvadora Persica* of botanists; but both had written against its claim to be the mustard tree of Scripture, while Mr. Frost, hearing a conversation on the subject, had supposed the tree to be a *Phytolacea*, and had hence maintained it to be the mustard tree of Scripture, but without adducing proofs of any kind.

The paper above referred to concludes by stating it as an important fact, that the writer had come to the same conclusion as Irby and Mangles, by an independent mode of investigation, even when he could not ascertain that the plant existed in Palestine; which is, at all events, interesting, as proving that the name *kharjal* is applied, even in so remote a country as the north-west of India, to the same plant which, in Syria, is called *khardal*, and which no doubt is the *chardal* of the Talmudists, one of whom describes it as a tree of which the wood was sufficient to cover a potter's shed, and another says that he was wont to climb into it, as men climb into a fig-tree. Hence the author stated that he had no doubt but that *Salvadora Persica* is the mustard tree of Scripture. The plant has a small seed, which produces a large tree with numerous branches, in which the birds of the air may take shelter. The seed is possessed of the same properties, and is used for the same purposes, as mustard, and has a name, *khardal*, of which *sinapi* is the true translation, and which, moreover, grows abundantly on the very shores of the sea of Galilee, where our Saviour addressed to the multitude the parable of the mustard seed.—J. F. R.

SINIM (סִינִים; Sept. γῆ Περσῶν), a people whose country, 'land of Sinim,' is mentioned only in Isa. xlix. 12, where the context implies a remote region, situated in the eastern or southern extremity of the earth. Many Biblical geographers think this may possibly denote the Sinese or Chinese, whose country is Sina, China. This ancient people were known to the Arabians by the name of صين Sin, and to the Syrians by that of ܨܝܢ Tsini; and a Hebrew writer may well have heard of them, especially if sojourning at Babylon, the metropolis, as it were, of all Asia. This name appears to have been given to the Chinese by other Asiatics; for the Chinese themselves, though not unacquainted with it, do not employ it, either adopting the names of the reigning dynasties, or osten-

tationsly assuming high-sounding titles, *e. g.* Tchungkue, 'central empire.' But when the name was thus given by other nations, and whence it was derived, is uncertain. The opinion of those writers is possibly correct, who suppose that the name סִינִים *Sineses* came from the fourth dynasty, called Tshin, which held the throne from 249 to 206 B.C. (Du Halde, *Descript. de la Chine*, i. § 1, p. 306; A. Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques*, ii. 334, sq.; Klaproth, *Journal Asiat.* x. 53, sq.). A people called Tshinas are spoken of in the laws of Menu, and the name of this dynasty may have been known among foreign nations long before it acquired the sovereign power over all China. See this view more largely stated by Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, pp. 948-950). It is not void of probability, but objections to it are obvious and considerable. Some, therefore, think that by the Sinim the inhabitants of Pelusium (Sin) are, by synecdoche, denoted for the Egyptians (Bochart, *Phaleg*, iv. 27). But as the text seems to point to a region more distant, others have upheld the claims of the people of Syene, taken to represent the Ethiopians (Michaelis, *Spicil.* ii. 32, sq.; *Suppl.* p. 1741, sq.). See SYENE. If, however, 'the land of Sinim' was named either from Sin or Syene, it is remarkable that the Seventy, who knew Egypt well, should have gone eastward in search of it, even so far east as Persia; and if they considered it as lying in the remote eastern parts of the Persian empire, which extended to the borders of India, the great step which is thus taken in the direction of China would give some support to the identification of the Chinese with the Sinim.

SINITE (סִינִי; Sept. Ἀσενναῖος), a people probably near Mount Lebanon (Gen. x. 17; 1 Chron. i. 15). Strabo mentions a city in Lebanon called Siuna (*Geog.* xvi. 756). Jerome also speaks of a place called Sini, not far from Arca (*Quæst. Heb.* in Gen.).

SISERA (סִיסְרָא, *battle array*; Sept. Σισάρα), the general in command of the mighty army of the Canaanitish king Jabin. As this is the only instance in those early times of armies being commanded by other than kings in person, the circumstance, taken in connection with others, intimates that Sisera was a general eminent for his abilities and success. He was, however, defeated by Barak, and slain (Judg. iv. 2-22), under the circumstances which have been described in the article JAEL.

SIVAN (סִיוָן; Sept. Νισάν), the third month of the Hebrew year, from the new moon of June to the new moon of July. The name admits of a Hebrew etymology; but as it occurs only in Esth. viii. 9, it is better to regard it as of Persian origin, like the other names of months; the corresponding Persian month being called *Sefendarmed*; Zend, *Çpenti Armaiti*; Pehlv. *Sapandomad.* (Benfey, *Monatsnamen*, pp. 13, 41, sq.; 122, sq.; Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 946).

SKHINOS (Σχῖνος) occurs only in the book entitled Susannah, ver. 54, where one of the elders says that he saw Susannah with a young man, ὑπὸ σχῖνον, which is correctly translated 'under a mastic-tree.' The other elder replied, that it was ὑπὸ πρῖνον, 'under a holm-tree,' that is, a species of oak. The mastic-tree was well known to the Greeks by the name of σχῖνος. It is the *Pistacia Lentiscus* of botanists, and belongs to the same genus as the *Pistachio* nut and turpentine tree [BOTNIM and ALAH]. The mastic-tree is a native of the Mediterranean region, and is found in different parts of Syria. It is a moderate-sized tree or large shrub. It is celebrated for producing mastic, a resin which exudes from incisions made in the bark, chiefly in the island of Scio. The hardened mastic, in the form of roundish straw-coloured tears, is much chewed by Turkish women. It consists of resin, with a minute portion of volatile oil: it is much used as a varnish, and sometimes as a medicine, and by dentists in this country.—J. F. R.

SLAVE (עֶבֶד; Sept. παῖς, δοῦλος, οἰκέτης; Vulg. *servus*; Auth. Eng. Version, *servant* and *bondman*; Fem. אָמָה and שִׁפְחָה, δούλη, παιδίσκη, οἰκέτις, *ancilla*). The term SLAVERY, though frequently applied to the Jewish system of servitude, is not wholly appropriate. Among the Greeks and Romans, it properly expressed the legal condition of captives taken in war, or the victims of the existing slave-trade, and the offspring of female slaves. Those slaves were held to be the absolute property of their masters, and their slavery was regarded as perpetual and hereditary. Nor does Jewish servitude bear any resemblance to modern slavery, which, however it may differ from the Greek and Roman in some of its minor incidents, resembles it in its essential principles. If under the Roman law slaves were held 'pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus,' so under the law of the United States they are adjudged to be chattels personal in the hand of their owners, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever; and their slavery, like that of the ancient Romans, is, as a necessary consequence, perpetual and hereditary.

It is difficult to trace the origin of slavery. It may have existed before the deluge, when violence filled the earth, and drew upon it the vengeance of God. But the first direct reference to slavery, or rather slave-trading, in the Bible, is found in the history of Joseph, who was sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites (Gen. xxxvii. 27, 28). In Ezek. xxvii. 12, 13, we find a reference to the slave-trade carried on with Tyre by Javan, Tubal, and Meshech. And in the Apocalypse we find enumerated in the merchandise of pagan Rome (the mystic Babylon) *slaves* (σωμάτα) and the souls of men (Rev. xviii. 13).

The sacred historians refer to various kinds of bondage:—

1. *Patriarchal Servitude.*—The exact nature of this service cannot be defined: there can be no doubt, however, that it was regulated by principles of justice, equity, and kindness. The servants of the patriarchs were of two kinds, those 'born in the house,' and those 'bought with money' (Gen. xvii. 13). Abraham appears to have had a large number of servants. At one time he armed three hundred and eighteen young men, 'born in his own house,' with whom he pursued the kings who had taken 'Lot and his goods, and the women also, and the people,' and recaptured them (Gen. xiv. 1-16). The servants born in the house were perhaps entitled to greater privileges than the others. Eliezer of Damascus, a home-born servant, was

Abraham's steward, and, in default of issue, would have been his heir (Gen. xv. 2-4). This class of servants was honoured with the most intimate confidence of their masters, and was employed in the most important services. An instance of this kind will be found in Gen. xxiv. 1-9, where the eldest or chief servant of Abraham's house, who ruled over all that he had, was sent to Mesopotamia to select a wife for Isaac, though then forty years of age. The authority of Abraham was that of a prince or chief over his patriarchate or family, and was regulated by usage and the general consent of his dependents. It could not have been otherwise in his circumstances; nor, from the knowledge which the Scriptures give of his character, would he have taken advantage of any circumstances to oppress or degrade them: 'for I know him, saith the Lord, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him' (Gen. xviii. 19). The servants of Abraham were admitted into the same religious privileges with their master, and received the seal of the covenant (Gen. xvii. 9, 14, 24, 27).

There is a clear distinction made between the 'servants' of Abraham and the things which constituted his property or wealth. Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold (Gen. xiii. 2, 5). But when the patriarch's power or greatness is spoken of, then servants are spoken of as well as the objects which constituted his riches (Gen. xxiv. 34, 35). It is said of Isaac, 'And the man waxed great, and went forward, and grew until he became *very great*, for he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of *servants*' (Gen. xxvi. 13, 14, 16, 26, 28, 29). When Hamor and Shechem speak to the Hivites of the riches of Jacob and his sons, they say, 'Shall not their cattle and their substance and every beast of theirs be ours?' (Gen. xxxiv. 23). Jacob's wives say to him, 'All the *riches* which God hath taken from our father, that is ours and our children's.' Then follows an inventory of property: 'all his cattle,' 'all his goods,' 'the cattle of his getting.' His numerous servants are not included with his property (comp. Gen. xxxi. 43—16, 18). When Jacob sent messengers to Esau, wishing to impress him with an idea of his state and sway, he bade them tell him not only of his RICHES, but of his *greatness*, and that he had oxen and asses and flocks, and men-servants and maid-servants' (Gen. xxxii. 4, 5). Yet in the present which he sent there were no servants, though he manifestly selected the most valuable kinds of property (Gen. xxxii. 14, 15; see also xxxiv. 23; xxxvi. 6, 7). In no single instance do we find that the patriarchs either gave away or sold their servants, or purchased them of *third* persons. Abraham had servants 'bought with money.' It has been assumed that they were bought of third parties, whereas there is no proof that this was the case. The probability is that they sold themselves to the patriarch for an equivalent; that is to say, they entered into voluntary engagements to serve him for a longer or shorter period of time, in return for the money advanced them. It is a fallacy to suppose that whatever *costs* money *is* money or property. The children of Israel were required to purchase their first-born (Num. xviii. 15, 16; iii. 45, 51; Exod. xiii. 13; xxxiv. 20). They were, moreover, required to pay money for their own souls; and when they set themselves or their children apart by vow unto the Lord, the price of release was fixed by statute (Lev. xxvii. 2-8). Boaz bought Ruth (Ruth iv. 10). Hosea bought his wife (Hos. iii. 2). Jacob bought his wives Rachel and Leah; and not having money, paid for them in labour, seven years a-piece (Gen. xxix. 16-23). That the purchase of wives, either with money or by service, was the general practice, is plain from such passages as Exod. xxii. 17, and 1 Sam. xviii. 25. But the idea of property does not appear in any of these purchases. For the various ways in which the terms 'bought,' 'buy,' and 'bought with money,' are used, consult Neh. v. 8; Gen. xlvii. 18-26, &c. In Lev. xxv. 47, will be found the case of the Israelite who became the servant of the stranger. The words are, 'If he *sell himself* unto the stranger.' Yet the 51st verse says that this servant was 'bought,' and that the price of the purchase was paid to *himself*. For a further clue to Scripture usage, the reader is referred to 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25; 2 Kings xvii. 17; Isa. lv. 1; lii. 3: see also Jer. xxxiv. 14; Rom. vi. 16; vii. 14; John viii. 34. Probably Job had more servants than either of the patriarchs to whom reference has been made (Job i. 2, 3). In what light he regarded, and how he treated, his servants, may be gathered from Job xxxi. 13-23. And that Abraham acted in the same spirit we have the divine testimony in Jer. xxii. 15, 16, 17, where his conduct is placed in direct contrast with that of some of his descendants, who used their neighbour's service without wages, and gave him not for his work (ver. 13).

2. *Egyptian Bondage.*—The Israelites were frequently reminded, after their exode from Egypt, of the oppressions they endured in that 'house of bondage,' from which they had been delivered by the direct interposition of God. The design of these admonitions was to teach them justice and kindness towards their servants when they should become settled in Canaan (Deut. v. 15; viii. 14; x. 19; xv. 15; xxiii. 7, &c.), as well as to impress them with gratitude towards their great deliverer. The Egyptians had domestic servants, who may have been slaves (Exod. ix. 14, 20, 21; xi. 5). But the Israelites were not dispersed among the families of Egypt; they formed a special community (Gen. xlvi. 34; Exod. viii. 22, 24; ix. 26; x. 23; xi. 7; iv. 29; ii. 9; xvi. 22; xvii. 5; vi. 14). They had exclusive possession of the land of Goshen, 'the best part of the land of Egypt.' They lived in permanent dwellings, their own houses, and not in tents (Exod. xii. 22). Each family seems to have had its own house (Exod. xii. 4; comp. Acts vii. 20); and judging from the regulations about eating the Passover, they could scarcely have been small ones (Exod. xii., &c.). They appear to have been well clothed (Exod. xii. 11). They owned 'flocks and herds, and very much cattle' (Exod. xii. 4, 6, 32, 37, 38). They had their own form of government; and although occupying a province of Egypt, and *tributary* to it, they preserved their tribes and family divisions, and their internal organization throughout (Exod. ii. 1; xii. 19, 21; vi. 14, 25; v. 19; iii. 16, 18). They had to a considerable degree the disposal

of their own time (Exod. iii. 16, 18; xii. 6; ii. 9; iv. 27, 29, 31). They were not unacquainted with the fine arts (Exod. xxxii. 4; xxxv. 22, 35). They were all armed (Exod. xxxii. 27). The women seem to have known something of domestic refinement. They were familiar with instruments of music, and skilled in the working of fine fabrics (Exod. xv. 20; xxxv. 25, 26); and both males and females were able to read and write (Deut. xi. 18, 20; xvii. 19; xxvii. 3). Their food was abundant and of great variety (Exod. xvi. 3; Num. xi. 4, 5; xx. 5). The service required from the Israelites by their taskmasters seems to have been exacted from males only, and probably a portion only of the people were compelled to labour at any one time. As tributaries, they probably supplied levies of men, from which the wealthy appear to have been exempted (Exod. iii. 16; iv. 29; v. 20). The poor were the oppressed; 'and all the service wherewith they made them serve was with rigour' (Exod. i. 11-14). But Jehovah saw their 'afflictions and heard their groanings,' and delivered them after having inflicted the most terrible plagues on their oppressors.

3. *Jewish Servitude.*—Whatever difficulties may be found in indicating the precise nature of patriarchal servitude, none exists in reference to that which was sanctioned and regulated by the Mosaic institutes.

The moral law is a revelation of great principles. It requires supreme love to God and universal love among men, and whatever is incompatible with the exercise of that love is strictly forbidden and condemned. Hence immediately after the giving of the law at Sinai, as if to guard against all slavery and slave-trading on the part of the Israelites, God promulgated this ordinance: 'He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death' (Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7). The crime is stated in its threefold form, man-*stealing*, *selling*, and *holding*; the penalty for either of which was DEATH. The law punished the stealing of mere property by enforcing restitution, in some cases twofold, in others fivefold (Exod. xxii. 14). When property was stolen, the legal penalty was compensation to the person injured; but when a man was stolen, no property compensation was allowed; death was inflicted, and the guilty offender paid the forfeit of his life for his transgression; God thereby declaring the infinite dignity and worth of man, and the inviolability of his person. The reason of this may be found in the great fact that God created man in his own image (Gen. i. 26-28)—a high distinction, more than once repeated with great solemnity (v. 1; and ix. 6). Such was the operation of this law, and the obedience paid to it, that we have not the remotest hint that the sale and purchase of slaves ever occurred among the Israelites. The cities of Judæa were not, like the cities of Greece and Rome, slave-markets, nor were there found throughout all its coasts either helots or slaves. With the Israelites service was either voluntary, or judicially imposed by the law of God (Lev. xxv. 39, 47; Exod. xxi. 7; xxii. 3, 4; Deut. xx. 14). Strangers only, or the descendants of strangers, became their possession by purchase (Lev. xxv. 44-46); but, however acquired, the law gave the Jewish servants many rights and privileges: they were admitted into covenant with God (Deut. xxix. 10, 13); they were guests at all the national and family festivals (Exod. xii. 43, 44; Deut. xii. 18; xvi. 10-16); they were statedly instructed in morals and religion (Deut. xxxi. 10-13; Josh. viii. 33-35; 2 Chron. xvii. 8, 9; xxxv. 3; xxxiv. 30; Neh. viii. 7, 8); they were released from their regular labour nearly one-half of their term of servitude, viz., every seventh year (Lev. xxv. 3-6); every seventh day (Exod. xx.); at the three annual festivals (Exod. xxiii. 17; xxxiv. 23), viz., the Passover and Feast of Weeks, which lasted each seven days, and the Feast of Tabernacles, which lasted eight. Also on the new moons, the Feast of Trumpets, and the Day of Atonement. Besides these were the local festivals (Judg. xxi. 19; 1 Sam. ix. 12, 22, &c.), and the various family feasts, as the weaning of children, marriages, sheep-shearing, and circumcisions; the making of covenants, &c. (1 Sam. xx. 6, 28, 29). To these must be added the Feast of Purim, which lasted three days, and the Dedication, which lasted eight. The servants of the Israelites were protected by the law equally with their masters (Deut. i. 16, 17; xxvii. 19; Lev. xix. 15; xxiv. 22; Num. xv. 29); and their civil and religious rights were the same (Num. xv. 15, 16, 29; ix. 14; Deut. i. 16, 17; Lev. xxiv. 22). To these might be added numerous passages which represent the Deity as regarding alike the natural rights of all, and making for all an equal provision (2 Chron. xix. 7; Prov. xxiv. 23; xxviii. 21; Job xxxiv. 19; 2 Sam. xiv. 14; Ephes. vi. 9). Finally, these servants had the power of changing their masters, and of seeking protection where they pleased (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16); and should their masters by any act of violence injure their persons, they were released from their engagements (Exod. xxi. 26, 27). The term of Hebrew servitude was six years, beyond which they could not be held unless they entered into new engagements (Exod. xxi. 1-11; Deut. xv. 12); while that of strangers, over whom the rights of the master were comparatively absolute (Lev. xxv. 44-46), terminated in every case on the return of the jubilee, when liberty was proclaimed to all (Lev. xxv. 8, 10, 54). On one occasion the state of the sexennial slavery was violated, and the result was fearful (Jer. xxxiv. 8-22). See also Exod. xxi. 20; Lev. xix. 20-22; Tobit x. 10 (*σώματα*); Ecclus. vii. 20, 21; x. 25; xxxiii. 24-31.

4. *Gibeonitish Servitude.*—The condition of the inhabitants of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim, under the Hebrew commonwealth, was not that of slavery. It was voluntary (Josh. ix. 8-11). They were not employed in the families of the Israelites, but resided in their own cities, tended their own flocks and herds, and exercised the functions of a distinct though not independent community (Josh. x. 6-18). The injuries inflicted on them by Saul were avenged by the Almighty on his descendants (2 Sam. xxi. 1-9). They appear to have been devoted exclusively to the service of the 'house of God' or the Tabernacles, and only a few of them comparatively could have been engaged at any one time. The rest dwelt in their cities, one of which was a great city, as one of the royal cities. The service they rendered may be

regarded as a natural tribute for the privilege of protection. No service seems to have been required of their wives and daughters. On the return from the Babylonish captivity they dwelt at Ophel (Neh. iii. 26). See also 1 Chron. ix. 2; Ezra ii. 43; Neh. vii. 24; viii. 17; x. 28; xi. 21 [NETHINIM].

The laws which the great Deliverer and Redeemer of mankind gave for the government of his kingdom, were those of universal justice and benevolence, and as such were subversive of every system of tyranny and oppression. To suppose, therefore, as has been rashly asserted, that Jesus or his apostles gave their sanction to the existing systems of slavery among the Greeks and Romans, is to dishonour them. That the reciprocal duties of masters and servants (δοῦλοι) were inculcated, admits, indeed, of no doubt (Col. iii. 22; iv. 1; Tit. ii. 9; 1 Pet. ii. 18; Ephes. vi. 5-9). But the performance of these duties on the part of the masters, supposing them to have been slave-masters, would have been tantamount to the utter subversion of the relation. There can be no doubt either that 'servants under the yoke,' or the slaves of heathens, are exhorted to yield obedience to their masters (1 Tim. vi. 1). But this argues no approval of the relation; for, 1. Jesus, in an analogous case, appeals to the paramount law of nature as superseding such temporary regulations as the 'hardness of men's hearts' had rendered necessary (see *Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope*, by the Rev. W. Wright, M.A., 1831, p. 58); and, 2. St. Paul, while counselling the duties of contentment and submission under inevitable bondage, inculcates at the same time on the slave the duty of adopting all legitimate means of obtaining his freedom (1 Cor. vii. 18-20). We are aware that the application of this passage has been denied by Chrysostom, Photius, Theodoret, and Theophylact, who maintain that it is the state of slavery which St. Paul here recommends the slave to prefer. But although this interpretation is indeed rendered admissible by the context, yet the more received meaning, or that which counsels freedom, is both more easily connected with the preceding phrase, 'if thou mayest be made *free*, use *it* rather,' and is, as Neander observes, 'more in accordance with the liberal views of the free-minded Paul' (Bilroth, *Commentary on Corinthians*, in *Bib. Cabinet*). Besides which, the character of the existing slavery, to which we shall now refer, was utterly inconsistent with the entire tenor of the moral and humane principles of the precepts of Jesus.

5. *Roman Slavery.*—Our limits will not allow us to enter into detail on the only kind of slavery referred to in the New Testament, for there is no indication that the Jews possessed any slaves in the time of Christ. Suffice it therefore to say that, in addition to the fact that Roman slavery was perpetual and hereditary, the slave had no protection whatever against the avarice, rage, or lust of his master. The bondsman was viewed less as a human being, subject to arbitrary dominion, than as an inferior animal, dependent wholly on the will of his owner. The master possessed the uncontrolled power of life and death over his slave,—a power which continued at least to the time of the Emperor Hadrian. He might, and frequently did, kill, mutilate, and torture his slaves, for any or for no offence, so that slaves were sometimes crucified from mere caprice. He might force them to become prostitutes or gladiators; and, instead of the perpetual obligation of the marriage tie, their temporary unions (*contubernia*) were formed and dissolved at his command, families and friends were separated, and no obligation existed to provide for their wants in sickness or in health. But, notwithstanding all the barbarous cruelties of Roman slavery, it had one decided advantage over that which was introduced in modern times into European colonies, both law and custom being decidedly favourable to the freedom of the slave (*Inquiry into the State of Slavery among the Romans*, by W. Blair, Esq. 1833). The Mahommedan law also, in this respect, contrasts favourably with those of the European settlements.

Although the condition of the Roman slaves was no doubt improved under the emperors, the early effects of Christian principles were manifest in mitigating the horrors, and bringing about the gradual abolition of slavery. St. Onesimus, according to the concurrent testimony of antiquity, was liberated by Philemon (Phil. ver. 21); and in addition to the testimonies cited in Wright's *Slavery* (ut supra, p. 60), see the preface of Euthalius to this Epistle. The servile condition formed no obstacle to attaining the highest dignities of the Christian priesthood. Our space will not allow us to pursue this subject. 'It was,' says M. Guizot, 'by putting an end to the cruel institution of slavery that Christianity extended its mild influence to the practice of war; and that barbarous art, softened by its humane spirit, ceased to be so destructive' (Milman's *Gibbon*, i. 61). 'It is not,' says Robertson, 'the authority of any single detached precept in the Gospel, but the spirit and genius of the Christian religion, more powerful than any particular command, which has abolished the practice of slavery throughout the world.' Although, even in the most corrupt times of the church, the operation of Christian principles tended to this benevolent object, they unfortunately did not prevent the revival of slavery in the European settlements in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, together with that nefarious traffic, the suppression of which has rendered the name of Wilberforce for ever illustrious. Modern servitude had all the characteristic evils of the Roman, except, perhaps, the uncontrolled power of life and death, while it was destitute of that redeeming quality to which we have referred, its tendency being to perpetuate the condition of slavery. It has also been supposed to have introduced the unfortunate prejudice of colour, which was unknown to the ancients (Linstant's *Essai*, 1841). It was the benevolent wish of the philosophic Herder (*History of Man*, 1788) that the time might come 'when we shall look back with as much compassion on our inhuman traffic in negroes, as on the ancient Roman slavery or Spartan helots.' This is now no longer a hope, so far as England is concerned, as she not only set the example of abolishing the traffic, but evinced the soundness of her Christian principles by the greatest national act of justice which history has yet recorded, in the total abolition of slavery throughout all her dependencies.

W. W.

SLIME. [ASPHALTUM.]

SMITH (חָרָשׁ), *a workman* in stone, wood, or metal, like the Latin *faber*, but sometimes more accurately defined by what follows, as חָרַשׁ בַּרְזֶל, a workman in iron, a smith; Sept. *τέκτων, τέκτων σιδήρου, χαλκεύς, τεχνίτης*; Vulg. *faber* and *faber ferrarius* (1 Sam. xiii. 19; Isa. xliv. 12; liv. 16; 2 Kings xxiv. 14; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2). In 2 Chron. xxiv. 12, 'workers in iron and brass' are mentioned. The first smith mentioned in Scripture is Tubal-Cain, whom some writers, arguing from the similarity of the names, identify with Vulcan (Gerh. Vossius, *De Orig. Idolol.* i. 16). He is said to have been 'an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron (Gen. iv. 22), or perhaps more properly, a whetter or sharpener of every instrument of copper or iron. So Montanus, '*acuentem* omne artificium æris et ferri;' Sept. *σφυροκόπος χαλκεὺς χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου*; Vulg. 'fuit malleator et faber in cuncta opera æris et ferri.' Josephus says that he first of all invented the art of making brass (*Antiq.* i. 2. 2). As the art of the smith is one of the first essentials to civilization, the mention of its founder was worthy of a place among the other fathers of inventions. So requisite was the trade of a smith in ancient warfare that conquerors removed these artizans from a vanquished nation, in order the more effectually to disable it. Thus the Philistines deprived the Hebrews of their smiths (1 Sam. xiii. 19; comp. Judg. v. 8). So Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, treated them in later times (2 Kings xxiv. 14; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2). With these instances the commentators compare the stipulation of Porsenna with the Roman people, after the expulsion of their kings: 'Ne ferro, nisi in agricultura, uterentur' (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 14). Cyrus treated the Lydians in the same manner (Herodotus, i. 142). מסגר, *smith*, occurs in 2 Kings xxiv. 14, 16; Sept. *συγκλείοντα*; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2; Vulg. 'clusor,' or 'inclusor.' Buxtorf gives 'claustrarius, faber ferrarius.' The root סגר, *to close*, indicates artizans 'with busy hammers closing rivets up;' which suits the context better than other renderings, as setters of precious stones, seal-engravers, &c. In the New Testament we meet with Demetrius, 'the silversmith,' at Ephesus, *ἀργυροκόπος*, 'a worker in silver,' Vulg. *argentarius;* but the commentators are not agreed whether he was a manufacturer of small silver models of the Temple of Diana, *ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς*, or at least of the chapel which contained the famous statue of the goddess, to be sold to foreigners, or used in private devotion, or taken with them by travellers as a safeguard; or whether he made large *coins* representing the temple and image. Beza, Scaliger, and others, understand a coiner or mintmaster (see Kuinoel *in loc.*). That the word may signify a silver-*founder*, is clear from the Sept. rendering of Jer. vi. 29. From Plutarch (*Opp.* t. ix. pp. 301 and 473, ed. Reisk.) and Hesychius it appears that the word signifies any worker in silver or money. A *coppersmith* named Alexander is mentioned as an opponent of St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 14) [Coal, Iron, Metals].—J. F. D.

SMYRNA (Σμύρνα), a celebrated commercial city of Ionia (Ptolem. v. 2), situated near the bottom of that gulf of the Ægean Sea which received its name from it (Mela, i. 17. 3), at the mouth of the small river Meles, and 320 stades north of Ephesus (Strabo, xv. p. 632). It is in N. lat. 38° 26′, E. long. 27° 7′. Smyrna was a very ancient city, but having been destroyed by the Lydians it lay waste 400 years, to the time of Alexander the Great (Plin. v. 29; Pausan. vii. 5); or, according to Strabo, to that of Antigonus. It was rebuilt at the distance of twenty stades from the ancient city (Strabo, xiv. p. 646), and we soon find it flourishing greatly; and in the time of the first Roman emperors it was one of the finest cities of Asia (Strabo, iv. 9). It was at this period that it became the seat of a Christian church, which is noticed in the Apocalypse, as one of 'the seven churches of Asia' (Rev. i. 11; ii. 8-11). It was destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 177; but the emperor Marcus Aurelius caused it to be rebuilt with even more than its former splendour. It afterwards, however, suffered greatly from earthquakes and conflagrations, and must be regarded as having declined much from its ancient importance, although from the convenience of its situation it has still maintained its rank as a great city and the central emporium of the Levantine trade; and seeing the terrible decay which has fallen upon the numerous great and beautiful cities of Asia Minor, its relative rank among the existing cities of that region is probably greater than that which it anciently bore. The Turks call it Izmir. It is a better built town than Constantinople, and in proportion to its size there are few places in the Turkish dominions which have so large a population. It is computed at 130,000, of which the Franks compose a far greater proportion than in any other town of Turkey; and they are generally in good circumstances. Next to the Turks the Greeks form the most numerous class of inhabitants, and they have a bishop and two churches. The unusually large proportion of Christians in the town renders it peculiarly unclean in the eyes of strict Moslems, whence it has acquired among them the name of Giaour Izmir or Infidel Smyrna. There are in it 20,000 Greeks, 8000 Armenians, 1000 Europeans, and 9000 Jews: the rest are Moslems.

The prosperity of Smyrna is now rather on the increase than the decline; houses of painted wood are giving way in all directions to mansions of stone; and probably not many years will elapse before the modern town may not unworthily represent that city which the ancients delighted to call 'the lovely—the crown of Ionia—the ornament of Asia.'

Smyrna stands at the foot of a range of mountains, which enclose it on three sides. The only ancient ruins are upon the mountains behind the town, and to the south. Upon the highest summit stands an old dilapidated castle, which is supposed by some to mark the previous (but not the *most* ancient) site of the city; frequent earthquakes having dictated the necessity of removing it to the plain below, and to the lower declivities of the mountains. Mr. Arundell says—'Few of the Ionian cities have furnished more relics of antiquity than Smyrna; but the convenience of transporting them, with the number of investigators, have exhausted the mine; it is therefore not at all wonderful that of the stoas and temples the very ruins have vanished; and it is now ex-

tremely difficult to determine the sites of any of the ancient buildings with the exception of the stadium, the theatre, and the temple of Jupiter Acræus, which was within the Acropolis' (*Discoveries in Asia Minor*, ii. 407). Of the stadium here mentioned the ground-plot only remains, it being stripped of its seats and marble decorations. It is supposed to be the place where Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, and probably 'the angel of the church of Smyrna' (John ii. 8), to whom the Apocalyptic message was addressed, suffered martyrdom. The Christians of Smyrna hold the memory of this venerable person in high honour, and go annually in procession to his supposed tomb, which is at a short distance from the place of martyrdom (Rosenmüller, *Alterthumsk.* i. 2. 224, sq.; Turner, *Travels*, iii. 138-141; 285-291; Arundell, u. s.; Richter, p. 495; Schubert, i. 272-283; *Narrat. of Scottish Mission*, pp. 328-336; Eōthen, ch. v.).

SNAIL (שַׁבְלוּל). Snails and slugs are not very common in countries so dry in summer as Palestine. Hence, perhaps, the fact, that there is only one allusion to them in Scripture. This occurs in Psalm lviii. 8, where the figure seems to be more significant, if understood of snails without shells, *i. e.* slugs, rather than shell-snails, though true of both. 'Let them melt away . . . as the snail which melteth as it goeth.' The name itself, *shablul*, from a verb signifying 'to smear' or 'soil,' has reference to the slime and moisture of this animal (like λείμαξ, from λείβω). The Sept. does not regard the word as denoting a snail at all, but in the text cited translates it by κηρός, 'bees' wax.'

SO (סוֹא; Sept. Σηγώρ), a king of Egypt, whom Hoshea, the last king of Israel, called to his help against the Assyrians under Shalmaneser (2 Kings xvii. 4). It has been questioned whether this So was the same with Sahaco, the first king of the Ethiopian dynasty in Upper Egypt, or his son and successor Sevechus, the second king of the same dynasty, and the immediate predecessor of Tirhakah. Winer hesitates between them, and Gesenius concludes for the latter. Sevechus reigned twelve years, according to Manetho, fourteen according to Syncellus. This name, in Egyptian Sevech, is also that of the god Saturn (Champollion, *Panth. Egypt.* No. 21, 22; Winer, *Real-Wörterb.* s. v.; Gesenius, *Comment. in Jes.* i. 696).

SOAP. [Borith; Neter.]

SODOM (סְדֹם; Sept. Σόδομα), a city in the vale of Siddim, where Lot settled after his separation from Abraham (Gen. xiii. 12; xiv. 12; xix. 1). It had its own chief or 'king,' as had the other four cities of the plain (Gen. xiv. 2, 8, 10), and was along with them, Zoar only excepted, destroyed by fire from heaven, on account of the gross wickedness of the inhabitants; the memory of which event has been perpetuated in a name of infamy to all generations (Gen. xix.). The destruction of Sodom claims attention from the solemnity with which it is introduced (Gen. xviii. 20-22); from the circumstances which preceded and followed—the intercession of Abraham, the preservation of Lot, and the judgment which overtook his lingering wife (Gen. xviii. 25-33; xix.); and from the nature of the physical agencies through which the overthrow was effected. Most of these particulars are easily understood; but the last has awakened much discussion, and may therefore require a larger measure of attention. The circumstances are these. In the first place, we learn that the vale of Siddim, in which Sodom lay, was very fertile, and everywhere well watered—'like the garden of the Lord;' and these circumstances induced Lot to fix his abode there, notwithstanding the wickedness of the inhabitants (Gen. xiii. 10, 11). Next it appears that this vale was full of 'slime-pits.' This means sources of bitumen, for the word is the same as that which is applied to the cement used by the builders of Babylon, and we know that to have been bitumen or asphaltum (Gen. xiv. 10; comp. xi. 3). These pits appear to have been of considerable extent; and, indeed, it was from them doubtless that the whole valley derived its name of Siddim (שִׂדִּים). At length, when the day of destruction arrived, 'the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah fire and brimstone from the Lord out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of those cities, and that which grew upon the ground' (Gen. xix. 24, 25). In the escape from this overthrow, the wife of Lot 'looked back, and became a pillar of salt' (ver. 26). When Abraham, early that same morning, from the neighbourhood of his distant camp, 'looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah, and towards all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace' (ver. 27). These are the simple facts of the case. It has usually been assumed that the vale of Siddim occupied the basin of what is now the Dead Sea, which did not previously exist, but was one of the results of this catastrophe. It has now, however, been established by Dr. Robinson, that a lake to receive the Jordan and other waters must have occupied this basin long before the catastrophe of Sodom; as all the geological characteristics of the region go to show that its present configuration is in its main features coëval with the present condition of the surface of the earth in general, and is not the effect of any local catastrophe at a subsequent period [Sea, Dead]. But although a lake must then have existed, to receive the Jordan and other waters of the north, which could not have passed more southward, as was at one time supposed, and which must even, as is now proved, have received the waters of the south also, we are at liberty to assume, and it is necessary to do so, that the Dead Sea anciently covered a much less extent of surface than at present. The cities which were destroyed must have been situated at the south end of the lake, as it then existed; for Lot fled to Zoar, which was near Sodom (Gen. xix. 20), and Zoar lay almost at the southern end of the present sea [Zoar]. 'Even at the present day,' says Robinson, 'more living streams flow into the Ghor, at the south end of the sea, from wadys of the eastern mountains, than are to be found so near together in all Palestine; and the tract, although now mostly desert, is still better watered through these streams, and by the many fountains, than any other district throughout the whole country' (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 603). The slime-pits, or wells of asphaltum, are no longer to be seen; but it seems that masses of floating asphaltum occur only in the southern part of the lake; and as they are seen

but rarely, and immediately after earthquakes, the asphaltum appears to be gradually consolidated in the lake, and not being able to flow off, forms by consequence a layer at the bottom, portions of which may be detached by earthquakes and other convulsions of nature, and then appear on the surface of the water or upon the shore. The eminent geologist, Leopold von Buch, in his letter to Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 606-608), thinks it quite probable that this accumulation may have taken place in remote times, as well as at the present day. Thus another circumstance of importance is produced in coincidence with the sacred accounts; and again, with reference to the southern portion of the *present* lake, suggesting the probability that the remarkable bay, or 'back water,' at its southern extremity, is the portion of it which did not in ancient times exist, that it in fact covers the more fertile vale of Siddim, and the site of Sodom and the other cities which the Lord destroyed; and that, in the words of Dr. Robinson—'by some convulsion or catastrophe of nature, connected with the miraculous destruction of the cities, either the surface of this plain was scooped out, or the bottom of the sea was heaved up, so as to cause the waters to overflow, and cover permanently a larger tract than formerly. The country is, as we know, subject to earthquakes, and exhibits also frequent traces of volcanic action. It would have been no uncommon effect of either of these causes, to heave up the bottom of the ancient lake, and thus produce the phenomenon in question. But the historical account of the destruction of the cities implies also the agency of fire. Perhaps both causes were therefore at work; for volcanic action and earthquakes go hand in hand; and the accompanying electric discharges usually cause lightnings to play and thunders to roll. In this way we have all the phenomena which the most literal interpretation of the sacred records can demand.' The same writer, with the geological sanction of Leopold von Buch, repeats the conjecture of Le Clerc and others, that the bitumen had become accumulated around the sources, and had perhaps formed strata, spreading for some distance upon the plain; that possibly these strata in some parts extended under the soil, and might thus approach the vicinity of the cities:—'If, indeed, we might suppose all this, then the kindling of such a heap of combustible materials, through volcanic action or lightning from heaven, would cause a conflagration sufficient not only to engulf the cities, but also to destroy the surface of the plain, so that 'the smoke of the country would go up as the smoke of a furnace, and the sea rushing in, would convert it to a tract of waters.' The supposition of such an accumulation of bitumen, with our present knowledge, appears less extraordinary than it might in former times have seemed, and requires nothing more than nature presents to our view in the wonderful lake, or rather tract, of bitumen, in the island of Trinidad. The subsequent barrenness of the remaining portion of the plain is readily accounted for by the presence of the masses of fossil salt which now abound in its neighbourhood, and which were perhaps then, for the first time, brought to light. These being carried by the waters to the bottom of the valley, would suffice to take away its productive power. In connection with this fact, the circumstance that the wife of Lot 'became a pillar of *salt*,' is significant and suggestive, whatever interpretation we may assign to the fact recorded.

SOHERETH (סֹהֶרֶת; *πάρινος λίθος*), a kind of costly stone, used for tesselated pavements (Esth. i. 6). It seems to have been either a species of black marble, as a similar word in Syriac would suggest; or else marble marked with round spots like shields, *i. e. spotted* or *shielded* marble. This interpretation finds the meaning in the Hebrew word סהרה *sohērah*, which is the name for a shield. It is however easier to discover the meaning of the name than the application of it. We do not feel satisfied with that which has been given; and still less with that of Hartmann (*Hebräerin*, iii. 363), who supposes the *sohereth* to have been *tortoise-shell*, consisting as it were of shields; for tortoise-shell would hardly be interspersed in a pavement with various kinds of marble.

SOLOMON (שְׁלֹמֹה, *pacific*; Sept. Σαλωμών). The reign of Solomon over all Israel, although second in importance only to that of David, has so little variety of incident as to occupy a far less space in the Bible narrative. Moreover, some of the problems which that narrative suggests do not admit of a solution sufficiently certain to allow of our entering on the discussion.

In the declining age of David, his eldest surviving son, Adonijah, endeavoured to place himself on the throne, by the aid of Joab the chief captain, and Abiathar one of the chief priests, both of whom had been associated with David's early sufferings under the persecution of Saul. The aged monarch did not for a moment give way to the formidable usurpation, but at the remonstrance of his favourite, Bathsheba, resolved forthwith to raise Solomon to the throne. To Joab he was able to oppose the celebrated name of Benaiah; to Abiathar his colleague Zadok and the aged prophet Nathan. The plot of Adonijah was at once defeated by this decisive measure; and Solomon, being anointed by Nathan, was solemnly acknowledged as king. The date of this event is, as nearly as can be ascertained, B.C. 1015.

The death of David would seem to have followed very quick upon these transactions. At least, no public measures in the interval are recorded, except Solomon's verbal forgiveness of Adonijah. But after the removal of David, the first events of which we hear are the destruction of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei son of Gera, with the degradation of Abiathar. Those who look for Christian perfection in the conduct of Solomon do some violence to the facts in order to explain these transactions; which are in themselves clear enough. Despotic monarchs are seldom found to forgive unsuccessful competitors for the crown, or their assistants; and their first deed is not rarely to put to death even their innocent brothers (2 Chron. xxi. 4). The promise of Solomon to Adonijah, almost as much as his command to Shimei (1 Kings ii. 37), was but a deferring of vengeance to a more convenient time; and the same absolute power, which could interpret into treason the humble suit for the hand of a beautiful but obscure damsel, would have

been sure sooner or later to find a plausible excuse for effecting the object determined on. In fact, Abiathar is declared 'worthy of death,' clearly not for any new offences, but for his participation in Adonijah's original attempt; and Joab is put to death solely because he is alarmed at the treatment of his associates (ver. 26-29). For the wicked Joab no pity need be felt; yet the complexion of the whole affair proves that his murder of two chief captains was rather a convenient excuse than the true ground of his death. As for Shimei, the tyrannical restriction on his innocent liberty, by which a pretence for his death was found, is far less respectable than simple violence; and almost makes David's public forgiveness of him (2 Sam. xvi. 9-12) and solemn oath (xix. 21-23), appear like an ostentatious catching at popularity, which concealed implacable resentment. It is remarkable that these three executions are all perpetrated by the hand of Benaiah himself, who was head of David's body-guard, and after Joab's death chief captain of the army.

After this, the history enters upon a general narrative of the reign of Solomon; but we have very few notices of time, and cannot attempt to fix the order of any of the events. All the information, however, which we have concerning him, may be consolidated under the following heads: (1) his traffic and wealth; (2) his buildings; (3) his ecclesiastical arrangements; (4) his general administration; (5) his seraglio; (6) his enemies.

(1.) The overflowing wealth in which he is so vividly depicted is not easy to reduce to a modern financial estimate; partly because the numbers are so often treacherous, and partly because it is uncertain what items of expenditure fell on the general funds of the government. In illustration of the former topic, it is enough to observe, that the money prepared for the temple by David, is computed in 1 Chron. xxix. 4 at 3000 talents of pure gold and 7000 of silver, while in xxii. 14 it is called 100,000 of gold and 1,000,000 of silver; also the sum for which David buys the floor of Araunah is, in 2 Sam. xxiv. 24, 50 shekels of silver; but this in 1 Chron. xxi. 25, is become 600 shekels of gold. Efforts are made to resolve the former difficulty; but they are superseded by the latter, and by numerous other manifestly exaggerated figures. But abandoning all attempt at numerical estimates, it cannot be doubted that the wealth of Solomon was very great; and it remains for us to consider from what sources it was supplied.

The profound peace which the nation enjoyed as a fruit of David's victories, stimulated the industry of all Israel. The tribes beyond the Jordan had become rich by the plunder of the Hagarenes, and had a wide district where their cattle might multiply to an indefinite extent. The agricultural tribes enjoyed a soil and climate in some parts eminently fruitful, and in all richly rewarding the toil of irrigation; so that, in the security of peace, nothing more was wanted to develope the resources of the nation than markets for its various produce. In food for men and cattle, in timber and fruit trees, in stone, and probably in the useful metals, the land supplied of itself all the first wants of its people in abundance. For exportation, it is distinctly stated, that wheat, barley, oil, and wine, were in chief demand; to which we may conjecturally add, wool, hides, and other raw materials. The king undoubtedly had large districts and extensive herds of his own; but besides this, he received presents *in kind* from his own people and from the subject nations; and it was possible in this way to make demands upon them, without severe oppression, to an extent that is unbearable where taxes must be paid in gold or silver. He was himself at once monarch and merchant; and we may with much confidence infer, that no private merchant will be allowed to compete with a prince who has assumed the mercantile character. By his intimate commercial union with the Tyrians, he was put into the most favourable of all positions for disposing of his goods. That energetic nation, possessing so small a strip of territory, had much need of various raw produce for their own wants. Another large demand was made by them for the raw materials of manufactures, and for articles which they could with advantage sell again: and as they were able to furnish so many acceptable luxuries to the court of Solomon, a most active exchange soon commenced. Only second in importance to this, and superior in fame, was the commerce of the Red Sea, which could not have been successfully prosecuted without the aid of Tyrian enterprise and experience. The navigation to Sheba, and the districts beyond—whether of Eastern Arabia or of Africa—in spite of its tediousness, was highly lucrative, from the vast diversity of productions between the countries so exchanging; while, as it was a trade of monopoly, a very disproportionate share of the whole gain fell to the carriers of the merchandise. The Egyptians were the only nation who might have been rivals in the southern maritime traffic; but their religion and their exclusive principles did not favour sea-voyages; and there is some reason to think that at this early period they abstained from sending their own people abroad for commerce. The goods brought back from the south were chiefly gold, precious stones, spice, almug or other scented woods, and ivory; all of which were probably so abundant in their native regions as to be parted with on easy terms; and of course were all admirably suited for re-exportation to Europe. The carrying trade, which was thus shared between Solomon and the Tyrians, was probably the most lucrative part of the southern and eastern commerce. How large a portion of it went on by caravans of camels, is wholly unknown; yet that this branch was considerable, is certain. From Egypt Solomon imported not only linen yarn, but even horses and chariots, which were sold again to the princes of Syria and of the Hittites; and were probably prized for the superior breed of the horses, and for the light, strong, and elegant structure of the chariots. Wine being abundant in Palestine, and wholly wanting in Egypt, was no doubt a principal means of repayment. Moreover, Solomon's fortifying of Tadmor (or Palmyra), and retention of Thapsacus on the Euphrates, show that he had an important interest in the direct land and river trade to Babylon; although we have no details on this subject. The difficulty which meets us is, to imagine by what exports, light enough to bear land carriage, he was able to pay for his imports.

We may conjecture that he sent out Tyrian cloths and trinkets, or Egyptian linen of the finest fabric; yet in many of these things the Babylonians also excelled. On the whole, when we consider that in the case of Solomon the commercial wealth of the entire community was concentrated in the hands of the government; that much of the trade was a monopoly; and that all was assisted or directed by the experience and energy of the Tyrians; the overwhelming riches of this eminent merchant-sovereign are perhaps not surprising.

The visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, although not strictly commercial, rose out of commercial intercourse, and may perhaps be here noticed. The territory of Sheba, according to Strabo, reached so far north as to meet that of the Nabathæans, although its proper seat was at the southernmost angle of Arabia. The very rich presents made by the queen show the extreme value of her commerce with the Hebrew monarch; and this early interchange of hospitality derives a peculiar interest from the fact, that in much later ages—those of the Maccabees and downwards—the intercourse of the Jews with Sheba became so intimate, and their influence, and even power, so great. Jewish circumcision took root there, and princes held sway who were called Jewish. The language of Sheba is believed to have been strongly different from the literate Arabic; yet, like the Ethiopic, it belonged to the great Syro-Arabian family, and was not alien to the Hebrew in the same sense that the Egyptian was; and the great ease with which the pure monotheism of the Maccabees propagated itself in Sheba, gives plausibility to the opinion, that even at the time of Solomon the people of Sheba had much religious superiority over the Arabs and Syrians in general. If so, it becomes clear, how the curiosity of the southern queen would be worked upon, by seeing the riches of the distant monarch, whose purer creed must have been carried every where with them by his sailors and servants.

(2.) Besides the great work which has rendered the name of Solomon so famous—the Temple at Jerusalem—we are informed of the palaces which he built, viz., his own palace, the queen's palace, and the house of the forest of Lebanon, his porch (or piazza) for no specified object, and his porch of judgment, or law court. He also added to the walls of Jerusalem, and fortified Millo ('in the city of David,' 2 Chron. xxxii. 5), and many other strong-holds. The temple seems to have been of very small dimensions—60 cubits long, 20 broad, and 30 high (1 Kings vi. 3) —or smaller than many moderate-sized parish churches in England; but it was wonderful for the lavish use of precious materials. Whether the three palaces were parts of the same great pile, remains uncertain. The house of the forest of Lebanon, it has been ingeniously conjectured, was so called from the multitude of cedar pillars, similar to a forest. That Solomon's own house was of far greater extent than the temple, appears from its having occupied thirteen years in building, while the temple was finished in seven. In all these works he had the aid of the Tyrians, whose skill in hewing timber and in carving stone, and in the application of machines for conveying heavy masses, was of the first importance. The cedar was cut from Mount Lebanon, and, as would appear, from a district which belonged to the Tyrians; either because in the Hebrew parts of the mountain the timber was not so fine, or from want of roads by which it might be conveyed. The hewing was superintended by Tyrian carpenters, but all the hard labour was performed by Hebrew bondsmen. This circumstance discloses to us an important fact—the existence of so large a body of public slaves in the heart of the Israelitish monarchy, who are reckoned at 153,600 in 2 Chron. ii. 17; see also 1 Kings ix. 20-23. During the preparation for the temple, it is stated (ver. 13-18) that 70,000 men were employed to bear burdens, 80,000 hewers of wood in the mountains; besides 3300 overseers. The meaning of this, however, is rather obscure; since it also states that there was a 'levy' of 30,000, of whom 10,000 at a time went to Lebanon. Perhaps the 150,000 was the whole number *liable to serve*, of whom only one-fifth was actually called out. From the large number said to 'bear burdens,' we may infer that the mode of working was very lavish of human exertion, and little aided by the strength of beasts. It is inferred that at least the Hittites had recognized princes of their own, since they are named as purchasers of Egyptian chariots from Solomon; yet the mass of these nations were clearly pressed down by a cruel bondage, which must have reacted on the oppressors at every time of weakness. The word מַס, which is translated 'levy' and 'tribute,' means especially the personal service performed by public slaves, and is rendered 'task,' in Exod. i. 11, when speaking of the Israelites in Egypt.

(3.) Until the temple was finished, the *tabernacle* appears to have continued at Gibeon, although the *ark* had been brought by David to Zion (2 Chron. i. 3, 4). [This distinction was overlooked in a passage concerning David, i. 529 a. of this work.] David, it appears, had pitched a tent on purpose to receive the ark, where Asaph and his brethren the Levites ministered before it with singing, while Zadok and his brethren the priests ministered before the tabernacle at Gibeon with sacrifices (1 Chron. xv. 16-24; xvi. 37-40). This shows that even in David's mind the idea of a single centre of religious unity was not fully formed; as the co-ordinate authority of Abiathar and Zadok indicates that no single high priest was recognized. But from the time of the dedication of the temple, not only the ark, but all the holy vessels from the tabernacle were brought into it (1 Kings viii. 4), and the high priest naturally confined his ministrations to the temple, Zadok having been left without an equal by the disgrace of Abiathar. Nevertheless, the whole of the later history of the Jewish monarchy, even under the most pious kings, proves that the mass of the nation never became reconciled to the new idea, that 'in Jerusalem (alone) was the place where they ought to worship.' The 'high places,' at which Jehovah was worshipped with sacrifice, are perpetually alluded to in terms which show that, until the reign of Josiah, it was impossible for kings, priests, or prophets, to bring about a uniformity and central superintendence of the national religion.

After the death of Nathan and Zadok, those faithful friends of David, although Solomon continued to celebrate with the same splendour all the exterior ceremonies of worship, it is hard to believe that much of that spirit of God which was in his father animated his ecclesiastical proceedings. Side by side with the worship of Jehovah foreign idolatries were established; and the disgust which this inspired in the prophets of Jehovah is clearly seen in the address of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam, so manifestly exciting him to rebel against the son of David (1 Kings xi. 29-39). The priests were too much under the direct domination of the crown to act an independent part; the prophets had little sympathy with the routine of pompous solemnities. Solomon himself, with all his erudition and insight into man's nature, had little, as far as we are aware, of that devotional character and susceptible feeling which distinguished David; and however well meant his ostentatious patronage of divine worship, it probably could have produced no spiritual fruit, even if he had not finally neutralized it by his impartial support of heathen superstitions.

(4.) Concerning his general administration little is recorded beyond the names of various high officers. Among his chief ministers (1 Kings iv. 1-6) are named a son of Zadok, and two sons of Nathan. There is a difficulty in the list, since it names Abiathar and Zadok as joint priests, at a time when Benaiah is already 'over the host;' although the latter event could not have been until after the death of Joab, and therefore after the ejection of Abiathar. The two sons of Nathan seem to be named as peculiarly eminent; for one of them, Azariah, is said to have been 'over the officers;' the other, Zabud, is called 'principal officer and the king's friend.' It is not likely that any other considerable changes were made in his government, as compared with David's, than such as peace and commerce, in place of war, necessitate. Yet it is probable that Solomon's peculiar talents and taste led him to perform one function which is always looked for in Oriental royalty, viz., to act personally as *Judge* in cases of oppression. His award between the two contending mothers cannot be regarded as an isolated fact: and 'the porch of judgment' which he built for himself may imply that he devoted fixed portions of time to the judicial duties (see 2 Kings xv. 5 of Jotham). In all the older civilization of the world, the quality most valued in a judge is the ability to detect truth in spite of the perjury of witnesses, or defect of (what we should esteem) legal evidence; a defect which must be of daily occurrence where the art of writing is little used for common contracts. The celebrity which Solomon gained for wisdom, although founded mainly perhaps on his political and commercial sagacity, must have received great popular impetus from his administration of law, and from his readiness in seeing through the entanglements of affairs which arise in commercial transactions.

(5.) For the harem of Solomon—consisting of 700 wives and 300 concubines—no other apology can be made, than the fact, that in countries where polygamy is not disreputable, an unlimited indulgence as to the number of wives is looked upon as the chief luxury of wealth, and the most appropriate appendage to royalty. Permission once being given and the taste established, nothing but poverty can set a limit; since an establishment of a hundred or a thousand wives is perhaps more harmonious than one of two or three. The only remarkable facts are, his marriage with an Egyptian princess, and his establishment of his wives' idolatry.

The commercial union of Tyre with Egypt, in spite of the vast diversity of genius between the two nations, was in those days very close; and it appears highly probable that the affinity to Pharaoh was sought by Solomon as a means of aiding his commercial projects. Although his possession of the Edomite ports on the gulf of Akaba made him to a certain extent independent of Egypt, the friendship of that power must have been of extreme importance to him in the dangerous navigation of the Red Sea; and was perhaps a chief cause of his brilliant success in so new an enterprise. That Pharaoh continued for some time on good terms with him, appears from a singular present which the Egyptian king made him (1 Kings ix. 16): 'Pharaoh had gone up and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife;' in consequence of which, Solomon rebuilt and fortified the town. In his declining years, a very different spirit is manifested towards him by Shishak, the new Egyptian king; whether after the death of the princess who had been the link between the two kingdoms, or from a new view of policy in the new king, is unknown.

The proceedings of Solomon towards the religion of his wives has been mildly or approvingly regarded by various learned men, as being only what we have learned to name *Toleration*. But such a view seems to imply a want of discrimination between those times and our own; and besides, would require us to suppose the statements in the history to be exaggerated, as though they were highly improbable. The religions of antiquity, being essentially ceremonial, were of a most obtrusive kind. It is one thing to allow men in private to hold their conscientious sentiments, or indeed by argument and discussion to aim at propagating them, and quite another to sanction public idolatries, which appeal to and allure the senses of the ignorant, and scandalize the minds of the better taught; to say nothing of the impurities and cruelties with which these idolatries were almost always connected. The spirituality and individuality of religion were not as yet so developed as to allow of our ascribing Solomon's conduct to right and noble views of toleration. Besides, he was under no necessity to marry these foreign wives at all. Unless prompted by mere voluptuousness (as in the case of the concubines), he must have taken them from political motives; although distinctly knowing that the step would draw after it his public establishment of heathen sin and superstition. This is widely different from allowing foreigners, who for trade resided in the country, to practise their own religious ceremonies at their own prompting and expense; and yet even this, if permitted at all, would have been permitted only within walled and separated streets appropriated to the foreigners, by a king anxious to obey the law of Moses and of Jehovah in ever so liberal

and unconfined a spirit. This is a topic of prime consequence in the history of the Jewish monarchy. Modern commentators, impressed with the importance of liberty of conscience, are naturally prone to suspect that the prophetical or priestly feeling under which the history of the kings was composed, has misrepresented the more liberal policy of these monarchs. But granting, as we may, that it was not given to those prophets or priests to understand the Christian rule of universal toleration, it is certain that the times were not ripe for the application of that rule, and that the most earnest, devout, and spiritually enlightened men of those days were the most vehemently opposed to a public toleration of idolatry. Taking this merely as a great and unalterable *fact*, it was shortsighted policy in Solomon, as well as worldly want of faith, to seek to conciliate the foreign heathen, at the expense of the devoted allegiance of God's chosen ones in Israel. He won at best a momentary good will from Ammonites, Moabites, or Sidonians, by such an affinity, and by such an introduction of their favourite idols: he lost the heart of the prophets of Jehovah, and, as a result, he could not transmit to his son more than a fraction of his kingdom. It is no mere fiction of priestly prejudice, but a historical certainty, that David owed his rise mainly to the overruling and pervading power exerted on him by the pure and monotheistic faith of the prophets; while Solomon lost (for his posterity) the kingdom of the ten tribes, and perpetuated strife, weakness, debasement, and superstition, by preferring the attractive splendours of this world to that godliness which would in the end have been rewarded even in the present life.

(6.) The enemies especially named as rising against him in his later years, are Jeroboam, Hadad the Edomite, and Rezon of Damascus. The first is described as having had no treasonable intentions, until Solomon sought to kill him, on learning the prophecy made to him by Ahijah. Jeroboam was received and fostered by Shishak, king of Egypt, and ultimately became the providential instrument of punishing Solomon's iniquity, though not without heavy guilt of his own. As for Hadad, his enmity to Israel began from the times of David, and is ascribed to the savage butchery perpetrated by Joab on his people. He also, when a mere child, was warmly received in Egypt, apparently by the father-in-law of Solomon; but this does not seem to have been prompted by hostility to David. Having married the sister of Pharaoh's queen, he must have been in very high station in Egypt; still, upon the death of David, he begged leave to depart into Edom, and during the earlier part of Solomon's reign was probably forming his party in secret, and preparing for that dangerous border warfare which he carried on somewhat later. Rezon, on the contrary, seems to have had no personal cause against the Hebrew monarchy; but having become powerful at Damascus and on its frontier, sought, not in vain, to aggrandize himself at its expense. In the long continuance of peace David's veterans had died, and no successors to them can have been trained; and considering the other great expenses of the court, it may be confidently inferred that the standing army had not been kept up in any efficiency. The revenues which would have maintained it were spent on a thousand royal wives: the king himself was unwarlike; and a petty foe, if energetic, was very formidable. Such were the vexations which darkened the setting splendours of the greatest Israelitish king. But from within also his prosperity was unsound. Deep discontent pervaded his own people, when the dazzle of his grandeur had become familiar; when it had become clear, that the royal wealth, instead of denoting national well being, was really sucked out of the nation's vitals. Having no constitutional organ to express their discontent, they waited sullenly, until the recognition of a successor to the crown should give them the opportunity of extorting a removal of burdens which could not permanently be endured.

The picture of Solomon here drawn is far less favourable than could be wished; yet an endeavour has been made to keep close to the facts. Undoubtedly the book of Chronicles,—which (contrary to custom) in this reign adds little or nothing to that of the Kings,—by omission nevertheless gives a seriously altered view of this celebrated man: for not only are his numerous marriages, his idolatries, his oppressions, his vexatious enemies, and the grave rebuke of the prophet Ahijah, left out of the narrative entirely,—but his building of a special palace for his Egyptian queen is ascribed to his pious objection to her dwelling in the house of David, because of the ark having passed through it (2 Chron. viii. 11). From a mind of so sensitive scrupulosity no one could have expected an establishment of heathenish worship. This very circumstance will show how tender was the feeling of the Levitical body towards him, and how little likely it is that the book of Kings has in any way given a discoloured and unfair view of his lamentable worldliness of principle.—F. W. N.

SOLOMON, WISDOM OF. [Wisdom of Solomon.]

SOLOMON'S SONG. [Canticles.]

SONG. [Poetry.]

SOOTHSAYER. [Divination.]

SOPATER (Σώπατρος), a Christian at Berœa, and one of the party of brethren who accompanied Paul into Asia Minor from Greece (Acts xx. 4). He is supposed to be the same with the Sosipater (Σωσίπατρος) named in Rom. xvi. 21; and, if so, was a kinsman of St. Paul.

SORCERER. [Divination.]

1. SOREK (שֹׂרֵק; Sept. σωρήκ), a vine of the finest and noblest kind (Isa. v. 2; comp. Gen. xlix. 11, where שׂרקה *sorekah*, is translated a 'choice vine;' and Jer. ii. 21, where שׂורק *sorek*, is rendered 'noble vine'). [Vine.]

2. SOREK, a valley, probably so called from its vineyards (Judg. xvi. 4). Eusebius and Jerome place it north of Eleutheropolis, and near to Zorah.

SOSIPATER. [Sopater.]

SOSTHENES (Σωσθένης), the chief of the synagogue at Corinth, when Paul was in that city on his second journey into Greece (Acts xviii. 17). He was seized and beaten by the people, before the judgment-seat of Gallio, on account of the tumult raised by the Jews against Paul, of which he seems to have been one of the leaders. He is supposed to have been afterwards

converted to Christianity, as a Sosthenes is mentioned by Paul as 'a brother,' and coupled with himself in 1 Cor. i. 1. This identity is, however, a pure conjecture, and not remarkably probable. Apart from it, however, we know nothing of this second Sosthenes. Eusebius makes him one of the seventy disciples, and later tradition describes him as bishop of Kolophon.

SOUL. The present article is a sequel to that on PUNISHMENT, in which the *literature* only of the question concerning *future punishment* will be briefly stated. It is frequently conceded that we have not authority decidedly to say that any other motives were *held out* to the ancient Hebrews to pursue good and avoid evil, than those derived from the rewards and punishments of this life (Jahn, *Biblisches Archäologie*, § 314). It is, however, considered by some learned Jews that one reference in the book of Genesis to punishment in a future state has been overlooked. God said to the Noachidæ (ch. ix. 5), 'And surely your own blood will I require,' &c. According to tradition, the first part of the text is directed against suicide; but it seems to us more like the enunciation of the general subject, which afterwards descends to particulars. Then follows the unintelligible rendering, 'at the hand of every *beast* will I require it.' Now it is a surprising fact that wherever, throughout the Scriptures, we find חיה (here rendered *beast*) applied to the brute creation, it is always in conjunction with the word בהמה (cattle), רמש (reptile), or עוף (bird), and that if none of these words accompany it, the expression is either חית הארץ (beasts of the earth), or חית השדה (beasts of the field), or חיתו יער (beast of the forest), or חיה רעה (a wild beast); but that whenever, as in this instance, no adjunct is coupled with חיה, it invariably relates to the *soul of man*. This rule is, by the best Hebraists, allowed to be general, the only exception throughout the Scriptures being the text now before us, in which the word חיה stands by itself without any adjunct, but is nevertheless made in our version to refer to the brute creation. It would, however, remove these apparent difficulties to suppose that the general rule holds good in our text, as well as in every other part of Scripture, and that the word here also means the soul of man. Suppose then the first part of the verse, 'Surely your own life-blood will I require,' to be taken as a general prohibition against the unauthorized destruction of human life, then the following words may be understood as beginning to particularise, first, the punishment of suicide, 'of every soul will I require it,' that is, of every soul will I require his own blood shed by himself. Then follows the punishment of homicide, 'and at the hand of man, yea, at the hand of every man, will I require the life of man his brother;' literally, 'and at the hand of the man, at the hand of man his brother, will I require the life of man;' which words, as has already been suggested, may be the foundation of the law of blood-revenge [PUNISHMENT]. Next follows, agreeably to the style of the book of Genesis, an emphatical recapitulation of this punishment of homicide, and the reason of it (ver. 6): 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made he man.' If then the rendering, 'at the hand of every soul will I require it,' be admitted, and this part of the text be understood concerning suicide, the meaning must necessarily be, 'from the *soul* of the suicide will I require his blood.' Hence then we have the satisfaction to find in the Scriptures this early and perfect indication of a punishment to the soul after death, and the necessary sequitur—its immortality (Naphtaly Herz Wesseley, in the מאסף, or *Gatherer for Adar Rishon*, 5548, p. 160; see also Menasseh Ben Israel's *Nishmat Chayim*, and the *New Translation of the Scriptures*, with notes, by the Rev. D. A. De Sola, &c., pp. 51, 52). The literature of the question concerning the nature and duration of future punishment consists of the following particulars. First, its duration was believed by the heathens to be eternal, or more correctly speaking, at least in our language, everlasting. For though these two words are often used as synonymous, yet strictness of use requires that the word eternal should be limited to that which has neither beginning nor end; and everlasting, to that which has a beginning but no end. The duration of the Deity alone is eternal; that of the souls of men, angels, &c., everlasting. Thus Virgil, in his well-known description of Tartarus, 'Sedet, *æternumque* sedebit, Infelix Theseus.' For the Greeks reference is made to Liban. Or. 941 B: ἀντὶ μάκρου χρόνου τοῦ τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἀθάνατος ἐπικείσεται ζημία. Lycoph. 907: ἀκτέριστον ἐν πέτραις Αἰῶνα κωκύσουσιν ἠλοκισμένοι; and 928, αἰανῆ Θεὸν κυδανοῦσι. Secondly, there is a still more striking similarity between the descriptions both of the nature and duration of future punishment given in the Apocryphal books and those of the New Testament. Thus Judith xvi. 17: 'Woe, to the nations which rise up against my kindred; the Lord Almighty will take vengeance on them in the day of judgment, in putting fire and worms in their flesh; and they shall feel them, and weep for ever,' ἕως αἰῶνος (comp. Ecclus. vii. 17; Mark ix. 44). These terms seem *borrowed* from Isaiah's description of a different subject (ch. lxvi. 24). Thirdly, Josephus describes the doctrine of everlasting punishment as being held by the Pharisees and Essenes: 'that the souls of the wicked should be punished with perpetual punishment (ἀϊδίῳ τιμωρίᾳ), and that there was appointed for them a perpetual prison (εἱργμὸς ἀΐδιος'). (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 11, 14; *Antiq.* xviii. 1. 3). Josephus himself, in the discourse ascribed to him on Hades, speaks of a subterraneous region, a lake of unquenchable fire, everlasting punishment, and of a worm never dying (§ 2. 6); but that homily, as Whiston calls it, abounds with other evidence that its author was a Christian. For proofs that the Rabbinical writers held the notion of infinite punishment, see the references by Wetstein on Matt. xxv. 46. In the New Testament the *nature* of future punishment is almost always described by figures. The most abstract description occurs in Rom. ii. 9-16: 'Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil, in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men.' Our Lord generally describes it under figures suggested by some comparison he had just before made, and in unison with it. Thus, having described future happiness under the figure of a midnight banquet, lighted up with lamps, then the state of the rejected is described under that of 'outer darkness' outside the man-

sion, and 'gnashing' or chattering 'of teeth,' from the extreme cold of an Oriental night (Matt. viii. 12; Luke xiii. 28); though the phrase also denotes rage and vexation (comp. Ecclus. xxx. 10). Our Lord employs the phrase 'wailing' or 'weeping and gnashing of teeth' no less than seven times. If 'the end of the world' be described by him under the figure of a harvest, then the wicked, who are represented by the tares, are accordingly gathered and burned. If his return be represented by a master returning to take account of his servants, then the wicked servant is cut asunder, or rather discarded—margin, 'cut off' (Matt. xxiv. 51); for in the same verse he is described as being still alive, and consigned to the place of 'weeping and gnashing of teeth.' Our Lord also frequently represents future punishment under the idea of fire, which Calvin, on Isa. lxvi. 24, remarks, must be understood metaphorically of spiritual punishment. Indeed both the *nature* and *variety* of the figures employed by our Saviour in regard to the subject fully justify Paley's observation, 'that our Lord's discourses exhibit no particular description of the invisible world. The future happiness of the good and the future misery of the bad, which is all we want to be assured of, is directly and positively affirmed, and is represented by metaphors and comparisons which were plainly intended as metaphors and comparisons, and nothing more. As to the rest a solemn reserve is maintained' (*Evidences of Christianity*, part ii. ch. ii.). The question of the *duration* of future punishment chiefly turns on the force of the words translated 'ever,' 'everlasting,' 'never,' which our Lord and his apostles apply to it, and which it is well known have sometimes a limited signification, and are very variously translated in the English version. Thus the word *αἰών*, as a substantive, occurs 128 times in the Greek Testament; and in our translation is rendered 72 times *ever*, twice *eternal*, 36 times *world*, 7 times *never*, 3 times *evermore*, twice *worlds*, twice *ages*, once *course*, once *world without end*, and twice it is passed over. The word *αἰώνιος*, as an adjective, occurs 71 times, and is once rendered *ever*, 42 times *eternal*, 3 times *world*, and 25 times *everlasting*. It is furthermore an important circumstance, that the terms of like import in the Old Testament, and translated in the Septuagint by these Greek words, when applied to the Mosaic law, as a 'statute for ever,' '*νόμιμον αἰώνιον*,' were urged in proof of the irrevocable perpetuity of that law, by the Judaizing teachers; yet St. Paul styles this argument 'a doting about questions, and a strife of words' (1 Tim. vi. 4); 'fighting about words' (2 Tim. ii. 14); 'foolish and untaught questions' (see Macknight's comment on these passages, and Archbishop Secker's *Sermons*, Serm. xvi. vol. 5, Lond. 1771). Hence, therefore, it is urged on the one side, that we can never settle the precise import of these words, as applied in the New Testament to the duration of future punishment, until we shall be able also to answer the following questions; namely, Was it part of the commission of Christ and his apostles to determine this matter? and if so, In what sense were the terms they used in regard to it meant by themselves, and understood by their hearers—whether as denoting a punishment of *unknown* duration, or one literally coexistent with the duration of the Eternal God? On the other side it is objected, that the same word is applied both to the happiness of the righteous and the misery of the wicked, though varied in our translation of Matt. xxv. 46: 'These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal;' where Rosenmüller, reasoning from the context, infers '*the loss of the rewards of virtue*' to be meant, which will necessarily be infinite. Various opinions have been held concerning the nature and duration of future punishment, ascending from the doctrine of Edwards,—'Souls *full* of dreadful grief, bodies and every member of them *full* of racking *torture*, without any possibility of getting ease, without any possibility of moving God to pity' (*Discourse on the Eternity of Hell Torments*, p. 28, &c.), through the various modifications of the doctrine—punishment with pain, literally everlasting, but proportioned to the demerit of the condemned; punishment in the sense of loss or damage (see Greek of Matt. xvi. 26) to the same duration; punishment by pain, *remedial* in its intention, limited in duration, but yet followed by disadvantage literally everlasting—up to the highest extreme on the opposite side, namely, annihilation. Upon this truly important subject we cordially acquiesce in the remark of Doddridge: 'Miserable are they who venture their souls upon the possibility that the words in question, when applied to future punishment, may have a limited meaning.' Among the ancients, the following held that punishments, at least *sensible* ones, would some time *cease*: Justin Martyr, Theophilus, Tatian, Arnobius, &c. Grotius (apud Bloomfield, *Recensio Synoptica*, on Matt. xxv.) refers also, for the *doubts* of certain ancients, to the end of Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah*. Among the more eminent moderns who have maintained that the future punishment of the wicked will be limited and corrective, see Bishop Rust, *Letter of Resolution concerning Origen*, 1661; Jeremy White (who had been Chaplain to the Protector Cromwell), *On the Restoration of all Things*, Lond. 1712; Dr. Thomas Burnet (Master of the Charter House) *De Statu Mortuorum*; Newton (Bishop of Bristol), *Sixtieth Dissertation*; Hartley, *Observations on Man*, 1791; Whiston, *The Eternity of Hell Torments considered*; Southwood Smith, *On the Divine Government*, Lond. 1826; and the List of Authors mentioned in his Appendix.

J. F. D.

SOUTH. The country, or quarter of the heavens, which the Shemite, standing with his face to the east, supposes to be on his right hand. It is denoted by seven Hebrew words (1. נֶגֶב; 2. דָּרוֹם; 3. תֵּיכָן; 4 יָמִין; 5. חֶדֶר; 6. מִדְבָּר; 7. מַיִם), nearly all of which refer to some characteristic of the region to which they are respectively applied. 1. נגב (root נגב in Syr. and Chald., *to be dry*), probably derived its name from the hot drying winds which blow annually into Syria, over Africa and Arabia. 'In March,' says Volney, 'appear in Syria the pernicious *southerly* winds, with the same circumstances as in Egypt, that is to say, their *heat*, which is carried to a degree so excessive, that it is difficult to form an idea of it without having felt it; but one can compare it to that of a great oven when the bread is drawn out (*Voyage en*

Syrie et Egypte, tom. i. p. 297; comp. p. 55; Luke xii. 55, 'When ye see the south wind blow ye say there will be heat;' and see Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, month of March, pp. 221, 222). The word is occasionally applied to a parched or dry tract of land. Caleb's daughter says to her father, 'Thou hast given me a south,' or rather 'dry land;' ארץ הנגב (Vulg. *terram arentem*); 'give me also springs of water' (Judg. i. 15; comp. ver. 9). At other times the word refers to those arid regions, notwithstanding their occasional fertility, over which the south wind blows into Syria. So the Sept. and Vulg. understood the 'whirlwinds from the south' (Isa. xxi. 1; δι' ἐρήμου, *turbines ab Aphrico*). 'The burden of the beasts in the south' is rendered τῶν τετραπόδων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (Isa. xxx. 6). At other times the word is rendered by νότος and λίψ, which latter is the Hellenized form of Libs, *Ventus ex Libya*, the south-west wind, and, by metonymy, the quarter whence it blows. In several instances the Hebrew word is simply put into Greek letters; thus, τὸν Ναγέβ, Josh. x. 40; τῆν γῆν Ναγέβ, *Alex.* τῆν Ναγέβ, *al.* Νεγέβ, xi. 16; Ναγέβ, Cyr. Ἀγέβ, Obad. 19, 20; and once, probably by a corruption, it is ἀργάβ, 1 Sam. xx. 41, *al.* νεγήβ, *al.* νεγέβ, *al.* ἐργάβ. The Vulgate renders the word by 'meridies, australis plaga, terra meridiana, auster ab Aphrico, terra australis.' More than once the Sept. differs widely from the present Hebrew text; thus, in Ezek. xx. 47, it renders מנגב צפונה by ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου ἕως βορρᾶ; Vulg. 'ab austro usque ad aquilonem;' so also in Exod. xxvi. 8, פאת נגבה is rendered πρὸς βορρᾶν; Vulg. 'ad austrum.' It is also used in the geographical sense in Num. xxxiv. 3; Josh. xv. 2; 1 Chron. ix. 24; 2 Chron. iv. 4; Ezek. xl. 2; xlvi. 9, &c. But a further and important use of the word is as the name or designation of the desert regions lying at the south of Judæa, consisting of the deserts of Shur, Zin, and Paran, the mountainous country of Edom or Idumæa, and part of Arabia Petræa (comp. Mal. i. 3; Shaw's *Travels*, p. 438). Thus Abraham, at his first entrance into Canaan, is said to have 'gone on toward the south' (Gen. xii. 9); Sept. ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, Aquila νότονδε, Symmachus εἰς νότον; and upon his return from Egypt into Canaan, he is said to have gone 'into the south' (xiii. 1); Sept. εἰς τὸν ἔρημον; Vulg. 'ad australem plagam,' though he was in fact then travelling northward. Comp. ver. 3, 'He went from the south to Bethel;' Sept. εἰς τῆν ἔρημον; Vulg. 'a meridie in Bethel.' In this region the Amalekites are said to have dwelt, 'in the land of the south,' when Moses sent the spies to view the land of Canaan (Num. xiii. 29), viz., the locality between Idumæa and Egypt, and to the east of the Dead Sea and Mount Seir [Amalekites]. The inhabitants of this region were included in the conquests of Joshua (x. 40). Whenever the Sept. gives the Hebrew word in the Greek letters, Ναγέβ, it always relates to this particular district. To the same region belongs the passage, 'Turn our captivity as the streams in the south' (Ps. cxxvi. 4); Sept. ὡς χειμάῤῥους ἐν τῷ Νότῳ, 'as *winter torrents* in the south' (Vulg. 'sicut torrens in Austro'); which suddenly fill the wadys or valleys during the season of rain (comp. Ezek. vi. 3; xxxiv. 13; xxxv. 8; xxxvi. 4, 6). These are dry in summer (Job vi. 15-18). The Jews had, by their captivity, left their country empty and desolate, but by their return would 'flow again into it.' Through part of this sterile region the Israelites must repass in their vain application to Egypt (Isa. xxx. 6; comp. Deut. viii. 15). It is called the Wilderness of Judæa (Matt. iii. 1; Josh. xv. 61; comp. Ps. lxxv. 6, Hebrew or margin; see also Jer. xvii. 26; xxxii. 44; xxxiii. 14; Ezra xx. 46, 47; xxi. 4; comp. Obad. xix. 20; Zech. ix. 7). Through part of this region lay the road from Jerusalem to Gaza, 'which is desert' (Acts viii. 26). Thus, as Drusius observes, the word often means not the whole southern hemisphere of the earth, but a desert tract of land to the south of Judæa. Sometimes it is used in a relative sense; thus, the cities of Judah are called 'the cities of the south' (Jer. xiii. 19), relatively to Chaldæa, expressed by 'the north' (i. 14; comp. iv. 6; vi. 1). Jerusalem itself is called 'the forest of the south field,' or *country*, like the Latin *ager* (Ezek. xx. 46; comp. Gen. xiv. 7) [Forest]. Egypt is also called 'the south;' thus, 'the king of the south' (Dan. xi. 5) is Ptolemy Soter and his successors; comp. verses 6, 9, 11, 15, 25, 29, 40; but in the last-named verse, Mede understands the Saracen from Arabia Felix (*Works*, pp. 674, 816). 2. דרום, which, according to Gesenius, is a word of uncertain derivation. It is rendered by λίψ, Sept., Deut. xxxiii. 23; by νότος, Eccles. i. 6; xi. 3; Ezek. xl. 24, 27, 28, 44, 45; xli. 11; and by θάλλασσα, Ezek. xlii. 18. Vulg. 'meridies, auster, australis, ventus australis.' 3. תימן and its adverb תימנה, strictly what lies to the *right;* Sept. νότος, λίψ; and sometimes the word is simply put into Greek letters; thus, Θαιμάν (Hab. iii. 3). Indeed all the three preceding words are so rendered (Ezek. xx. 46), Υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ θαιμὰν, καὶ ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ δαρὸμ, καὶ προφήτευσον ἐπὶ δρυμὸν ἡγούμενον ναγέβ: where perhaps the vocabulary of the translator did not afford him sufficient variety. The Vulgate here gives 'viam austri, ad aphricum, ad saltum agri meridiani,' and elsewhere renders the Hebrew word by 'meridiana plaga, ad meridiem.' It occurs in Exod. xxvi. 35; Num. ii. 10; iii. 29; x. 6; Job ix. 9; xxxix. 26; Ps. lxxviii. 26; Cant. iv. 16; Isa. xliii. 6; Hab. iii. 3; Zech. ix. 14; xiv. 4. In Zech. vi. 6, it denotes Egypt. It is poetically used for the south wind, like Shakspeare's 'sweet *south*;' Ps. lxxviii. 26, νότον, *Africum*, and Cant. iv. 16, νότε; for the explanation of the latter see North. Observe that תימנה and נגב are interchanged in Exod. xxvi. 18; xxxvi. 23; Ezek. xlvii. 1. 4. מין, also meaning the right side and south. Thus, Ps. lxxxix. 12, 'Thou hast made the north and the south;' Sept. θάλασσα; Vulg. *mare*. The word is evidently here used in its widest sense, comprehending not only all the countries lying south, but also the Indian ocean, &c., the whole hemisphere. Aquila, Βορρᾶν καὶ δεξιάν; Theodotion, Βορρᾶν καὶ Νότον. In some passages where our translation renders the word *right*, the meaning would have been clearer had it rendered it *south* (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, 24; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; Job xxiii. 9). 5. חדר, 'Out of the south cometh the whirlwind' (Job xxxvii. 9), literally 'chamber' or 'storehouse,' ἐκταμιείων, *interioribus*. The full phrase occurs in ch. ix. 9, חדרי תמן, ταμεῖα νότου, *interiora austri*, the remotest south; perhaps in both these passages the word means the chambers or

storehouses of the south wind. 6. מִדְבָּר, 'Promotion cometh not from the south' (Ps. lxxv. 6), literally 'wilderness,' ἀπὸ ἐρήμων, *desertis montibus*. 7. מִים, 'And gathered them out of the lands, and from the south' (Ps. cvii. 3), θάλασσα, *mare;* where Gesenius contends that it ought to be translated 'west,' though it stands opposed to מִצָּפוֹן, as it is indeed so translated under exactly the same circumstances in Isa. xlix. 12. He refers to Deut. xxxiii. 23, and Amos viii. 12. It is also thus rendered in our version of the first of these references; and on the latter we can only refer to Archbishop Newcome's *Version of the Minor Prophets*, Pontefract, 1809, pp. 51, 52. In the New Testament we have *νότος* in the geographical sense, *βασίλισσα νότου, regina austri*, Matt. xii. 42 [Sheba, Queen of], and Luke xiii. 29; Rev. xxi. 13. The word *μεσημβρία* is also translated 'south' in Acts viii. 26, *κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, contra meridianum*. It is used in the same sense by Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 5. 2). In Symmachus (1 Sam. xx. 41) for נֶגֶב. Hesychius defines Μεσημβρία· *τὰ τοῦ Νότου μέρη καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας μέσον*. The south-west λίψ occurs in St. Paul's dangerous voyage (Acts xxvii. 12); 'a haven of Crete,' *βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα, respicientem ad africum*, by metonymy the *wind*, for the quarter whence it blows. The south wind is mentioned ver. 13, *νότος, auster*, and xxviii. 13 [Winds].—J. F. D.

SOWER, SOWING. [Agriculture.]

SPAIN (Σπανία, Rom. xv. 24, 28; Ἱσπανία, 1 Macc. viii. 3). This name was anciently applied to the whole Peninsula which now comprises Spain and Portugal (Cellar. *Notit.* i. 51, sq.). In the time of Paul Spain was a Roman province, and many Jews appear to have settled there. It seems clear from Rom. xv. 24, 28, that Paul formed the design of proceeding to preach the Gospel in Spain: that he ever executed this intention is necessarily denied by those who hold that the apostle sustained but one imprisonment at Rome—namely, that in which the Acts of the Apostles leave him; and even those who hold that he was released from this imprisonment can only conjecture that, in the interval between it and the second, he fulfilled his intention. There is, in fact, during the three first centuries, no evidence on the subject, beyond a vague intimation by Clement, which is open to different explanations [Paul]; and later traditions are of small value.

SPARROW (צִפּוֹר *tzippor*) occurs in Gen. vii. 14; Lev. xiv. 4; Ps. lxxxiv. 3; cii. 7; *στρουθίον*, Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6, 7. The Hebrew word includes not only the sparrow, but also the whole family of small birds not exclusively feeding on grain, but denominated clean, or those that might be eaten according to the law: hence the same word is also, in many instances, translated 'bird,' the Hebrew name itself being evidently an imitation of the voice of small birds, synonymous with the English 'chirrup.' *Tzippor* includes many insectivorous and frugivorous species, all the thrushes we have in Europe, and the rose-coloured ouzel or locust-bird, rare with us, but numerous and cherished in the East, solely for the havock it makes among locusts, and named *Smurmur* by the Arabs, in imitation of its voice. It also includes perhaps the starlings (not *Zarzir*), the nightingale, all the European larks, the wagtails, and all the tribe of finches; but not fly-catchers, nor indeed swallows, which, there is reason to believe, were reckoned, along with night-hawks or goatsuckers, and crows, among the unclean and prohibited species. In Syria the sparrow is the same vivacious familiar bird we find it in Europe, and equally frequents the residence of man.—C. H. S.

SPEAR. [Arms.]

SPICES. This word, which occurs very frequently in our translation of the Scriptures, has usually been considered to indicate several of the aromatic substances to which the same general name is applied in the present day. The Hebrew words so translated are Necoth, Bosem, and *Sammim*, the corresponding Greek being ἄρωμα. These may indicate different things, as the two first words, or be merely different names, as *spices* and *aromatics* in English may be applied to the same kind of substances. *Sammim*, rendered in Exod. xxxv. 7 *incense*, and in ver. 34 *spices*, may be supposed to mean drugs and aromatics in general. When these are separately noticed, especially when several are enumerated, their names may lead us to their identification. Dr. Vincent has observed that 'in Exod. xxx. we find an enumeration of cinnamon, cassia, myrrh, frankincense, stacte, onycha, and galbanum, all of which are the produce either of India or Arabia.' More correctly, cinnamon, cassia, frankincense, and onycha, were probably obtained from India; myrrh, stacte, and some frankincense, from the east coast of Africa, and galbanum from Persia. Nine hundred years later, or about B.C. 588, in Ezek. xxvii. the chief spices are referred to, with the addition however of calamus. They are probably the same as those just enumerated. Dr. Vincent refers chiefly to the *Periplus*, ascribed to Arrian, written in the second century, as furnishing a proof that many Indian substances were, at that time, well known to commerce, as aloe or agila wood, gum bdellium, the googal of India, cassia and cinnamon, nard, costus, incense, that is, olibanum, ginger, pepper, and spices. If we examine the work of Dioscorides we shall find all these, and several other Indian products, not only mentioned, but described, as schœnanthus, calamus aromaticus, cyperus, malabathrum, turmeric. Among others, Lycium indicum is mentioned. This is the extract of Barberry root, and is prepared in the Himalayan mountains. (Royle on the Lycium of Dioscorides, *Linnean Trans.*). It is not unworthy of notice, that we find no mention of several very remarkable products of the East, such as camphor, cloves, nutmeg, betel leaf, cubebs, gamboge; all of which are so peculiar in their nature that we could not have failed to recognise them if they had been described at all, like those we have enumerated as the produce of India. These omissions are significant of the countries to which commerce and navigation had not extended, at the time when the other articles were well known (*Hindoo Medicine*, p. 93). If we trace these up to still earlier authors, we shall find many of them mentioned by Theophrastus, and even by Hippocrates; and if we trace them downwards to the time of the Arabs [Spikenard], and from that to modern times, we find many of them described under their present names in works

current throughout the East, and in which their ancient names are given as synonymes. We have, therefore, as much assurance as is possible in such cases, that the majority of the substances mentioned by the ancients have been identified; and that among the spices of early times were included many of those which now form articles of commerce from India to Europe. This has been shown in the articles on the different substances [Ahalim; Almug; Chelbenah; Hobnim; Kaneh-bosem; Ketzoh; Kiddah; Kinnemon; Lebona; Lot; Mor; Nard; Nataf; Necoth].

SPIDER (עַכָּבִישׁ; Sept. ἀράχνη; Vulg. *aranea*) occurs in Job viii. 14; Isa. lix. 5. In the other instance in which the word is used in our version (Prov. xxx. 28), and where the Hebrew has שְׂמָמִית, the Sept. καλαβώτης, and the Vulg. *stellio*, there is most probably a mistranslation [Semamith]. In the first of these passages, the reference seems clear to the spider's web, or literally, house (בית), whose fragility is alluded to as a fit representation of the hope of a *profane*, *ungodly*, or *profligate* person; for so the word חנף really means, and not 'hypocrite,' as in our version. The object of such a person's trust or confidence, who is always really in imminent danger of ruin, may be compared for its uncertainty to the spider's web. 'He shall lean upon *his* house (*i. e.* to keep it steady when it is shaken); he shall hold it fast (*i. e.* when it is about to be destroyed); nevertheless it shall not endure (ver. 15). In the second passage (Isa. lix. 5) it is said, 'The wicked weave the spider's web' (קורי, literally, 'thin threads);' but it is added, 'their thin threads shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works;' that is, their artifices shall neither succeed, nor conceal themselves, as does the spider's web. This allusion intimates no *antipathy* to the spider itself, or to its habits when directed towards its own purposes; but simply to the adoption of those habits by man towards his fellow-creatures. No expression of an abstract antipathy towards any creature whatever is to be found in Scripture. Though certain species, indeed, which for good and wise reasons were prohibited as food, are *so far* called 'an abomination;' yet revelation throughout recognises every living creature as the work of God, and deserving the pious attention of mankind. It is worthy of remark, that natural history, with all its characteristic superiority to prejudices and antipathies, is indebted for its existence to revelation. The Creator himself first directed the attention of man to this science:—'Out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam, to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field' (Gen. ii. 19, 20). The most ancient system or classification of the natural world is to be found in the writings of Moses (Gen. i. 20, &c.); a system recognised by the writers of Scripture in widely different times (Gen. vi. vii. viii. ix.; 1 Kings iv. 33; Ps. clxviii.; Acts x. 12). Michaelis well observes that 'the systematic division of quadrupeds given by Moses is so excellent, as never yet, after all the improvements in natural history, to have become obsolete, but, on the contrary, is still considered as useful by the greatest masters of the science:' 'a fact,' he adds, 'which cannot but be looked upon as truly wonderful' (*Commentary on the Laws of Moses*, Art. 204). It is recorded of Solomon, that 'he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, unto the hyssop (moss) that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes' (1 Kings iv. 33). To revelation also the rise of natural history, as a science, is to be attributed among the Gentiles; for there is good ground for believing that Aristotle had seen the writings of Solomon. It is revelation which, by teaching that 'all things' proceed from one and the same God, invests the science with interest to every discerning mind.

The study of insects is so new in this country, that even at the distance of some years after the death of Willughby, an attempt was made to set aside the will of a Lady Glanville, on the ground of lunacy, because she had shown a strong partiality for insects; and Mr. Ray had to appear on the day of trial to bear testimony to her sanity (see *Memoir of Willughby*, by Rev. J. F. Denham, p. 132, Edinburgh, 1838; or in the Naturalist's Library). Even poets, from Aristophanes to Thomson, have too often contributed to the popular prejudices against insects. The latter stigmatizes spiders as

> 'Cunning and fierce—
> Mixture abhorred;'

but these epithets are in reality as unjustly applied to them (at least with reference to the mode by which they procure necessary subsistence), as to the patient sportsman, who lays snares for the birds that are to serve for the dinner of his family: while it can be further pleaded in behalf of spiders, that they are actively serviceable to the human race, in checking the superfecundity of other insects, and afford in their various procedures the most astonishing displays of that Supreme Intelligence by which they are directed.

J. F. D.

SPIKENARD. [Nerd.]

SPIRIT and HOLY SPIRIT. The word for 'spirit' in the Hebrew is רוח; in the Greek, πνεῦμα; and in the German, *geist*. It is one of the most generic terms in either the English, Hebrew, or Greek language. A somewhat extended reference to the *usus loquendi*, both of the Old and New Testament, is necessary, in order to ascertain its Scriptural use and import.

Its leading significations may be classed under the following heads:—

1. The primary sense of the term is *wind*. 'He that formeth the mountains and createth the wind' (רוח, Amos iv. 13; Isa. xxvii. 8). 'The wind (πνεῦμα) bloweth where it listeth' (John iii. 8). This is the ground idea of the term 'spirit'—air—ether—air refined, sublimated, or vitalized: hence it denotes—

2. *Breath*, as of the mouth. 'At the blast of the breath of his nostrils (רוח אפו) are they consumed' (Job iv. 9). 'The Lord shall consume that wicked one with the breath of his mouth' (τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος, 2 Thess. ii. 8).

3. The *vital* principle which resides in and animates the body. In the Hebrew, נפש is the

main specific term for this. In the Greek it is ψυχή, and in the Latin, *anima*. 'No man hath power over the spirit (ברוח) to retain the spirit' (Eccles. viii. 8; Gen. vi. 17; vii. 15). 'Jesus yielded up the ghost' (ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα, Matt. xxvii. 50). 'And her spirit (πνεῦμα αὐτῆς) came again,' &c. (Luke viii. 55).

In close connection with this use of the word is another—

4. In which it has the sense of *apparition—spectre*. 'They supposed that they had seen a spirit,' *i. e.* spectre (Luke xxiv. 37). 'A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have' (ver. 39; Matt. xiv. 26).

5. The *soul*—the rational immortal principle, by which man is distinguished from the brute creation. It is the τὸ πνεῦμα, in distinction from the ἡ ψυχή. With the Latins it is the *animus*. In this class may be included that use of the word spirit in which the various emotions and dispositions of the soul are spoken of. 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit' (τὸ πνεῦμά μου, Luke xxiii. 46; Acts vii. 59; 1 Cor. v. 5; vi. 20; vii. 34; Heb. xii. 9). 'My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour' (Luke i. 47). 'Poor in spirit' (πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι) denotes humility (Matt. v. 3). 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of' (Luke ix. 55), where πνεῦμα denotes *disposition* or *temper*. 'He that hath no rule over his own spirit' (רוחו, Prov. xxv. 28; xvi. 32; Eccles. vii. 9). The moral affections are denominated 'the spirit of meekness' (Gal. vi. 1); 'of bondage' (Rom. viii. 15); 'of jealousy' (Num. v. 14); 'of fear' (2 Tim. i. 7); 'of slumber' (Rom. xi. 8). In the same way also the intellectual qualities of the soul are denominated 'the spirit of counsel' (Isa. xi. 2); 'the spirit of knowledge' (Isa. xi. 2); 'the spirit of wisdom' (Eph. i. 17); 'the spirit of truth and of error' (1 John iv. 6).

6. The race of superhuman created intelligences. Such beings are denominated spiritual beings because they have no bodies like ours. To both the holy and the sinning angels the term is applied. In their original constitution their natures were alike pure spirit. The apostacy occasioned no change in the *nature* of the fallen angels as spiritual beings.

In the New Testament dæmonology δαίμων, δαιμόνιον, πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, πνεῦμα πονηρόν, are the distinctive epithets for a fallen spirit. Christ gave to his disciples power over unclean spirits (πν. ἀκαθάρτων, Matt. x. 1; Mark i. 23; Luke iv. 36; Acts v. 16). The holy angels are termed spirits:—'Are they not all ministering spirits' (λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, Heb. i. 14)? 'And from the seven spirits (ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων) which are before his throne' (Rev. i. 4).

7. The term is applied to the Deity, as the sole, absolute, and uncreated Spirit. 'God is a Spirit' (πνεῦμα ὁ Θεός). This, as a predicate, belongs to the divine nature, irrespective of the distinction of persons in that nature. But its characteristic application is to the third person in the Divinity, who is called the Holy Spirit (Πνεῦμα ἅγιον), because of his essential holiness, and because in the Christian scheme it is his peculiar work to sanctify the people of God. He is denominated *The* Spirit, by way of eminence, as the immediate author of spiritual life in the hearts of Christians. The New Testament writers are full and explicit in referring the principle of the higher life to the Spirit. In the Old Testament the reference is more general. The Spirit is an all-pervading, animating principle of life in the world of nature. In the work of creation the Spirit of God moved upon, or brooded over, the face of the waters (Gen. i. 2; Job xxvi. 13). This relation of the Spirit to the natural world the ancients expressed as *Ens extra—Ens super—Ens intra mundanum*. The doctrine of the Spirit, as the omnipresent life and energy in nature, differs from Pantheism on the one hand, and from the Platonic soul of the world on the other. It makes the Spirit the immanent divine causality, working in and through natural laws, which work is called *nature;* as in the Christian life He is the indwelling divine causality, operating upon the soul, and through divine ordinances; and this is termed *grace*. The Spirit in the world may be considered as the divine omnipresence, and be classed among the doctrines which are more peculiarly theological. But the indwelling and operation of the Spirit in the heart of the believer is an essential doctrine of *Christianity*. The one province of the Spirit is nature, the other grace. Upon the difference between the two, in respect to the Spirit's work, rests the Christian consciousness. The general presence and work of the Spirit in nature is not a matter of consciousness. The special presence and work of the Spirit in the heart of the believer, by the effects which are produced, is a matter of which, from consciousness, there may be the most consoling and delightful assurance.

The words Spirit, and Holy Spirit, frequently occur in the New Testament, by metonymy, for the influence or effects of His agency.

a. As a procreative power—'the power of the Highest' (Luke i. 35).

b. As an influence, with which Jesus was endued (Luke iv. 4).

c. As a divine inspiration or *afflatus*, by which the prophets and holy men wrote and spoke (ἐν πνεύματι, διὰ πνεύματος, ὑπὸ πνεύματος). 'Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost' (2 Pet. i. 21; Num. xi. 26; Neh. ix. 30; Ezek. iii. 12, 14). John in Patmos was wrapped in prophetic vision—was ἐν πνεύματι (Rev. i. 10; iv. 2; xvii. 3).

d. As miraculous gifts and powers, with which the Apostles were endowed, to qualify them for the work to which they were called. 'Jesus breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost' (Λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, John xx. 22). 'And they were filled with the Holy Ghost,' &c. (Acts ii. 4). 'They were baptized with the Holy Ghost' (ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, Acts i. 5; comp. Joel ii. 28 with Acts ii. 16-18, where the רוח of the prophet is translated πνεῦμα by the apostle).

But the phrase, Holy Spirit, is specially used to denote a *divine personal agent*. The Holy Spirit is associated, as a distinct person, with the Father and the Son, in the baptismal formula and the apostolical benediction. The Father and Son are real persons. It is reasonable to think that the spirit who is joined with them in this solemn form of induction into the Christian church, is also a personal agent, and not an abstraction—a mere power or influence. The subject is baptized into the belief of three personal

agents. To suppose that, in this solemn profession of faith, he avows his belief in the Father and the Son, and the *power* or *influence* of God, is forced and frigid.

He is baptized into the *name* of each of the three—εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος (Matt. xxviii. 19). The word ὄνομα, Heb. שֵׁם, is the appellation of a person. And when used tropically, as in Acts i. 5, it stands for persons, and not for their influence, or virtue, or power. So in the formula ὄνομα = ἁγίου πνεύματος, by the *usus loquendi*, is required to be the designation of a personal agent. We are not baptized into the name of an influence or a power, but into the name of a person—of three real and distinct subjects, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

In the apostolical benedictions, the Spirit, as a person, is associated in the same way with the Father and Son. 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all' (2 Cor. xiii. 13). In this uniting of the three there is the recognition of the distinct personality of each, in the separate charisma which is appropriated to each. The χάρις is from Christ, the ἀγάπη from God, *i. e.* the Father, and the κοινωνία from the Spirit. The act of communion, of fellowship, implies a divine personal agent as really as does the grace or the love. The three are connected in a similar way in 1 Cor. xii. 4-6.

Distinct personal acts and attributes are ascribed to the Holy Spirit too frequently and fully to admit of explanation by the prosopopœia.

The Holy Ghost *speaks*, by Esaias the prophet (Acts xxviii. 25), expressly (1 Tim. iv. 1). He *teaches* (Luke xii. 12). He *reproves* the world of sin (John xvi. 8). The spirit helpeth our infirmities, and maketh intercession for the saints (Rom. viii. 26, 27). He is *grieved* (Eph. iv. 30).

Apostles are set apart to him in the work of the ministry, and he appoints them to that work (Acts xiii. 2; xv. 28).

These are all acts which imply a personal agent. Speaking, teaching, reproof, grief, intercession, are predicable only of a personal subject, except in the language of poetry or eloquence. In serious didactic style, in the language of prescription, of promise, of permanent institution and instruction, where clearness and precision, and not strong figures, are expected, they must denote a *person*.

And these acts and attributes distinguish the Spirit from the person of the Father on the one hand, and from the personal subjects upon which he acts on the other.

The Spirit, as a personal agent, comes from the Father, is sent by the Father, and of course cannot be the Father. As sent by the Father, he maketh intercession for the saints, *according to the will of God*, *i. e.* the Father from whom he came. The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God (1 Cor. ii. 10). If there be no distinct personality of the Spirit separate from that of the Father, the real import of these passages must be, that the Father comes from himself, is sent by himself, makes intercession to himself, according to the will of himself, and that he searches the deep things of himself,—which is a style of writing not to be ascribed to any rational man, and certainly not to inspired apostles. Nor can the personality of the Spirit, as Socinus affirms, be taken for the subjects who are affected by the divine influence. He is as distinct from the disciples, to whom he was sent, as from the Father, by whom he was sent. The promise of Christ is, that the Father will give them another comforter, one to take his place, as a teacher and comforter. And that comforter, he says, 'which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall *teach* you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance' (John xiv. 16, 26). This Παράκλητος, sent from the Father, to teach, and guide, and comfort the disciples, is as manifestly distinct from the disciples whom he came to teach, as the Father was, from whom he came, or as Christ was, who had been their teacher.

The procession of the Spirit may be considered as the intrinsic relation which he sustains to the Father and the Son, or with respect to the mode of his manifestation. In respect to the former, the procession, ἐκπόρευσις, of the Spirit has an implied reference to the generation, γέννησις, of the Son, and the ἀγέννησις of the Father. The Father is unbegotten, the Son is begotten; the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, says the Greek church, from the Father and Son, says the Latin church. Christ says that the Spirit of truth proceedeth from the Father, παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται (John xv. 26). There is no such explicit statement in the Scriptures of the procession of the Spirit from the Son, yet equivalent expressions of the doctrine are supposed to be there. The Holy Ghost is called the Spirit of the Father, because he proceeds from the Father. For the same reason he is called the Spirit of Christ; because he proceedeth from the Father and the Son, because he is sent by both Father and Son: hence the formula of the Latin church has always been, 'Spiritus S. a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.' The addition of the Filioque to the Constantinopolitan confession of faith, by the Latin fathers, occasioned the division of the church into the eastern and western, or the Greek and Latin branches. It is from the relation implied in the procession, that the Spirit is called the third person in the Godhead. The Father is considered as *first* in the order, as the fountain and source of all things. The Son is the second person, as being begotten by the Father, and the Spirit is the third, as proceeding from and sharing the nature of both. 'These distinctive appellations denote,' says Augustine, 'the reciprocal relations of the three persons to each other, and not the substance itself, which is but one.' The order has relation to the distinction of persons; the unity of the divine nature has respect to the substance. The homoousan includes the three. The hypostasis applies to the distinctions. As to the homoousan, there is but one God; as to the hypostasis, there are three persons. The subordination of the Spirit does not imply inferiority, but is a term of office or of relation. Thus it is that the Scripture doctrine, maintaining the unity of the divine nature as belonging to the Father, Son, and Spirit, and also the proper distinction between the three, closes the door equally against Arianism and Sabellianism.

The Spirit of God (1 Cor. ii. 11) is not a created spirit; and if uncreated, it must be divine in the highest sense; but this Spirit is the Holy Spirit, and a proper person; hence he is God.

As the author of regeneration, or of the new spiritual and incorruptible life in the heart of the believer, he must be divine. This change, the Scriptures abundantly declare, is wrought by the Spirit and power of God.

Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is the only sin for which there is no remission (Matt. xii. 31). This sin against the Holy Spirit, in whatever it may consist, is distinguished from all other sins by a degree of guilt which renders it unpardonable. If he be not in his nature truly God, there is nothing in him to give to sin against him such a peculiar aggravation. Although it is not simply because the Spirit is God that blasphemy against him is unpardonable—for then would blasphemy against the Father and the Son also be unpardonable—yet it is a sin against God, and, as being against the third person of the Godhead, it is aggravated to a degree of enormity which it could not receive if committed against any other being than God.

The divine and incommunicable attributes of the Deity are ascribed to the Spirit. These attributes belong exclusively to the divine nature; he who possesses them must have the divine nature and honour as God (for proof texts, see TRINITY).

Works truly divine are attributable to the Holy Spirit, as creation and preservation, and especially the work of sanctification. There are diversities of gifts, and there are differences of administrations, but the same Spirit. 'All these worketh that one and self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will' (1 Cor. xii. 4-11). Hence Peter calls the Holy Ghost, God (Acts v. 3, 4).

Of the office of the Holy Spirit, it is only necessary to say, that it is not ministerial, like that of the angels and apostles, but it is the peculiar work in the salvation of man which he performs, as sent by the Father and the Son. Paul has developed the functions or charismata of the office with great clearness in 1 Cor. xii., in which he shows that the diversities of gifts are all by the same Spirit. Each charisma is the 'manifestation of the Spirit' (ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ Πνεύματος). This manifestation was in some particulars different in the apostolic age from what it was after Christianity was established. The gifts which were peculiar to that age, and which evinced the presence of the Holy Spirit by some immediate effect, remarks Neander, are called, in the New Testament, δύναμεῖς, σημεῖα, τέρατα. That period, he says, was peculiarly the creative epoch of Christianity. Other gifts belong to the office and operation of the Spirit in every age of the church, for the perfecting of the saints and the edifying of the body of Christ.

The views of the first Christians respecting the Holy Spirit were vague and diverse. His power had penetrated and pervaded the early church, and yet, in general, no distinct and adequate conceptions of him were formed in the mind. Baumgarten says, 'The doctrine of the Holy Spirit remained a long time undecided. It lay near to the first church in a *practical* respect only.' 'We see from this,' says Neander, 'how completely religion is a thing of life, before it can obtain for itself an adequate form of developement in definite conceptions.' Some believed him to be a mere power; some confounded the idea of person with the charisma; others supposed him to be a creature; others believed him to be God; and others still were undecided. The practical recognition of him, however, as the principle of the divine life in man, was almost universal in the early church.

The more distinct conceptions of the nature of the Spirit arose out of the baptismal formula, and the discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity, especially of the Arian controversy. Athanasius, Basil, and the Gregories believed in the equality of the Spirit, and contended that it was a common church doctrine from the beginning. The Council of Nice says, 'We believe in the Holy Ghost.' In the Constantinopolitan confession the deity of the Spirit was affirmed with more distinctness, and his procession from the Father alone implied. The council at Antioch rejected the homoousian in respect both to the Spirit and the Son. Under Theodosius the Scripture doctrine was restored, and it has since remained the catholic doctrine.

E. A. L.

SPOUSE. [MARRIAGE.]

SPRING. [PALESTINE.]

STACHYS (Στάχυς), an unknown person, from his name apparently a Greek, a disciple at Rome, and a friend of Paul (Rom. xvi. 9).

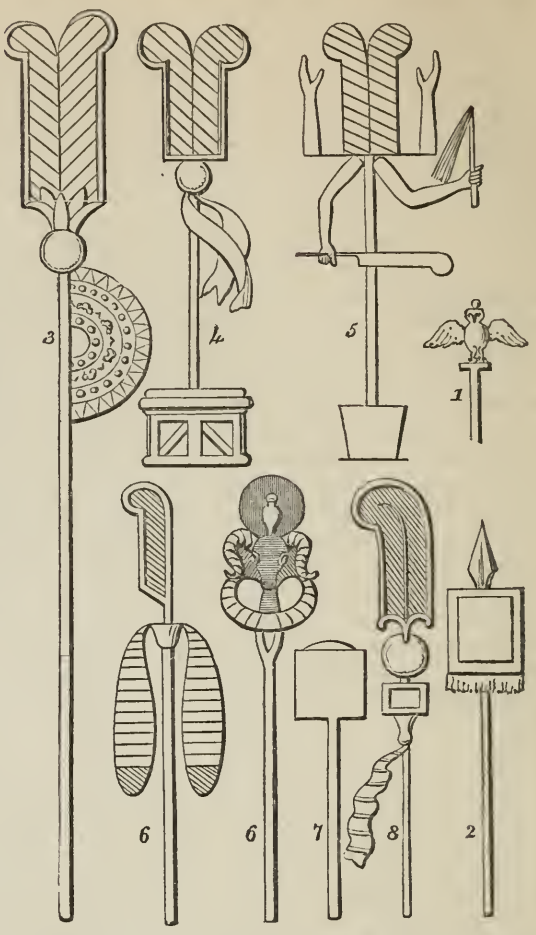
STACTE. [NATAF.]

STANDARDS. Standards and ensigns are to be regarded as efficient instruments for maintaining the ranks and files of bodies of troops; and in Num. ii. 2 they are particularly noticed, the Israelites being not only enjoined to encamp 'each by the standard of his tribe and the ensign of his father's house,' but, as the sense evidently implies, in orders or lines. It is clear, when this verse is considered in connection with the religious, military, and battle pictures on Egyptian monuments, that the Hebrews had ensigns of at least three kinds, namely; 1. The great standards of the tribes, serving as rallying signals for marching, forming in battle array, and for encamping; 2. The divisional standards (משפחות *mishpachoth*) of clans; and, 3. Those of houses or families (בית אבות *beth aboth*); which after the occupation of the Promised Land may gradually have been applied more immediately to corps and companies, when the tribes, as such, no longer regularly took the field. That there were several standards may be inferred from the uniform practice of the East to this day; from their being useful in manœuvres, as already explained, and as shown in the Egyptian paintings; and from being absolutely necessary; for had there been only one to each tribe, it would not have been sufficiently visible to crowds of people of all ages and both sexes, amounting in most cases to more than 100,000, exclusive of the incumbrance of their baggage. Whole bodies, therefore, each under the guidance of the particular clan ensign, knew how to follow the tribal standard; and the families offered the same convenience to the smaller divisions. It may be doubted whether these three were enough for the purpose; for if they were carried in the ranks of the armed bodies, it must have been difficult for the households to

keep near them; and if they were with the crowd, the ranks must have had others to enable them to keep order, as we find that even in the Roman legions, thoroughly trained as they were, numerous vexilla were still held to be necessary. That there were others might be inferred (Isa. xiii. 2; Jer. li. 27) from the circumstance of their being planted on the summit of some high place, to mark the point where troops were to assemble: these last, therefore, were not ensigns of particular bodies, but signals for an understood purpose, such as both the Greeks and Romans employed when the general gave notice of his intention to engage, by hoisting above his tent a red tunic, or when Agamemnon recalled his troops in order to rally them, by the signal of a purple veil.

But what the form, colours, materials, and symbols of the Hebrew ensigns were it is more difficult to determine, chiefly because there has been a great quantity of learned trifling among Rabbinical writers and more modern heralds, all equally bent upon fearless assertions, and with so little true knowledge of the customs of antiquity, that they have uniformly described these ensigns as flags in shape like modern banners—a form not yet shown to have existed in the west of Asia or Europe anterior to the first invasion of the Huns, excepting on some naval medals of the empire.* In a collection of drawings, now before us, of 124 Egyptian, a considerable number of Persian, Bactrian, Etruscan, and Greek ensigns, and a very large series of Roman, all are effigies, spolia of animals or plants, tablets, globes, vexilla, or dragons. The vexillary or labarum form is known to be of Oriental (Bactrian) origin, and the dragon similarly originated among the equestrian nations of the East. It consisted of a head of metal with an open mouth, which turned on a spindle at the neck, where a long bag of coloured stuff was sewn to it, and kept the open mouth to the wind, filling the bag with air, and causing it to flout and twist like a serpent's tail. It was the origin of the vane and pendant: when the metal head was omitted on account of its weight on the top of a spear, and the bag which formed the body and tail was cut open, or reduced to one breadth, the dragon became the flammula or pennon of more recent times. The vexillum was a substitute for a tablet ensign, being made of cloth, and spread upon a short bar, placed crosswise on the summit of a pole.

As early as the days of the exode of Israel, the Egyptians had ensigns of different kinds. We observe on the monuments†—1. Thrones or palanquins, indicating the great and sacred centre of an army. 2. Royal fans attending the sacred centre; they are the '*Efthoudehs* of India,' always carried by princes, or sons of the Pharaoh, on the summit of long poles, and therefore intended as signs of honour, not for use as umbrellas. 3. A long spar borne on the shoulders of a row of men, surmounted by a globe with an enormous double feather, apparently twelve or fourteen feet high, and four or five broad, coloured green, white, and red. This has been denominated the standard of Sesostris, and was most likely the signal ensign of encampment, which was fixed before the royal tent, and when set up must have been visible high above all the other signa. 4. Standards of lower elevation, always with two great feathers issuing from a globe, and the foot set in a portable frame; which we take to be the signa of castrametation and of direction, serving as temporary guiding posts, indications of wells, lines of front in camp, &c. 5. We have found several tablets on poles, similarly set in frames, but with particular symbols above the tablet, and two, three, or four arms holding objects that can be inserted or taken off, and the arms themselves apparently moveable, the whole having the appearance of a complete telegraph. 6. Besides these there are very many varieties of effigial ensigns, with and without shawls beneath them, ensigns of particular temples, idols, cities, nomes. 7. Square tablets on poles borne by the file-leader of a tribe. 8. Ostrich feather ensigns, carried as marks of honour by princes, and sometimes seen stuck at the back in a broad belt.



508. 1. Bactrian eagle; 2. Persian vexillum; 3. Standard of Sesostris; 4. Egyptian ensign set in a frame, signal of castrametation and of direction; 5. Telegraphic ensign, varying with each Pharaoh; 6. Subordinate Egyptian ensigns; 7. Tribal tablet; 8. Plume ensign used in temples.

Ostrich feathers occur again as an ensign of the Lebanon people, or a nation of Palestine,

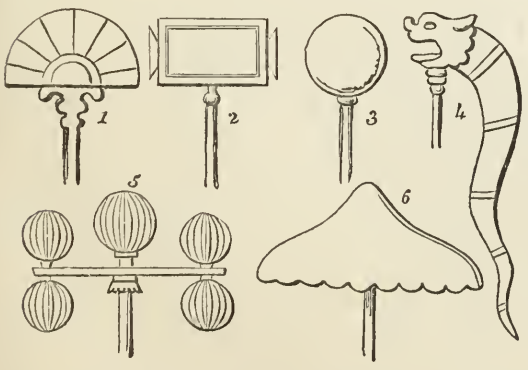
* In a work specially devoted to this subject, the present writer intends shortly to publish the result of many years' investigation, with many hundred drawings collected for the purpose: it will show how much nations, religious opinions, laws, authority, civilization, and war were influenced by the use of signa and symbols.

† See woodcut, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

which is represented submitting to Sesostris. These ensigns are not necessarily made of plumes of the bird, and they occur white, white with a black bar, and barred red and white, red, white and black, and red, white, and green; so that there were many belonging to different appropriations. Indeed this ensign is still in use in Yemen and the southern desert, where many sheiks have it borne on bamboo poles as the cognizance of their clans.

These details we have deemed necessary in order to show that at the time when Israel departed out of Egypt, most, if not all of these kinds of ensigns, were well known, and that, therefore, it is likely they were, under proper modifications, adopted by that people when about to become wanderers over desert regions where order and discipline, directing signals, telegraphs, and indications of water would be most useful; and as the Egyptians, in common with other organized nations, had a *tensa deorum*, or sacred centre for their gods and the royal tent, so also had the chosen race a sacred centre, the twelve tribes taking their well-known stations around it—that centre rendered the more awful and sublime by the cloud hovering, or the light shining, above it [Encampment].

From the kind of service which each class of ensign was to render, we may take for granted, that the tribal standard (דגל *deghel*), at all times required to be distinguishable 'afar off,' would be elevated on high poles with conspicuously marked distinctions, and that, therefore, although the mottoes ascribed to the twelve tribes, and the symbolical effigies applied to them, may or may not have been adopted, something like the lofty flabelliform signa of Egypt most likely constituted their particular distinction; and this is the more probable, as no fans or umbrellas were borne about the ark, and, being royal, no chief, not even Moses himself, could assume them; but a priest or Levite may have carried that of each tribe in the form of a fan, as the distinction of highest dignity, and of service rendered to the Lord. They may have had beneath them vittæ, or shawls, of the particular colour of the stone in the breastplate of the high-priest (although it must be observed that that ornament is of later date than the standards); and they may have been embellished with in-



509. 1. Egyptian fans of state attending the king, or stuck upon the sacred arks; 2. Tablet ensign of the Jews (?), as represented on the arch of Titus; 3. Globe signum of Augustus; 4. Dragon ensign, common to many nations; 5. Parthian standard; 6. State umbrella, on a coin of Augustus.

scriptions, or with figures, which, at a time when every Hebrew knew that animal forms and other objects constituted parts of written hieroglyphic inscriptions, and even stood for sounds, could not be mistaken for idols, the great lawgiver himself adopting effigies when he shaped his cherubim for the ark and balls for the brazen sea. In after ages we find typical figures admitted in the ships carved on the monuments of the Maccabees, being the symbol of the tribe of Zebulon, and not even then prohibited, because ships were inanimate objects. As for the 'abomination of desolation,' if by that term the Roman eagle was really meant, it was with the Jews more an expression of excited political feeling under the form of religious zeal, than of pure devotion, and one of the many signs which preceded their national doom.

There is reason to believe that the *mishpachoth*, or clan ensigns, and אות *aoth*, were, at least in the earlier ages, symbolical figures; and that the shekels ascribed to David, bearing an olive or citron branch, to Nehemiah with three lilies, to Herod Agrippa with three ears of corn, and to Tryphon with a helmet and star, were so many types of families, which may all have been borne as sculptured figures, or, when the purism of later times demanded it, may have been painted upon tablets, like the supposed family or clan motto on the ensign of the Maccabees (מכבי). The practice was equally common among the heathen Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks; and, perhaps, the figures of those actually used in Jerusalem are represented in the sculptured triumphal procession on the arch of Titus, where the golden candlestick and other spoils of vanquished Judah are portrayed. A circumstance which confirms the meaning of the objects represented upon the Jewish shekels is, that on the reverse of those of Herod Agrippa is seen another sovereign ensign of Asia, namely, the umbrella (*chattah*, *chutah* of India), always attending monarchs, and sculptured at *Chehel Minar*, and at *Nacshi-Boostan*, where it marks the presence of the king. It is still the royal token through all the East and Islam Africa; and it appears that in the Macedonian era it was adopted by the Græco-Egyptian princes; for Antony is reproached with joining the Roman Eagles to the state umbrella of Cleopatra:—

'Interque signa (turpe!) militaria
Sol aspicit conopeum.'—Hor. *Epod.* ix.

The ensign of the family or clan of the royal house then reigning, of the judge of Israel, or of the captain of the host, was no doubt carried before the chief in power, although it does not appear that the Hebrew kings had, like the Pharaohs, four of them to mark their dignity; yet from analogy they may have had that number, since the practice was also known to the Parthian kings subsequently to the Byzantine emperors, and even to the Welsh princes.—C. H. S.

STAR IN THE EAST. Matthew (ch. ii. 1, sq.) relates that at the time of the birth of our Lord there came wise men (magi) from the East to Jerusalem, to inquire after the newly born king of the Jews, in order that they might offer him presents and worship him. A star, which they had seen in the East, guided them to the house where the infant Messiah was. Having come into his presence, they presented unto him gifts—gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

The solid learning and free conjecture of Christian divines have combined with the unfriendly daring of infidelity to cast a heap of difficulties on the particulars involved in this passage of Holy Writ. Our space will not allow us to review and examine what has been written by friends and enemies (last of all, by Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, i. 249, 4th edit.) on the subject. We must content ourselves with a brief statement of what appears to us the right view of the case, referring in justification to the authorities whence we have drawn our materials.

These wise men were Chaldæan magi. During many centuries the magi had been given to the study of astronomy, and for some considerable time before the birth of our Lord they had corrupted and disfigured their scientific knowledge by astrological speculations and dreams. A conviction had long been spread throughout the East, that about the commencement of our era a great and victorious prince, or the Messiah, was to be born. His birth was, in consequence of words of Sacred Scripture (Num. xxiv. 17), connected with the appearance of a star. Calculations seem to have led the astrological astronomers of Mesopotamia to fix the time for the advent of this king in the latter days of Herod, and the place in the land of Judæa. Accordingly, at the appointed time two planets, Jupiter and Saturn, were in conjunction under such circumstances as to appear one resplendent heavenly body, and to marshal the way for the magi from their own homes to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and the inn.

But as this view is, we believe, novel in this country, we will enter somewhat more into particulars. It owes its origin to no less a distinguished person than the astronomer Kepler. It has been investigated and approved by some of the soundest minds of Germany. Under the influence of a conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, which took place in the year 1604, Kepler was led to think that he had discovered means for determining the true year of our Saviour's birth. He made his calculations, and found that Jupiter and Saturn were in conjunction in the constellation of the Fishes (a fish is the astrological symbol of Judæa) in the latter half of the year of Rome 747, and were joined by Mars in 748. Here then he fixed the first figure in the date of our era, and here he found the appearance in the heavens which induced the magi to undertake their journey, and conducted them successfully on their way. Others have taken up this view, freed it from astrological impurities, and shown its trustworthiness and applicability in the case under consideration. It appears that Jupiter and Saturn came together for the first time on May 20th in the twentieth degree of the constellation of the Fishes. They then stood before sunrise in the eastern part of the heavens, and so were seen by the magi. Jupiter then passed by Saturn towards the north. About the middle of September they were near midnight both in opposition to the sun, Saturn in the thirteenth, Jupiter in the fifteenth degree, being distant from each other about a degree and a half. They then drew nearer: on October 27th there was a second conjunction in the sixteenth degree, and on November 12th there took place a third conjunction in the fifteenth degree of the same constellation. In the two last conjunctions the interval between the planets amounted to no more than a degree, so that to the unassisted eye the rays of the one planet were absorbed in those of the other, and the two bodies would appear as one. The two planets went past each other three times, came very near together, and showed themselves all night long for months in conjunction with each other, as if they would never separate again. Their first union in the East awoke the attention of the magi, told them the expected time had come, and bade them set off without delay towards Judæa (the fish land). When they reached Jerusalem the two planets were once more blended together. Then, in the evening, they stood in the southern part of the sky, pointing with their united rays to Bethlehem, where prophecy declared the Messiah was to be born. The magi followed the finger of heavenly light, and were brought to the child Jesus. The conclusion, in regard to the time of the advent, is, that our Lord was born in the latter part of the year of Rome 747, or six years before the common era.

We have not presented this view from any leaning in favour of a rationalistic interpretation, believing that God could, had he so pleased, have created a heavenly body for the purpose. But it must also be said that the divine Ruler of the universe is frugal (*absit invidia verbo*) of his instrumentalities, and might well, in the case before us, make use, for the gracious purposes of his providence, of cosmical arrangements which he had fixed ere the earth and heavens were made. They are, however, facts which have been set forth. As facts they explain a passage on which many doubts and difficulties have lain. The reader will determine whether he finds the explanation satisfactory. Kepler's ideas may be found in the essay *De Jesu Christi servatoris nostri vero anno natalitio*, and more fully in *De vero anno quo æternus Dei filius humanam naturam assumpsit*, Frankfürt, 1614. His view was taken up, and presented with approbation to the literary world, by a learned prelate of the Lutheran church, Bishop Münter (*Der Stern der Weisen*, Kopenh. 1827). It also gained approval from the celebrated astronomer Schubert, of Petersburg (*Vermischten Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1823). The learned and accurate Ideler (*Handbuch der Chronologie*, Berlin; see vol. ii. p. 399, sq.) reviewed the entire subject, and signified his agreement. Hase and De Wette, however, have stated objections. A recent writer of considerable merit, Wieseler (*Chronolog. Synop. der 4 Evangelien*, Hamburg, 1843), has applied this theory of Kepler's in conjunction with a discovery that he has made from some Chinese astronomical tables, which show that in the year of Rome 750 a comet appeared in the heavens, and was visible for seventy days. Wieseler's opinion is, that the conjunction of the planets excited and fixed the attention of the magi, but that their guiding-star was the aforesaid comet. The subject is worthy of attention, and we shall be glad if this notice of it should meet the eye of some distinguished astronomer who would give the subject a thorough investigation. The writer will be happy to supply to any competent inquirer full details of what has already been done. The literature connected with the subject is abundant, but appears to the writer to have lost much of its interest since Kepler's views have found acceptance. Those,

however, who wish to ascertain what works have been written on the subject are referred to Walch, *Bibliotheca Theol.* ii. 422, sq.; Thiess, *Krit. Comment.* ii. 350, sq. On the epoch of the birth of Christ, see Professor Wallace's *Dissertation on the True Age of the World* (a work, however, to which we do not attach much value), p. 84, London, 1844.—J. R. B.

STEPHANAS (Στέφανᾶς), a disciple at Corinth, whose household Paul baptized (1 Cor. i. 16), being the first converted to Christianity in Achaia (1 Cor. xvi. 15). From the last of these texts it would appear that Stephanas and his family, in the most exemplary manner, 'addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints;' which some interpret of their having taken upon them the office and duty of deacons; but which seems to admit of a larger sense (without excluding this), namely, that all the members of this excellent family ministered to the wants and promoted the comfort of their fellow-Christians, whether strangers or countrymen. As '*the household* of Stephanas' is mentioned in both texts, it has been supposed that Stephanas himself was dead when Paul wrote; but in verse 17 it is said, 'I am glad of the coming of Stephanas.'

STEPHEN (Στέφανος), one of the seven first deacons, and the proto-martyr, of the Christian church. It appears from his name that he was a Hellenist, as it was not common for the Jews of Palestine to adopt names for their children, except from the Hebrew or Syriac; though of what country he was is unknown. He is represented by Epiphanius (xl. p. 50) as one of the seventy disciples chosen by Christ; but this statement is without authority from Scripture, and is, in fact, inconsistent with what is there mentioned concerning him. He is spoken of by others as one of the first converts of Peter on the day of Pentecost; but this also is merely conjectural. Jerome (on Isa. xlvi. 12) and others of the Fathers praise him as a man of great learning and eloquence. The first authentic notice we find of him is in Acts vi. 5. In the distribution of the common fund that was entrusted to the apostles (Acts iv. 35-37) for the support of the poorer brethren (see Mosheim, *De Rebus Christ. ante Const.* p. 118, and *Dissert. ad Hist. Eccles. pertin.*), the Hellenistic Jews complained that a partiality was shown to the natives of Palestine, and that the poor and sick among their widows were neglected. Whether we conceive with Mosheim (*De Rebus*, &c. p. 118), that the distribution was made by individuals set apart for that office, though not yet possessing the name of deacons; or, with the writer in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* (art. 'Ecclesiastical History;' see also Archbishop Whately's *Kingdom of Christ*), we conclude that with the office they had also the name, but were limited to Hebrews; or whether we follow the more common view, as set forth by Bohmer (*Diss.* vii.; *Juris Eccles. Antiq.*), does not materially affect the present subject. The complaint of the Hellenists having reached the ears of the apostles, immediate directions were given by them with a view to remove the cause of it. Unwilling themselves to be called away from their proper employment of extending the bounds of the Christian community, they told the assembled multitude of believers to select seven men of their own number, in whose faith and integrity they might repose entire confidence, for the superintendence of every thing connected with the relief of the poor. The proposal of the apostles met with the approbation of the brethren, who proceeded at once with the choice of the prescribed number of individuals, among whom Stephen is first mentioned; hence the title of first deacon, or first of the deacons, is given to him by Irenæus (Iren. i. 12). He is distinguished in Scripture as a man 'full of faith and of the Holy Ghost' (Acts vi. 5). The newly elected individuals were brought to the apostles, who ordained them to their office, and they entered upon their duties with extraordinary zeal and success. The number of the disciples was greatly increased, and many priests were among the converts. In this work Stephen greatly distinguished himself by the miracles he performed before the people, and by the arguments he advanced in support of the Christian cause. From his foreign descent and education he was naturally led to address himself to the Hellenists, and in his disputations with Jews of the Synagogue of the Libertines and Cyrenians, &c. [Synagogue and Libertine], he brought forward views of the Christian scheme that could not be relished by the bigots of the ancient faith. As they were unable to withstand his powers of reasoning, their malice was excited; they suborned false witnesses against him, and dragged him before the Sanhedrim as a blasphemer. The charge brought against him was, that he had spoken against the law and the Temple, against Moses and against God. This accusation was calculated to incite all parties in the Sanhedrim against him (comp. Acts xxii. 22); and upon receiving it the predetermined purpose of the Council was not to be mistaken. Stephen saw that he was to be the victim of the blind and malignant spirit which had been exhibited by the Jews in every period of their history. But his serenity was unruffled; his confidence in the goodness of his cause, and in the promised support of his heavenly Master, imparted a divine tranquillity to his mind; and when the judges fixed their regards upon him, the light that was within beamed forth upon his countenance, and 'they saw his face as if it had been the face of an angel' (Acts vi. 15).

Benson (*History of the First Planting of the Christian Religion*) and others have considered the testimony of the witnesses against Stephen as in every respect false, and that we are not even to suppose that he had stated that Christ would change the customs which Moses delivered (Acts vi. 14), upon the ground of the improbability of more being revealed to Stephen than to the apostles, as to the abolition of the Levitical ceremonies. From the strain of the martyr's speech, however, a different conclusion may be drawn. His words imply, in various passages, that external rites were not essential, and that true religion was not confined to the Temple service (Acts vii. 8, 38, 44, &c.). And there seems much plausibility in the conjecture of Neander (*Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, translated by Ryland, vol. i. p. 56, sq.), that Stephen and the other deacons from their birth and education were less under the influence of Jewish prejudices than the natives of Palestine, and may thus have been prepared to precede the apostles themselves in apprehending the liberty which the Gospel was

to introduce. The statements of Stephen correspond in more than one particular with what was afterwards taught by St. Paul.

His speech is well deserving of the most diligent study, and the more it is understood the higher idea will it convey of the degree in which he possessed the qualities ascribed to him in the fifth chapter. Very different views have been taken of it by commentators. Upon the whole we are inclined to follow that which is given by Neander in the work referred to. Even as a composition it is curious and interesting from the connection which may be discovered between the various parts, and from the unity given to the whole by the honesty and earnestness of the speaker. Without any formal statement of his object, Stephen obviously gives a confession of his faith, sets forth a true view of the import of his preaching, in opposition to the false gloss that had been put upon it, maintains the justness of his cause, and shows how well founded were his denunciations against the impenitent Jews.

He first enters upon a historical statement, involving a refutation of the charges which had been made against him of hostility to the Old Testament institutions; but at the same time showing that acceptance with God does not depend upon outward relations. Under the same form he illustrates the providential care exercised by the Almighty in regard to the Jewish people, along with the opposition exhibited by the Jews towards those sent to them by God. And he points the application of his whole discourse by charging his carnal-minded hearers with resisting, like their fathers, the Holy Ghost. The effect upon his auditors was terrible. Conscience-smitten, they united in wreaking their vengeance on the faithful denouncer of their guilt. They drowned his voice with their clamorous outcries, they stopped their ears against him, they rushed on him with one accord in a tumultuary manner, they carried him forth, and without waiting for the authority of law, they stoned him to death as a blasphemer [STONING].

The frantic violence of his persecutors did not disturb the tranquillity of the martyr, and he died praying that his murderers might be forgiven (vii. 60). In his prayer he showed that a new spirit had been introduced into the world, and taught the Christians that the example of their Divine Master was to be followed even in circumstances that they might have conceived to be impossible. Nor was this prayer without effect. Saul of Tarsus, who consented to his death (viii. 1), and kept the clothes of them that stoned him (vii. 58), heard his words, mocking, doubtless, like the rest. But the prayer was heard, and to it we owe the ministry of the apostle Paul (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vol. ii. p. 8).

The only other particular connected with Stephen, mentioned in Scripture, is, that 'devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him' (viii. 2). No information is given respecting the time of his death, or the place of his burial. In the fifth century (415), however, the relics of the martyr were said to have been miraculously discovered by a Greek priest of the name of Lucian (Luciani Presbyteri *Epistola de Inventione S. Stephani*), and they were brought to Europe by Orosius. Evodius, Bishop of Myala, wrote a small treatise concerning the miracles performed by them; and Severus, a Bishop of the Island of Minorca, wrote a circular letter of the conversion of the Jews in that island, and of the miracles wrought in that place, by the relics which Orosius left there. These writings are contained in the works of Augustine, who gives the sanction of his authority to the incredible follies they record (*De Civit. Dei*, xxii. 8).

Since the fifth century, Stephen's day has been celebrated on the 26th of December. The date is confessed by many Roman Catholic writers to be arbitrary, and is wholly without authority.

STOICS AND EPICUREANS. A concise notice of these celebrated sects is all that is required for the elucidation of the Christian history, and all that the limits of the present work allow.

The Stoics derive their name from στοά, 'a porch;' because their founder Zeno was accustomed to teach in a certain porch at Athens. This Zeno, of Citium, in Cyprus, must not be confounded with an earlier Zeno of Elea. The younger and more celebrated philosopher of the name was born from 360 to 350 years B.C., and formed a system of tenets which combined much of the harsh asceticism of the Cynics with the noble moral aspirations and vexatious verbal quibblings of the Platonists. The Greek stoical schools produced the most elaborate speculations on grammar which those ages could boast of, and in moral teaching they showed a strong tendency to a technical and over-systematic nomenclature. Under such a covert a Jesuitical casuistry might easily arise, and it is not to be supposed that the asceticism and high pretensions of this sect uniformly implied virtuous conduct. Their most revolting paradoxes appear to be only exaggerations of truth: exaggerations into which they were probably forced by their intense controversy with the Epicureans, in part through their resolute adherence to the deductions of their own logic, in part from a certain love of eccentricity, with which the Stoics were not unjustly charged.

Epicurus is said to have been born at Athens B.C. 344, and to have opened a school (or rather a garden) where he propagated his tenets, at a time when the doctrines of Zeno had already obtained credit and currency. In *physics*, in *religion*, in *politics*, and in *morals*, the two systems espoused directly opposite views. The Stoics, like the Platonists, were practically disinclined to what we distinctively name PHYSICAL philosophy, and acquiesced in numerous vague dogmas concerning it, which had no ground in experiment or cautious observation, preferring mystical or moral views, and such as well combined with popular superstition. Thus they held the sun and stars to be real gods, because composed of fire, which was asserted to be a divine quality. The Epicureans, on the contrary, pursued physics, in too hasty a spirit, no doubt, but nevertheless, on the whole, with much of the genius of the moderns, and, we might add, with surprising success, if the followers of Epicurus had followed in his steps by inquiring as freely as he. With creditable discernment, he adopted the Atomic theory of Democritus, a philosopher of first-rate genius, though born before his time; who, when not a single sound principle had been laid down in chemistry, or in terrestrial mechanics, seized on the grand idea of Newton, that the heavenly bodies are regulated by the same

laws as the minutest objects on the surface of the earth, and taught, concerning the constituent particles of matter, a doctrine which Dalton and Berzelius have developed and established. Accordingly, in the physics of Epicurus was found an intense antagonism to existing prejudices and popular superstitions. With him the sun was only a large fire, and not a god; the lightning was guided by physical laws, and was not the bolt of Jupiter to strike down the impious. Many of the Epicurean explanations of physical phenomena (as may be seen in Lucretius) show the school to have been much in advance of the age; but as unfortunately they were not satisfied to learn gradually, they spoiled their best ideas by mingling them with the crudest absurdities.

It is in striking contradiction to what might have been expected from each school, that while Epicurus endowed his atoms with certain *chance*-movements (an idea which he had superadded to the theory of Democritus), the Stoics maintained that the whole universe, including the gods, were subject to an unalterable *fate*, which they also called *providence*. That they subjected the gods to this exterior force, is perhaps explained by their material conception of godhead.

Since they studied to keep as close as possible to the popular RELIGION, the Stoics almost necessarily applied a system of mystical allegorizing to all that was offensive in the current legends. In no part of their tenets is their sincerity more doubtful: nevertheless, if we may accept as any fair representation of their devotional feeling the hymn to Jupiter by the Stoic Cleanthes, which is by far the noblest religious address in all antiquity, we shall set them on a much higher eminence than any other sect. Cleanthes, while elevating Jupiter to a position which may satisfy a strict Monotheist, ascribes to him the purest moral character, as being 'the cause of every thing, except of Sin;' and concludes by fervent prayers for the divine teaching to scatter all darkness from the soul, and enable it to attain divine wisdom. The Epicureans (in spite of the chance-movements ascribed to atoms) pushed out to a great extent the supremacy of general laws in the universe; and as they were strict Materialists, could make no exception in favour of the moral world. Hence they would admit of no interferences of the deities in the concerns of man, whether by external visitation or by secret spiritual influence on the heart. The gods were represented as serene, majestic beings, too distant, and too quietly comfortable, to care about human concerns; so that while it was proper to think of them with reverence and admiration, to pray to them or worship them with ceremonies was absurd. They undoubtedly are such a nullity in the practical creed of Epicurus, and the muscular weakness, which, in consequence of the light and airy texture of their spiritual form, he ascribes to them, wears so ridiculous an aspect, as to give colour to the imputation that his Theism was assumed to avoid the popular odium which an undisguised Atheism would have incurred.

Concerning POLITICS no well-defined dogmas seem to have been propounded by the Stoics; but the genius of their creed led them to patronise the national religion in each country, and thereby to give to their pupils a strong sentiment of special citizenship. This is the first element of patriotic exertion everywhere; and the early Stoics, however unsuited by many parts of their creed for public life, maintained, in theory at least, that their wise man was the best ruler of a state, and ought upon occasion to devote property and life in his country's service. The Epicureans, from their devotion to physical science, and their contempt for general literature, were cosmopolitan in their tendency, with too little concern for any one particular state to make patriotic sacrifices. Even the trouble of exercising power was generally thought by them too heavy a burden. Whether less or more voluptuous in personal life—a Pomponius Atticus or a Mucianus—they were resolute in refusing, or glad to get rid of, official power, and to slip back into social comfort and quiet speculation, like the gods whom they admired. This political selfishness was in strange contrast with the unaffected and warm friendships of their private life, in which they were capable, if not of great sacrifices, yet of constant, amiable, forbearing, and active affection. But it is probable that a prevalent neglect of historical reading, joined with the distaste for the national ballads which their scepticism necessitated, could not but render political pursuits, in Greece, uncongenial to them.

The MORAL system of each school was in close connection with their other views. Both taught that we must live 'in harmony with Nature,' but they interpreted this differently. The Stoic theory erected a noble fabric of virtue, which the wise man would pursue at all events, and proclaimed, that while virtuous, he was perfectly happy, whatever his external circumstances. This may be forgiven, as only an over-statement of a valuable truth. The same may be said of their dogma, that 'all sins are equal,' that 'the wise cannot fall away,' and that 'he is a king, though in abject poverty.' But they to a great extent spoiled all that was excellent in these ideas, sometimes by sour asceticism and fanatical coxcombry, yet oftener perhaps by the despicable logical cavilling which they had inherited from Socrates and Plato. Grammar and dialectics appear literally to have been the curse of these schools, and utterly incapacitated them from acting on the popular intellect, to which their subtleties were unintelligible, and their verbose reasoning a source of merited disgust. Epicurus, on the contrary, like modern physical philosophers, cared for *things*, not for *words;* and had at least the good sense to know, that since morality belongs to the mass of mankind, it must rest on broad foundations which they can appreciate, and cannot need lengthy and hairspun reasonings to adapt it to practice. His contempt of rhetoric and of the art of elegant composition may possibly not have been more than is expected by us in every mathematical work, but has exposed him to frequent invectives from Cicero. The Epicurean theory of morals was undoubtedly wholly *selfish*, and this was its blight. Like the modern advocates of the selfish system, he taught that 'pleasing sensations' constitute all that is good in anything; even benevolence and generosity were resolved into selfish affections, by supposing them to have their spring in the 'pleasure' of him who exercises them. This theory has been innocently held by many Christians, in whom it is a fault of

the head, not of the heart; and the same may have been the case with numbers of the Epicureans. But it is impossible, without practical mischief to the multitude, to confound under the single name of 'pleasure' feelings so different as those of the sailor who risks his life to save a stranger, and those of the profligate who sacrifices the happiness of others to his sensuality. Epicurus taught that men should be amiable members of a family, enjoying freely all innocent social pleasures, and abstaining from all vice and crime, and his practice was as pure as his precepts; but he also said, that we should be thus virtuous, *because* this would yield us most pleasure; and by making this his foundation, he gave currency to a great debasing idea, which has always generated rottenness.

Thus far we have spoken of Stoicism and Epicureanism, chiefly as they were among the Greeks; but both systems underwent modification among the Romans; the former for the better, the latter (it would seem) for the worse. Perhaps this must in any case have happened. Stoicism, which had in it some great and true moral ideas, might have been expected to clear itself of its asceticism, its coxcombry, its love of paradox, its subtleties, its mythological absurdities, by the wear and tear of practical life, and by the ridicule of men. Epicureanism, which inculcated (at least in appearance) mere self-indulgence, would attract to itself all the more grovelling natures, and the philosophy itself would become deteriorated by the practice and interpretation of its votaries. But beside this, the Epicurean intellect miserably stagnated through the insane idolatry directed towards their founder. This is the more amazing, considering how little was original in his system; for he had taken his morals from Aristippus and Eudoxus, as his physics from Democritus: yet they seem to have made no effort to improve upon his theories, or perfect even his physical speculations, but wasted all their labour in endless *commentaries* on his work. Even the Roman poet Lucretius, a genius far superior to Epicurus, panegyrizes him in the most fulsome strains:—

'—— Deus ille fuit, Deus, inclute Memmi,
Qui princeps vitæ rationem invenit eam, quæ
Nunc appellatur Sapientia,' &c.

The Stoics were not so absurd, however great their respect for their founder; and, in consequence, they from time to time received new views and fresh light from several sources.

Moreover, it is probable that the genius of the Roman people, and of all Western Europe, was better fitted to improve Stoicism than Epicureanism. Their more practical mind despised and cast aside very much of the trashy logic which disgraced the acute Greeks, and a mere riddance from this was an immense gain to Stoicism. On the contrary, their coarser natures, in adopting such a theory, as, that 'pleasure was the chief good,' were likely to accept this in the worst sense; nor do they appear in general to have had much taste for the tranquil ease and intellectual retirement which was the paradise of the frugal Epicurus. Men of weak passions and strong mind may live virtuously under the selfish theory, or by arguments of expediency; but ambitious, ardent, or passionate temperaments, as they are capable of higher excellence, so are they in danger of deeper debasement, unless influenced by some nobler ideal of excellence. The Roman Stoics were the very prime of the nation; many of them characters who must ever be thought of with reverence and admiration. But before their doctrine reached its culminating point, it had received, we may believe, a mollifying influence from Christianity, which had risen by its side. Epictetus, a Greek, who is said to have flourished from Nero to Hadrian, or even later, is one eminent extant source of information concerning the improved Stoicism of the day. Self-denial is his great virtue, but a true and beautiful benevolence animates it. His contemporary, Seneca, and that best of emperors, Marcus Aurelius, are our authentic informants what Roman Stoicism had become. That they could not see Christianity to be a supernatural system may be lamented; but that they (consciously or unawares) drew much instruction from it, ought surely to be praised, not harshly censured, as it has been. Concerning the Epicureans, the poem of Lucretius is our most accessible source of knowledge. Laertius, Sextus Empiricus, Cicero, and Plutarch, are very valuable to us for the doctrines of both sects.—

F. W. N.

STONING. [Punishments.]

STORAX (Στύραξ) occurs only in Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 15, 'I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon and aspalathus, and I yielded a pleasant odour like the best myrrh,' &c. Sweet storax is mentioned by various Greek writers, from the time of Hippocrates to that of Dioscorides. Several kinds of it were known, varying chiefly in the form in which it was obtained, or the degree of adulteration to which it had been subjected. Most of the kinds are still known in commerce. It is obtained by incisions made in the bark of the tree called *styrax officinale* by botanists. This tree is a native of Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, and is about twenty feet high, with leaves like those of the quince, and flowers somewhat resembling those of the orange. Storax was, and is still, much esteemed, both as an incense and for its medical properties. It consists chiefly of resin, a volatile oil, and some Benzoic acid. It has a grateful balsamic odour, which no doubt made it valued in ancient times.

STORK (חֲסִידָה *chasidah*). In Egypt, the two species collectively are called *Anaseh*, the white, more particularly, *Belari;* in Arabic *Zakid*, *Zadig* (?), *Abuhist*, *Heklek*, *Hegleg*, and *Hadji Luglug*, the three last-mentioned expressing the peculiar clatter which storks make with their bills, and *Hadji*, or pilgrim, denoting their migratory habits. This quality several of the Western names likewise indicate, while our word stork, albeit the Greek στοργή implies natural affection, is an appellation which extends to the Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, German, Hungarian, Lette, and Wallachian languages, and is presumed originally to have been *Stor Eger*, *i. e.* migrating *Heron*, with which the Greek agrees in sound, but has no affinity of meaning, though it corroborates the interpretation of *Chasidah* in the Hebrew, similarly implying affection, piety, mercy, and gratitude. This name results from a belief, general through all ancient Asia, in the attachment of these birds to each other; of the

young towards the old, and of the parents towards their young. But the latter part of this opinion is alone verified by the moderns, in cases where the mother bird has perished while endeavouring to save her progeny. This occurred in the great fire at Delft, and more recently at the battle of Friedland, where a fir-tree with a stork's nest in it being set on fire by a howitzer-shell, the female made repeated efforts to extricate her young, and at length, as in the other case, was seen to sink in the flames. Without, therefore, admitting the exaggerated reports, or the popular opinions of the East, respecting the stork, enough is shown to justify the identification of *Chasidah* with that bird; notwithstanding that some learned commentators have referred the word to Heron, and to several other birds, though none upon investigation are found to unite in the same degree the qualities which are ascribed to the species in Lev. xi. 19; Deut. xiv. 18; Job xxxix. 13; Psa. civ. 17; Jer. viii. 7; Zech. v. 9.



510.

Storks are about a foot less in height than the crane, measuring only three feet six inches from the tip of the bill to the end of the toes, and nearly the same to the end of the tail. They have a stout, pointed, and rather long bill, which, together with their long legs, is of a bright scarlet colour; the toes are partially webbed, the nails at the extremities flat, and but little pointed beyond the tips of the joints. The orbits are blackish, but the whole bird is white, with the exception of a few scapulars, the greater wing covers, and all the quills, which are deep black: they are doubly scalloped out, with those nearest the body almost as long as the very foremost in the wing. This is a provision of nature, enabling the bird more effectually to sustain its after weight in the air; a faculty exceedingly important to its mode of flight with its long neck, and longer legs equally stretched out, and very necessary to a migrating species believed to fly without alighting from the lower Rhine, or even from the vicinity of Strasburg, to Africa, and to the Delta of the Nile. The passage is performed in October, and, like that of cranes, in single or in double columns, uniting in a point to cleave the air; but their departure is seldom seen, because they start generally in the night; they rise always with clapping wings, ascending with surprising rapidity out of human sight, and arriving at their southern destination as if by enchantment. Here they reside until the last days of March, when they again depart for the north, but more leisurely and less congregated. A feeling of attachment, not without superstition, procures them an unmolested life in all Moslem countries, and a notion of their utility still protects them in Switzerland, Western Germany, and particularly in Holland, where we have seen them (at Middelburg) walking with perfect composure in a crowded vegetable market. Storks build their nests in pine, fir, cedar, and other coniferous trees, but seem to prefer lofty old buildings, towers, and ruins: there are always several located on the tops of the isolated pillars at Persepolis; and they often obstruct the Muesim by nestling in their way, about the summits of the minarets which these servants of the mosques must ascend to call the congregation to prayer. Several modern writers still assert the filial affection of young storks, whom they describe as assisting their aged parents when they cannot any longer fly with vigour, and as bringing them food when unable to provide for themselves. Without entirely rejecting the fact of affectionate relations among these birds, it may be remarked that storks live to a good old age; and as they have a brood (sometimes two) every year, the question is, which of these takes charge of the decrepid parents? It cannot be the youngest, not as yet of sufficient strength, nor those of preceding years, which are no longer in their company. Besides, the weaker birds remain and breed in the south. May it not be conjectured that much of this belief is derived from a fact, which we have ourselves had an opportunity of witnessing, though we could not distinguish whether the flight was composed of cranes or storks? In an exceedingly stormy day, when their southward course had been suddenly opposed by a contrary gale, we saw a column of birds still persisting in their toil, but at a lower elevation, and changing their worn-out leader; and the bird on taking his station in the rear was clearly attended for a moment by three or four others of the last, who quitted their stations as if to help him to reach the wake of the line. With regard to the snake-eating habits of the species, the Marabbu, or adjutant bird of India, often classed with storks, is undoubtedly a great devourer of serpents, but not so much so as the common peacock; and that domestic fowls are active destroyers of the young of reptiles, may be observed even in England, where they carry off and devour small vipers. The chief resort however of storks, for above half the year, is in climates where serpents do not abound: and they seem at all times to prefer eels, frogs, toads, newts, and lizards; which sufficiently accounts for their being regarded as unclean (perhaps no bird sacred in Egypt was held clean by the Hebrew law). Storks feed also on field mice; but they do not appear to relish rats, though they break their bones by repeated blows of their bills.

In conclusion, *Agyst*, the Russian (?) name of the stork according to Merrick, does not appear to be related to the Hebrew, unless it could be shown that the Esthonian *Aigr* or *Aigro*, applied to the same bird, and the old Teutonic *Aigel*, Danish *Hegre*, Italian and Provençal *Arione*, *Aigron*, denominations of the common heron, are from the same source, and not primitive appellatives in the great northern family of languages, which, it must be confessed, are not solitary examples in vocabularies so remote from each other. Of the

smaller sized, more solitary black stork, no mention need be made in this place, because it is evidently not the bird referred to in the sacred writers.—C. H. S.

STREETS. [Towns.]

STRIPES. [Punishments.]

1. SUCCOTH (סֻכּוֹת, *booths;* Sept. Σοκχώθ), the first encampment of the Israelites on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea (Exod. xii. 37; xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 5) [Exodus].

2. SUCCOTH, a town in the tribe of Gad (Josh. xiii. 27), on the east of the Jordan (Judg. viii. 5; 1 Kings vii. 6). The spot in which the town stood is called 'the Valley of Succoth,' and must have been part of the valley of the Jordan. The place derived its name from Jacob having tarried some time there on his return from Padan-aram, and made *booths* for his cattle (Gen. xxxiii. 17).

SUMMER. [Palestine.]

SUPH (סוּף), translated 'flags' in the Auth. Vers., means some aquatic plant. It is mentioned in Exod. ii. 3, 5; Isa. xix. 6; Jonah ii. 6; but it is difficult to say whether it may not have been used in a comprehensive sense, as sea-weed is with us, rather than have been confined to one of the plants growing in the sea. The word *suph* occurs in several other passages: these, however, have reference to the Red Sea, which by the Hebrews was called *Suph Sea*. Rosenmüller states that this, 'in the Coptic version of the Pentateuch, and the Psalms, is called by its old Egyptian name, the *Shari* Sea.' But *Shari*, or, as the Greeks pronounced it, *Sari*, is the Egyptian name for tangles or sea-weeds, of which there is great abundance in that sea. In Jonah ii. 5, 'sea-weed was wrapped around my head,' one of the *fuci* would seem to be indicated. Lady Calcott selects *zostera marina*, or sea wrack, which resembles them in habit. It has by others been translated *juncus*, *arundo*, *carex*, &c. Rosenmüller says, there is no doubt that a species of *sari* is denoted by *suph*, which, according to Pliny, grows on the banks of the Nile. 'Fruticosi est generis sari, circa Nilum nascens, duorum ferme cubitorum altitudine, pollicari crassitudine; coma papyri, similique manditur modo.' This is supposed to be some reed, or grass-like plant. It is curious that the names *sar* and *sari* extend even to India. There is a species of *saccharum* growing in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, which has been named *S. Sari* by Dr. Roxburgh.—J. F. R.

SUPPER OF THE LORD (Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον), so called by St. Paul in his historical reference to the Passover Supper as observed by Jesus on the night in which he was betrayed (1 Cor. xi. 20; Matt. xxvi. 20-31). As regards the day on which our Lord observed the Passover, it seems more proper to say, that the Pharisees, the dominant party among the Jews, *deferred* its observance a day in accordance with their traditions, than that Jesus *anticipated* it. What one party considered the fourteenth Nisan, would to the other be the thirteenth. This supposition seems best to harmonize any apparent discrepancy in the accounts of the evangelists.

Several controverted points may perhaps be best adjusted by a connected harmony of the last Passover of the Lord, constructed from the evangelic narratives alluding to it, but filling up the various omitted circumstances from the known Passover rites [Passover].

'Now, when it was evening, Jesus sat down with the twelve (Matt.) Apostles' (Mark). The first customary washing and purifications being performed, the blessing over the *first cup* of wine, which began the feast, would be pronounced, probably in the usual form—'We thank thee, O God, our Heavenly Father, who hast created the fruit of the vine.' Considering the peculiarity of the circumstances, and the genius of the new dispensation about to be established—that the great Teacher had already declared the superiority of simple forms to the involved traditions of the Jewish doctors, and that his disciples alone were present on this occasion—it may be supposed that, after the blessing over the herbs, the recital of the liturgy (or *haggadah*) explanatory of the redemption of their ancestors from Egyptian bondage, would be somewhat simplified, and perhaps accompanied with new reflections.

Then probably *the second cup* of wine was mingled, and with the flesh of the paschal lamb, feast-offerings, and other viands, placed before the Lord. 'And he said unto them, With desire have I desired to eat this Pascha with you before I suffer; for I say unto you, I shall no more eat thereof until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And he took the [second] cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide among you, for I say unto you, I will not henceforth drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God shall come' (Luke).

When the wine distributed to each would be drunk off, one of the unleavened cakes would next be broken, the blessing said over it, and a piece distributed to each disciple, probably with the usual formula:—'This is the bread of affliction which your fathers did eat in the land of Egypt'—*i. e.*, not the identical bread, transubstantiated, but a memorial or sign of it. The company would then proceed with the proper supper, eating of the feast-offering, and, after a benediction, of the paschal lamb.

'And as they were at supper,* the Devil having now put it into the heart of Judas to betray him; Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God, and was going to God, riseth from supper; and' after due preparations 'began to wash the disciples' feet' (John). After this striking symbolic exhortation to humility and mutual service (John xiii. 6-20), 'Jesus was troubled in spirit, and bare witness, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you will betray me. Then the disciples looked on one another, doubting of whom he spake' (John). 'And they were very sorry, and began each of them to say unto him, Lord, is it I?' (Matt.) 'One of the disciples, leaning back on Jesus's breast, saith unto him, Lord, is it I? Jesus answered, He it is to whom I shall

* The translation of the phrase δείπνου γενομένου by 'supper being ended,' has much confused the various narratives, and led many to think that Judas was present at the Lord's Supper, properly so called. The true reading probably is γινομένου (not γενομένου), as understood by the Arabic and Persic translators, in the sense 'while supper was about,' or 'during supper-time.'

give a sop, when I have dipped it. And after dipping the sop he giveth it to Judas Iscariot. Then Satan entered into him. Jesus saith unto him, What thou doest, do quickly. He then, on taking the sop, went immediately out; and it was night' (John).

The supper would then proceed, until each had eaten sufficient of the paschal lamb and feast-offering.

'And as they were eating, Jesus took the bread,' the other unleavened cake left unbroken, 'and blessed' God 'and brake it, and gave it to the' eleven 'disciples, and said, Take eat; this is my body (Matt., Mark), which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me' (Luke, Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 24).

The supper being concluded, the hands were usually washed the second time, and *the third cup* or 'cup of blessing' (1 Cor. x. 16) prepared, over which the master usually gave thanks for the Covenant of Circumcision, and for the law given to Moses. Jesus, therefore, at this juncture, announced, with peculiar appropriateness, his New Covenant.

'After the same manner, also, Jesus took the cup after supper, and, having given thanks, gave it to them, saying, Drink all of you out of it; for this is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many for forgiveness of sins (Matt.): this do, as oft as ye drink, in remembrance of me' (1 Cor. xi. 24). But I say unto you, I shall not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new (*καινόν*) with you in my Father's kingdom' (Matt.).

'And when they had sung a hymn' (Matt.), probably the Hallel, our Lord discoursed long with his disciples about his approaching death and departure (John xiii. 31; xiv. 31), and when he had finished he said, 'Arise, let us go hence.' 'And they went out on to the Mount of Olives' (Matt.).

A multitude of disputes and controversies have existed in the church, from the earliest ages of Christianity, regarding the nature, observance, and elements of the Lord's Supper. On these points the reader may consult the following works:—Pierce, Waterland, Cudworth, Hoadley, and Bell, *On the Eucharist;* Dr. Wiseman's Roman Catholic *Lectures*, and Dean Turton's *Reply;* Orme's *Lord's Supper Illustrated*, Lond. 1832; Goodman, *On the Eucharist*, Lond. 1841; Coleman's *Christ. Antiq.;* Dr. Halley, *On the Sacraments*, Lond. 1845; De Linde and Mearns's *Prize Essays on the Jewish Passover and Christian Eucharist*, Lond. 1845. The early church appears, from a vast preponderance of evidence, to have practised communion weekly, on the Lord's day. The custom, which prevailed during the first seven centuries, of mixing the wine with water, and in the Greek church with *hot* water, appears to have originated with the ancient Jews, who mingled their thick, boiled wine with water (Mishna, Tr. *Teroomoth*, xi.).* The raisin-wine, often employed both by the ancient and modern Jews (*Arbah Turim*, § 483, date 1300), contains water of course. Remnants of this custom are still traceable in the East. The Nestorian Christians, as late as the sixteenth century, as we find from the old travellers, celebrated the Eucharist in such wine, made by steeping raisins one night in water, the juice being pressed forth (Osorius, *De Rel. Emanuel*, lib. iii.; Boter, *Rel.*, p. 3, lib. ii.; Odoard Barboso, ap. Ramum., v. i. p. 313; Prof. Brerewood, *On Div. Lang.*, 1622, p. 147). The Christians of India (said to be converted by St. Thomas) used raisin-wine, as also do some of the Syrian churches at the present day (Ross's *Pansebeia;* 1683, p. 492; W. Ainsworth's *Travels in Asia Minor*, 1842). The third Council of Braga would not permit the use of the pure 'fruit of the vine,' for they condemned as heretics 'those who used *no other wine* but what they pressed out of the clusters of grapes, which were then presented at the Lord's Table' (Bingham, *Christ. Antiq.*, V. ch. ii.).

It seems to us, however, that the language of Jesus is conclusive on this point. Dr. De Wette (*on Matt.* xxvi. 29) observes, that 'the wine is called *new* here, in reference to the future renovation of all things at Christ's coming. It refers to an ideal celebration of the supper in a glorified state.' This is true; but this able critic should have further explained why the wine must be new rather than the bread. The reason is plainly referable to the *kind* of wine which the disciples were then drinking. Had Jesus been speaking of fermented wine he could not have used this language, because of such it is said that 'the *old* is better than the new' (Luke v. 39). But the wine here employed to symbolize the heavenly or spiritual feast was of a kind which is best when *new*, or, as Clement of Alexandria designates it (*Pæd.* ii.), '*the blood of the vine*,' which of course is in its best state when pure and fresh from the vintage. The wine employed at the last Supper of our Lord must, therefore, have been made either from dried or preserved grapes, or from the juice preserved by boiling or by preventing the access of air.

As regards the bread, many of the Eastern churches use unfermented bread in the Communion. 'The Greek church adopts a leavened bread, but the Roman church has it unleavened; and this difference has been the cause of much controversy, though it seems easy to decide which kind was used by Jesus, the last Supper having been on one of the "days of unleavened bread," when no other kind could be eaten in the land of Judæa.' The Protestant churches, generally, pay little regard to the *nature* of the elements, but use the ordinary bread, as well as wine, of the country. It was probably from regarding in a similar way the bread and wine as mere ordinary beverage, that some of the ancient sects gave up the wine altogether, and substituted other things. Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 49) and Augustine (*Hæres.* 28) mention an ancient sect of Christians in Phrygia, called Artotyrites, because they used bread and cheese. Others made use of bread and water only; and the third Council of Braga (A.D. 675) condemn a custom of communicating in bread and milk. If, however, the elements of the Supper are to be regarded in a symbolic sense, after the manner of the Jewish Passover—if the language of our Lord is to be applicable to wine in the present day—it would seem that at-

* Maimonides (in *Chometz Vematzah*, sect. vii.) states, that the proportion of pure wine in every cup must not be less than the fourth part of a quarter of a hin, besides water which must needs be mingled, that the drinking of it may be *the more pleasant.*

tention should be paid, not only to the name, but to the nature of the elements; that the symbol and the things symbolized should naturally correspond, and still retain a reference to the ancient Passover. 'For,' as St. Paul observes, 'Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened *bread* of sincerity and truth' (1 Cor. v. 8).—F. R. L.

SUSA. [Shushan.]

SUSANNAH. [Daniel, Apocryphal addenda to.]

SWALLOW (סִיס *Sis*, and דְּרוֹר *Deror*). The latter is sometimes translated 'turtle-dove,' but it is more properly the 'swift' or 'black martin,' and, probably, the *Dururi* of Alexandria, mentioned by Forskal. The first occurs only in Isa. xxxviii. 14; Jer. viii. 7; the second in Psa. lxxxiv. 3; Prov. xxvi. 2. *Sis*, however, when coupled with עָגוּר *Ogur*, is by some thought to denote the *crane*, while the last-mentioned Hebrew word denotes the *swallow*. The Septuagint, Vulgate, and three ancient manuscripts point out the true meaning; and Bochart with others have established it by learned researches, which leave little to be desired, although Rabbinical writers produce Arabic authority to prove that *Sis* is the name of a long-legged bird. *Sis*, however, is an imitative name expressive of the swallow's voice or twitter, and in Dr. Kennicott's remark, that in thirteen Codices of Jerem. he read *Isis* for *Sis*, we find the source of the ancient fable of the Egyptian *Isis* being transformed into a swallow.

The species of Syria and Palestine, so far as they are known, appear all to be the same as those of Europe: they are, 1. *Hirundo rustica*, or *domestica*, the chimney swallow, with a forked tail, marked with a row of white spots, whereof *Hirundo Syriaca*, if at all different, is most likely only a variety.

2. *Hirundo Urbica*, the martin or common window swallow. These two are most likely the species comprehended under the name of *Sis*.

3. *Hirundo Riparia*, sand-martin or shore-bird, not uncommon in northern Egypt, near the mouths of the Delta, and in southern Palestine, about Gaza, where it nestles in holes, even on the sea-shore.

4. *Hirundo Assus*, the swift or black martin, distinguished by its larger size, short legs, very long wings, forked tail, and by all the toes of the feet turning forward: these, armed with small, crooked, and very sharp claws, enable the bird to hang against the sides of walls, but it cannot rise from the ground on account of the length of its wings. The last two, but more particularly this species, we take to be the *Deror*, on account of the name *Dururi*, already mentioned; which was most probably applied to it, because the swift martin prefers towers, minarets, and ruins to build in, and is, besides, a bird to which the epithet of 'free' is particularly applicable. On the European coast of the Mediterranean it bears the name of *Barbota*, and in several parts of France, including Paris, is known by the vulgar name of 'le Juif,' the Jew; and, finally, being the largest and most conspicuous bird of the species in Palestine, it is the type of the heraldic martlet, originally applied in the science of blazon as the especial distinction of Crusader pilgrims, being borrowed from Oriental nations, where the bird is likewise honoured with the term *Hadgi*, or Pilgrim, to designate its migratory habits. The *Deror* being mentioned as building on the altar, seems to imply a greater generalization of the name than we have given it; for habits of nesting in immediate contact with man belong only to the house and window swallows; but, in the present instance, the expression is not meant to convey a literal sense, but must be taken as referring to the whole structure of the temple, and in this view the swift bears that character more completely than the other. It is not necessary to dilate further on the history of a genus of birds so universally known.—C. H. S.



511. [The Swift—Dururi.]

SWEARING. [Oath.]

SWINE (חֲזִיר *chazir*). We have already noticed these animals [Boar], chiefly as they occur in a wild state, and here refer to the domesticated breeds only, because they appear to have been repeatedly introduced and reared by the Hebrew people, notwithstanding the strong prohibitions in the law of Moses (Isa. lxv. 4).

Egyptian pictures, the parable of the Prodigal Son, and Christ's miraculous cure of the demoniac, when he permitted swine to be possessed and destroyed by rushing over a precipice into the sea of Galilee, furnish ample proofs that during the dominion of the Romans they were kept around the kingdom of Judah; and the restrictive laws of Hyrcanus on this subject indicate that the Jews themselves were not altogether strangers to this unlawful practice. Commentators ascribe this abundance of swine to the numerous Pagan sacrifices of these animals in the temples: but we do not deem this to be a sufficiently correct view of the case, since hogs of every denomination were less used for that purpose than oxen, goats, and sheep. May it not be conjectured that in those days of a greatly condensed population the poor found in swine's flesh, and still more in the fat and lard, melted for culinary purposes, as it still is in every part of Pagan Africa, a most desirable aliment, still more acceptable than the salt fish imported from Sidon, to season their usual vegetable diet? 'When the melting fire burneth, the fire causeth the waters to boil' (Isa. lxiv. 2); and, again, 'a broth of abominable things in their vessels' (lxv. 4). For, although the Mosaic law

justly condemned the use of swine's flesh, at the time of the departure of Israel out of Egypt, when the state of slavery the people had been in, there is reason to believe, had greatly multiplied leprosy, and, moreover, when it was important to enforce cleanliness among the multitude on many accounts; yet the reasoning of the ancients and of commentators, Rabbinical and medical, regarding the unhealthiness of sound pork, in moderate quantities, as a condiment, or more generally as an article of food, is entirely erroneous. For in some provinces of Ancient Persia, the practice of curing animal food was known so early, that the procession of tribute-bearing deputies from the several satrapies, sculptured on the great stairs at Persepolis, represents at least one nation bringing preserved flesh meat, apparently hams, and already, before the conquest of northern Gaul by Cæsar, pork and various sausages were exported from Belgium to the Roman capital. Neither in the tropics, nor in the East, during the first centuries of Christianity, or in the era of the Crusades, or among the Christians of the present day, are any ill effects ascribed to the use of swine's flesh; and the Moslem population, which is debarred the use of this kind of food, is, perhaps, more liable to disease and to the plague than others, because it lacks the stamina of resistance to infection, and that supply of digestive nutriment which keeps the alimentary system in a healthy condition. The rich Moslem supply the deficiency by vegetable oils and butter, or ghee; hence, while the wealthy official class multiplies, the poorer classes, for want of a cheap supply of similar ingredients, diminish. As the Mosaic law was abrogated by the Christian, it was plainly meant to be only temporary; and if by the decrees of Providence the Gospel is once more to triumph in the land of the first Christian churches, it may hereafter be found that this apparently insignificant agent has been a considerable instrument in the event.—C. H. S.

SWORD. [Arms.]

SYCAMINE TREE (Συκάμινος) is mentioned only once in the New Testament, in Luke xvii. 6, 'And the Lord said, If ye had faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye might say unto this *sycamine*-tree,' &c. From a slight similarity in name, this tree has often been confounded with the *sycamore*, both by ancient and modern writers. Both trees are, however, mentioned by the apostle, who must have had the technical knowledge necessary for distinguishing such things. Though the English version avoids translating the word, there can be little doubt of the mulberry-tree being intended; and it is frequently so rendered. Thus, Dioscorides says, Μορέα ἡ Συκαμινέα, &c., 'Mulberry or sycamine is well known.' Celsius shows (*Hierobot.* i. 290), by quotations from Athenæus, Galen, &c., that the Greeks called it by both names; and Corn. Celsus (*De Medicina*, iii. 18) says expressly, 'Græci morum συκάμινον appellant.' But still even ancient authors confound it with the sycamore, and therefore modern writers may be excused when so doing. Dr. Sibthorpe, who travelled as a botanist in Greece, for the express purpose of identifying the plants known to the Greeks, says that in Greece the white mulberry-tree is called μουρέα; the black mulberry-tree, συκαμενία. The mulberry, moreover, is a tree which we might expect to find mentioned in Scripture, since it is so common in Palestine. It is constantly alluded to by old travellers, and indeed is much cultivated in the present day, in consequence of its affording food for the silk-worm; and it must have been common also in



512. [Black Mulberry—Morus nigra.]

early times, or the silk-worms would not have obtained suitable food when first introduced. As the mulberry-tree is common, as it is lofty and affords shade, it is well calculated for the illustration of the above passage of Luke.—J. F. R.

SYCAMORE is a species of fig, *N. Ficus Sycomorus* of botanists, and the same as Shikmol.—J. F. R.

SYCHAR (Συχάρ), a name of reproach applied by the Jews to Shechem [Shechem].

SYCHEM (Συχέμ), the name for Shechem in Acts vii. 16, being that also used in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament [Shechem].

SYENE (סְוֵנָה; Sept. Συήνη) a city of Egypt, situated in the Thebaïs, on the southern extremity of the land towards Ethiopia (Ptol. iv. 5; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 10; xii. 8; Strabo, pp. 787, 815). Ezekiel, describing the desolation to be brought upon Egypt through its whole extent, says, 'Thus saith the Lord, I will make the Land of Egypt utterly desolate, from the tower of Syene even to the border of Cush (Arabia),' or, as some read, is 'from Migdol to Syene,' implying, according to either version of the passage, the whole length of the country from north to south. Syene is represented by the present Assouan, which exhibits few remains of the ancient city, except some granite columns of a comparatively late date, and the sekos of a small temple. This building has been supposed by late travellers to have contained the famous well of Strabo (*Geog.* xvii. p. 817), into which the rays of a vertical sun were reported to fall during the summer solstice, a circumstance, says the geographer, that proves the place 'to lie under the tropic, the gnomon at midday casting no shadow.' But although excavations have been carried on considerably below

the pavement, which has been turned up in search of the well it was thought to *cover*, no other results have been obtained than that this sekos was a very improbable site for such an observatory, even if it ever existed; and that Strabo was strangely misinformed, since the Egyptians themselves could never in his time have imagined this city to lie under the tropic; for they were by no means ignorant of astronomy, and Syene was, even in the age of Hipparchus (B.C. 140, when the obliquity of the ecliptic was about 23° 51′ 20″), very far north of that line. The belief that Syene was in the tropic was however very general in the time of the Romans, and is noticed by Seneca, Lucan, Pliny, and others. But, as Sir J. G. Wilkinson remarks, 'a well would have been a bad kind of observatory if the sun *had* been really vertical; and if Strabo saw the meridian sun in a well, he might be sure he was not in the tropic' (*Mod. Egypt and Thebes*, ii. 286). The same writer adds, 'Unfortunately the observations of the ancient Greek writers on the obliquity of the ecliptic are not so satisfactory as might be wished, nor are we enabled, especially as La Grange's theory of the annual change of obliquity being variable is allowed to be correct, to ascertain the time when Assouan might have been within the tropic, a calculation or traditional fact in which, perhaps, originated the erroneous assertion of Strabo.' The latitude of Assouan is fixed by Wilkinson at 24° 5′ 30″, and the longitude is usually given as 32° 55′.

SYNAGOGUE (בֵּתֵּי הַכְּנֶסֶת), a Jewish place of worship. The Greek, from which the word is immediately derived (συναγωγή), denotes 'an assembly;' being similar in meaning to ἐκκλησία, whence our 'church' is taken. Both terms originally signified an assembly or congregation; but afterwards, by a natural deflection of meaning, they both came to designate the building in which such church or assembly met. The Hebrew phrase ('house of assembly') is more strictly descriptive of the place than were originally 'synagogue' and 'church.' The latter word retains its ambiguity; the former has lost it, signifying now and in the time of our Lord exclusively a building.

The precise age of the introduction of synagogues among the Israelites it does not appear easy to determine. There is a natural tendency among men, nor least among those who are given to letters, to refer institutions back to very early periods; and the Rabbins surpassed all others in this exaggerating propensity. Hence, we believe, arose the traditionary and Targuminical stories of the extreme antiquity of synagogues. Even a patriarchal origin has been ascribed to them. But the statements made are unworthy as of credence, so of investigation. It is quite certain that if synagogues were in use in the days of Abraham, we have no evidence to establish this as an historical fact; and averments which rest on conjecture or legends may well be passed in silence. A passage in Acts (xv. 21) certainly speaks of the antiquity of synagogues in the first century: 'Moses of old (ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων) hath in every city them that preach him, being read *in the synagogues* every Sabbath-day.' But 'of old' is a relative term. The 'ancient generations' here spoken of may not reach back farther than the return from Babylon. If, indeed, Psalm lxxiv. was written before the exile, synagogues were known previously to that event. This, however, would leave a long interval between the date of the psalm and the days of the patriarchs untouched and unaffected. The words to which we refer are found in ver. 8: 'They have burned up all the synagogues of God (מועדי אל) in the land.' Ewald (*Die Poet. Bücher des Alten Bundes*, 2 th. p. 293) refers this composition to the time of Nehemiah (B.C. 445). Tholuck gives for its date the year B.C. 588, when the kingdom of Judah was overrun by the Chaldæans, and the temple plundered and burnt down. The Hebrew words, however, do not necessarily denote synagogues. 'Houses of God' is a general term, and may refer to any sacred place. There may be here a reference to the schools of the prophets, preserved by the principle of reverence long after the spirit of prophecy and the pursuits of learning had ceased to fill them with eager pupils. If we might, from 2 Kings iv. 23, suppose that at least on festival occasions pious Israelites resorted to the prophets for prayer and advice, we could easily understand how such a practice would spontaneously convert the places where they abode into a species of synagogue; and not improbably we may here find the germ out of which the proper synagogue worship arose. Psalm cvii. 32, 'Let them exalt him also in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders,' affords words which will correspond with that worship, but proves nothing as to a præ-exilian custom, since it was written after the return from captivity; for even Tholuck says, 'Freilich nach dem Exil' (*Psalmen für Geistliche und Laien*, p. 343. Halle, 1843).

The earliest worship was offered to God in what may with propriety be termed his own house—sub DIVO—before the eye of Heaven, in the open air. But such a temple was too vast for the human mind, which lost itself in the immensity of space, and needed narrower limits, in order to concentrate, fix, and inflame its sympathies. Accordingly, in the course of time, particular spots were approved of God as worshipping places, till at length one distinguished house of prayer was chosen and established in Zion. The temple-worship, as it was constituted in the days of David and Solomon, was grand, august, and imposing. Yet can we easily understand how a felt necessity would arise for a more intimate and closer, if it must be also majestic, intercourse with God, by the intermediation of certain solemnities in which all and each of a congregation would have an individual share. Nor would this feeling of want wait for any other condition than an active and somewhat refined religious sense experienced in a population of which only a small number could crowd and find room in the gates of the national temple: so that there is nothing unreasonable nor imaginary in giving to the origin of synagogues an earlier date than the period of the exile.

To this epoch it is that the origin of synagogues is generally referred; and beyond a doubt there were then peculiar circumstances which called for their establishment. Yet the considerations into which we have gone may possibly warrant the idea that the wish rather developed than originated the influences out of which the worship in question sprung. Unquestionably, however,

then, if not before, synagogues came into existence. A later date cannot well be assigned. Deprived of the solemnities of their national worship, yet still retaining their religious convictions, and keenly feeling the loss they had endured, earnestly, too, longing and praying for a restoration of their forfeited privileges, the captive Israelites could not help meeting together for the purposes of mutual sympathy, counsel, and aid, or of prayer and other devout exercises. But prayer makes every spot holy ground. Some degree of secrecy, too, may have been needful in the midst of scoffing and scornful enemies. Thus houses of prayer would arise; and the peculiar form of the synagogue worship—namely, devotion apart from external oblations—would come into being. It has, indeed, been asserted (Bauer, *Gottesd. Verfassung*, ii. 125) that synagogues were not known till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 174), on the ground that it is then for the first time that the term is used by Josephus—one more instance added to the hundreds which already existed, of the folly which denies an historical reality to every thing for which positive vouchers cannot be found in the Jewish historian. Such arguments would have some force if Josephus had professed to narrate every thing, and left us as many volumes as he has left us chapters. That he did not consider it 'set down in his duty' to give an exact history of the origin and progress of the synagogue-worship, may be inferred from the fact that his mention of synagogues is only occasional and *en passant*.

The authority of the Talmudists (such as it is) would go to show that a synagogue existed wherever there were ten families. What, however, is certain is, that in the times of Jesus Christ synagogues were found in all the chief



513. [Jewish Synagogue in Amsterdam.]

cities and lesser towns of Palestine. These places are then spoken of as well known, and therefore long-established houses of worship, and obviously formed an essential and recognised portion of the national inheritance. There was a synagogue at Nazareth (Luke iv. 16), one also at Capernaum (Mark i. 21), as well as in the several cities of Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, which had a Jewish population (Acts ix. 2; xiii. 5; xiii. 42; xiv. 1; xvii. 1, 10; xviii. 4; xix. 8; and see also Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3; *De Bell. Jud.* vii. 3. 3). The larger cities had several. In Acts ix. 2, we find Paul asking for letters to Damascus '*to the synagogues*' (ver. 20). In Jerusalem, one Rabbinical authority (*Megill.* lxxiii. 4) represents the number to have been 480; another (T. Hieros. *Ctuboth*, xxxv. 3) makes them 460. From Acts vi. 9, it appears that every separate tribe and colony had a synagogue in Jerusalem. The reader must not confound synagogues with the προσευχαί, houses of prayer, oratoria, oratories, chapels, places 'where prayer was wont to be made' (Acts xvi. 13), which, as in the place just cited, were mostly near a piece of flowing water, in order to afford the Jews means of observing their custom of washing before prayer (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 23; Deutsch, *De Sacris Judæorum ad litora frequenter exstructis*). Synagogues were built sometimes on the outside of cities, but more frequently within, and preferably on elevated spots. At a later period they were fixed near burial-places. A peculiar sanctity was attached to these spots, even after the building had fallen to ruin (Mishna, *Megill.* 3. 3). In the

Synagogue pious Israelites assembled every Sabbath and festival day, the women sitting apart from the men (Philo, *Opp.* ii. 458, 630); and at a later period, on every second and fifth day of each week (T. Hieros. *Megill.* 75. 1; T. Babyl. *Babd. Kama*, 82. 1), for the purposes of common prayer, and to hear portions of the sacred books read; which was performed sometimes by any one of the company (Luke ii. 16), or, according to Philo (*Opp.* ii. 630, ed. Mang.), by any one of the priests or elders (*τῶν ἱερέων δέ τις ὁ παρὼν ἢ τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἀναγινώσκει τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξηγεῖται*), who, as the passage just quoted shows, expounded each particular as he proceeded. The writings thus read aloud and expounded were the Law, the Prophets, and other Old Testament books (Acts xiii. 15; xv. 21; Mishna, *Megill.* 3. 4; Eichhorn, *Einleit. ins A. T.* ii. 458, sq.). The language in which the Scriptural passages were read cannot be generally and accurately determined. It doubtless varied according to circumstances. Ezra (Neh. viii. 8), if he read in the old Hebrew, gave the sense in the Chaldee. The Septuagint translation was in very common use in the time of our Lord, and may have been *employed* in synagogues. It appears (T. Hieros. *Sota*, 7) that in Cæsarea, a city more Græcian than Jewish, the prayers were uttered in the Greek tongue. In synagogues out of Palestine, the Greek translation seems to have been read conjointly with the original text. The exposition of the Scripture was doubtless made in each nation in the vernacular tongue; accordingly, in Palestine the worship of the synagogue was conducted in Syro-Chaldee. In Egypt, from the time of the Ptolemies, the Greek language was customary in the services of the synagogue.

The expositor was not always the same person as the reader (Philo, *Opp.* ii. 458, 476). A memorable instance in which the reader and the expositor was the same person, and yet one distinct from the stated functionary, may be found in Luke iv. 16, sq., in which our Lord read and applied to himself the beautiful passage found in the prophecy of Isaiah (lxi. 4). The synagogue, indeed, afforded a great opportunity for preaching the gospel of the kingdom; and the reader may well suppose that the novelties of doctrine which were then for the first time heard within its walls created surprise, delight, wonder, and indignation in the minds of the hearers of our Lord and his apostles, according to their individual spiritual condition.

After the reading and exposition were concluded, a blessing was pronounced, commonly by a priest. The people gave a response by uttering the word *Amen;* when the assembly broke up (1 Cor. xiv. 16).

At the head of the officers stood the 'ruler of the synagogue' (*ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, ראש הכנסת), who had the chief direction of all the affairs connected with the purposes for which the synagogue existed (Luke viii. 49; xiii. 14; Mark v. 35, seq.; Acts xviii. 8; Vitringa, *Archisynag. Observat. novis Illustrat.*). Next in rank were the elders (Luke vii. 3), called also 'heads of the synagogue' (Mark v. 22; Acts xiii. 15), as well as 'shepherds' and 'presidents,' who formed a sort of college or governing body under the presidency of the chief ruler. There was in the third place the שליח הצבור, *legatus ecclesiæ*, 'the angel of the church,' who in the synagogue meetings acted commonly as the speaker, or as the Protestant minister, conducting the worship of the congregation (Mishna, *Rosh Hasshana*, 4. 9), as well as performed on other occasions the duties of secretary and messenger (Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.* i. 1089, sq.). Then came, fourthly, 'the minister' (Luke iv. 20), the attendant who handed the books to the reader, was responsible for the cleanliness of the room, and for its order and decency, and opened and closed the synagogue, of which he had the general care. In addition, there probably were almoners or deacons, גבאי צדקה (Matt. vi. 2), who collected, held, and distributed the alms of the charitable.

In regard to the furniture of the synagogue, seats merely are mentioned in the New Testament (Matt. xxiii. 6; James ii. 3). The 'chief seats,' or rather 'front seats' (*πρωτοκαθεδρίαι*), were occupied by the Scribes and Pharisees. The outfit may have been more simple in the days of Christ; still there was probably then, as well as at a later period, a sort of pulpit (*βῆμα*, בימה, מגדל), and a desk or shelf (*θήκη*, תכה or תיק), for holding the sacred books (Mishna, *Berach*, v. 3; *Rosh Hasshana*, 4. 7; *Megilla*, 3. 1; *Sabb.* 16. 1). Some sort of summary judicature seems to have been held in the synagogues, and punishments of flogging and beating inflicted on the spot (Matt. x. 17; xxiii. 34; Mark xiii. 9; Luke xii. 11; xxi. 12; Acts xxii. 19; xxvi. 11; 1 Cor. xi. 22). The causes of which cognizance was here taken were perhaps exclusively of a religious kind. Some expressions in the Talmud seem to imply that a sort of judicial triumvirate presided in this court (Mishna, *Sanhed.* i.; *Maccoth*, 3. 12). It certainly appears from the New Testament that heresy and apostacy were punished before these tribunals by the application of stripes.

The reader may have been struck by some resemblance between this account and the arrangements which prevailed in the early Christian churches. The 'angel of the church' (Rev. ii. 1), the pastor, was obviously taken from the synagogue. Winer, however, denies that 'the messengers of the churches' (2 Cor. viii. 23) has any connection with the *legatus ecclesiæ*. The words 'because of the angels' (1 Cor. xi. 10) have been referred to this same office,—a reference which Winer does not approve. Meier (*Commentar*, in loc.) holds that the allusion is to celestial beings, an idea which he thinks Paul derived from Judaism (Septuagint, Ps. cxxxviii. 1; Tobit xii. 12; Burt, *Synag.* p. 15; Grotius, *in loc.;* Eisenmeier, *Entdeckt. Judenth.* ii. p. 193).

The work of Vitringa (*De Synagogâ Veterum*) remains the chief authority on the subject, though published in 1696. See also Burmann, *Exercitt. Acad.* ii. 3, sq.; Reland, *Antiq. Sacr.* i. 10; Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 307, sq.; Hartmann, *Verbind. des A. T. mit d. Neuen*, p. 225, sq.; Brown, *Antiquities of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 590, sq.—J. R. B.

SYNAGOGUE, GREAT (כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה), the name applied in the Talmud to an assembly or synod presided over by Ezra, and consisting of one hundred and twenty men, alleged therein to have been engaged in restoring and reforming the worship of the Temple after the return of the Jews from Babylon. We shall here furnish the evidences of the existence of this assembly. 'The

house of judgment of Ezra is that called the *Great Synagogue*, which restored the crown to its original condition' (*Chron.* יוחסין, fol. 13). The *crown*, observes Buxtorf (*Tiberias*, ch. x.), 'was triple, consisting of the law, the priesthood, and the commonwealth;' and he explains this by adding that Ezra purified the law and the Scriptures generally from all corruptions. Again in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Cod. Megillah*, 3) it is said, 'When the men of the Great Synagogue arose, they restored magnificence (*i. e.* the crown of the law) to its pristine state.' In *Pirke Aboth*, cap. 1, it is observed that Moses received the law from Mount Sinai, gave it to Joshua, Joshua to the elders, the elders to the prophets, and these to the men of the Great Synagogue;' and in Tract *Yomah*, lxix. 2, it is added, 'Why is this called by the name of the Great Synagogue? Because they restored the crown to its pristine state.' In *Megillah*, fol. x. 2: 'This is a tradition from the men of the Great Synagogue;' and in *Baba Bathra*, fol. 15: 'The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the twelve (minor) prophets, Daniel, and Esther;' and the glossator explains this by saying 'that they collected the books into one volume, and made new copies of them, knowing that the prophetic spirit was about to depart.' In *Pirke Aboth* it is added that Simeon the Just was the last survivor of the men of the Great Synagogue. He is supposed to have been contemporary with Alexander the Great (B.C. 332), and is said to have completed the canon by adding the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and to have survived forty years the building of the second temple.

Abarbanel and some of the later Jewish commentators have amplified these statements, and some eminent Christian writers have adopted their views in regard to the history of the text of Scripture. We have already seen that several of the fathers held that the books of the law, having been destroyed at the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, were miraculously restored by Ezra [ESDRAS]. Buxtorf assumes that the labours of the Great Synagogue consisted only in restoring both the law and the entire Scriptures to their integrity, separating the false from the true, and removing corruptions. Carpzov (*Introd.* lib. i. ch. i.) observes, in reference to this subject, that the account of the restoration by Ezra of the law, which had been burned by Nebuchadnezzar, is 'a fable of the Papists derived from the fathers, but impugned by Bellarmine (*De Verb. Dei*, ii. 1), and Natalis Alexander, (*Hist. Eccles.*) [and others of the Roman church]. Neither,' he adds, 'did Ezra correct and amend the Scriptures, which had been corrupted during the captivity—a papistical comment built up by Cornelius a Lapide, (*Præm. Com.* p. 5), [and refuted by our divines (see Calovius); nor did he invent the present letters of the Hebrew alphabet, in place of the Samaritan—a fable refuted by Buxtorf [SCRIPTURE, HOLY]. But what Ezra really did was this: he collected the copies of the Scriptures into one volume, purified them by separating the spurious from the genuine, fixed the canon of divinely inspired books, and rejected all that was heterogeneous, and finally examined the canonical books, that nothing foreign or depraved should be mixed up with them, and pointed out the true method of reading and expounding them: in which labour he had the assistance of Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Nehemiah [Ezra, Mordecai, Simon the Just], and the others, in all one hundred and twenty.' 'It was,' he observes, 'the unshaken principle of both Jews and Christians that the canon of the Old Testament was fixed once for all by Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue.' Bellarmine also (*l. c.*) maintains that although some of the fathers supposed that the whole Scriptures had been burned and miraculously restored by Ezra, as Basil, whose words (*Ep. ad Chilon.*) are, 'Hic campus in quo secessu facto Esdras omnes divinos libros ex mandato Dei eructavit,' yet that from the statements of Chrysostom, 'that out of the *remains* of the Scripture Ezra recomposed it;' of Hilary (*Præf. in Psal.*), that 'Ezra had collected the Psalms into one volume;' and of Theodoret, that 'the Scripture having been depraved in the time of the exile was restored by Ezra;'—these fathers did not mean to assert that Ezra had restored the whole from memory, but only that he collected into one body the different books which he had found dispersed in various places, and amended such parts as had been corrupted by the negligence of transcribers. In opposition to all these views, Le Clerc (*Sentiments de quelques Théologiens*) maintains that the whole history of the Great Synagogue and the Esdrine Recension was a Talmudical fable; in which he was followed by Father Simon and many others. There certainly appears but a very slight foundation for the superstructure raised by Buxtorf (*Tiberias*), Carpzov, and Prideaux [ESDRAS]. That the law and the prophets, however, had not perished, but were read by the Jews during the exile, appears from Dan. ix. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12; comp. Ezra vi. 18; vii. 10.

Genebrard asserts that there were no less than three Great Synagogues, one in A.M. 3610, or B.C. 394, when the Hebrew canon, consisting of twenty-two books, was fixed; another in 3860 (B.C. 144), when Tobit and Ecclesiasticus were added; and a third in 3950 (B.C. 54), when the whole was completed by the addition of the books of Maccabees. But this statement, being unsupported by any historical proof, has met with no reception.—W. W.

SYNTYCHE (Συντύχη), a female Christian named in Phil. iv. 2.

SYRACUSE (Συράκουσαι), a celebrated city on the south-east coast of the island of Sicily. It was a strong, wealthy, and populous place, to which Strabo gives a circumference of not less than one hundred and eighty stades. The great wealth and power of Syracuse arose from its trade, which was carried on extensively while it remained an independent state under its own kings; but about 200 B.C. it was taken by the Romans, after a siege rendered famous by the mechanical contrivances whereby Archimedes protracted the defence. Syracuse still exists as a considerable town under its original name, and some ruins of the ancient city yet remain. St. Paul spent three days at Syracuse, after leaving Melita, when being conveyed as a prisoner to Rome (Acts xxviii. 12).

SYRIA (Συρία). This great country is mentioned under the name of ARAM in the Hebrew Scriptures, several parts of it being so designated,

with the addition of a district name; and it is only by putting together the portions thus separately denominated, that we learn the extent of country which the word indicated among the Hebrews [see ARAM]. Aram is usually rendered Syria in the Authorized and other versions: and in the time of the kings it more frequently indicates the kingdom of which Damascus was the capital than the whole country, or any other part of it. [DAMASCUS.] In the Maccabees the Greek text frequently employs the term 'Syria' to designate the empire of the Seleucidæ; and in the New Testament it occurs as the name of the Roman province (Matt. iv. 24; Luke ii. 2; Acts xv. 23, 41; xviii. 18; xx. 3; xxi. 3; Gal. i. 21), which was governed by presidents, and to which Phœnicia and (with slight interruption) Judæa also were attached; for in and after the time of Christ, Judæa was for the most part governed by a procurator, who was accountable to the president of Syria.

The word Syria is of uncertain origin. Some conceive it to be merely a contraction of Assyria, which was sometimes considered as part of it; while others conjecture that it may have been derived from Sur (Tyre), which may be regarded as the best known, if not the chief, town of the whole country. The names of both Aram and Syria are now equally unknown in the country itself, which is called by the Arabs Bar-esh-Sham, or simply Esh-Sham, *i. e.* the country to the left, in contradistinction to Southern Arabia or Yemen, *i. e.* the country to the right; because when, in order to determine the direction of the cardinal points, the eye is supposed to be directed towards the east, Arabia lies on the right hand, and Syria on the left. It is difficult to define the limits of ancient Syria, as the name seems to have been very loosely applied by the old geographers. In general, however, we may perceive that they made it include the tract of country lying between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, from the mountains of Taurus and Amanus in the north, to the desert of Suez and the borders of Egypt on the south; which coincides pretty well with the modern application of the name. Some ancient writers, such as Mela (i. 11) and Pliny (v. 13), give to Syria a much larger extent, carrying it beyond the Euphrates, and making it include Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Adiabene. Understood in the narrower and more usual applications, Syria may be described as composed of three tracts of land, of very different descriptions. That which adjoins the Mediterranean is a hot, damp, and rather unwholesome, but very fruitful valley. The part next to this consists of a double chain of mountains, running parallel from south-west to north-east, with craggy precipitous rocks, devious valleys, and hollow defiles. The air is here dry and healthy; and on the western declivities of the mountains are seen beautiful and highly cultivated terraces, alternating with well-watered valleys, which have a rich and fertile soil, and are densely peopled. The eastern declivities, on the contrary, are dreary mountain deserts, connected with the third region, which may be described as a spacious plain of sand and rock, presenting an extensive and almost unbroken level.

Spring and autumn are very agreeable in Syria, and the heat of summer in the mountain districts is supportable. But in the plains, as soon as the sun reaches the equator, it becomes of a sudden oppressively hot, and this heat continues till the end of October. On the other hand, the winter is so mild, that orange-trees, fig-trees, palms, and many tender shrubs and plants flourish in the open air, while the heights of Lebanon are glittering with snow and hoar-frost. In the districts, however, which lie north and east of the mountains, the severity of winter is greater, though the heat of the summer is not less. At Antioch, Aleppo, and Damascus, there are ice and snow for several weeks every winter. Yet, upon the whole, the climate and soil combine to render this country one of the most agreeable residences throughout the East.

The principal Syrian towns mentioned in Scripture are the following, all of which are noticed under their respective names in the present work:—Antioch, Seleucia, Helbon, Rezeph, Tiphsah, Rehoboth, Hamath, Riblah, Tadmor, Baal-Gad, Damascus, Hobah, Beth-Eden.

Syria, when we first become acquainted with its history, was divided into a number of small kingdoms, of which the most important of those mentioned in Scripture was that of which Damascus was the metropolis. A sketch of its history is given under DAMASCUS. These kingdoms were broken up, or rather consolidated by conquerors, of whom the first appears to have been Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria, about 750 B.C. After the fall of the Assyrian monarchy, Syria came under the Chaldæan yoke. It shared the fate of Babylonia when that country was conquered by the Persians; and was again subdued by Alexander the Great. At his death in B.C. 323, it was erected into a separate monarchy under the Seleucidæ, and continued to be governed by its own sovereigns until, weakened and devastated by civil wars between competitors for the throne, it was finally, about B.C. 65, reduced by Pompey to the condition of a Roman province, after the monarchy had subsisted 257 years. On the decline of the Roman empire, the Saracens became the next possessors of Syria, about A.D. 622; and when the crusading armies poured into Asia, this country became the chief theatre of the great contest between the armies of the Crescent and the Cross, and its plains were deluged with Christian and Moslem blood. For nearly a century the Crusaders remained masters of the chief places in Syria; but at length the power of the Moslems predominated, and in 1186 Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, found himself in possession of Syria. It remained subject to the sultans of Egypt till, in A.D. 1517, the Turkish sultan, Selim I., overcame the Memlook dynasty, and Syria and Egypt became absorbed in the Ottoman empire. In 1832, a series of successes over the Turkish arms gave Syria to Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt; from whom, however, after nine years, it again passed to the Turks, in consequence of the operations undertaken for that purpose by the fleet under the command of Admiral Stopford, the chief of which was the bombardment of Acre in November 1840. The treaty restoring Syria to the Turks was ratified early in the ensuing year. See Rosenmüller's *Bib. Geograph.*, translated by the Rev. N. Morren; Winer's *Real-Wörterb.* s. v.; Volney's *Travels*, ii. 289, 358; *Modern Traveller*, vol. ii.; Napier's *War in Syria*.

SYRIAC VERSIONS. The old Syriac version of the Scriptures is often called the *Peshito;* a term in Syriac which signifies *simple* or *single*, and which is applied to this version to mark its freedom from glosses and allegorical modes of interpretation (Hävernick, *Einleit.* Erst. Theil. zweite Abtheil. S. 90). The time when the Peshito was made cannot now be certainly known. Various traditions respecting its origin have been current among the Syrians, which partake of the fabulous. Jacob of Edessa, in a passage communicated by Gregory Bar Hebræus, speaks of 'those translators who were sent to Palestine by the apostle Thaddeus, and by Abgarus king of Edessa' (Wiseman, *Horæ Syriaeæ*, p. 103). This statement is not improbable. There is no good ground for absolutely rejecting it. It is true that other accounts are repeated by Bar Hebræus which must be pronounced fabulous; but the present does not wear the same aspect. Ephrem the Syrian, who lived in the fourth century, refers to the translation before us in such a manner as implies its high antiquity. It was universally circulated among the Syrians in his time; and accordingly he speaks of it as OUR *version*, which he would scarcely have done had it not then obtained general authority. Besides, it has been shown by Wiseman that many expressions in it were either unintelligible to Ephrem, or at least obscure. Hence this father deemed it necessary to give an explanation of many terms and phrases for the benefit of his countrymen. Such circumstances are favourable to the idea of an early origin. Perhaps it was made in the first century, agreeably to the tradition in Jacob of Edessa.

Its internal character favours the opinion of those who think that the Old Testament part, of which we are now speaking, was made by Christians. Had it proceeded from Jews, or one Jew, as Simon supposed, it would not have been free from the glosses in which that people so much indulged. It would probably have resolved anthropomorphisms and other figurative expressions, as is done in the Sept.; and have exhibited less negligence and awkwardness in rendering the Levitical precepts (Hirzel, *De Pentat. vers. Syr. indole, Commentat. erit.-exeget.*, p. 127, et seq.). Besides, the Messianic passages show that no Jew translated them. Dathe conjectured that the author was a Jewish Christian, which is not improbable; for the version *does* present evidence of Jewish influences upon it—influences subdued and checked by Christian opinions, yet not wholly imperceptible. Hence some have thought that use was made of the Targums by the translator or translators. This can scarcely be proved. The Jews were numerous throughout Syria and Mesopotamia, as we learn from Josephus; and their modes of interpretation were prevalent in consequence. There is therefore an approach to the Chaldaic *usus loquendi*—a similarity to Jewish exegesis. If the authors were originally Jews, who had afterwards embraced Christianity, this indication of Jewish influence is at once accounted for, without having recourse to the supposition that they made actual use of the Targums when translating the original. It is now impossible to tell whether the Septuagint was consulted by the authors of the Peshito. There is indeed a considerable resemblance between it and our version, not so much in single passages as in general tenor; but it is not *necessary* to assume that the Greek was used. Perhaps it was afterwards employed in revising and correcting the Peshito. The latter was sometimes interpolated out of it in after times (Hävernick, p. 92; Hirzel, p. 100; Credner, p. 107).

It is certain that it was taken from the original Hebrew. In establishing this position, external and internal arguments unite.

Eichhorn tried to show, from the parts of the version itself, that it proceeded from several persons. Without assenting to all his arguments, or attaching importance to many of his presumptive circumstances, we agree with him in opinion. Tradition, too, affirms the same thing; and the words of Ephrem are favourable where he says, on Josh. xv. 28, 'since *those* who translated into Syriac did not understand the signification of the Hebrew word,' &c. (Von Lengerke, *Commentatio Critica de Ephr. Syro s. s. interprete*, p. 24).

The Peshito contains all the canonical books of the Old Testament. The Apocryphal were not originally included. They must, however, have been early rendered into Syriac out of the Septuagint, because Ephrem quotes them. In his day, the books of Maccabees were wanting in the Syriac; as also the apocryphal additions to Daniel. After the Syrian church had been divided into different sections, various recensions of the version were made. The recension of the Nestorians is often quoted in the scholia of Gregory Bar Hebræus. According to Wiseman, this recension extended no farther than the points appended to the Syriac letters. The Karkaphensian recension is also cited by Bar Hebræus. For a long time this was supposed to be a separate version, till the researches of Dr. Wiseman at Rome threw light upon its true character. From the examination of two codices in the Vatican library, he ascertained that it was merely a revision of the Peshito, distinguished by a peculiar mode of pointing and a peculiar arrangement of the books, but not deviating essentially from the common text. In this recension, Job comes before Samuel; and immediately after Isaiah, the minor prophets. The Proverbs succeed Daniel. The arrangement in the New Testament is quite as singular. It begins with the Acts of the Apostles, and ends with the four Gospels; while the epistles of James, Peter, and John come before the fourteen letters of Paul. This recension proceeded from the Monophysites. According to Assemani and Wiseman, the name signifies *mountainous*, because it originated with those living about Mount Sagara, where there was a monastery of Jacobite Syrians, or simply because it was used by them.

The Peshito in the Old and New Testaments is one and the same version, having been made in the first century of the Christian era. Bishop Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, contends that the New Testament part was not made till after the canon had been formed, *i. e.* about the middle of the second century. From the fact, however, of its wanting the books that were not received at once by the early Christians, viz., the second epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, Jude, and the Apocalypse, it claims a higher antiquity than the learned prelate assigns it. Had the version been made in the third century, it is not probable

that these epistles would have been wanting. Michaelis therefore seems to have been right in placing it in the first century. Hug has endeavoured to show that the Peshito had originally the Apocalypse and the four Catholic epistles which are now wanting, and that they gradually disappeared from the version in the fourth century; but his opinion is improbable, as has been shown by Bertholdt and Guerike (Bertholdt, *Einleit.* th. ii. s. 635; Guerike, *Einleit.* s. 44, not. 1).

As the Old Testament part was made from the original Hebrew, so the New Testament portion was translated from the original Greek.

In consequence of the variety observable in the mode of translating different books, Hug supposes that the New Testament proceeded from different hands. This, however, is scarcely probable. The tradition of the Syrians themselves (Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 486) refers it to one person; and such is the opinion of Eichhorn. The text of it is somewhat peculiar. Hug assigns it to the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, or *unrevised* text; while Griesbach thinks that it comes nearer the *Occidental* than any of the other recensions. Scholz reckons it to the Constantinopolitan, although he admits that it contains *Alexandrian* and *singular* readings.

The Old Testament Peshito was first printed in the Paris Polyglott, with a translation by Gabriel Sionita. The text is by no means accurate, for the editor supplied deficiencies in his MSS. out of the Vulgate. It was afterwards printed in the London Polyglott from various MSS.; but Professor Roediger pronounces the London edition to have been more carelessly executed on the whole than the Paris one (*Hallische Lit. Zeit.* 1832, No. 5, p. 38). The edition published by Professor Lee in 1823, 4to., for the use of the British and Foreign Bible Society, is the best. It was ably reviewed by Roediger in the *Hall. Lit. Zeit.* for 1832, No. 4. The best lexicon is Michaelis's reprint and enlargement of Castell's, published in two parts at Göttingen, 1788, 4to.

The New Testament Peshito was first made known in Europe by Moses of Merdin, a Syrian priest, who was sent by Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch, in 1552, to Pope Julius III., to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman pontiff in the name of the Syrian church, and also to superintend the printing of the Syriac Testament. It was first published at Vienna in 1555, by Albert Widmanstadt, chancellor of Austria under Ferdinand I. Two MSS. were employed. L. de Dieu subsequently published the Apocalypse from an ancient MS. formerly in the library of the younger Scaliger, and afterwards in that of the university at Leyden, containing part of the Philoxenian or younger Syriac version; or rather of the translation made by Thomas of Harclea. (Lugd. Bat. 1627, 4to., reprinted with a Latin version and notes in his *Critica Sacra*, Amsterdam, 1693, fol.). Pococke published the four epistles, viz., second Peter, second and third John, and Jude, from a MS. in the Bodleian library (Lugd. Bat. 1630, 4to.). This is the *only* MS. of the Peshito, so far as is yet known, which contains these four epistles, together with the Acts and the three Catholic epistles universally acknowledged. The character of *this version* of the four epistles does not generally correspond with that of the Peshito; on the contrary, it appears to betray a later age, and probably belongs to the Philoxenian or Heraclean, of which it apparently forms a part. All the parts were collected and printed in the Paris Polyglott along with the Old Testament portion; and transferred to the London Polyglott, with corrections. The best editions of the New Testament Peshito are the second edition of Schaaf, Lugd. Bat. 4to., 1717; and that prepared by Professor Lee for the Bible Society, London, 1816, 4to. The best Lexicon, which also serves as a concordance, is Schaaf's, in one quarto volume, published at Leyden, in 1709, 4to.

The style of this version is generally pure, the original well translated, and the idioms transferred to the Syriac with ease, vigour, and propriety. It need create no surprise that it differs considerably from the Hebrew and Greek MSS. of the Old and New Testaments, since it existed much earlier than the oldest codices now extant. Its assistance in the interpretation of the New Testament is valuable and important. Nor is it wholly without its use in *the criticism* of the same (Winer, *De usu vers. Syriacæ N. T. critico caute instituendo*, Erlang. 1823, 4to.). See Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*, the various Introductions to the Old and New Testaments, especially those of Hävernick and De Wette (last edition) to the Old, and those of Hug, Michaelis (by Marsh), and De Wette (last edition) to the New Testament; Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, vol. i., Romæ, 1828, 8vo. For the Old Testament Peshito consult also Hirzel, *De Pentat. vers. Syr. quam vocant Peschito, indole*, Lips. 1825, 8vo.; Credner, *De Prophetarum min. vers. Syr. quam Peschito vocant indole*, Götting. 1827, 8vo.; C. v. Lengerke, *De Ephræmi Syr. arte hermeneutica*, Regiom. 1831, 8vo., and *Comm. crit. de Ephr. Syro s. s. interprete*, Hal. 1828, 4to.; Gesenius, *Ueber Jesaia*, vol. i.; Lee, *Prolegomena* to Bagster's *Polyglott;* Simon, *Histoire Critique du V. T.*, Paris, 1678, 4to.

For the New Testament Peshito see also J. G. C. Adler, *N. T. versiones Syriacæ simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana, denuo examinatæ et ad fidem*, &c., Hafniæ, 1789, 4to.; G. C. Storr, *Observationes super N. T. versionibus Syriacis*, Stuttg. 1772, 8vo.; J. G. Reusch, *Syrus interpres cum fonte N. T. Græco collatus*, Lips. 1741, 8vo. Various Arabic versions have been made from the Old Testament Peshito. These have been already mentioned [Arabic Versions]. The Persian version of the Gospels in the London Polyglott was also derived from the Peshito. Hug thinks that it was made at Edessa (*Introduction*, §§ 81, 82, 83).

Besides the Peshito, Gregory Bar Hebræus, in the preface to his *Horreum Mysteriorum*, mentions two other versions of the New Testament, the *Philoxenian* and the *Harclean*.

The *Philoxenian* was made from the original Greek into Syriac, in the city of Mabug. It is so called from Philoxenus or Xenayas, Bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis, in Syria. There is some uncertainty in relation to the part which this bishop took in the version. The testimony of Bar Hebræus is not uniform. In one passage he affirms that it was made *in the time of* Philoxenus; in his *Chronicon*, that it was done *by desire* of this bishop; and in another place of the

same work, that it was *his own production*. Aghelæus (Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 83) states, that the author of it was Polycarp, rural Bishop of Philoxenus. Again, in an Arabic MS. quoted by Assemani, Philoxenus is said to have translated the four Gospels into Syriac. Thus all is uncertainty in regard to the authorship of the version. It cannot be ascertained whether it proceeded in whole, or in part only, from Philoxenus himself; or whether Polycarp, acting under his auspices and by his advice, deserves the honour of the work. One thing is certain, that it was made between the years 485 and 518 of the Christian era, most probably in 508.

No MS. of this version has been yet discovered, either complete or otherwise, so that it is impossible to ascertain its intrinsic merit. Bar Hebræus does not quote it. Hence it would seem to have been almost supplanted in his day. It is known to the public only by a few fragments constituting the marginal annotations of a very ancient Vatican MS. examined by Wiseman and numbered 153. The passages were first printed by Wiseman in his *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 178, sq. As far as it is possible to judge from these specimens, the version was much superior to the Peshito,—a conclusion which agrees with the Syrian tradition respecting it.

The *Harelean* derives its name from Thomas of Harkel or Heraclea, in Syria. Various notices of Thomas's life have been collected by Bernstein from ancient authors. He was bishop of Mabug at the conclusion of the sixth and the commencement of the seventh century. From thence he fled into Egypt, and took up his abode in a monastery at Alexandria, where he laboured in amending the Syriac Philoxenian version of the New Testament. From postscripts added by himself it appears that he corrected the Gospels of the Philoxenian after two (some MSS. have *three*) Greek MSS.; the Acts and the Catholic epistles after one. Having revised and amended the entire text with great care, rendering it as conformable as possible to the Greek copies which he had before him, the work was completed and published in the year of Christ 616. The basis of it was the Philoxenian; but the Peshito seems to have been also consulted. Still it was not so much *a new recension* of the Philoxenian, as an additional version of the New Testament; and accordingly it is described as *a third* translation by Bar Hebræus. The most complete MS. of this translation which has yet been described, is that which formerly belonged to Ridley, now in the library of New College Oxford. Those who wish to know more of this copy must consult Ridley's *Dissertation concerning the Genius and Use of Syriac Versions of the New Testament* (London, 1761), and White's preface to the printed edition of it. It contains all the books of the New Testament except the Apocalypse, and from the 27th verse of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to the end of that epistle. The edition of Professor White is the only one of *the Harelean* version published. It is in four volumes 4to., Oxford, 1778-1803. The text agrees generally with the Alexandrine family, as might be inferred *à priori* from the place where it was made. It is now impossible to determine whether the Harclean version embraced originally the entire New Testament. No MS. has yet been found which has the Apocalypse. Gregory Bar Hebræus, who quotes and criticises the version, has no citation from this book—a circumstance favourable to the opinion that it never belonged to the version in question. It is also impossible to determine whether it ever extended to the Old Testament.

The version is extremely literal. It seems to have been the translator's endeavour that not a word or syllable of the original should be lost. Accordingly, he has often sacrificed the Syriac idiom to a rigid adherence to the Greek text. The style is inferior to that of the Peshito. Bernstein thus contrasts the two translations: 'In illâ (Simplice) interpretatio est liberior, verborum quodque non exprimens, sed sensum eorum per ambitum magis, quam ad fidem enuntians, oratio consuetudini sermonis Syriaci accommodatior, elegantior, et intellectu facilior; hæc (Charklensis) ad verbum facta diligenter archetypum reddit, sed oratio ejus ea ipsa de causa a communi Syrorum usu loquendi saepe abhorret, locisque haud paucis obscura est et sine Græco exemplo vix apta ad intelligendum. Illa Syrorum istius temporis doctorum de Novi Testamenti locis sententias et explicationes refert, hæc Græcorum præcipuæ auctoritatis exemplarium, quæ exeunte seculo sexto Thomas Charklensis Alexandriæ, illustri literarum illius temporis sede, invenit, effigiem mira similitudine exscriptam repræsentat' (p. 38). The same writer has printed a specimen of it along with a specimen of the old Syriac; as also the readings quoted by Bar Hebræus in his *Horreum Mysteriorum*.

From the preceding description it will be seen, that what is usually called *the Philoxenian*, should be designated *the Harelean* version. The two are quite distinct. Of the one we know exceedingly little; the other has been printed under the superintendence of White, who erroneously calls it *the Philoxenian*. (See Wiseman's *Horæ Syriacæ;* Bernstein's *Commentatio de Charklensi Novi Testamenti translatione Syriacâ;* Ridley's *Dissertatio de Syriacarum Novi Fœderis versionum indole atque usu;* Adler's *Novi Testamenti versiones Syriacæ Simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana*, &c.; White's edition of the *Harelean*, vol. i.; Bertholdt's *Krit. Journal der neuesten Theol. Literatur*, tom. xiv.; Loehnis's *Grundzüge*, pp. 373-4; and Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism.*)

There is also *another Syriac version* of the New Testament called the *Jerusalem* or *Palæstino-Syriac*, which was discovered by Adler in a Vatican MS. (No. 19). The MS. seems, from the subscription, to have been written in a monastery at Antioch, A.D. 1030. The language is a mixture of Chaldee and Syriac, similar to that of the Jerusalem Talmud, and the *character* employed is peculiar. The MS. consists merely of a *lectionary* or *evangelistarium*, embracing no more than lessons from the four Gospels for all the Sundays and festivals in the year. Internal evidence favours the idea, that this version was made in some part of Syria, subject at the time to the Romans; probably in the fifth century. The text agrees with the western family. The story of the adulteress, though wanting in the Peshito and Harclean, is given in this version, almost in the same form as that in which it appears in the Codex Bezæ. Specimens of it are

given by Adler in his *Treatise on Syriac Versions*, p. 137, sq. See also Eichhorn's *Allgem. Biblioth.* ii., p. 498, sq.; and Marsh's *Notes to Michaelis's Introduction*. Dr. Scholz collated it for his edition of the Greek Testament. (Davidson's *Lectures*, pp. 65, 66.)—S. D.

SYRO-PHŒNICIA (Συροφοινίκη), OR PHŒNICIA PROPER, called Syro or Syrian Phœnicia, from being included in the Roman province of Syria. It includes that part of the coast of Canaan, on the borders of the Mediterranean, in which the cities of Tyre and Sidon were situated; and the same country, which is called Syro-Phœnicia in the Acts, is in the Gospels called the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. The woman also described as Syro-Phœnician (Συροφοίνισσα) in Mark vii. 2-6, is in Matt. xv. 22 called a Canaanitish woman, because that country was still occupied by the descendants of Canaan, of whom Sidon was the eldest son.

T.

TAANACH (תַּעְנַךְ; Sept. Θανάκ), a royal city of the Canaanites (Josh. xii. 21), in the territory of Issachar, but assigned to Manasseh (Judg. i. 27; v. 19; Josh. xvii. 11-21; 1 Kings iv. 12). Schubert, followed by Robinson, finds it in the modern Taannuk, now a mean hamlet on the south side of a small hill, with a summit of table-land. It lies on the south-western border of the plain of Esdraelon, four miles south of Megiddo, in connection with which it is mentioned in the triumphal song of Deborah and Barak (Judg. v. 19). Schubert, *Morgenland*, iii. 164; Robinson, *Bib. Res.* iii. 156: *Bib. Sacra*, i. 76.

TABEAL (טָבְאֵל, *God is good;* Sept. Ταβεήλ), father of the unnamed person on whom Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, proposed to bestow the crown of Judah in case they succeeded in dethroning Ahaz (Isa. vii. 6). Who 'Tabeal's son' was is unknown, but it is conjectured that he was some factious and powerful Ephraimite (perhaps Zichri, 2 Chron. xxviii. 7), who promoted the war in the hope of this result.

TABERAH, one of the stations of the Israelites in the desert. [WANDERING.]

TABERNACLE (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, *tent of assembly*, from the root יעד, *to fix* or *appoint time and place of a meeting*). Kimchi explains the name thus: '*And thus was called the* אהל מועד, *because the Israelites were assembled and congregated there*, and also because he (Jehovah) met there with Moses,' &c. It is also called אהל העדות, or משכן העדות, *tent of testimony*, from עוד, *testari*, to witness. The Septuagint almost constantly uses the phrase σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, and in Kings viii., σκήνωμα τοῦ μαρτυρίου, not distinguishing the roots יעד and עוד. The Vulgate has tabernaculum fœderis, *tent of the covenant*. With this rendering agrees Luther's *Stiftshütte*. The Chaldee and Syrian translators have משכן זמנא, *tent of festival*.

We may distinguish in the Old Testament three sacred tabernacles: I. The ANTE-SINAITIC, which was probably the dwelling of Moses, and was placed by the camp of the Israelites in the desert, for the transaction of public business. Exod. xxxiii. 7, 'Moses took the tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp, and called it the tabernacle of the congregation. And it came to pass, that every one which sought the Lord went out unto the tabernacle of the congregation, which was without the camp. And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the tabernacle, that all the people rose up, and stood every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses until he was gone into the tabernacle. And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and the Lord talked with Moses. And all the people saw the cloudy pillar stand at the tabernacle door: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every one in his tent door.'

II. The ANTE-SINAITIC tabernacle, which had served for the transaction of public business probably from the beginning of the Exodus, was superseded by the SINAITIC: this was constructed by Bezaleel and Aholiab as a portable mansion-house, guildhall, and cathedral, and set up on the first day of the first month in the second year after leaving Egypt. Of this alone we have accurate descriptions. Philo (*Opera*, ii. p. 146) calls it ἱερὸν φορητόν, and Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 6. 1), ναὸς μεταφερόμενος καὶ συμπερινοστῶν, *a portable travelling temple*. It is also sometimes called היכל, 'temple' (1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 3).

III. The DAVIDIC tabernacle was erected by David in Jerusalem for the reception of the ark (2 Sam. vi. 12), while the old tabernacle remained to the days of Solomon at Gibeon, together with the brazen altar, as the place where sacrifices were offered (1 Chron. xvi. 39, and 2 Chron. i. 3).

The second of these sacred tents is, as the most important, called the tabernacle *par excellence*. Moses was commanded by Jehovah to have it erected in the Arabian desert, by voluntary contributions of the Israelites, who carried it about with them in their migrations until after the conquest of Canaan, when it remained stationary for longer periods in various towns of Palestine.

The materials of which this tent was composed were so costly, that sceptics have questioned whether they could be furnished by a nomadic race. The tabernacle exceeded in costliness and splendour, in proportion to the slender means of a nomadic people, the magnificence of any cathedral of the present day, compared with the wealth of the surrounding population. It is, however, remarkable that Moses was directed by Jehovah to collect the means for erecting the tabernacle, not by church-rates, but by the voluntary principle. The mode of collecting these means, and the design of the structure, are fully described in Exod. xxv. to xxvii., and in xxxv. to xxxvii., which the reader should peruse in connection with the following remarks: 'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart ye shall take my offering. And this is the offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair, and rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim-wood,' &c.

In addition to these voluntary contributions, the half shekel redemption-money, which every adult male paid in substitution of the first-born, was applied to the casting of the sockets on which the boards rested—in the whole 100 talents, and 1775 shekels. Of the 100 talents were cast 100 sockets, and of the remaining 1775 shekels were made hooks, platings, and bands for the pillars (Exod. xxx. 13; xxxviii. 24-28). Public worship was also maintained by various fines and trespass-offerings (Lev. v. 15; xxvii. 3; Num. iii. 47; vii. 55).

The graphic description given in Exodus indicates that the framework of the tabernacle consisted of perpendicular gilded boards of acacia wood. These boards were fixed into silver sockets, and were kept together by means of golden rings, through which transverse bars were passed. Over this wooden framework four coverings were spread, the first of which consisted of byssus, or of a fine cotton texture, dark blue, purple, and scarlet, into which the representations of cherubim were woven. The second was somewhat larger than the first, and consisted of a texture made of the very fine wool which grows between the hair of some breeds of goats. The third covering was a pall, made of red morocco leather; and the fourth was also a pall of a stronger leather, more capable of resisting inclement weather. It was probably made of sealskins, which were furnished by the Red Sea. The first and second of these coverings consisted of several curtains, which were connected with each other by means of golden hooks and eyes.

In the pictorial illustrations the four coverings of the tabernacle are usually represented as being all spread over the wooden frame, so as to hang down outside the boards. But this seems, as Bähr remarks, not quite correct. The splendid covering of blue and purple byssus, with interwoven images of cherubim, was suspended by hooks and eyes within the boards, so that the inside of the tabernacle was covered entirely as with costly tapestry.

The entrance was turned towards the east, and was closed by means of a splendid curtain of byssus, into which figures were woven. This curtain was supported by fine wooden columns, which were plated with gold. Against inclement weather the curtain was protected, according to the statement of Josephus, by a linen covering. The interior of the tabernacle was divided into two rooms. The sanctuary was twenty cubits long, ten cubits wide, and ten high. The holy of holies was ten cubits square, and ten high, and was separated from the sanctuary by a curtain, into which the figures of cherubim were woven, and which was supported by four columns plated with gold. The tabernacle was surrounded by a sort of court-yard, which was one hundred cubits long and fifty cubits wide, and was surrounded by columns, from which cotton curtains were suspended. The entrance was twenty cubits wide, and was closed by a suspended curtain. In the holy of holies stood the ark of the covenant. In the sanctuary was placed on the north the table with the twelve loaves of shewbread, together with cups, saucers, &c.; opposite to this table towards the south stood the golden candlestick with six branches; in the middle, between the table and the candlestick, stood the altar of incense. In the court under the open sky stood the altar of burnt offerings, and between this altar and the sanctuary was placed the brazen laver.

Among the pictorial illustrations of the structure of the tabernacle, those lately published by Captain W. Rhind are distinguished by their beauty.

The typology of the tabernacle has been explained by divines of former centuries in a rather daring manner. Salomon Van Til, in his *Commentatio de Tabernaculo Mosis*, is very explicit in his typological statements. For instance: 'Considerare oportet materiam quæ est lignum fragile, ita quoque ecclesia colligitur ex hominibus ejusdem conditionis, dum omnes naturâ fragiles sunt.' *The wood of the tabernacle signifies the fragility of men constituting the Church.* 'Ornatus ab auro introductus est emblema correctæ fragilitatis, scilicet vocati sancti intus gloriosi sunt propter dona spiritualia una cum justitiâ Christi imputatâ.' *The golden ornaments signify that the fragility of the saints has been removed by the spiritual gifts and the imputed righteousness of Christ.* 'Tegumenta pellicea rubefacta inclementiæ aëris exposita, quidni nobis sint emblemata martyrum sanguine Christi et suo tinctorum? nam sicut tegumenta pellicea illa ex mactatis animalibus detracta fuerant, ita quoque martyres occisi et mactati per memoriam martyrii sui ecclesiæ quasi exuvias relinquunt perpetuo ostentandas, quod diligentissime factum est in martyrologiis.' *The skins dyed red are emblems of the martyrs whose example is exhibited in the martyrologies*, &c.

Vestiges of typological interpretations occur even in Philo (*Opera*, ii. p. 146, sq.); Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 7. 7); Clem. Alex. (*Stromata*, V. p. 562, sq.), and Hieronymus (*Ep.* 64, *ad Fabiol.*) Compare Witsii *Miscellanea Saera*, i. 318, sq.; Kraftii *Observationes Saeræ*, i. p. 136; and Bähr's *Symbolik Medosas ischen Cultus.*

We do not belong to those who either deny or overlook the symbolism of the Old Testament in general, or that of the tabernacle in particular. It appears to us, however, that the interpretations and applications of the typologians are generally more arbitrary and less cogent than the psychological and moral facts which the history of the tabernacle places before our observation, and to which the Epistle to the Hebrews refers.

Compare the cognate articles Aaron; Altar; Ark; Cherubim; Court; Elders; Eleazar; Gershonites; Incense; Kohathites; Korahites; Laver; Levites; Merarites; Offerings; Priests; Sacrifices; Shew-bread; Sea, Brazen; Urim and Thummim, &c.

Besides the works of S. van Til and Bähr, compare also Bh. Conrad., *De Generali Tabernaculi Mosis Structura et Figura*, Offenbach, 1712; Bh. Lamy, *De Tabernaculo Fœderis libri septem*, Paris, 1720; J. G. Tympe, *Tabernaculi e Monumentis Descriptio*, Jena, 1731; Benzelii *Dissertationes*, ii. 97, sq.; Millii *Miscellanea Sacra*, Amit. 1754, p. 329, sq.; Teb. Ran. *De iis quæ ex Arabia in usum Tabernaculi fuerant petita*, Ultraject. 1753, ed. J. M. Schröckh, Lips. 1755; V. Meyer, *Bibeldeutung*, p. 262, sq.; *Description de l'Egypte*, Vol. i. pl. ii. A. fig. 4; Michelangelo Lanzi, *La Sacra Scrittura illustrata con monum. Fenico Assiri*

ed Egiziani, Roma, 1827, fol.; Winer, *Real-Wörterbuch*, art. 'Stiftshutte.'—C. H. F. B.

TABERNACLES, FEAST OF (חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת; in Josephus σκηνοπηγία), one of the three great festivals of the Jews, being that of the closing year, as the Passover was of the spring. In Lev. xxiii. 34-43, directions for observing the feast are given in very clear terms. It was to commence on the fifteenth day of the seventh month (Tisri), and consequently five days after the great day of annual atonement; it was to last for seven days; the first day and the following eighth day were to be Sabbaths; seven days were offerings to be made: 'And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; ye shall dwell in booths seven days, and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God, when ye have gathered in the fruit of the land; that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt' (comp. Num. xxix. 13-34). The festival was therefore commemorative of the divine goodness as exercised towards the Jews when they were wandering in the desert, as well as expressive of gratitude for the supply of the rich fruits of the earth; and so was fitted to awaken the most lively feelings of piety in the minds of the Hebrews in each successive generation. Nor would it be a small enhancement of the joy felt on the occasion that the solemn purification of the day of atonement had just taken place, leaving the heart open to free and unrestrained emotions of pleasure. It is equally clear that such an observance was a very important element in that system of education, by facts, customs, and institutions, which formed so marked a peculiarity in Mosaism, and must have proved most effectual for the religious and moral training of the young, and for the confirming of the mature and the aged in their great national convictions and remembrances. That the influence of the Feast of Tabernacles was of a general character appears from the fact that it required the actual presence in Jerusalem of all Israelites (Deut. xvi. 15, sq.; xxxi. 10; Zech. xiv. 16; John vii. 2). Still more to further the educational and religious aims of the observance, Moses commanded that every Sabbatical year, 'in the solemnity of the year of release, in the Feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before Jehovah thy God, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing. Gather the people together, men and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear Jehovah, and observe to do all the words of this law; and that their children, which have not known [the event commemorated], may hear and learn to fear Jehovah, as long as ye live in the land, whither ye go over Jordan to possess it' (Deut. xxxi. 10-13). After reading a command so full and emphatic as this, and after contemplating the important purposes designed to be promoted, one is not a little surprised to read in Winer (*Real-Wörterbuch*, ii. 8) that this festival was not celebrated, or at least not legitimately celebrated, before the Babylonish Captivity. In the first place we complain of the vagueness and uncertainty of such a statement. Whether does Winer mean that the feast was not observed at all? or that it was only partially observed? These are very different propositions, and must rest on very different evidence. The only authority for his statement to which Winer refers is Neh. viii. 17, where, after a description of the observance of the festival on the part of the returned exiles, it is added, 'since the days of Joshua, the son of Nun, unto that day had not the children of Israel done so.' These words make one thing clear, namely, that Winer is wrong in saying that the feast was not kept before the Captivity; for they clearly imply that during the days of Joshua, that which they deny to have taken place after his days, did take place then. But what do they deny? The observance of the festival? No, but the manner merely of such observance, which must have varied somewhat with the lapse of time and the great changes that were successively introduced into the solemnities of the national worship. From the writings of the Rabbins we learn, 1. That those who took part in the festival bore in their left hand a branch of citron, and in their right a palm branch, entwined with willows and myrtle. In 1 Sam. vii. 6, we read that in Samuel's days, with a view to cleanse themselves from Baalim and Ashtaroth, the Israelites gathered together to Mizpeh, and drew water, and poured it out before Jehovah, and fasted on that day, and said, 'We have sinned against Jehovah.' 2. A similar libation of water took place on each of the seven days (Isa. xii. 3; John vii. 37); at the time of the morning oblation a priest drew from the fount of Siloam water in a jar holding three logs, and poured it out, together with wine, into two channels or conduits, made on the west side of the altar, the water into the one, the wine into the other; intending thereby, if we may judge from the terms employed in the passage of the book of Samuel, to signify and pray for moral purification, and also, not improbably, to bring to mind the value and supply of water during the journeyings in the wilderness, while the grand choral symphonies of the temple music and sacred song swelled and reverberated around. 3. In the outer court of the women there began, on the evening of the first day, an illumination on great golden candlesticks, which threw its light over the whole of Jerusalem; and a dance by torch-light (the torches being made from the priest's cast-off linen), attended by song and music, was performed before the candelabra. To this illumination our Lord has been thought to allude, when he says, 'I am the light of the world' (John viii. 12), as in his words, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink' (John vii. 37), he is supposed to have referred to the libation on the seventh day (Succa, *Mishna*, v. 2-4; Tosaphta, in Ugolini, *Thes.* tom. xviii.; Succa, iii. 12). From the passage in Nehemiah (viii. 13, sq.) it appears that it was customary in Jerusalem and all the cities to 'go forth unto the mount and fetch olive branches and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths.' It is added, 'So the people made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the street of the water-gate, and the street of the gate of Ephraim.' From the details given in this article, it appears that the Feast of

Tabernacles was a season of universal joy. Jerusalem bore the appearance of a camp. The entire population again dwelt in tents, but not with the accompaniments of travel, fatigue, and solicitude; all was hilarity, all wore a holiday appearance; the varied green of the ten thousand branches of different trees; the picturesque ceremony of the water-libation, the general illumination, the sacred solemnities in and before the temple; the feast, the dance, the sacred song; the full harmony of the choral music; the bright joy that lighted up every face, and the gratitude at 'harvest home,' which swelled every bosom, —all conspired to make these days a season of pure, deep, and lively joy, which, in all its elements, finds no parallel among the observances of men. Plutarch (*Sympos.* iv. 5) has found in the Feast of Tabernacles a Dionysian or Bacchanalian festival. He could trace any outward resemblance there was between the Jewish and his own heathen festivals, but the deep and appropriate moral and spiritual import of the Feast of Tabernacles he was unable to discern (Biel, *De Sacrificio aquæ* in scenar. *festo vino misceri solito*, Vit. 1716; Reland, *Antiq. Sacr.* iv. 5; Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 414, sq.; Nicolaus, *De Phyllobolia*, *Thes.* in Ugolini, tom. xxx.).

TABITHA (Ταβιθά, *antelope*), the Aramæan name of a Christian female, called in Greek Dorcas (Δορκάς), resident at Joppa, whose benevolent and liberal conduct, especially in providing the poor with clothing, so endeared her to the Church in that place, that on her death they sent for Peter, then six miles off at Lydda, imploring him to come to them. Why they sent is not stated. It is probable that they desired his presence to comfort and sustain them in their affliction. That they expected he would raise her from the dead is less likely, as the Apostles had not yet performed such a miracle, and as even Stephen had not been restored to life. But the Apostle, after fervent prayer to God in the chamber of death, bade the corpse arise; on which Tabitha 'opened her eyes, and when she saw Peter, she sat up.' This great miracle was not only an act of benevolence, but tended to give authority to the teaching of the Apostles, and to secure attention for the doctrines which they promulgated (see Acts ix. 36-42).

1. TABOR (תָּבוֹר; Γαιθβώρ; Θαβώρ; Ἰταβύριον), a mountain on the confines of Zebulun and Naphtali, standing out in the north-east border of the plain of Esdraelon, the name of which appears among Greek and Roman writers in the forms of Itabyrion and Atabyrion, and which is now known by the name of جبل طور *Jebel Tur*. It is mentioned in Josh. xix. 22; Judg. iv. 6; viii. 18; Ps. lxxxix. 12; Jer. xlvi. 18; Hos. v. 1). Mount Tabor stands out alone and eminent above the plain, with all its fine proportions from base to summit displayed at one view. It lies at the distance of two hours and a quarter south of Nazareth. According to the barometrical measurements of Schubert, the height of Tabor above the level of the sea is 1748 Paris feet, and 1310 Paris feet above the level of the plain at its base. Seen from the south-west, it presents a semi-globular appearance; but from the north-west, it more resembles a truncated cone. By an ancient path, which winds considerably, one may *ride* to the summit, where is a small oblong plain, with the foundations of ancient buildings. The view of the country from this place is very beautiful and extensive. The mountain is of limestone, which is the general rock of Palestine. The sides of the mountain are mostly covered with bushes, and woods of oak trees (ilex and ægilops), with occasionally pistachio trees, presenting a beautiful appearance, and affording a fine shade. There are various tracks up its sides, often crossing one another. The ascent usually occupies an hour, though it has been done in less time. The crest of the mountain is table-land, of some six or seven hundred yards in height from north to south, and about half as much across; and a flat field of about an acre occurs at a level of some twenty or twenty-five feet lower than the eastern brow. There are remains of several small ruined tanks on the crest, which still catches the rain-water dripping through the crevices of the rock, and preserves it cool and pure, it is said, throughout the year. The view from the summit, though one edge or the other of the table-land, wherever one stands, always intervenes to make a small break in the distant horizon, is declared by Lord Nugent to be the most splendid he could recollect having ever seen from any natural height. This writer cites an observation made many years ago, in his hearing, by Mr. Riddle, that he had never been on any *natural* hill, or rock, or mountain, from which could be seen an unbroken circumference with a radius of three miles in every part. This, his lordship says, has been verified in all his own experience, and it was so at Mount Tabor, although there are many abrupt points of vantage ground on the summit (*Lands Classical and Sacred*, ii. 204, 205).

This mountain is several times mentioned in the Old Testament (Josh. xix. 12, 22; Judg. iv. 6, 12, 14); but not in the New. Its summit has however been usually regarded as the 'high mountain apart,' where our Lord was transfigured before Peter, James, and John. But the probability of this is opposed by circumstances which cannot be gainsaid. It is manifest that the Transfiguration took place in a solitary place, not only from the word 'apart,' but from the circumstance that Peter in his bewilderment proposed to build 'three tabernacles' on the spot (Matt. xvii. 1-8; Luke ix. 28-36). But we know that a fortified town occupied the top of Tabor for at least 220 years before and 60 years after the birth of Christ, and probably much before and long after (Polybius, v. 70. 6; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 6. 3; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 8. 7; ii. 20. 1; iv. 1. 8; *Vita*, § 37); and the tradition itself cannot be traced back earlier than towards the end of the fourth century, previously to which we have in the *Onomasticon* notices of Mount Tabor, without any allusion to its being regarded as the site of the Transfiguration. It may further be remarked that this part of Galilee abounds with 'high mountains apart,' so that in removing the scene of this great event from Tabor, there is no difficulty in providing other suitable sites for it (Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, iii. 210-227; Lord Nugent, *u. s.*, ii. 198-204; Schubert, *Morgenland*, iii. 174-180; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 332-336; Stephens, ii. 317-19; Elliot, ii. 364).

2. TABOR is also the name of a grove of oaks in the vicinity of Benjamin, in 1 Sam. x. 3, the topography of which chapter is usually much embarrassed by the groundless notion that Mount Tabor is meant.

3. TABOR, a Levitical city in Zebulun, situated upon Mount Tabor (1 Chron. vi. 62).

TABRET. [Musical Instruments.]

TABRET. [Weights and Measures.]

TACHMAS (תַּחְמָס, Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15) is mentioned as one of the unclean birds in the Pentateuch, but so little characterised that no decided opinion can be expressed as to what species is really intended. Commentators incline to the belief that the name imports voracity, and therefore indicates a species of owl, which, however, we take to be not this bird, but the לִלִית *lilith;* and as the night-hawk of Europe (*Caprimulgus Europæus*), or a species very nearly allied to it, is an inhabitant of Syria, there is no reason for absolutely rejecting it in this place, since it belongs to a genus highly connected with superstitions in all countries; and though a voracious bird among moths (*Phalenæ*) and other insects that are abroad during darkness, it is absolutely harmless to all other animals, and as wrongfully accused of sucking the udders of goats, as of being an indicator of misfortune and death to those who happen to see it fly past them after evening twilight; yet, beside the name of 'goatsucker,' it is denominated 'night-hawk' and 'night-raven,' as if it were a bulky species, with similar powers of mischief as those day birds possess. The night-hawk is a migratory bird, inferior in size to a thrush, and has very weak talons and bill; but the gape or mouth is wide; it makes now and then a plaintive cry, and preys on the wing; it flies with the velocity and action of a swallow, the two genera being nearly allied. Like those of most night birds, the eyes are large and remarkable, and the plumage a mixture of colours and dots, with a prevailing grey effect; it is finely webbed, and entirely noiseless in its passage through the air. Thus the bright eyes, wide mouth, sudden and inaudible flight in the dusk, are the original causes of the superstitious fear these birds have excited; and as there are in southern climates other species of this genus, much larger in size, with peculiarly contrasted colours, strangely disposed feathers on the head, or paddle-shaped single plumes, one at each shoulder, projecting in the form of two additional wings, and with plaintive loud voices often uttered in the night, all the species contribute to the general awe they have inspired in every country and in all ages. We see here that it is not the bulk of a species, nor the exact extent of injury it may inflict, that determines the importance attached to the name, but the opinions, true or false, which the public may have held or still entertain concerning it. The goatsucker is thus confounded with owls by the Arabian peasantry, and the name *massasa* more particularly belongs to it. But that the confusion with the *lilith* is not confined to Arabia and Egypt, is sufficiently evident from the Sclavonic names of the bird, being in Russian, *lilok*, *lelek;* Polish, *lelek;* Lithuanian, *lehlis;* and Hungarian, *egeli;* all clearly allied to the Semitic denomination of the owl.—C. H. S.

TADMOR (תַּדְמֹר; Sept. Θοεδμόρ) or Tamar (תמר), a town built by King Solomon (1 Kings ix. 18; 2 Chron. viii. 4). The name Tamar signifies a palm-tree, and hence the Greek and Roman designation of Palmyra, 'city of palms;' but this name never superseded the other among the natives, who even to this day give it the name of Thadmor. The form Tamar seems more ancient than that of Tadmor. It is found in the text (*kethib*) of 1 Kings ix. 18, while the latter stands in the margin (*keri*): but in the later historical book 'Tadmor,' having become the usual designation, stands in the text without any various reading. Palm trees are still found in the gardens around the town, but not in such numbers as would warrant, as they once did, the imposition of the name. Tadmor was situated between the Euphrates and Hamath, to the south-east of that city, in a fertile tract or oasis of the desert. It was built by Solomon probably with the view of securing an interest in and command over the great caravan traffic from the east, similar to that which he had established in respect of the trade between Syria and Egypt. See this idea developed in the *Pictorial Bible*, note on 2 Chron. viii. 4; where it is shown at some length that the presence of water in this small oasis must early have made this a station for the caravans coming west through the desert; and this circumstance probably dictated to Solomon the importance of founding here a garrison town, which would entitle him—in return for the protection he could give from the depredations of the Arabs, and for offering an intermediate station where the factors of the west might meet the merchants of the east—to a certain regulating power, and perhaps to some dues, to which they would find it more convenient to submit than to change the line of route. It is even possible that the Phœnicians, who took much interest in this important trade, pointed out to Solomon the advantage which he and his subjects might derive from the regulation and protection of it, by building a fortified town in the quarter where it was exposed to the greatest danger. A most important indication in favour of these conjectures is found in the fact that all our information concerning Palmyra from heathen writers, describes it as a city of merchants, who sold to the western natives the products of India and Arabia, and who were so enriched by the traffic that the place became proverbial for luxury and wealth, and for the expensive habits of its citizens.

We do not again read of Tadmor in Scripture, nor is it likely that the Hebrews retained possession of it long after the death of Solomon. No other source acquaints us with the subsequent history of the place, till it reappears in the account of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 24), as a considerable town, which, along with its territory, formed an independent state, between the Roman and Parthian empires. In the time of Trajan, however, it was lying waste; but it was rebuilt by his successor Adrian, and from him took the name of Adrianopolis. From Caracalla it received the privileges of a Roman colony. During the weak administration of the emperors Gallienus and Valerian, in the third century, while independent governments were rising in

several provinces of the Roman empire, Odenatus became master of Palmyra and the whole of Mesopotamia, and assuming the regal title himself, also bestowed it upon his consort Zenobia, and his eldest son Herod. After his death, Zenobia, styling herself queen of the East, ruled over most of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, as well as over her own territories, with so much firmness and policy, that Aurelian, who vanquished her and led her in triumph to Rome, could not withhold his admiration. On the revolt of Palmyra shortly after, Aurelian, having recovered possession of it, caused it to be levelled with the ground, and the greater part of the inhabitants to be put to death. He, however, ordered the temple of the sun to be restored, placed a garrison in the town, and appointed a deputy over the district attached to it. Diocletian adorned the city with additional buildings; and under the Emperor Honorius it still had a garrison, and was the seat of a bishop. Justinian strengthened the fortifications, and also constructed a very costly aqueduct, the remains of which still exist. When the successors of Mohammed extended their conquests beyond the confines of Arabia, Palmyra was one of the first places which became subject to the khalifs. In the year 659, a battle was here fought between the khalifs Ali and Moawiyah, and won by the former. In 744 it was still so strongly fortified that it took the



514. [Palmyra.]

khalif Merwan seven months to reduce it, the rebel Solyman having shut himself up in it. From this period it seems to have gradually fallen into decay. Benjamin of Tudela, who was there towards the end of the 12th century, speaks of it as 'Thadmor in the desert, built by Solomon of equally large stones (with Baalbec). This city is surrounded by a wall, and stands in the desert, far from any inhabited place. It is four days' journey from Baalath (Baalbec), and contains 2000 warlike Jews, who are at war with the Christians and with the Arabian subjects of Noureddin, and aid their neighbours the Mohammedans.' In connection with this statement, it may be remarked that the existing inscriptions of Palmyra attest the presence of Jews there in its most flourishing period, and that they, in common with its other citizens, shared in the general trade, and were even objects of public honour. One inscription intimates the erection of a statue to Julius Schalmalat, a Jew, for having at his own expense conducted a caravan to Palmyra. This was in A.D. 258, not long before the time of Zenobia, who, according to some writers, was of Jewish extraction. Irby and Mangles (*Travels*, p. 273) also noticed a Hebrew inscription on the architrave of the great colonnade, but give no copy of it, nor say what it expressed. The latest historical notice of Tadmor which we have been able to find is, that it was plundered in 1400 by the army of Timur Beg (Tamerlane), when 200,000 sheep were taken (Rankin, *Wars of the Mongols*). And Abulfeda, at the beginning of the fourteenth century (*Arab. Descript.* p. 98), speaks of Tadmor as merely a village, but celebrated for its ruins of old and magnificent edifices. These relics of ancient art and magnificence were scarcely known in Europe till towards the close of the seventeenth century. In the year 1678, some English merchants at Aleppo resolved to verify, by actual inspection, the reports concerning these ruins which existed in that place. The expedition was unfortunate; for they were plundered of every thing by the Arabs, and returned with their object unaccomplished. A second expedition, in 1691, had

better success; but the accounts which were brought back received little credit: as it seemed unlikely that a city which, according to their report, must have been so magnificent, should have been erected in the midst of deserts. When, however, in the year 1753, Robert Wood published the views and plans, which had been taken with great accuracy on the spot two years before, by Dawkins, the truth of the earlier accounts could no longer be doubted; and it appeared that neither Greece nor Italy could exhibit antiquities which in point of splendour could rival those of Palmyra. The examinations of these travellers show that the ruins are of two kinds. The one class must have originated in very remote times, and consists of rude, unshapen hillocks of ruin and rubbish, covered with soil and herbage, such as now alone mark the site of the most ancient cities of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and among which it would be reasonable to seek any traces of the more ancient city of Solomon. The other, to which the most gorgeous monuments belong, bears the impress of later ages. It is clear from the style of architecture that the later buildings belong to the three centuries preceding Diocletian, in which the Corinthian order of pillars was preferred to any other.

The ruins cover a sandy plain stretching along the bases of a range of mountains called Jebel Belaes, running nearly north and south, dividing the great desert from the desert plains extending westward towards Damascus, and the north of Syria. The lower eminences of these mountains, bordering the ruins, are covered with numerous solitary square towers, the tombs of the ancient Palmyrenes, in which are found memorials similar to those of Egypt. They are seen to a great distance, and have a striking effect in this desert solitude. Beyond the valley which leads through these hills, the ruined city first opens upon the view. The thousands of Corinthian columns of white marble, erect and fallen, and covering an extent of about a mile and a half, present an appearance which travellers compare to that of a forest. The site on which the city stands is slightly elevated above the level of the surrounding desert for a circumference of about ten miles; which the Arabs believe to coincide with the extent of the ancient city, as they find ancient remains whenever they dig within this space. There are indeed traces of an old wall, not more than three miles in circumference; but this was probably built by Justinian, at a time when Palmyra had lost its ancient importance and become a desolate place; and when it was consequently desirable to contract its bounds, so as to include only the more valuable portion. Volney well describes the general aspect which these ruins present:—'In the space covered by these ruins we sometimes find a palace, of which nothing remains but the court and walls; sometimes a temple whose peristyle is half thrown down; and now a portico, a gallery, or triumphal arch. Here stand groups of columns, whose symmetry is destroyed by the fall of many of them; there, we see them ranged in rows of such length that, similar to rows of trees, they deceive the sight and assume the appearance of continued walls. If from this striking scene we cast our eyes upon the ground, another, almost as varied, presents itself: on all sides we behold nothing but subverted shafts, some whole, others shattered to pieces, or dislocated in their joints; and on which side soever we looked, the earth is strewed with vast stones, half buried; with broken entablatures, mutilated friezes, disfigured reliefs, effaced sculptures, violated tombs, and altars defiled by dust.'

It may be right to add, that the account which has been more recently given of these ruins by Captains Irby and Mangles, is a much less glowing one than those of other travellers, English and French. They speak indeed with admiration of the general view, which exceeded anything they had ever seen. But they add, 'Great, however, was our disappointment when, on a minute examination, we found that there was not a single column, pediment, architrave, portal, frieze, or any architectural remnant worthy of admiration.' They inform us that none of the pillars exceed four feet in diameter, or forty feet in height; that the stone scarcely deserves the name of marble, though striking from its snowy whiteness; that no part of the ruins taken separately excite any interest, and are altogether much inferior to those of Baalbec; and that the plates in the magnificent work of Messrs. Wood and Dawkins do far more than justice to Palmyra. Perhaps this difference of estimate may arise from the fact that earlier travellers found more wonderful and finished works at Palmyra than their information had prepared them to expect; whereas, in the latter instance, the finished representations in the plates of Wood's great work raised the expectation so highly, that their disappointment inclined the mind to rather a detractive estimate of the claims of this ruined city—Tadmor in the wilderness. The present Tadmor consists of numbers of peasants' mud huts, clustered together around the great temple of the sun. This temple is the most remarkable and magnificent ruin of Palmyra. The court by which it was enclosed was 179 feet square, within which a double row of columns was continued all round. They were 390 in number, of which about sixty still remain standing. In the middle of the court stood the temple, an oblong quadrangular building, surrounded with columns, of which about twenty still exist, though without capitals, of which they have been plundered, probably because they were composed of metal. In the interior, at the south end, is now the humble mosque of the village.

The remains of Palmyra, not being of any direct Scriptural interest, cannot here be more particularly described. Very good accounts of them may be seen in Wood and Dawkins, *Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor in the Desert;* Irby and Mangles, *Travels;* Richter, *Wallfahrten;* Addison, *Damascus and Palmyra.* The last work contains a good history of the place; for which see also Rosenmüller's *Bib. Geog.* translated by the Rev. N. Morren; and in particular Cellarius, *Dissert. de Imp. Palmyreno*, 1693. Besides Wood's great work, excellent views of the place have been published by Cassas in his *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie;* and more recently by Laborde in his *Voyage en Orient.*

TAHASH-SKINS. [Rams'-Skins, Red.]

TAHPANHES (תַּחְפַּנְחֵס), or Tehaphnehes (תְּחַפְנֵחס), a city of Egypt. The former name is used by Jeremiah (ii. 16; xliii. 7-9; xliv. 1: xlvi. 14), and the latter by Eze-

kiel (xxx. 18). The Sept. render it by Τάφνη, Τάφναι, the name of a goddess, *Tphnet* (Champollion, pp. 121, 123). This was doubtless *Daphne*, a strong boundary city on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile (Herodot. ii. 30, 107). A mound called Tel Defenneh, nearly in a direct line between the modern Zan and Pelusium, is supposed from its name and position to mark the site of Daphne (Wilkinson, *Mod. Egypt.*, i. 447). Isaiah (xxx. 4) names it in the abbreviated form Hanes. It was to this place that Johanan and his party repaired, taking Jeremiah with them, after the murder of Gedaliah.

TAHPENES (תַּחְפְּנֵיס, *head of the age;* Sept. Θεκεμίνας), a queen of Egypt, consort of the Pharaoh contemporary with David. Her sister was given in marriage to Hadad, the fugitive prince of Edom (1 Kings xi. 19) [Hadad].

TALMAI (תַּלְמַי, *full of furrows;* Sept. Θολμί), king of Geshur, and father of David's wife Maacah, the mother of Absalom (2 Sam. iii. 3; xiii. 37; 1 Chron. iii. 1, 2) [Geshur].

TALMUD. The Talmud (תַּלְמוּד, *doctrine*, from לָמַד, *to learn*) is the work which embodies the civil and canonical law of the Jewish people. It contains those rules and institutions by which, in addition to the Old Testament, the conduct of that nation is regulated. Whatever is obligatory on them, besides the law, is recorded in this work. Here doubts are resolved, duties explained, cases of conscience cleared up, and the most minute circumstances relative to the conduct of life discussed with wonderful particularity. Hence the contents of the Talmud are of a diversified character, relating not merely to religion, but to philosophy, medicine, history, jurisprudence, and the various branches of practical duty.

The Jews have been accustomed to divide their law into *written* and *unwritten*—the former being contained in the Pentateuch; the latter having been handed down orally, until circumstances compelled them to commit it also to writing. The *oral* law is an interpretation of the *written*, and constitutes the *text* of the Talmud. To the *oral law* the same antiquity is assigned as belongs to the *written*. According to the Jews, Moses received *both* on Mount Sinai. It was received by Joshua from Moses; Joshua again delivered it to the seventy elders, from whom it was received by the prophets, who transmitted it to the men of the great synagogue, the last of whom was Simon the Just. From the men of the synagogue it was received by the Rabbins. After the second destruction of Jerusalem under Adrian, and the consequent dispersion of the Jews throughout the world, fears were entertained lest the oral traditions which they held so sacred should be lost, particularly as their number rendered it inconvenient, or rather impossible, to preserve them in the memory. Hence arose the necessity of committing them to writing, that they might be handed down from age to age as a national treasure. It is generally agreed that Rabbi Judah *Hakkadosh* (i. e. *the holy*) made the first permanent record of them, about 120 or 150 years from the destruction of the Temple, A.D. 190 or 220. Morin, however, has assigned a much later date, viz. the *sixth* century, relying chiefly on the fact that Origen, Epiphanius, and Jerome, make no mention of such a work (*Exercitationes Biblicæ*, lib. ii. exercit. vi. cap. 2, p. 294, sq.). But the circumstances adduced by this learned and ingenious writer are not conclusive in favour of his peculiar opinion. R. Judah is said to have lived under Antoninus Pius. Such was the origin of the *Mishna* or text. It must not be supposed, however, that all the traditional interpretations or *midrashim* were embodied in the official Mishna. Many others existed which were not incorporated in that work.

A twofold commentary, or series of commentaries, was subsequently appended to it; one called the Babylonian *Gemara*, the other the Jerusalem *Gemara*. The former was begun by R. Asche, who died A.D. 427, and was completed A.D. 500. It is the work of several Rabbins, whose names continue to be venerated by the learned Jews. Morin indeed thinks that it was not finished till the commencement of the *eighth* century; but in this sentiment he has not been followed. These portions, committed to writing after the *Mishna*, constitute *notes on that text*, and make up, together with it, the *Babylonian Talmud*.

The Jerusalem Gemara proceeded from the academy at Tiberias, and embodied the comments of the Palestinian Jews. It is said to have been written chiefly by R. Jochanan, rector of that academy. It is not agreed when R. Jochanan lived; but most writers follow Buxtorf, who places him in A.D. 230. David Ganz prefers 270; while Moses Maimonides, Abarbanel, Simeon Mikkenon, and Elias Levita, fix upon A.D. 370. But internal evidence shows that it was composed towards the end of the last half of the fourth century, which would agree nearly with the opinion of Maimonides. Hence R. Jochanan could not have been the principal author. Morin, Vossius, and Pezronius, assign to this Gemara a later date. According to Vossius, it was begun in A.D. 655, and finished in 727. Morin refers it to the seventh century; while Pezronius fixes it between 614 and 628. Morin alludes to the occurrence of Gothic and other barbarous words, and to the name *Turcs* which is found in it. Such evidence is scarcely conclusive. The Jerusalem Talmud has contributed to the Babylonian, since there are evident traces of it in the latter.

From this statement it will be seen that the two Talmuds differ in their *Gemaras* or *notes upon the text*, while both have *the same Mishna*. The term *mishna* (מִשְׁנָה) signifies *repetition*, from שָׁנָה, *to repeat*, because it is, as it were, *a repetition* of the written law, or *a second law* (δευτέρωσις). The word *gemara* (גְּמָרָא), according to Buxtorf, denotes *completion* or *supplement*, inasmuch as it *completes* the work; but it is better to regard it as synonymous with *talmud*, 'doctrine,' from the Aramæan גמר, *to learn*, equivalent to the Hebrew למד. By the Jews the Babylonian is always preferred to the Jerusalem Talmud. It is far more copious and abundant in its expositions. Hence, in speaking of it, they call it *the Talmud*, while the other is never mentioned without prefixing the name Jerusalem. Yet Christians generally value the Jerusalem Talmud more than the Babylonian: its brevity and succinctness recommend it to them; besides, it is generally free from the absurdities and fables of the other; it is, however, more difficult

cult to be understood; both, indeed, partake of obscurity. The Mishna is written in the Hebrew dialect, but the Gemara in Aramæan. The former is tolerably pure, and free from the admixture of foreign terms, but the latter contains many Persian, Greek, and Latin words—a circumstance which contributes to the difficulty of understanding it. The style of the Babylonian Gemara differs from that of the Jerusalem commentary. The latter is more in the Palestinian dialect, approaching to the Syriac. 'The almost unconquerable difficulty of the style,' says Lightfoot, 'the frightful roughness of the language, and the amazing emptiness and sophistry of the matters handled, do torture, vex, and tire him that reads them (the Talmudic authors). They do everywhere abound with trifles in that manner, as though they had no mind to be read; with obscurities and difficulties as though they had no mind to be understood; so that the reader hath need of patience all along, to enable him to bear both trifling in sense, and roughness in expression.'

The Mishna is divided into six parts, ששה סדרים, or, in the abbreviated form, ש״ס.

1. The first סדר *seder*, i. e. *order, disposition, division,* is called סדר זרעים *seder zeraim, the order of seeds.* It treats of sowing, the productions of the earth, herbs, trees, the uses of fruits, of seeds, &c. &c.

2. The second is called סדר מועד *seder moed, the order of festivals,* and is occupied with a statement of the times when the festivals should begin and when they should terminate, as also of the different rites and ceremonies to be observed at such seasons.

3. סדר נשים *seder nashim, the order of women.* This section discusses the distinctive rights of men and women, marriage, divorce; the customs, inclinations, and sicknesses of women, &c.

4. סדר נזיקים *seder nezikim, the order of damages.* This division treats of the losses and injuries which one may be the means of bringing on another, of the damages done by cattle, of restitution, of the punishment to be inflicted for such offences or losses, &c. &c.

5. סדר קדשים *seder kodashim, the order of holy things,* treating of sacrifices, oblations, their different species, &c. &c.

6. סדר טהרות *seder taharoth, the order of purifications,* relative to the purity and impurity of vessels, to household furniture and other things, and the way in which they should be purified.

Each of these סדרים is subdivided into several מסכתות *massictoth, treatises,* or *tracts,* which again are subdivided into פרקים *perakim, sections* or *chapters.*

I. סדר זרעים.

1. מסכת ברכות *masseceth berachoth, the treatise of blessings,* containing precepts relative to prayers and thanksgivings for the fruits of the earth and other blessings given by God; instructions in relation to the times, places, and modes in which such prayers should be offered up. This treatise contains nine chapters.

2. מסכת פאה *masseceth peah, treatise of the corner.* This treatise shows how corners of the harvest fields should be left to the poor at the time of reaping, and how the fruits of the field should be gathered. Here there are eight chapters.

3. דמאי *masseceth demai, treatise of the doubtful.* This treatise refers to things about which some doubts may be raised whether tithes should be paid from them or not. Here there are seven chapters.

4. כלאים *masseceth cilaim, treatise of the heterogeneous,* i. e. the mixing of several kinds of seed, &c. Here there are nine chapters.

5. שביעית *masseceth shebiith,* of the seventh year, i. e. the sabbatical year, in which the Jews were forbidden to sow. In this treatise are ten chapters.

6. תרומה *masseceth terumah, oblation,* treating of free-will gifts and offerings, what one must take out of his own property and bring to the priest, as also who ought and who ought not to do so, &c. &c. This contains eleven chapters.

7. מעשר ראשון *maasher rishon, the first tenth* or *tithe,* which belonged to the Levites, and with what things it should be discharged. Here there are five chapters.

8. מעשר שני *maasher sheni, the second tenth,* which the Levites had to pay out of their tenth to the priests. Here again there are five chapters.

2. חלה *challah, cake,* i. e. the cake which the women were required to bring of kneaded dough to the priest, &c. This treatise has four chapters.

10. ערלה *orlah, prepuce.* Young trees were so called; for during the first three years their fruit was reckoned impure and injurious, and was thrown away. In the fourth year it was consecrated to God. Here are three chapters.

11. בכורים *bicurim, first-fruits.* This treatise is occupied with an examination of the things of which first-fruits were to be brought into the temple. Here are four chapters.

The entire *seder* consists of seventy-five chapters.

II. סדר מועד.

1. מסכת שבת *masseceth shabbath,* of the sabbath, its privileges and its sacredness; of lights, oil used on that day; of ovens in which articles of food were warmed on the sabbath, and the dress of men and women used on the same day. This treatise has twenty-four chapters.

2. ערובים *erubim, mixings.* This treatise shows how, on the evening of the sabbath, the food collected by various neighbours should unite them in such a manner as if they belonged to one household. This was done lest persons living at a distance should break the sabbath by too long journeys. If they lived beyond the *zechum shabbath,* i. e. the proper limits of a sabbath day's journey, the food was placed in such a position as that an individual was allowed to go farther than he otherwise might lawfully have done. His eating it at the place where it was put was reckoned equivalent to his eating it at home. Here are ten chapters.

3. פסחים *pesachim, the Passover.* This treatise relates to the Passover, and all things connected with the celebration of it. Here again are ten chapters.

4. שקלים *shekalim, shekels.* This treatise is occupied with a statement of the contributions which individuals were to pay towards the daily sacrifice, and the defraying of other expenses connected with the temple worship. This treatise has eight chapters.

5. יומא *yoma, the day of expiation* or *atonement*, a day spent by the Jews in fasting and chastising the body in many ways. This treatise has also eight chapters.

6. סוכה *sueeah, the Feast of Tabernaeles.* This treats of the form of the tents, the mode of living in them, &c. &c. Here are five chapters.

7. ביצה *betzah, egg.* This treatise begins with the question, whether it be right to eat on the day of a festival, or a יום טוב *yom tob*, the egg which a hen has laid on the same day. It relates to everything which a person should do or omit on any feast-day except the sabbath. Here again are five chapters.

8. ראש השנה *rosh hashannah.* This treatise is occupied with remarks about the new year, the beginning of the new year on the new moon of the month Tisri, and the manner in which the day should be kept. Here are four chapters.

9. תענית *taanith, fasting.* This relates to fasting and the different kinds of it. It has also four chapters.

10. מגלה *megillah.* This treatise refers to the Feast of Purim, and is so called because the megillah of Esther is read at that time. Here are four chapters.

11. מועד קטון *moed katon.* In the present treatise are discussed the minor festivals intervening between the first and last days of the great festival. Here are three chapters.

12. חגיגה *chagigah.* This treatise is founded on the command contained in Exodus xxiii. 17, that all the males should appear three times in the year before the Lord at Jerusalem. Here again are three chapters.

The entire *seder* contains eighty-eight chapters.

III. סדר נשים.

1. יבמות *yebamoth.* This treatise concerns the marrying of a deceased brother's wife, who has had no children by her husband. Here are sixteen chapters.

2. כתובות *eethuboth.* The present treatise relates to matrimonial contracts, dowries, and writings connected with marriage. Here are thirteen chapters.

3. נדרים *nedarim, vows,* discussing what vows are binding or otherwise; who can make vows and who not. Here are eleven chapters.

4. נזרות *neziroth.* This treatise refers to the vows of the Nazarites, and their mode of living. It contains nine chapters.

5. גיטין *gittin,* respecting divorce, and the writing given to the wife on that occasion, how it must be written, &c. &c. This treatise consists of nine chapters.

6. סוטה *sotah.* This treatise regards the adulteress, or rather the woman suspected of conjugal infidelity; how she must drink the bitter water that causeth the curse, &c. &c. Here again are nine chapters.

7. קדושין *kiddushin,* respecting betrothment. Here are four chapters.

This third *seder*, or order, contains seventy-one chapters.

IV. סדר נזיקין.

1. בבא קמא *baba kama, the first gate,* relative to the losses sustained by men and beasts from one another. This treatise consists of ten chapters.

2. בבא מציעא *baba metziah, the middle gate.* This treatise refers to things found or deposited, usury, &c. &c. It has also ten chapters.

3. בבא בתרא *baba bathra, the last gate.* This treatise relates to commercial transactions, buying and selling, inheritances, &c. &c. Here again are ten chapters.

4. סנהדרין *Sanhedrim.* This is a most important treatise, relating to the great tribunal, to various punishments, judges, witnesses; who of the Israelites shall have part in the future life, and who not. It consists of eleven chapters or sections.

5. מכות *maeeoth.* This treatise relates to the forty stripes (Deuteron. xxv. 3) which were to be inflicted on certain offenders. Here the reason is explained why the expounders of the law omitted one stripe of the forty (2 Cor. xi. 24). It contains three chapters.

6. שבועות *shebuoth,* respecting oaths; who can take an oath, and who not. This treatise consists of eight chapters.

7. עדיות *edaioth,* respecting witnesses and witness-bearing. Here again are eight chapters.

8. אבות *aboth,* or פרקי אבות *pirke aboth.* This treatise relates to the Jewish fathers who handed down the oral law from the time of Moses. It contains six chapters.

9. הוריות *horaioth,* respecting the statutes and other original documents, according to which every man was required to judge in cases of trial; and how transgressors should be punished. The present treatise contains three chapters.

10. אבודה זרה *abodah zarah,* called also עבודת אלילים *abodath elilim,* and also אבודת כוכבים *abodath cocabim,* respecting idolatry, and the avoiding of communion with the idolatrous Christians. This treatise is wanting in the Basel edition, because it has severe reflections upon Jesus Christ and his followers. It is printed in the Venice edition, and consists of five chapters. The entire *seder* contains seventy-four chapters.

V. סדר קדשים.

1. זבחים *zebachim,* sacrifices. This treatise has fourteen chapters.

2. מנחות *menachoth,* the evening sacrifices. This treatise has thirteen chapters.

3. חולין *eholin.* This treatise respects the clean and unclean animals which the Jews were required or forbidden to eat. Here are twelve chapters.

4. בכורות *becoroth,* respecting the first-born of beasts. Here are nine chapters.

5. ערכין *eracin.* This treatise relates to the valuing and taxing of such things as are dedicated to the Lord. It consists of nine chapters.

6. תמורה *temurah.* This treatise refers to the putting of one sacrifice in place of another;

whether such a thing is lawful or not. It consists of seven chapters.

7. כריתות *cerithuth*, the cutting off a soul from a future life, and the sins which cause such a punishment: thirty-six kinds of this excision are enumerated. Here are six chapters.

8. מעילה *meïlah*, respecting sins committed in offering up animals in sacrifice. This treatise also has six chapters.

9. תמיד *tamid*, respecting the daily morning and evening sacrifice. Here are six chapters.

10. מדות *middoth*. This treatise relates to the measuring of the temple. It consists of five chapters.

11. קנים *kinnim*, relating to birds' nests. The treatise is divided into three chapters.

The whole *seder* has ninety sections.

VI. סדר טהרות.

1. כלים *celim*, respecting measures, household furniture, clothes, and their purification. This treatise has thirty chapters.

2. אהלות *aholoth*, respecting cottages or houses; how they become unclean, and how they must be cleaned. This treatise has eighteen chapters.

3. נגעים *negaim*, regarding leprosy. Here are fourteen sections.

4. פרה *parah*, the red heifer (Num. xix.). This treatise is divided into twelve chapters.

5. טהרות *tahoroth*, respecting purification, when a person who has touched any object has been made unclean. Here are ten chapters.

6. מקואות *mikvaoth*. This treatise concerns those reservoirs of water in which the Jews washed their bodies. It is divided into ten chapters.

7. נדה *niddah*, respecting the uncleanness of women. This treatise has also ten chapters.

8. מכשירין *mecshirin*, of fluids and their purification. It consists of six chapters.

9. זבים *zabim*, of nocturnal pollution. This treatise is divided into five sections.

10. טבול יום *tebul yom*, respecting the washing of the same day, or what is washed while it is yet day. This treatise consists of four sections.

11. ידים *yadaim*, respecting the washing of hands. Here again are four chapters or sections.

12. עוקצין *oketzim*, relative to the stalks of fruits; and how they, by touching other fruits, become unclean. This treatise has three chapters.

The entire *seder* has 126 chapters.

From the detailed account now given, it appears that the Talmud consists of six *sedarim*, or orders, containing sixty-three *massecoth*, or tractates, and five hundred twenty and four *perakim*, or chapters.

The *Babylonian Gemara* extends to one tractate of the first order, i. e. *Berachoth*, and to most in the succeeding four orders except *Shekalim* in the second order; *Aboth* and *Edaioth* in the fourth; *Middoth*, *Kinnim*, and the half of *Tamid* in the fifth. In *Taharoth* (the sixth order) there is only a Gemara in both Talmuds to the tract *Nidda*.

The *Jerusalem Talmud* originally extended to the first five orders of the Mishna. It is now, however, incomplete. The order *Kodashim* is entirely wanting. There is no Gemara to the four last chapters of Shabbath, to the three last of Maccoth, nor to Aboth and Edaioth.

Four treatises were afterwards added to the Talmud, viz.:

1. מסכת סופרים *masseceth sopherim*, containing directions for the writers of manuscript rolls. This treatise consists of twenty-one chapters.

2. אבל רבתי *ebel rabbethe*, or מסכת שמחות *masseceth shemachoth*. This treatise relates to mourning for the dead, and the manner in which mourners should be comforted. It has fourteen chapters.

3. כלה *callah*, how one should take a wife, &c. &c. Here there is but one chapter.

4. מסכת דרך ארץ *masseceth derek eretz*, about modes of life, &c. This treatise is separated into a greater and a less, the former containing ten chapters, the latter six. To this is appended a פרק שלום *perek shalom*, or chapter of peace, by way of conclusion.

The earliest edition of the *Jerusalem Talmud* was published at Venice by Bomberg, in one volume folio, about the year 1523. No date is attached to it. Another edition was published at Cracow in 1609, folio; and another at Amsterdam, in 1710, folio. The *Babylonian Talmud* was published by Bomberg at Venice in twelve folio volumes, in 1520-30. This edition contains the comments of Rashi and others, as also various appendices by different Rabbins. In the years 1578, 1579, 1580, the celebrated Froben of Basel published the same work; but passages which calumniated Christ were rejected by command of the Tridentine bishops. Accordingly the Jews prepared a new and complete edition at Cracow, in 13 volumes folio, in 1603, and following years. Another edition was prepared and published at Frankfort and Berlin, 1715, in 12 vols. folio; and another at Amsterdam, 1763, in 18 vols. folio, with additions and notes, besides various passages not found in preceding impressions. This last has been pronounced the best.

Various parts of the Talmud have also been printed at different times by different editors; sometimes with translations and commentaries, ex. gr. by Coch, Schmidt, l'Empereur, Leusden, Dachs, Wagenseil, &c.

The best edition of the Mishna is that of Surenhusius, published at Amsterdam, 1698, and following years, in six folio volumes, with a Latin version and copious commentaries by the Rabbins. The Mishna was translated into Arabic by desire of Alhachem, king of Ismael, at Corduba, in the tenth century after Christ. It has also been translated into German by Rabe, in six parts, Anspach, 1760. No English version of it has appeared; much less has the whole Talmud been translated into our language. *The Greek words* have been collected by Landau in his lexicon entitled, *Rabbinisch-aramäisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zur Kentniss des Talmuds, der Targumim und Midraschim, mit Anmerkungen für Philologie, Geschichte, Archäologie, Geographie, Natur und Kunst*, 5 Bände, 8vo. Lips. 1819. Reland has a dissertation on the *Persian* terms, in the second volume of his Miscellaneous Disputations. The best lexicon to the Talmud is still that of Buxtorf, Basel, 1639, folio. The modern

work of Landau is a valuable accompaniment, but cannot compensate for the want of Buxtorf's volume. The celebrated Maimonides, in the twelfth century, made a digest of all the laws and ordinances contained in the Talmud. This excellent abridgment is sufficiently copious for most readers, since it contains everything of value in the whole work. It is entitled *Yad Hachazakah, seu manus fortis quam fecit Moses in conspectu Israel*, and was first published at Soncino, 1490, folio; republished at Venice, 1524, 3 vols. folio; and at Amsterdam, dated 5461, 4 vols. folio. Selections from it have also been published in Hebrew and English, with notes, by Bernard, in a book entitled, *The main principles of the Creed and Ethics of the Jews, exhibited in selections from the Yad Hachazakah of Maimonides, with a literal English translation, copious Illustrations from the Talmud*, &c. Cambridge, 1832, 8vo.

The Jews set so high a value on the Talmud as to place it generally above the inspired law. Hence we find in the *Massecth Sopherim* the saying, 'The Biblical text is like water, and the Mishna like wine, and the six orders (sedarim) like aromatic wine.' In another passage the following words occur—'The Law is like salt, the Mishna like pepper, but the six orders like fine spices.' Again, 'The words of the scribes are lovely, above the words of the Law; for the words of the Law are weighty and light, but the words of the scribes are all weighty.' 'He that shall say there are no phylacteries, transgressing the words of the law, is not guilty; but he that shall say, There are five totaphoth, adding to the words of the scribes, he is guilty' (*Hieros. Berac.* fol. 3. 2). Such extravagant praises of their oral traditions correspond with the Saviour's words, 'Making the word of God of none effect, through your tradition which ye have delivered' (Mark vii. 13). But they do not harmonize with the real nature of the Talmud itself; for the book contains many fabulous, trifling, absurd, and irreverent things. It unites the allegorizing propensity of the East with a childish prying into the most curious questions. It abounds with miraculous stories, and with sentiments derogatory to the majesty of God. Some, indeed, of the questions proposed are merely ludicrous, but others belong to the profane and impious. The following examples will justify the truth of our remarks.

A Rabbin was once in the midst of the ocean, and seeing a bird standing up to its thighs in the water, he said to his companions, 'We will bathe here.' But a voice from heaven was heard, saying, 'Do not so; for seven years ago a person let an axe fall from his hand into this water, and it has not yet reached the deep bottom.'

'Is it right to kill a flea on the Sabbath?'

'We were once carried,' says a Rabbin, 'in a great ship, and the ship went three days and three nights between the two fins of one fish. But perhaps the ship sailed very slowly? The Rabbi Dimi says, A rider shot an arrow, and the ship flew faster than the arrow; and yet it took so long time to pass between the two fins of this fish. It is called *Gildena*' (Pitman's *Preface to the octavo edition of Lightfoot's Works*, pp. 43-45; Allen's *Modern Judaism*; and M'Caul's *Old Paths*). Several parts of the Talmud, however, form an exception to the foolish and ridiculous passages with which the work abounds. Thus the treatise *Pirke Aboth*, containing the moral maxims and sentiments of the Jewish fathers, presents a favourable specimen of ethical philosophy.

The work before us has been applied to the illustration of the New Testament by Lightfoot, Schoettgen, and Meuschen; and in various instances it has served to throw light on the meaning, especially where there is a reference to Jewish customs and manners. Here, however, its utility has been over-estimated, as is apparent from the language of Lightfoot in the dedication prefixed to his Talmudical exercitations on Matthew, compared with the exercitations themselves: 'Christians, by their skill and industry, may render them (the Talmudic writings) most usefully serviceable to their studies, and most eminently tending to the interpretation of the New Testament' (Pitman's edition of *Lightfoot's Works*, vol. xi. p. 6, dedication).

The work has also been employed to illustrate the meaning of the Old Testament, especially by Gill, who has frequently cited it where it throws no light on the text. Nor is he alone in this respect; others have spent their time in the same unprofitable task.

The Talmud is more useful in the *criticism* of the Old Testament text, although most of its citations from the original agree with the Masoretic readings. Probably it has been conformed to the Masoretic standard by the Rabbins. Criticism, therefore, can derive extensive benefit from it only by consulting MS. copies, not the printed text, since it can scarcely be doubted that the latter has been altered. The instances in which the text of the work, even as printed, deviates from the Hebrew Masoretic text, afford a presumption that more of the same kind might be found, were MSS. carefully collated. Frommann collected fourteen various readings out of the Mishna; but Dr. Gill, when collating the Mishna and Gemara for Kennicott, found a thousand. Many of these, properly speaking, are not *various readings*, but words added by the Rabbins for the purpose of explanation; while not a few are of trifling consequence.

(See *the preface of Maimonides*, prefixed to Surenhusius's edition of the Mishna, and translated into Latin by Pocock; Buxtorf's *Recensio operis Talmudici*, in his *Liber de Abbreviaturis Hebraicis*; Wolfius' *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, ii. 657, sq.; Wotton's *Miscellaneous Discourses relating to the Traditions and Usages of the Scribes and Pharisees in our Saviour Jesus Christ's time*, i. 10, sq.; Sebelin's *Traditions of the Jews, or the Doctrines and Expositions contained in the Talmud and other Rabbinical writings*, &c., 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1743; Leusden's *Philologus Hebræo-mixtus*, p. 95, sq.; Prideaux's *Connection*, part i.; Basnage's *Histoire des Juifs*; Bodenschatz's *Aufrichtig deutschredender Hebräer*, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1756; Lardner's *Grundsätze der biblischen Hermeneutik*, a. a. w., p. 297, sq.; Wagenseil's *Anfangsgründe Hebräerinnen*, i. 266, sq.; Aug. Pfeiffer's *Critica Sacra*, also printed in the second volume of his Works, Utrecht, 1704, 4to; Bartolocci's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, iv. 85, sq.; Reimann's *Einleit. in die Geschichte der Theologie*, p. 282, sq.; Zunz, *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 50, sq.)—S. D.

1. TAMAR (תָּמָר) has been universally acknowledged to denote the 'palm-tree,' sometimes called the 'date-tree.' Good says the radical meaning of the word is straight or upright. The date-tree is remarkable for its erect and cylindrical stem, crowned with a cluster of long and feather-like leaves, and is as much esteemed for its fruit, the 'date,' as for its juice, whether fermented or not, known as 'palm wine,' and for the numerous uses to which every part of the plant is applied. The Arabic name of the date is *tamr;* thus the tamarind is called the Indian date, *tamr hindee*. The name Tamar seems to have been applied to the city which Solomon built in the desert (1 Kings ix. 18; Ezek. xlvii. 19; xlviii. 28), probably on account of the palm-trees growing about it; and the name Palmyra, from palma, a palm, was no doubt applied to it by the Romans on the same account. Abulfeda, who flourished in the fourteenth century, expressly mentions the palm-tree as common at Palmyra in his time; and it is still called by the Arabs by the ancient name of Tadmr. The family of palms is characteristic of tropical countries, and but few of them extend into northern latitudes. In the old world, the species *P. dactylifera*, genus *Phœnix*, is that found furthest north. It spreads along the course of the Euphrates and Tigris across to Palmyra and the Syrian coast of the Mediterranean. It has been introduced into the south of Spain, and thrives well at Malaga; and is also cultivated at Bordaghière in the south of France, chiefly on account of its leaves, which are sold at two periods of the year, in Spring for Palm Sunday, and again at the Jewish Passover. In the south of Italy and in Sicily, Lady Callcott states, 'that near Genoa there is a narrow, warm, sandy valley full of palms, but they are diminutive in growth, and unfruitful, being cultivated only for the sake of the leaves, which are annually sent to the pope's chapel at Rome, where they are blessed and distributed to the cardinals and other dignitaries, in sign of the triumph of the church.'

The peculiarities of the palm-tree are such that they could not fail to attract the attention of the writers of any country where it is indigenous, and especially from its being an indication of the vicinity of water even in the midst of the most desert country. Its roots, though not penetrating very deep, or spreading very wide, yet support a stem of considerable height, which is remarkable for its uniformity of thickness throughout. The centre of this lofty stem, instead of being the hardest part, as in other trees, is soft and spongy, and the bundles of woody fibres successively produced in the interior are regularly pushed outwards, until the outer part becomes the most dense and hard, and is hence most fitted to answer the purposes of wood. The outside, though devoid of branches, is marked with a number of protuberances, which are the points of insertion of former leaves. These are from four to six and eight feet in length, ranged in a bunch round the top of the stem, the younger and softer being in the centre, and the older and outer series hanging down. They are employed for covering the roofs or sides of houses, for fences, frame-work, mats, and baskets. The male and female flowers being on different trees, the latter require to be fecundated by the pollen of the former before the fruit can ripen. The tender part of the spatha of the flowers being pierced, a bland and sweet juice exudes, which being evaporated, yields sugar, and is no doubt what is alluded to in some passages of Scripture: if it be fermented and distilled a strong spirit or *arak* is yielded. The fruit, however, which is yearly produced in numerous clusters and in the utmost abundance, is its chief value; for whole tribes of Arabs and Africans find their chief sustenance in the date, of which even the stony seeds, being ground down, yield nourishment to the camel of the desert.



515. [1. Cluster of dates; 2. flower; 3. a date; 4. section of the same.]

The palm-tree is first mentioned in Exod. xv. 27, when the Israelites encamped at Elim, where there were twelve wells and threescore and ten palm-trees. In the present day Wady Ghorendel is found the largest of the torrent beds on the west side of the Sinai peninsula, and is a valley full of date-trees, tamarisks, &c. Jericho was called the City of Palm Trees, no doubt from the locality being favourable to their growth. Mariti and Shaw describe them as still existing there, though in diminished numbers. The palm-tree was considered characteristic of Judæa, not so much probably because it was more abundant there than in other countries, but because that was the first country where the Greeks and Romans would meet with it in proceeding southward. Hence the coins of the Roman conquerors of Judæa have inscribed on them a weeping female sitting under a palm-tree, with the inscription 'Judæa capta' (vide Kempfer, *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, and Celsius, *Hierobot.* i. 444-579).

2. TAMAR, a Canaanitish woman, espoused successively to the two sons of Judah, Er and Onan; but as they both died childless, Judah hesitated to give her his third son Shelah, as patriarchal usage required. This set her upon the contrivance described in Gen. xxxviii.; and two sons, Pharez and Zarah, thus became the fruit of her criminal intercourse with Judah himself [Judah].

3. TAMAR, daughter of David by Maacah, who was also the mother of Absalom. The unhappy consequences of the criminal passion entertained for this beautiful damsel by her half-brother Amnon, brutally gratified by him, and terribly avenged by Absalom, formed the ground-

work of the family distractions which embittered the latter years of David's reign (2 Sam. xiii.) [Absalom; Amnon; David].

TAMMUZ (תַּמּוּז; Sept. Θαμμούζ), a Syrian deity, for whom the Hebrew idolatresses were accustomed to hold an annual lamentation (Ezek. viii. 14). This idol was the same with the Phœnician Adon or Adonis, and the feast itself such as they celebrated. Silvestre de Sacy thinks that the name Tammuz was of foreign origin, and probably Egyptian, as well as the god by whom it was borne. In fact, it would probably not be difficult to identify him with Osiris, from whose worship his differed only in accessories. The feast held in honour of Tammuz was solstitial, and commenced with the new moon of July, in the month also called Tammuz; it consisted of two parts, the one consecrated to lamentation, and the other to joy; in the days of grief, they mourned the disappearance of the god, and in the days of gladness, celebrated his discovery and return. Tammuz appears to have been a sort of incarnation of the sun, regarded principally as in a state of passion and sufferance, in connection with the apparent vicissitudes in its celestial position, and with respect to the terrestrial metamorphoses produced, under its influence, upon vegetation in advancing to maturity. See Lucian, *De Dea Syra*, § vii. 19; Selden, *De Diis Syris*, ii. 31; Creuzer, *Symbolik*, iv. 3; Fickenscher, *Erklär. d. Mythus Adonis*.

TAPPUACH (תַּפּוּחַ), translated 'apple' in the Authorized Version, has been the subject of considerable difference of opinion among authors on Biblical Botany. Most admit that *apple* is not the correct translation, for that fruit is indifferent in Palestine, being produced of good quality only on Mount Lebanon, and in Damascus. Many contend that 'quince' is the correct translation of Tappuach. Though somewhat more suitable than the apple, we think that neither the quince tree nor fruit is so superior to others as to be selected for notice in the passages of Scripture where *tappuach* occurs. This word would seem to have the same general signification as the Arabic *toph* or *toofa*, which it so closely resembles, and which is usually thought to be the apple; but the Arabs themselves are but little acquainted with that fruit. They no doubt use the word occasionally in a generic sense, for *tappuach-al-shuetan*, or 'devil's apple,' is one of the names of Mandragora. So the Greek μῆλον, and the Latin *pomum*, were used rather as generic than as specific terms. Dioscorides, for instance, gives the different kinds, under the heads of Mala vulgaria, Cotonea, Persica, Armeniaca, and Medica, sive Citria. The last, or citron, we think, has the best claim to be considered the *Tappuach* of Scripture, as it was esteemed by the ancients, and known to the Hebrews, and conspicuously different, both as a fruit and a tree, from the ordinary vegetation of Syria, and the only one of the orange tribe which was known to the ancients. The orange, lemon, and lime, were introduced to the knowledge of Europeans at a much later period, probably by the Arabs from India (Royle, *Himal. Bot.*). The citron, resembling the lemon in form, but distinguished by its thick rind, was the μῆλον Μηδικόν of Theophrastus, the Μηδικόν of Dioscorides, and for which he gives as a synonyme κεδρόμηλον; 'Malus Medica et Assyria dicitur, utroque nomine a regionibus ducto, ut habet Theoph. 4, *Hist.* 4. Citrus apud Medos et Persas in primis frequens, dein Paladii diligentia in Italiam translata fuit: postea in Hispania,' etc. (Bauhin. *Pinax.*) It was called citria and citromela by the Romans, though their citron wood was produced by Thuya articulata [Thyine Wood]. It is thus graphically described: 'Fert poma omnibus horis, aliis decidentibus, aliis subnascentibus, aliis maturescentibus.' That the citron was well known to the Hebrews we have the assurance in the fact mentioned by Josephus, that at the Feast of Tabernacles king Alexander Jannæus was pelted with *citrons*, which the Jews had in their hands; for, as he says, 'the law required that at that feast every one should have branches of the palm-tree and *citron*-tree' (*Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5). From this and other facts we conclude that the *Etz hadar* of Lev. xxiii. 40 has reference to the citron [Etz Hadar]. There is nothing improbable in the Hebrews having made use of boughs of the citron, as it was a native of Media, and well known to the Greeks at a very early period; and indeed on some old coins of Samaria, the citron may be seen, as well as the palm-tree; and it is not an unimportant confirmation that the Jews still continue to make offerings of citrons at the Feast of Tabernacles. Citrons, accordingly, are imported in considerable quantities for this purpose, and are afterwards sold, being more highly esteemed after having been so offered.

The *tappuach*, or citron-tree, is mentioned chiefly in the Canticles, ch. ii. 3, 'as the citron tree among the trees of the wood;' ver. 5, 'Comfort me with citrons, for I am sick of love;' vii. 8, 'The smell of thy nose like citrons;' so in viii. 5. Again, in Prov. xxv. 11, 'A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold (or rather golden citrons) in baskets of silver.' In Joel i. 12, it is enumerated with the vine, the fig-tree, the palm, and pomegranate, as among the most valuable trees of Palestine. The rich colour, fragrant odour, and handsome appearance of the tree, whether in flower or in fruit, are particularly suited to all the above passages of Scripture.—J. F. R.

TAPPUAH, or Beth-Tappuah, a city in the tribe of Judah, not far from Hebron (Josh. xv. 53). Robinson identifies it with an old village, called Teffuh, which he found upon the hills north-west of Hebron (*Bib. Researches*, ii. 428). 2. Another Tappuah lay in the plain of Judah, apparently in the vicinity of Zanoah, Jarmuth, Socoh, etc. (Josh. xv. 34): which of these was the place conquered by Joshua is not very clear (Josh. xii. 17; comp. x. 6). 3. Another place of the same name occurs on the confines of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh. xvi. 8). 4. And in 1 Chron. ii. 43, a man of this name appears.

TARES. [Zizanion.]

TARGUMS. Different accounts of the origin of the Targums, or Chaldee paraphrases, have been given. Eichhorn and others endeavour to show that they are not so ancient as has been generally supposed, and that the earliest of them appeared about the same time as the Talmud, or the beginning of the third century. This point is in part connected with another, viz., the extinction of the Hebrew as a living language. Eichhorn

and others believe that it did not cease to be spoken during the Babylonish captivity, but that it was still used after the return, and gradually died away; while the Buxtorfs maintained that it then became entirely extinct as a living tongue. It is most probable that the people ceased to speak it in common before the termination of the Captivity, but that the learned and educated of the Jews retained it partially in conversation. The latter would naturally adhere to it longer than the mass of the people, not only from their perusal of the sacred books, but their stronger attachment to the usages of their fathers. The decision of the question rests upon the meaning assigned to the two words מפרש and יהודית in Nehemiah viii. and xiii. 24 respectively, as has been already remarked by another contributor [Hebrew Language]. Gesenius explains the former term *distinctly;* but Hengstenberg renders it *giving a version* or *translation*. The latter term is understood by Gesenius to mean the *Hebrew language*, while Hengstenberg refers it to the *Aramæan*, or that which the Hebrews commonly used. It is difficult to decide between these conflicting expositions. There is some reason for doubt in regard to the accuracy of the meaning assigned by Hengstenberg to מפרש. The entire verse, however, implies that the people generally did not understand the law when publicly read in the Hebrew language, so that the priests and Levites were obliged to adopt some expedient in order to make it intelligible. Hence it is most natural to conclude that they had ceased to speak the Hebrew tongue, and required explanatory comments in the Chaldee or Aramæan. Probably the priests and Levites gave a sort of running paraphrase on the words of the law as they were read before the people, putting these words into the Chaldee dialect with which the hearers were acquainted. Such was the origin of the Chaldee versions. At first they were given *orally*, but subsequently they were reduced to *writing*. The practice began in the time of Ezra, and was afterwards continued.

Great importance was attached to the office of *interpreter* or *translator* of the law. The Talmudic canon asserts that as the law was given by a *mediator*, so it could only be read and understood by a *mediator*. The custom of extempore paraphrase seems to have occasioned palpable abuses. Hence definite, hermeneutic rules were laid down, in conformity with which the interpretation of the law should be conducted. The licence of the paraphrast was curbed by canons, which came to be universally binding. It is easy to see how the value of written expositions would become apparent when the freedom of the interpreter was abridged by established regulations. The nature of the exposition required called for *written* interpretations. Hence *oral* gave rise to *written* explanations, the necessity of the latter becoming more visible when the liberty taken by the extempore translator was narrowed by rules to which he must rigidly adhere. The surest and safest method of giving the meaning was simply by reading a version that had been written for the use of the people.

External circumstances were also favourable to the existence of *written* explanations. The Hellenistic Jews were already in possession of the law in their own tongue; and in the first century the Syrians had translated the Holy Writings into their dialect. Greek versions, in opposition to the Alexandrine, also proceeded from the Jews themselves, and obtained much approbation. In the midst of so general a desire to have versions of the Old Testament in different languages, it is natural to suppose that the Jews who spoke Aramæan should wish to possess translations of the Scriptures in their living tongue. All the circumstances of the case conspire to show that there were written Targums of several Old Testament books in the time of the Maccabees. In various parts of the Talmud mention is made of a written Aramæan version of Job in the first century, and it is not likely that this was the first book rendered into the language of the people. Besides, there are also allusions to older Targums (Zunz, p. 62). The silence of the early fathers regarding such paraphrases is of no weight, because they were generally ignorant of Hebrew and Hebrew literature.

The language of the *older* Targums agrees substantially with that of the Chaldee sections in Daniel and Ezra, though the orthography is somewhat different. The *later* abound with foreign words. They depart much further from the ancient orthography, and sometimes from the grammatical principles, of the Chaldee. Their present punctuation is different from that found in the Biblical Chaldee. It is probable that they were written at first without the vowels. When the vocalisation of the Hebrew Bible was enlarged and perfected by the Jewish grammarians, the same attention was not given to the Targums. Subsequently the editors of these paraphrases endeavoured to bring the pointing of them nearer to that of Daniel and Ezra. Buxtorf laboured in this province with great success. The reputation of these Targums among the Jews has always been high, because amid other things they flatter their national pride, and abound with Rabbinic fables.

The word *Targum* is derived from a quadriliteral root, and signifies *interpretation* or *version*.

At present we know of eleven, three of which comprehend the five books of Moses. 1. The Targum of Onkelos. 2. That of the Pseudo-Jonathan. 3. The Jerusalem Targum. 4. That of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Prophets. 5. That of Joseph the blind or one-eyed, on the Hagiographa (Job, Psalms, Proverbs). 6. A Targum on the five Megilloth, *i.e.* the books of Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and Lamentations of Jeremiah. 7. A Targum on 1st and 2nd Chronicles. 8, 9, and 10. Three on Esther. 11. The Jerusalem Targum on the Prophets.

Onkelos.—According to the Babylonian Talmud, Onkelos was a disciple of Hillel, who died 60 years B.C. This Hillel was grandfather of Gamaliel, Paul's instructor. Eichhorn, disregarding the Jewish tradition, places him much later.

His version, containing the Pentateuch alone, is incomparably the best of all the Targums. The style is pure, approaching that of Daniel and Ezra; it follows the original word for word, except where figures of speech are occasionally resolved in poetical passages, and anthropomorphic expressions removed or changed, lest corporeity should be attributed to the Supreme

Being. The work is particularly useful in criticism, because it is very literal, closely adhering to the original words. Wherever the translator deviates from the Masoretic text, he has almost always the countenance of other ancient versions. He refers only two passages to the Messiah (Gen. xlix. 10; Num. xxiv. 17). Onkelos's reputation among the Jews has always been great; his version is even used by them as a kind of dictionary giving the significations of Hebrew words; and they have composed a Masora on it like that upon the Hebrew Bible, called *Masora Hattargum*. This paraphrase is given in the Paris and London Polyglotts from Buxtorf's edition of 1618; the text, however, is not yet accurately printed after good MSS. Luzzato has recently attempted to revise it in his work entitled *Philoxenus, sive de Onkelosi paraphr. Chald.*, Wien. 1830, 8vo. (See the *Halle Literaturzeit.* for 1832.)

Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets and Historical Books.—The accounts of Jonathan's life are obscure. It is generally said that he was the most distinguished of Hillel's eighty disciples, and colleague of Simeon the Just; and thus he is represented as living a short time before the birth of Christ. The grounds assigned by Eichhorn and others in favour of a more recent period are unsatisfactory.

This Targum, like that of Onkelos, is frequently mentioned in the Talmud, and must have been well known when the latter was written. Some have supposed that in various places Jonathan made use of Onkelos's version; the contrary is as probable. Jonathan's version seems to have been made prior to Onkelos on the law. It is more likely that the Jews would first venture to translate the *prophetic* writings, in which freer scope might be taken, than undertake the difficult task of giving a version of the *Pentateuch*. In the latter case, greater literality was required and stricter injunctions were to be observed.

Some have erroneously looked upon this Targum as the composition of different authors, because it is more literal in the historical books than in the prophets; but external and internal evidence coincide in proving the unity of the whole.

It contains Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets.

The style is inferior to that of Onkelos; it contains several Greek words, but no Latin terms, as Eichhorn affirms. We are aware that Hävernick, after Carpzov, asserts that the style agrees in the main with Onkelos's; but it is certainly less pure, freer, and more paraphrastical.

The utility of this Targum chiefly bears upon the critical history of the Hebrew text, and it generally harmonises with the Masoretic recension. It is printed in the Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, as also in the London Polyglott.

Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch.—This paraphrase has been falsely ascribed to the same Jonathan who translated the prophets and historical books. Its language is much more impure, being mixed with foreign words, such as Persian, Greek, and Latin, a collection of which has been made by Petermann 'De indole Paraphraseos, quæ Jonathanis esse dicitur' (Berol. 1829, p. 65, sq.) The mode of rendering is entirely different; it contains numerous allegories, fables, and dialogues, unlike the manner of the real Jonathan. The dialect in which it is written is that of Jerusalem; and where the author abides by the Hebrew text, he uniformly follows the Rabbinical interpretation. Several circumstances, especially the character of the style and the mention of the Talmud, prove that it was made after the sixth century of the Christian era. Zunz, with great probability, assigns it to the latter half of the seventh century. It appears to have been compiled in part from former expositions.

The Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch.—This version is styled the *Jerusalem* Targum, either from having been made at Jerusalem, or rather from its being executed in the dialect of that place. It contains merely interpretations of select passages, and generally agrees with Pseudo-Jonathan. The fables of the Pseudo-Jonathan are repeated, and Hebrew words are inserted without any explanation. The language is impure and barbarous; whole chapters are occasionally omitted; and again, a series of successive explanations is attached to a single word. It consists of mere fragments.

Late investigations, conducted with great skill and industry, have fully established the fact that the Targum on the Pentateuch, falsely ascribed to Jonathan, existed much earlier under the name of *the Jerusalem Targum* or *the Targum of Palestine*. Thus the Pseudo-Jonathan is identified with the Targum of Jerusalem. They are merely *recensions* of the same work. There is also ground for believing that the Jerusalem Targum extended to the prophetic books, and even to the other parts of the Old Testament (Zunz, p. 77, sq.). Some of the Targums now existing on several books of the *Hagiographa* appear to belong to it. (See Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin, 1832, 8vo., and Hävernick's *Einleitung.*)

These two Targums, which are substantially one and the same, furnish extremely little aid in the criticism of the Old Testament. They exhibit the doctrinal system of the later Jews; indeed, all the post-Talmudic versions were designed to furnish allegorical explanations agreeable to the rules laid down in the Talmud, and to embody current traditions, legends, and tales.

The paraphrases on Job, Psalms, and Proverbs possess a common character in regard to style and language, and probably proceeded from the same country, which Zunz conjectures to have been Syria; that on Proverbs, however, adheres closely to the Hebrew text, partaking more of the character of a *version* than a *paraphrase*, while those on Job and Psalms are loose and legendary, agreeably to the genius of the time in which they were made. It has been frequently noticed that the Targum on Proverbs has a remarkable agreement with the Syriac version, so that some have supposed the writer to have made use of that more ancient translation; this hypothesis, however, is not very probable. The dialects in which both are written were cognate; the country to which they owed their origin the same; it is not necessary, therefore, to conclude that the one was derived in part from the other. The paraphrases of the books of Psalms and Job appear to have been written by the same person, as far as we can judge from internal uniformity. Earlier Targums on

Job must have existed, as they are mentioned by some of the Rabbins.

The Targum on the Megilloth was probably written by the same person; it is exceedingly free and full of adventitious matter. The part upon Ruth is the best; that on Solomon's Song the most fabulous. The work must have been written a considerable time after the Talmud. In addition to the Targum on Esther, which forms a part of this Targum on the five Megilloth, and is also the oldest and best, there are two others on the same book. The second is an enlargement of this first, and was inserted in the London Polyglott; it had been previously published by Tayler in a Latin version, under the name of *Targum prius* (Lond. 1655, 4to.). The third is still longer and more full of fables; it was published in Latin by Tayler, under the title of *Targum posterius*, but the original has never been printed. These three are properly different recensions of one and the same work, which, having been comparatively brief and free from absurd stories, was subsequently enlarged at two different times.

It was long thought that there was no Targum on the books of Chronicles; Beck, however, found such a paraphrase in a MS. belonging to the library at Erfurt, and published it with learned annotations in 1680-83. The MS. has several chasms. It was afterwards published by Wilkins from the Erpenian MS. at Cambridge, in 1715; here the text is full and correct. This Targum resembles the later works of the same kind; and could not have been written before the ninth century, from its references to the Jerusalem Targum.

The Targum on Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, attributed to R. Joseph the Blind, is generally considered not to have been written by the reputed author.

In cod. 154 of Kennicott, there is a passage of some length quoted in the margin at Zechariah, xii. 10 (Bruns in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xv. 174). It is attributed to a Targum of Jerusalem on the prophets.

As far as our present knowledge reaches, there is no Chaldee version of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The reason assigned in the Talmud for not translating Daniel into Chaldee is, because it reveals the exact time of Messiah's advent. But the true cause seems rather to have been the superstition of the Jews in supposing that if these books were translated into Chaldee, the holy text of the original should be mixed with that of the paraphrase, inasmuch as there are in them Chaldee sections. There are indeed no Chaldee pieces in Nehemiah; but it was taken along with Ezra as one book, and hence no Targum of either was made.

The Targums are of considerable use in a critical view. They show the integrity of the present Masoretic text. It is not denied that they contain readings different from some now current among the Jews, and that they appear to have been occasionally altered in order to be conformed to an altered original: neither should it be concealed that the MSS. vary from one another and from the printed copies. As to their having been assimilated to the Hebrew, it remains to be proved that this was done to any great extent, or that it was *uniformly* practised. After all reasonable deductions for probable deterioration, they still afford a considerable amount of testimony in favour of the general integrity of the Hebrew text. They may be advantageously used in a critical edition of the Bible, as suggesting readings of real importance and value. Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets, because of their literality, will be most serviceable.

Besides the works referred to in the preceding article, the following may be mentioned: the *Introductions* of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and De Wette; Winer, *De Onkeloso ejusque Paraphrasi Chaldaica*, 4to. Lips., 1819; Gesenius, *Comment. zu Jesaia*, tom. i.; Walton, *Prolegomena*; Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1824-9, tom. iii. and iv. Winer has published a grammar and Chrestomathy to facilitate the reading of the Targums, and Buxtorf's folio Lexicon is the best dictionary.—S. D.

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ), a celebrated part of the ancient world, about the exact position of which opinions are much divided. In this case, however, as in many other Scriptural difficulties, that is clear which is important, while the doubtful or the hidden is of comparatively little moment. We may, or we may not, be able to fix with certainty the exact spot where Tarshish lay; but the particulars which Scripture supplies respecting it are too numerous and too definite to allow any doubt as to what was the character and condition of the place itself. Tarshish may be described, and, therefore, may be known, though we still remain in uncertainty on what point in the map the name should be inscribed. And while the exact locality is of small concern, the important details which the Bible presents may, nevertheless, render us aid in attempting to determine where Tarshish lay.

We will first give a summary of the notices which the Scriptures afford respecting Tarshish. In the great genealogical table (Gen. x. 4, 5) it is placed among the sons of Javan; 'Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim. By these were the islands of the Gentiles divided.' This refers the mind at once to the north-western parts of the Mediterranean. To a similar conclusion does other Scriptural language lead. In Ps. lxxii. 10 it is said, 'The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents;' and in 2 Chron. ix. 21, we read, 'The king's (Solomon) ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram; every three years once came the ships of Tarshish bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.' Now Hiram's city, Tyre, lay on the Mediterranean coast, and it is easy to see how Solomon's vessels might be associated with his in a voyage towards the west to fetch merchandise. In Isa. lxvi. 19, we find Tarshish mentioned in a way which confirms this view: 'And I will set a sign among them, and I will send those that escape of them unto the nations (or Gentiles); to Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, that draw the bow, to Tubal and Javan, to the isles afar off.' These passages make it clear that Tarshish lay at a distance from Judæa, and that that distance was in a north-westerly direction; and the mention of such names as Lud, Javan, and the isles, carries the mind to the extreme north-west, and suggests Spain as the place for Tarshish. But Tarshish must have been on the sea-coast, for it was famous for its ships. 'The ships of Tarshish' were celebrated under that designation, which may have been used in that wide sense in which we speak of an East Indiaman, reference

being made rather to the place whither the vessel traded, than to that where it was built; or the phrase may have come to denote a particular kind of vessel, *i. e.* trading or merchant ships, from the celebrity of Tarshish as a commercial port (1 Kings x. 22; Ps. xlviii. 7; Isa. ii. 16; xxiii. 1-14; lx. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 25). Some six times do we meet with the phrase, ships or navy of Tarshish; which of itself shows how noted a sea-port we have under consideration, if it does not prove also that in process of time the terms had come to describe vessels according to their occupation rather than their country, as we say 'a slaver,' denoting a ship engaged in the slave-trade (comp. Horat. 'sævis Liburnis,' *Carm.* i. 27; 'Bithyna carina', i. 35; 'trabe Cypria,' i. 1). In Ezek. xxvii. 12-25, the place is described by its pursuits and its merchandise:—'Tarshish (here again in connection with a western country, Javan, ver. 13) 'was thy (Tyre) *merchant*, in all riches, with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs. The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market, and thou wast replenished and made very glorious in the midst of the seas.' The last words are admirably descriptive of the south-western coast of Spain. How could a Hebrew poet better describe the locality where the songs of the sailors of Tarshish made the name of Tyre glorious? Let the reader turn to the map, and cast his eye on the embouchure of the Guadalquivir, and say if this spot is not pre-eminently, when viewed from Palestine, 'in the midst of the seas.' There is a propriety too in the words found in Ps. xlviii. 7 (comp. Ezek. xxviii. 26), 'Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind,' if we suppose merchant vessels working eastwardly up the Mediterranean towards Tyre, encountering an east or rather north-east gale, which is a very violent and destructive wind to this day. Jeremiah (x. 9) tells us that 'silver spread into plates' was brought from Tarshish; and from the connection the silver appears to have been elaborately wrought; whence we infer that at one period there was in Tarshish the never-failing connection found between commerce, wealth, and art. An important testimony occurs in Ezek. xxxviii. 13, 'Sheba and Dedan, and the merchants of Tarshish, with all the young lions thereof, shall say unto thee, Art thou come to take a spoil? to carry away silver and gold? to take away cattle and goods, to take a great spoil?' whence it is clear that Tarshish was an opulent place, abounding in cattle and goods, in silver and gold. We are not sure that the words 'the young lions thereof' are intended to be taken literally. They may refer to the lion-hearted chiefs of the nation; but if they are understood as implying that lions were literally found in Tarshish, they only concur with other parts of Scripture in showing that the name is to be taken in a wide acceptation, as denoting, besides modern Andalusia, those parts of Africa which lay near and opposite to Spain. Nor is it impossible that a part of the trade of Tarshish lay in these and in other animals; for we certainly know that Solomon's ships brought that prince apes and peacocks: the lions may have been caught in Africa, and conveyed in ships of Tarshish to Tyre. Sheba and Dedan, however, are mentioned here in connection with Tarshish, and they were certainly eastern countries, lying probably on the western side of the Persian gulf in Arabia. But the object of the writer may have been to mention the countries placed at the extremities of the then known world—Tarshish on the west, Sheba and Dedan on the east. In Isa. xxiii. 1-14, we read, as a part of the burden of Tyre, that the ships of Tarshish are called on to howl at her destruction, because Tyre afforded them no longer a commercial port and a haven: words which entirely agree with the hypothesis which makes Tarshish a city on the sea-board of Spain, trading up the Mediterranean to Tyre. Nor are the words found in the sixth verse discordant: 'Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl, ye inhabitants of the isles.' Let us now turn to the book of Jonah (i. 1-3; iv. 2). The prophet was commanded to go and prophesy against Nineveh on the Tigris. For this he should, on quitting Jerusalem, have gone in an easterly direction; but he shunned the duty and fled. Of course he naturally fled in a direction the opposite of that in which the avoided object lay: he proceeded, in fact, to Tarshish. Tarshish then must have been to the west, and not to the east, of Jerusalem. In order to reach Tarshish he went to Joppa, and took ship for the place of his destination, thus still keeping in a westerly course, and showing that Tarshish lay to the west. In Tarshish, indeed, placed in the extreme north-west, he might well expect to be distant enough from Nineveh. It is also worthy of notice that, when he arrived at Joppa on the coast of Palestine, 'he found a ship going to Tarshish;' which fact we can well understand if Tarshish lay to the west, but by no means if it lay on the Red Sea.

Thus far all the passages cited agree, with more or less of evidence, in fixing Tarshish somewhere in or near Spain. But in 2 Chron. xx. 36, it is recorded that Jehoshaphat king of Judah joined himself with Ahaziah king of Israel, 'to make ships to go to Tarshish, and they made the ships in Ezion-geber,' that is, on the Elanitic gulf on the eastern arm of the Red Sea. If then these vessels, built at Ezion-geber, were to go to Tarshish, that place must lie on the eastern side of Palestine instead of the western; for we cannot suppose they circumnavigated Africa; not because such a voyage was impossible, but because it was long and tedious, and not likely to be taken when a nearer and safer way to Tarshish lay from the ports of the Palestinian coast. But in the parallel passage, found in 1 Kings xxii. 49, these vessels are described as 'ships of Tarshish' (merchant vessels), which were intended to go to *Ophir*, not to Tarshish. This removes the difficulty at once, for Ophir was in the east, and accounts for the fact that the fleet was built on the Red Sea, since it was an eastern not a western voyage which was intended. The reference appears to be to the same eastern trade of which mention is made in 1 Kings x. 22, where we find Hiram and Solomon importing from the East in ships of Tarshish or merchantmen, gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. We have not space to enter into the critical questions which this contrariety between the books of Kings and Chronicles suggests for consideration; but we may remark that in a case in which a diversity appears in the statements of these two authorities, no competently informed theologian could hesitate to give the preference to the former.

It appears then clear from this minute review

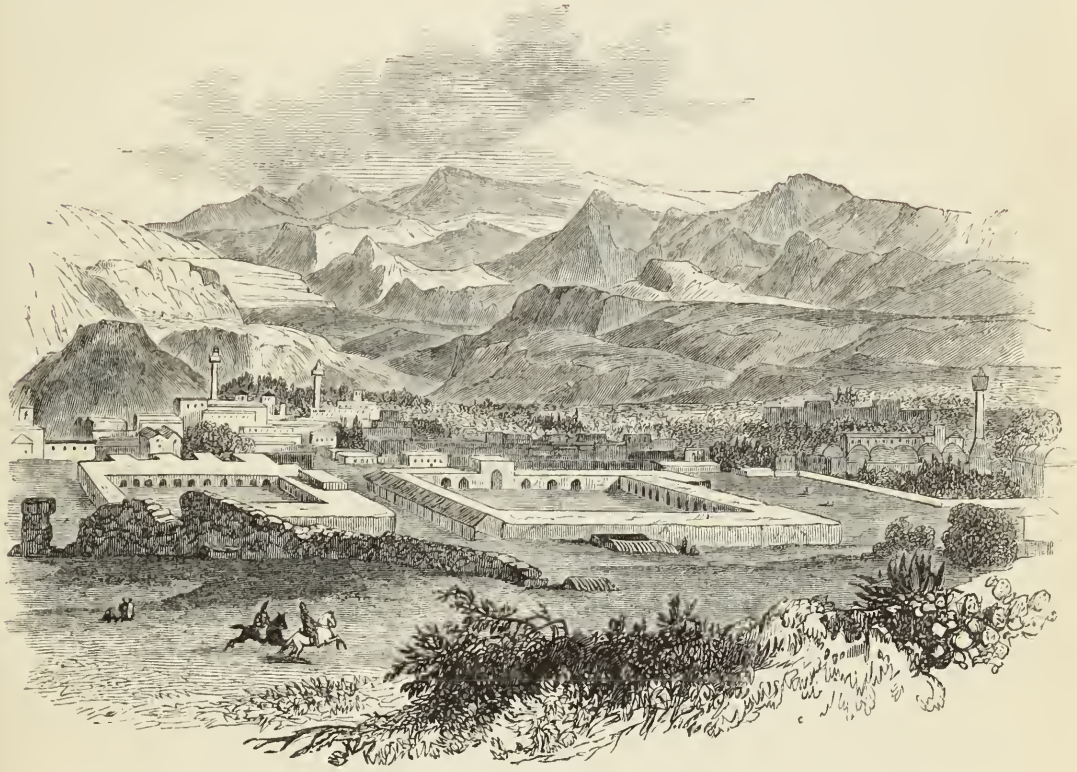
of the Scriptural accounts and allusions, that Tarshish was an old, celebrated, opulent, cultivated, commercial city, which carried on trade in the Mediterranean and with the sea-ports of Syria, especially Tyre and Joppa, and that it most probably lay on the extreme west of that sea. Was there then in ancient times any city in these parts which corresponded with these clearly ascertained facts? There was. Such was Tartessus in Spain, said to have been a Phœnician colony (Arrian, *Alex.* iii. 86), a fact which of itself would account for its intimate connection with Palestine and the Biblical narratives. As to the exact spot where Tartessis (so written originally) lay, authorities are not agreed, as the city had ceased to exist when geography began to receive attention; but it was not far from the Straits of Gibraltar, and near the mouth of the Guadalquivir, consequently at no great distance from the famous Granada of later days. The reader, however, must enlarge his notion beyond that of a mere city, which, how great soever, would scarcely correspond with the ideas of magnitude, affluence, and power that the Scriptures suggest. The name, which is of Phœnician origin, seems to denote the district of south-western Spain, comprising the several colonies which Tyre planted in that country, and so being equivalent to what we might designate Phœnician Spain. We are not however convinced that the opposite coast of Africa was not included, so that the word would denote to an inhabitant of Palestine the extreme western parts of the world. We seem, however, authorized by considerations, besides those which have been already elicited, in identifying the Hebrew Tarshish with the Spanish Tartessus, whatever may have been the extent of the neighbouring country over which the latter held dominion, or possessed immediate influence. Among these considerations we mention, 1st. that the two names are similar, if they are not the same; the Greek Ταρτησσός, with the Aramaic pronunciation, would be תַּרְתִּישׁ, a fact which would of itself seem to settle the question, in the absence of conflicting evidence and claims; 2nd. Spain was one of the chief seats of Phœnician colonization; and if we unite therewith the north-west of Africa, we shall have some idea of the greatness of the power of Tyre in these parts, for Tyre is reported to have founded not fewer than three hundred cities on the western coast of Africa, and two hundred in south-western Spain (Strabo, ii. 82). Here, then, was found the chief object of the Phœnician sea trade. These countries were to Tyre what Peru was to Spain. Confining our remarks to Spain, we learn from Heeren that the Phœnician colonies on the European side of the sea were situated in the south of the present Andalusia. Here, with other important places, lay Tartessus, a name which is borne by a river, an island, a town, and a region. Heeren distinctly says that to Orientalists the word indicated the farthest west generally, comprising, of course, many places. In the commercial geography of the Phœnicians, he adds, the word obviously meant the entire of their colonial dependencies in southern Spain. In the same general way we use the term West Indies; and thus arose the river, the town, the district of Tartessus, since the country included them all (Heeren, *Ideen*, ii. 44, sq.). 3rd. It does much to confirm our view that all the articles reported in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, to have been brought from Tarshish, might have come from south-western Spain. Here there were mines of gold and silver, and Tartessus is expressly named as affording the latter mineral (Strabo, iii. p. 147; Diod. Sic. v. 35). Tin was brought by the Phœnicians from Britain into Spain, and thence carried to the Oriental markets. According to Diodorus Siculus (v. 38), tin was procured in Spain also, as well as lead, according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 4). Pliny's words are forcible: 'Nearly all Spain abounds in the metals—lead, iron, copper, silver, gold.'

The view which has been taken in these observations was suggested to our mind by Winer's excellent article on the subject (*Real-wörterb.* ii. 700), and on his authority some of our statements rest; but we should not do justice to it, did we not add, that though suggested by Winer, it is the unprejudiced result of our own investigation of the several Scriptural passages which bear on the subject. We add one or two corroborations. Heeren (*Ideen*, ii. 64) translates Ezek. xxvii. 25, 'The ships of Tarshish,' &c., by 'Spanish ships were the chief object of thy merchandise; thou (Tyre) wast a full city, and wast honoured on the seas.' The Phœnicians were as eager in their quest of gold and gold countries as were the alchemists and the Europeans of the sixteenth century. The lust for gold urged them over the deserts of Arabia, and the cliffs of the Red Sea, as far as Yemen and Ethiopia; and the same passion carried them westwardly to the coasts of Spain and the pillars of Hercules. 'Spain,' says Heeren, 'was once the richest land in the world for silver; gold was found there in great abundance, and the baser metals as well. The silver mountains were in those parts which the Phœnicians comprised under the general name of Tartessus or Tarshish. The immeasurable affluence of precious metals which on their first arrival they found here, so astounded them, and the sight thereof so wrought on the imagination of the people, that fact called fable to its aid, and the story gained currency, that the first Phœnician colonists not only filled their ships with gold, but made thereof their various implements, anchors not excepted.'—J. R. B.

TARSHISH, a precious stone, so called as brought from Tarshish, as Ophir is also put for the gold brought from thence (Exod. xxviii. 20; xxxix. 13; Ezek. i. 16; x. 9; xxviii. 13; Cant. v. 14; Dan. x. 6). The Septuagint, followed by Josephus, makes it the 'chrysolite,' *i. e.* the topaz of the moderns, which is still found in Spain: so Braun, *De Vestitu Sacerd.* ii. 17. Others suppose it to be 'amber;' but this does not agree with the passages in Exodus, which make the Tarshish to have been one of the engraved stones of the high-priest's breast-plate. The word is translated 'beryl' in the Authorized Version.

TARSUS (Ταρσός), a celebrated city, the metropolis of Cilicia, in Asia Minor, on the banks of the river Cydnus, which flowed through it, and divided it into two parts. Hence it is sometimes by Greek writers called Ταρσοί in the plural, perhaps not without some reference to a fancied resemblance in the form of the two divisions of the city to the wings of a bird. Tarsus was a distinguished seat of Greek philosophy and literature, and from the number of its schools and learned

men, was ranked by the side of Athens and Alexandria (Strabo, xiv., pp. 673, 674). Augustus made Tarsus free (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 7). This seems to have implied the privilege of being governed by its own laws and magistrates, with freedom from tribute; but did not confer the *jus coloniarum*, nor the *jus civitatis:* and it was not therefore, as usually supposed, on this account, that Paul enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizenship. Tarsus, indeed, eventually did become a Roman colony, which gave to the inhabitants this privilege; but this was not till long after the time of Paul (Deyling, *Observat. Sacr.* iii. 391, sq.; comp. Citizenship; Colony). We thus find that the Roman tribune at Jerusalem ordered Paul to be scourged, though he knew that he was a native of Tarsus, but desisted on learning that he was a Roman citizen (Acts ix. 11; xxi. 39; xxii. 24, 27). In the time of Abulfeda, that is, towards the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, Tarsus was still large, and surrounded by a double wall, and in the occupation of Armenian Christians (*Tab. Syriæ*, p. 133). It is now a poor and decayed town, inhabited by Turks; but it is not so much fallen as many other anciently great towns of the same quarter, the population being estimated at 30,000. There are some considerable remains of the ancient city (Heumann, *De Claris Tarsenensib.*, Gott. 1748; Altmann, *Exerc. de Tarso.* Bern. 1731; Mannert, ii. 97, sq.; Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geog.* iii. 38; Beaufort, *Karamania;* Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, pp. 502-506; see also the articles Citizenship and Colony).



516. [Tarsus.]

TARTAK (תַּרְתָּק; Sept. Θαρθάκ), an idol of the Avites, introduced by them into Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 31). In Pehlevi *Tar-thakh* might mean 'deep darkness' or 'hero of darkness.' Gesenius thinks that under this name some malign planet (Saturn or Mars) was worshipped (*Comment. in Jes.*, ii. 348); but we are too little acquainted with the Assyrian superstitions to be able to identify this idol with certainty.

TARTAN (תַּרְתָּן; Sept. Θαρθάν and Ταράθαν), an Assyrian general whom Sennacherib sent, accompanied by Rabsaris and Rabshakeh, to Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 17). It is not known whether this is the same officer who in a preceding reign besieged and took Ashdod for his master (Isa. xx. 1).

TATNAI (תַּתְנַי; Pers., perhaps *gift;* Sept. Θανθαναΐ), a Persian governor, who succeeded Rehum in the rule of Samaria, and probably of other provinces north of Judæa. He appears to have been a more just person, and more friendly to the Jews, than his predecessor. An adverse report of their proceedings at Jerusalem reached him; but he resolved to suspend his judgment till he had examined into the matter on the spot. He accordingly repaired thither, accompanied by another great officer, named Shethar-boznai, and their colleagues, and finding that the Jews alleged the authority of a royal decree for their proceedings, he sent to the supreme government a temperate and fair report, founded on the information he had obtained, suggesting that the statement made by the Jews as to the decree of Cyrus and other matters should be verified by reference to the archives at Babylon. Then, without one word to influence the decision or to prejudice the claim advanced, Tatnai concludes with intimating that he awaits the royal orders. This official letter of the Persian governor is quite a model of exactness, moderation, and truth, and gives a very favourable idea of the administrative part of the Persian government. This took place in the second year of Darius, B.C. 519. The rescript being

favourable to the claim of the Jews, whose statement had been verified by the discovery of the original decree of Cyrus, Tatnai and his colleagues applied themselves with vigour to the execution of the royal commands (Ezra v. and vi.).

TAVERNS, THE THREE (Τρεῖς Ταβέρναι; Vulg. Tres tabernæ). The name of a small place on the Appian way, mentioned Acts xxviii. 15. The word ταβέρνα is plainly the Latin *taberna* in Greek letters, and denotes a house made with boards or planks, quasi *trabena*. Wooden houses, huts, &c. are called tabernæ. Thus Horace, 'pauperum tabernas regumque turres,' *Carm.* i. 14, 13. Hence the word also means shops, as distinguished from dwelling houses. Horace uses it for a bookseller's shop (*Sat.* i. 4. 71), and for a wine shop (*Ep.* i. 14. 24). The shops at Pompeii are booths, connected in almost every case with dwellings behind, as they were in London three centuries ago. When eatables or drinkables were sold in a Roman shop, it was called taberna, tavern, victualling-house. The place or village called 'Three Taverns' probably therefore derived its name from three large inns, or eating-houses, for the refreshment of travellers passing to and from Rome. Zosimus calls it τριὰ καπηλεῖα (ii. 10). Appii Forum appears to have been such another place. Horace mentions the latter in describing his journey from Rome to Brundusium, as 'differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis'—stuffed with rank boatmen, and with vintners base (*Sat.* i. 5. 3). That the Three Taverns was nearer Rome than Appii Forum, appears from the conclusion of one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (ii. 10), which, when he is travelling *south-eastwards* from Antium to his seat near Formiæ, he dates 'Ab Appii Foro, hora quarta'—from Appii Forum, at the fourth hour; and adds, 'Dederam aliam paulo ante, Tribus Tabernis'—I wrote you another, a little while ago, from the Three Taverns. Grotius observes, that there were many places in the Roman empire at this time which had the names of Forum and Tabernæ, the former from having *markets* of all kinds of commodities, the latter from furnishing wine and eatables. The Itinerary of Antoninus places Appii Forum at forty-three Roman miles from Rome, and the Three Taverns at thirty-three. The place still remains, and is called Tre Taverne. In Evelyn's time (1645), the remains were 'yet very faire' (*Diarie*, vol. i. p. 134). The Roman Christians went in token of respect to meet St. Paul at these places, having been probably apprised of his approach by letters or express from Puteoli (Acts xxviii. 13-15)—one party of them resting at the Three Taverns, and the other going on to Appii Forum. When the apostle saw this unequivocal token of respect and zeal, he took fresh courage. In the fourth century there was a Bishop of Three Taverns, named Felix (Optatus, lib. i.).—J.F.D.

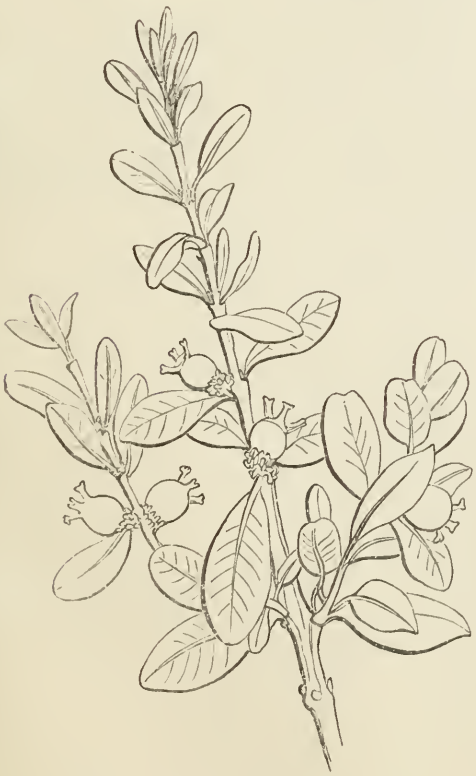
TAXES of some kind must have been coeval with the origin of civilized society. The idea of the one is involved in that of the other; since society, as every organization, implies expense, which must be raised by the abstraction of property from the individuals of which it consists, either by occasional or periodical, by self-imposed, or compulsory exactions.

Accordingly we find a provision of income made at the very commencement of the Mosaic polity. Taxes, like all other things in that polity, had a religious origin and import. As a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, every Israelite was to pay half a shekel yearly, from twenty years old and upward, the rich not giving more, the poor not giving less, for the service of the tabernacle (Exod. xxx. 12, sq.; 2 Chron. xxiv. 6). From the latter passage it appears that the law appointing this payment was in force in the days of Joash (B.C. 878). This half shekel was the tribute which our Lord was asked if he paid (Matt. xvii. 24). It is called in the Greek τὰ δίδραχμα, and was in value about fifteen pence. The way in which it is spoken of shows that it was an established and well-known payment—'they that received the didrachm'—in rendering which by 'tribute,' our translators have failed to give the force of the original (comp. Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 6). This offering was obligatory on Jews who lived in foreign countries no less than on those who lived at home, though frequently the native princes tried to divert the didrachm from the temple treasury to their own, in which effort they were more than once arrested by the Romans (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 1). From the Talmudical Tract Shekalim (*Mishna*, ii. 4), the time of payment appears to have been between the fifteenth and the twenty-fifth of the month Adar, that is, in March. After the destruction of the temple this didrachm was ordered by Vespasian to be paid into the capitol, as, says Josephus, 'they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem' (*De Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 6). A special provision seems to have been made, under peculiar circumstances, of one-third of a shekel yearly, 'for the service of the house of our God' (Neh. x. 32). The Jews, at times, found the taxes they had to pay very oppressive. The ten tribes complained that they had found David's yoke heavy, and entreated Rehoboam that he would lighten it. And the stoning to death of Adoram, who 'was over the tribute,' shows to what an extent the question of taxes entered into the causes of the revolt of the ten tribes (1 Kings xii. 4, 18). When the Romans became masters of Palestine the unhappy Jews had a double yoke to bear; while it appears from Josephus that the yoke of the native princes was anything but light. The income of Herod the Great seems to have been about 1600 talents, which has been estimated at 680,000*l.* sterling (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11. 4, note in Whiston's *Translation*). Agrippa II. had revenues which amounted to twelve millions of drachmæ, which may have equalled nearly half a million of our money. Nor was the recently removed house-tax an exclusive English imposition, for Herod Agrippa is recorded to have 'released the Jews from the tax upon houses, every one of whom paid it before' (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 6. 3; 8. 2).

Besides the regular half shekel there was a considerable income derived to the Temple from tithes, firstlings, &c. (2 Kings xii. 4). Considering the fertility of the land we cannot account these religious imposts as heavy. If we turn to the civil constitution, we find taxes first instituted at the time of the introduction of regal power, whose exactions are forcibly described by Samuel (1 Sam. viii. 10, sq.). They consisted partly in personal service, partly in tithe in kind. Occasionally a heavy poll-tax was imposed—'of

all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver' (2 Kings xv. 20). On other occasions an assessment was made, and a tax raised from the people of the land generally (2 Kings xxiii. 35). Both these last cases, however, were provisions for a special need. Presents constituted a source of abundant income, and can hardly be regarded in any other light than as a sort of self-imposed tax (1 Sam. x. 27; xvi. 20; 1 Kings x. 25; 2 Chron. xvii. 5). Royal demesnes supplied resources (1 Kings iv. 22, sq.). There was also a transit-tax 'of the merchantmen, and of the traffic of the spice-merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia, and of the governors of the country' (1 Kings x. 15). Ships and other public property belonged to the king (1 Kings x. 28; ix. 26; xxii. 49): the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year (independently of several sources) was 676 talents (1 Kings x. 14).—J. R. B.

TEASHUR (תְּאַשּׁוּר) occurs in three places in Scripture, but great uncertainty has always existed respecting its true meaning (Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. 153); though it is now generally acknowledged to denote the *box-tree*. There is no philological proof of this conclusion, but yet there is nothing in the tree indicated unsuitable to the several contexts. Thus, with reference to the future temple, it is said (Isa. lx. 13), 'The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir-tree, the pine-tree, and the box together;' and at xli. 19, 'I will set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine, and the box together.' Further in Ezek. xxvii. 6, in the account of the arts and commerce of Tyre, we read, 'Of the oaks of Bashan have they made



517. [Buxus sempervirens.]

thine oars, and the benches of the rowers are made of *ashur-wood*, inlaid with ivory,' as it is now usually interpreted. The ashur-wood, moreover, is said to have been brought from the isles of Chittim, that is, of Greece.

The box (*buxus sempervirens*) is a native of most parts of Europe. It grows well in England, as at Boxhill, &c., while that from the Levant is most valued in commerce, in consequence of its being highly esteemed by wood-engravers. Turkey box is yielded by *buxus Balearica*, a species which is found in Minorca, Sardinia, and Corsica, and also in both European and Asiatic Turkey, and is imported from Constantinople, Smyrna, and the Black Sea. Box is also found on Mount Caucasus, and a species extends even to the Himalaya mountains. Hence it is well known to Asiatics, and is the *shumshad* of the Arabs. It is much employed in the present day by the wood engraver, the turner, carver, mathematical instrument maker, and the comb and flute maker. It was cultivated by the Romans, as described by Pliny. Virgil (*Æn.* x. 135) alludes to the practice of its being inlaid with ivory—

> Quale per artem
> Inclusum buxo, aut Oricià terebintho,
> Lucet ebur.

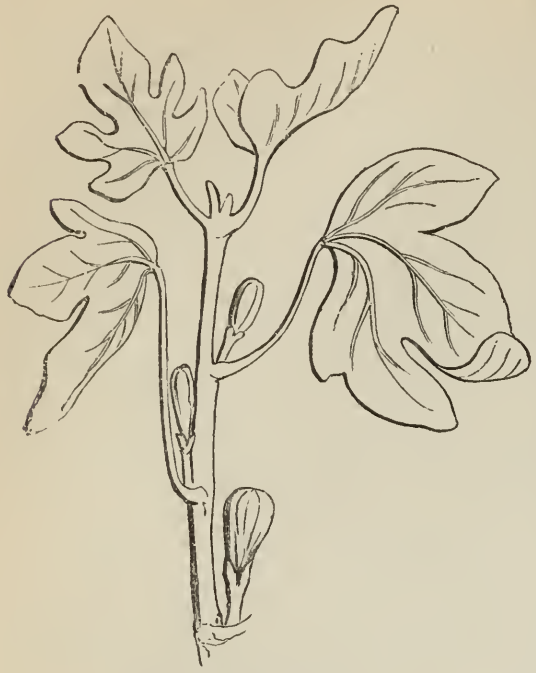
The box-tree, being a native of mountainous regions, was peculiarly adapted to the calcareous formations of Mount Lebanon, and therefore likely to be brought from thence with the coniferous woods for the building of the temple, and was as well suited as the fir and the pine trees for changing the face of the desert.—J. F. R.

TEBETH (טֵבֵת), the tenth month (Esth. ii. 16) of the sacred year of the Hebrews, commenced with the new moon in December, and terminated at the new moon in January. The Egyptians called it Τυβί or Τωβί, and it was their fifth month. Hieronymus has the following comment upon Ezek. xxix. 1: 'Decimus mensis, qui Hebræis appellatur Tebeth, et apud Aegyptios Τύβι, apud Romanos Januarius.' In Arabic it is called טובה, in Greek Τυβί or Τήβ, and in Sanscrit TAPAS.—C. H. F. B.

TEENAH (תְּאֵנָה) is universally translated *fig* and *fig-tree*, in both ancient and modern versions, and, no doubt, correctly so: it has from the earliest times been a highly esteemed fruit in the East, and its present, as well as ancient Arabic name, is *teen*. The fig-tree, though now successfully cultivated in a great part of Europe, even as far north as the southern parts of England, is yet a native of the East, and probably of the Persian region, where it is most extensively cultivated. The climate there is such that the tree must necessarily be able to bear some degree of cold, and thus be fitted to travel northwards, and ripen its fruit where there is a sufficient amount and continuance of summer heat. The fig is still extensively cultivated in the East, and in a dried state, strung upon cords, it forms an extensive article of commerce from Persia to India. Athenæus, as quoted by Rosenmüller, states that Amitrochates, an Indian king, in a letter, begged Antiochus to send him at his own expense, 'sweet wine, *dried figs*, and a sophist.'

The fig is mentioned in so many passages of Scripture, that our space will not allow us to enumerate them, but they are detailed by Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. p. 368). The first notice of it, however, occurs in Gen. iii. 7, where Adam and Eve

are described as sewing fig-leaves together, to make themselves aprons. The common fig-leaf is not



518. [Ficus carica.]

so well suited, from its lobed nature, for this purpose; but the practice of sewing or pinning leaves together is very common in the East even in the present day, and baskets, dishes, and umbrellas, are made of leaves so pinned or sewn together. The fig-tree is enumerated (Deut. viii. 8) as one of the valuable products of Palestine, 'a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates.' The spies, who were sent from the wilderness of Paran, brought back from the brook of Eshcol, clusters of grapes, pomegranates, and figs. The fig-tree is referred to as one of the signs of prosperity (1 Kings iv. 25), 'And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree.' And its failure is noted as a sign of affliction (Ps. cv. 33), 'He smote their fig-trees, and broke the trees of their coasts.' The very frequent references which are made in the Old Testament to the fig and other fruit trees, are in consequence of fruits forming a much more important article of diet in the warm and dry countries of the East, than they can ever do in the cold and moist regions of the North. Figs are also used medicinally, and we have a notice in 2 Kings xx. 7, of their employment as a poultice: 'And Isaiah said, Take a lump of figs; and they took and laid it on the boil, and he recovered.' The fig-tree is, moreover, mentioned in the New Testament by its Greek name συκῆ by all the Evangelists. The passages have been fully illustrated by the several commentators.—J. F. R.

TEIL-TREE is the linden-tree, or *Tilia Europæus* of botanists. It is mentioned in the Authorized Version, in Isa. vi. 13, 'as a teil-tree, and as an oak;' but as in the Hebrew the word *alah*, or turpentine tree, is used, there is no reason for giving it a different signification in this from what it has in other passages [Alah].

TEKEL. [Mene, &c.]

TEKOA (תְּקוֹעַ; Sept. Θεκωέ), a city south of Bethlehem, on the borders of the desert to which it gave name, and noted as the residence of 'the wise woman' who interceded for Absalom; as one of the towns fortified by Rehoboam; and as the birthplace of the prophet Amos (2 Sam. xiv. 2; 1 Chron. ii. 24; 2 Chron. xx. 20; Jer. vi. 1; Amos i. 1). The site has long been known; it lies six miles south of Bethlehem, on an elevated hill, not steep, but broad at the top, and covered with ruins to the extent of four or five acres. These consist chiefly of the foundations of houses built of squared stones, some of which are bevilled. The middle of the space is occupied by the ruins of a Greek church. The site commands extensive prospects, and towards the east is bounded only by the level mountains of Moab. Before and during the Crusades Tekoa was well inhabited by Christians; but in A.D. 1138 it was sacked by a party of Turks from beyond the Jordan, and nothing further is known of it till the seventeenth century, when it lay desolate, as it has ever since done (Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, ii. 182-184; Raumer, *Palästina*, p. 219; Turner, *Tour*, ii. 240; Irby and Mangles, p. 344).

TELEM (טֶלֶם), a city in Judah (Josh. xv. 24). According to Kimchi and others, it is the same which is called Telaim in 1 Sam. xv. 4.

TEMA (תֵּימָא; Sept. Θαιμάν), a tract and people in the northern part of the Arabian desert, adjacent to the Syrian desert, so called from Tema, the son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15; Job vi. 19; Isa. xxi. 14; Jer. xxv. 23). This tract is still called تيما *Tema*, by the Arabs, and corresponds to the Θαῖμα of Ptolemy (*Geog.* vi. p. 179) [Arabia].

TEMAN (תֵּימָן; Sept. Θαιμάν), a grandson of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15); also a city, region, and people on the east of Idumæa sprung from him (Gen. xxxvi. 42; Jer. xlix. 7; Ezek. xxv. 13; Amos i. 11, 12; Obad. 9). Like other Arabs (1 Kings v. 12), the Temanites were celebrated for wisdom (Jer. xlix. 7; Bar. iii. 22, 23; comp. Job ii. 11; xxi. 1).

TEMANITE, one belonging to the tribe or country of Tema (Job ii. 11; xxi. 1).

TEMPLE (הַהֵיכָל, or הֵיכָל קֹדֶשׁ יְהוָה, בֵּיתאֵל, בֵּית אֱלֹהִים, בֵּית יְהוָה). The word היכל is a participial noun from the root הכל, *capere, excipere*, and reminds us strongly of the Roman *templum*, from τέμενος, τέμνω, *locus liberatus et effatus*. When an augur had defined a space in which he intended to make his observations, he fixed his tent in it (*tabernaculum capere*), with planks and curtains. In the *arx* this was not necessary because there was a permanent *auguraculum*. The Septuagint translation usually renders היכל, 'temple,' by οἶκος or ναός, but in the Apocrypha and the New Testament it is generally called τὸ ἱερόν. Rabbinical appellations are בית המקדש, *the house of sanctuary*, בית הבחירה, *the chosen house*, בית העלמים, *the house of ages*, because the ark was not transferred from it, as it was from Gilgal after 24, from Shiloh after 369, from Nob after 13, and from Gibeon

after 50 years. It is also called מעון. After the Israelites had exchanged their nomadic life for a life in permanent habitations, it was becoming that they should exchange also their moveable sanctuary or tabernacle for a temple. There elapsed, however, after the conquest of Palestine, several centuries during which the sanctuary continued moveable, although the nation became more and more stationary. It appears that the first who planned the erection of a stone-built sanctuary was David, who, when he was inhabiting his house of cedar, and God had given him rest from all his enemies, meditated the design of building a temple in which the ark of God might be placed, instead of being deposited 'within curtains,' or in a tent, as hitherto. This design was at first encouraged by the prophet Nathan; but he was afterwards instructed to tell David that such a work was less appropriate for him, who had been a warrior from his youth, and had shed much blood, than for his son, who should enjoy in prosperity and peace the rewards of his father's victories. Nevertheless, the design itself was highly approved as a token of proper feelings towards the Divine King (2 Sam. vii. 1-12; 1 Chron. xvii. 1-14; xxviii.). We learn, moreover, from 1 Kings v., and 1 Chron. xxii., that David had collected materials which were afterwards employed in the erection of the temple, which was commenced four years after his death, about B.C. 1012, in the second month, that is, the month of Siv (compare 1 Kings vi. 1; 2 Chron. iii. 2), four hundred and eighty years after the Exodus from Egypt. We thus learn that the Israelitish sanctuary had remained moveable more than four centuries subsequent to the conquest of Canaan. 'In the fourth year of Solomon's reign was the foundation of the house of the Lord laid, in the month Siv: and in the eleventh year, in the month Bul, which is the eighth month, was the house finished throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the fashion of it. So was he seven years in building it.'

The site of the temple is clearly stated in 2 Chron. iii. 1: 'Then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David his father, in the place that David had prepared in the threshing-floor of Ornan (or Araunah) the Jebusite.' In south-eastern countries the site of the threshing-floors is selected according to the same principles which might guide us in the selection of the site of windmills. We find them usually on the tops of hills, which are on all sides exposed to the winds, the current of which is required in order to separate the grain from the chaff. It seems that the summit of Moriah, although large enough for the agricultural purposes of Araunah, had no level sufficient for the plans of Solomon. According to Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 5), the foundations of the temple were laid on a steep eminence, the summit of which was at first insufficient for the temple and altar. As it was surrounded by precipices it became necessary to build up walls and buttresses in order to gain more ground by filling up the interval with earth. The hill was also fortified by a threefold wall, the lowest tier of which was in some places more than 300 cubits high; and the depth of the foundation was not visible, because it had been necessary in some parts to dig deep into the ground in order to obtain sufficient support. The dimensions of the stones of which the walls were composed were enormous; Josephus mentions a length of 40 cubits. It is, however, likely that some parts of the fortifications of Moriah were added at a later period. The characteristics of the site of the Solomonic temple have undergone so many changes that it is at present scarcely possible to discern them. Niebuhr gave an accurate description of what he found, illustrated by a map, in the *Deutsches Museum*, 1784, vol. i. p. 448, sq.; ii. 137, sq.; and also in the third volume of his travels (comp. also Mishna, *Middoth*, ii. 4).

The workmen and the materials employed in the erection of the temple were chiefly procured by Solomon from Hiram, king of Tyre, who was rewarded by a liberal importation of wheat. Josephus states that duplicates of the letters which passed between Solomon and king Hiram were still extant in his time, both at Jerusalem and among the Tyrian records. He informs us that the persons employed in collecting and arranging the materials for the temple were ordered to search out the largest stones for the foundation, and to prepare them for use on the mountains where they were procured, and then convey them to Jerusalem. In this part of the business Hiram's men were ordered to assist.

Josephus adds, that the foundation was sunk to an astonishing depth, and composed of stones of singular magnitude, and very durable. Being closely mortised into the rock with great ingenuity, they formed a basis adequate to the support of the intended structure. Josephus gives to the temple the same length and breadth as are given in 1 Kings, but mentions 60 cubits as the height. He says that the walls were composed entirely of white stone; that the walls and ceilings were wainscoted with cedar, which was covered with the purest gold; that the stones were put together with such ingenuity that the smallest interstices were not perceptible, and that the timbers were joined with iron cramps.

The temple itself and its utensils are described in 1 Kings vi. and vii., and 2 Chron. iii. and iv.

Divines and architects have repeatedly endeavoured to represent the architectural proportions of the temple, which was 60 cubits long, 20 wide, and 30 high. Josephus, however (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 2), says, 'The temple was 60 cubits high and 60 cubits in length; and the breadth was 20 cubits; above this was another stage of equal dimensions, so that the height of the whole structure was 120 cubits.' It is difficult to reconcile this statement with that given in 1 Kings, unless we suppose that the words ἴσος τοῖς μέτροις, *equal in measures*, do not signify an equality in all dimensions, but only as much as equal in the number of cubits; so that the porch formed a kind of steeple, which projected as much above the roof of the temple as the roof itself was elevated above its foundations. As the Chronicles agree with Josephus in asserting that the summit of the porch was 120 cubits high, there remains still another apparent contradiction to be solved, namely, how Josephus could assert that the temple itself was 60 cubits high, while we read in 1 Kings that its height was

only 30 cubits. We suppose that in the book of Kings the internal elevation of the sanctuary is stated, and that Josephus describes its external elevation, which, including the basement and an upper story (which may have existed, consisting of rooms for the accommodation of priests, containing also vestries and treasuries), might be double the internal height of the sanctuary. The internal dimension of the 'holy,' which was called in preference היכל, was 40 cubits long, 20 cubits wide, and 30 cubits high. The holy was separated from the 'holy of holies' (דביר) by a partition, a large opening in which was closed by a suspended curtain. The holy of holies was on the western extremity of the entire building, and its internal dimensions formed a cube of 20 cubits. On the eastern extremity of the building stood the porch, אולם, *πρόναος*. At the entrance of this pronaos stood the two columns called Jachin and Boaz, which were 23 cubits high.

The temple was also surrounded by three יציע, *stories of chambers*, each of which stories was five cubits high, so that there remained above ample space for introducing the windows, requisite more for ventilation than for the admission of light into the sanctuary. Now the statement of Josephus, who says, that each of these stories of chambers (צלעות) was 20 cubits high, cannot be reconciled with the biblical statements, and may prove that he was no very close reader of his authorities. Perhaps he had a vague kind of information that the chambers reached halfway up the height of the building, and taking the maximum height of 120 cubits instead of the internal height of the holy, he made each story four times too high. The windows which are mentioned in 1 Kings vi. 4, consisted probably of lattice-work.

The lowest story of the chambers was five cubits, the middle six, and the third seven cubits wide. This difference of the width arose from the circumstance that the external walls of the temple were so thick that they were made to recede one cubit after an elevation of five feet, so that the scarcement in the wall of the temple gave a firm support to the beams which supported the second story, without being inserted into the wall of the sanctuary; which insertion was perhaps avoided not merely for architectural reasons, but also because it appeared to be irreverent. The third story was supported likewise by a similar scarcement, which afforded a still wider space for the chamber of the third story. These observations will render intelligible the following biblical statements:—'And against the wall of the house he built stories round about, both of the temple and of the oracle: and he made chambers round about: the nethermost story was five cubits broad, and the middle was six cubits broad, and the third was seven cubits broad: for without in the wall of the house he made narrowed rests (מגרעות, narrowings or rebatements) round about, so that the beams should not be fastened in the walls of the house. The house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building. The door of the middle story was in the right side of the house: and they went up with winding stairs into the middle story, and out of the middle into the third. So he built the house, and finished it; and covered the house with beams and boards of cedar. And then he built chambers against all the house, five cubits high: and they rested on the house with timber of cedar' (1 Kings vi. 7).

From this description it may be inferred, that the entrance to these stories was from without; but some architects have supposed that it was from within; which arrangement seems to be against the general aim of impressing the Israelitish worshippers with sacred awe by the seclusion of their sanctuary.

In reference to the windows it should be observed, that they served chiefly for ventilation, since the light within the temple was obtained from the sacred candlesticks. It seems from the descriptions of the temple to be certain that the דביר, *oracle*, or holy of holies, was an *adytum* without windows. To this fact Solomon seems to refer when he spake, 'The Lord said that he would dwell in the thick darkness' (1 Kings viii. 12).

The דביר, *oracle*, had perhaps no other opening besides the entrance, which was, as we may infer from the prophetic visions of Ezekiel (which probably correspond with the historic temple of Solomon) six cubits wide.

From 1 Kings vii. 10, we learn that the private dwellings of Solomon were built of massive stone. We hence infer, that the framework of the temple also consisted of the same material. The temple was, however, wainscoted with cedar wood, which was covered with gold. The boards within the temple were ornamented by beautiful carvings representing cherubim, palms, and flowers. The ceiling of the temple was supported by beams of cedar wood (comp. Eres; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 69). The wall which separated the holy from the holy of holies, probably consisted not of stone, but of beams of cedar. It seems, further, that the partitions partly consisted of an *opus reticulatum;* so that the incense could spread from the holy to the most holy. This we infer from 1 Kings vi. 21: 'So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold: and he made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle; and he overlaid it with gold.'

The floor of the temple was throughout of cedar, but boarded over with planks of fir (1 Kings vi. 15). The doors of the oracle were composed of olive-tree; but the doors of the outer temple had posts of olive-tree, and leaves of fir (1 Kings vi. 31, sq.). Both doors, as well that which led into the temple as that which led from the holy to the holy of holies, had folding leaves, which, however, seem to have been usually kept open, the aperture being closed by a suspended curtain—a contrivance still seen at the church-doors in Italy, where the church-doors usually stand open, but the doorways can be passed only by moving aside a heavy curtain. From 2 Chron. iii. 5, it appears that the greater house was also ceiled with fir. It is stated in ver. 9, 'that the weight of the nails employed in the temple was fifty shekels of gold.' And also that Solomon 'overlaid the upper chambers with gold.'

The lintel and side posts of the oracle seem to have circumscribed a space which contained one-

fifth of the whole area of the partition; and the posts of the door of the temple one-fourth of the area of the wall in which they were placed. Thus we understand the passage, 1 Kings vi. 31-35, which also states that the door was covered with carved work overlaid with gold.

Within the holy of holies stood only the ark of the covenant; but within the holy were ten golden candlesticks, and the altar of incense (comp. the separate articles).

The temple was surrounded by an inner court, which in Chronicles is called the Court of the Priests, and in Jeremiah the Upper Court. This again was surrounded by a wall consisting of cedar beams placed on a stone foundation (1 Kings vi. 36): 'And he built the inner court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar beams.' This inclosure, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 3, 9), was three cubits high. Besides this inner court, there is mentioned a Great Court (2 Chron. iv. 9): 'Furthermore he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass.' It seems that this was also called the Outward Court (comp. Ezek. xiv. 17). This court was also more especially called the court of the Lord's house (Jer. xix. 12; xxvi. 2). These courts were surrounded by spacious buildings, which, however, according to Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 1), seem to have been partly added at a period later than that of Solomon. For instance (2 Kings xv. 35), Jotham is said to have built the higher gate of the house of the Lord. In Jer. xxvi. 10, and xxxvi. 10, there is mentioned a New gate (comp. also Ezek. xl. 5-47; xlii. 1-14). But this prophetic vision is not strictly historical, although it may serve to illustrate history (comp. also Joseph. *Antiq.* viii. 3. 9). The *third* entry into the house of the Lord mentioned in Jer. xxxviii. 14, does not seem to indicate that there were three courts, but appears to mean that the entry into the outer court was called the first, that into the inner court the second, and the door of the sanctuary the third. It is likely that these courts were quadrilateral. In the divisions of Ezekiel they form a square of four hundred cubits. The inner court contained towards the east the altar of burnt-offering, the brazen sea, and ten brazen lavers; and it seems that the sanctuary did not stand in the centre of the inner court, but more towards the west. From these descriptions we learn that the temple of Solomon was not distinguished by magnitude, but by good architectural proportions, beauty of workmanship, and costliness of materials. Many of our churches have an external form not unlike that of the temple of Solomon. In fact, this temple seems to have been the pattern of our church buildings, to which the chief addition has been the Gothic arch. Among others, the Roman Catholic church at Dresden is supposed to bear much resemblance to the temple of Solomon.

It is remarkable that after the temple was finished, it was not consecrated by the high priest, but by a layman, by the king in person, by means of extempore prayers and sacrifices. The temple remained the centre of public worship for all the Israelites only till the death of Solomon, after which ten tribes forsook this sanctuary. But even in the kingdom of Judah it was from time to time desecrated by altars erected to idols. For instance, 'Manasseh built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord. And he caused his son to pass through the fire, and observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards: he wrought much wickedness in the sight of the Lord to provoke him to anger. And he set a graven image of the grove that he had made in the house,' &c. Thus we find also that king Josiah commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, to remove the idols of Baal and Asherah from the house of the Lord (2 Kings xxiii. 4, 13): 'And the altars that were on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made, and the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the Lord, did the king beat down, and brake them down from thence, and cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron.' In fact, we are informed that in spite of the better means of public devotion which the sanctuary undoubtedly afforded, the national morals declined so much that the chosen nation became worse than the idolaters whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel (2 Kings xxi. 9)—a clear proof that the possession of external means is not a guarantee for their right use. It appears also that, during the times when it was fashionable at court to worship Baal, the temple stood desolate, and that its repairs were neglected (see 2 Kings xii. 6, 7). We further learn that the cost of the repairs was defrayed chiefly by voluntary contribution, by offerings, and by redemption money (2 Kings xii. 4, 5). The original cost of the temple seems to have been defrayed by royal bounty, and in great measure by treasures collected by David for that purpose.

There was a treasury in the temple, in which much precious metal was collected for the maintenance of public worship. The gold and silver of the temple was, however, frequently applied to political purposes (1 Kings xv. 18, sq.; 2 Kings xii. 18; xvi. 8; xviii. 15). The treasury of the temple was repeatedly plundered by foreign invaders. For instance, by Shishak (1 Kings xiv. 26); by Jehoash, king of Israel (2 Kings xiv. 14); by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 13); and lastly, again by Nebuchadnezzar, who, having removed the valuable contents, caused the Temple to be burned down (2 Kings xxv. 9, sq.), B.C. 588. The building had stood since its completion 417 or 418 years (Josephus has 470, and Ruffinus 370 years). Thus terminated what the later Jews called בית הראשון, *the first house.*

In many writers on the temple the biblical statements concerning the first, or Solomon's temple, are confounded not merely with the temple in the prophetic visions of Ezekiel, but also with descriptions of the temple erected by Zerubbabel, and even with the later structures of Herod. This confusion we have endeavoured to avoid in the foregoing statements.

THE SECOND TEMPLE.—In the year B.C. 536 the Jews obtained permission from Cyrus to colonise their native land. Cyrus commanded also that the sacred utensils which had been pillaged from the first temple should be restored, and that for the restoration of the temple assistance should be granted (Ezra i. and vi.; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 22, sq.). The first colony which returned under Zerubbabel and Joshua having collected the necessary means, and having also obtained the as-

sistance of Phœnician workmen, commenced in the second year after their return, B.C. 534, the rebuilding of the temple. The Sidonians brought rafts of cedar trees from Lebanon to Joppa. The Jews refused the co-operation of the Samaritans, who being thereby offended, induced the king Artasashta (probably Smerdis) to prohibit the building. And it was only in the second year of Darius Hystaspis, B.C. 520, that the building was resumed. It was completed in the sixth year of this king, B.C. 516 (compare Ezra v. and vi.; and Haggai i. 15). According to Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 4. 7) the temple was completed in the ninth year of the reign of Darius.

This second temple was erected on the site of the former, and probably after the same plan. According to the plan of Cyrus, the new temple was sixty cubits high and sixty cubits wide. It appears from Josephus, that the height is to be understood of the porch, for we learn from the speech of Herod which he records, that the second temple was sixty cubits lower than the first, whose porch was 120 cubits high (comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11. 1). The old men who had seen the first temple were moved to tears on beholding the second, which appeared like nothing in comparison with the first (Ezra iii. 12; Haggai ii. 3, sq.). It seems, therefore, that it was not so much in dimensions that the second temple was inferior to the first, as in splendour, and in being deprived of the ark of the covenant, which had been burned with the temple of Solomon. The temple of Zerubbabel had several courts (*αὐλαί*) and cloisters or cells (*πρόθυρα*). Josephus distinguishes an internal and external *ἱερόν*, and mentions cloisters in the courts. This temple was connected with the town by means of a bridge (*Antiq.* xiv. 4). During the wars from B.C. 175 to B.C. 163, it was pillaged and desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes, who introduced into it idolatrous rites (2 Mac. vi. 2, 5), dedicating the temple to Jupiter Olympius, and the temple on Mount Gerizim, in allusion to the foreign origin of its worshippers, to Jupiter *Ξενιός*. The temple became so desolate that it was overgrown with vegetation (1 Macc. iv. 38; 2 Macc. vi. 4). Judas Maccabæus expelled the Syrians and restored the sanctuary, B.C. 165. He repaired the building, furnished new utensils, and erected fortifications against future attacks (1 Macc. iv. 43-60; vi. 7; xiii. 53; 2 Macc. i. 18; x. 3). Alexander Jannæus, about B.C. 106, separated the court of the priests from the external court by a wooden railing (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 5). During the contentions among the later Maccabees, Pompey attacked the temple from the north side, caused a great massacre in its courts, but abstained from plundering the treasury, although he even entered the holy of holies, B.C. 63 (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4). Herod the Great, with the assistance of Roman troops, stormed the temple, B.C. 37; on which occasion some of the surrounding halls were destroyed or damaged.

III. Temple of Herod.—Herod, wishing to ingratiate himself with the church and state party, and being fond of architectural display, undertook not merely to repair the second temple, but to raise a perfectly new structure. As, however, the temple of Zerubbabel was not actually destroyed, but only removed after the preparations for the new temple were completed, there has arisen some debate whether the temple of Herod could properly be called the third temple.

The reason why the temple of Zerubbabel was not at once taken down, in order to make room for the more splendid structure of Herod, is explained by Josephus as follows (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11. 2). The Jews were afraid that Herod would pull down the whole edifice, and not be able to carry his intentions as to its rebuilding into effect; and this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vastness of the undertaking to be such as could hardly be accomplished. But while they were in this disposition, the king encouraged them, and told them he would not pull down their temple till all things were gotten ready for building it up entirely.

And as Herod promised them this beforehand, so he did not break his word with them, but got ready a thousand waggons, that were to bring stones for this building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stonecutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build; but this not till everything was well prepared for the work.

The work was commenced in the eighteenth year of the reign of Herod; that is, about the year 734-735 from the building of Rome, or about twenty or twenty-one years before the Christian era. Priests and Levites finished the temple itself in one year and a half. The outbuildings and courts required eight years. However, some building operations were constantly in progress under the successors of Herod, and it is in reference to this we are informed that the temple was finished only under Albinus, the last procurator but one, not long before the commencement of the Jewish war in which the temple was again destroyed. It is in reference also to these protracted building operations that the Jews said to Jesus, 'Forty and six years was this temple in building' (John ii. 20). The temple is described by Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 11, and *De Bell. Jud.* v. 5). With this should be compared the Talmudic tract *Middoth* (Mishna, v. 10), which has been edited and commented upon by C. l'Empereur de Oppyck, Lugduni Bat. 1630, 4to. Compare also vols. viii. and ix. of *Antiquitates Hebraicæ*, by Ugolino, which contain, in addition to other dissertations, Mosis Maimonidis *Constitutiones de domo electa;* Abraham ben David *De Templo.* Compare also E. A. Schulze, *De variis Judæorum erroribus in descriptione templi secundi*, prefixed to his edition of Reland, *De spoliis templi Hierosolymitani.*

The whole of the structures belonging to the temple were a stadium square, and consequently four stadia (or half a Roman mile) in circumference. The temple was situated on the highest point, not quite in the centre, but rather to the north-western corner of this square, and was surrounded by various courts, the innermost of which was higher than the next outward, which descended in terraces. The temple, consequently, was visible from the town, notwithstanding its various high enclosures. The outer court was call הר הבית, *the mountain of the house*, *τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ* (1 Macc. xiii. 52). According to *Middoth* (i. 3) this mountain of the house had five gates, two towards the south, and one towards

each of the other quarters. The principal gate was that towards the east: it was called the gate Susan, and a representation of the town of Susa, sculptured in relief, was affixed to it. This had been preserved from the days of Zerubbabel, when the Jews were anxious to express by all means their loyal submission to the Persian power. Most interpreters consider it the same which in Acts iii. 2 and 10 is called πύλη ὡραία, *the beautiful gate*. It seems, however, that besides these five principal gates there were some other entrances, because Josephus speaks of four gates on the west and several on the south. Annexed to the outer wall were halls which surrounded the temple, and were thirty cubits wide, except on the south side, where the βασιλικὴ στοά, *the royal hall*, seems to have been threefold, or three times wider than the other halls. The roofs of these halls were of cedar-wood, and were supported by marble columns twenty-five cubits high. The Levites resided in these halls. There was also a synagogue where the Talmudic doctors might be asked questions, and where their decisions might be heard (Luke ii. 46). These halls seem likewise to have formed a kind of lounge for religionists; they appear to have been spacious enough to afford opportunities for religious teachers to address knots of hearers. Thus we find that Jesus had there various opportunities for addressing the people and refuting cavillers.

Here also the first Christians could daily assemble with one accord (Acts ii. 46). Within this outer court money-changers and cattle-dealers transacted a profitable business, especially during the time of Passover. The priests took only shekels of full weight, that is, shekels of the sanctuary, even after the general currency had been deteriorated: hence the frequent opportunity of money-changers to accommodate for agio the worshippers, most of whom arrived from abroad unprovided with the right coin. The profaneness to which this money-changing and cattle-dealing gave rise caused the indignation of our Lord, who suddenly expelled all these sharks from their stronghold of business (Matt. xxi. 12, sq.; Mark xi. 15-17; Luke xix. 45, 46; John ii. 13-17).

The surface of this outer court was paved with stones of various colours. A stone balustrade, סורג, which according to some statements was three cubits high, and according to *Middoth* ten hands high, was several steps higher up the mountain than this outer court, and prevented the too near approach of the heathens to the next court. For this purpose there were also erected columns at certain distances within this balustrade, on which there were Greek and Latin inscriptions, interdicting all heathens, under penalty of death, to advance farther (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 2, 4; Philo, *Opera*, ii. 577). Compare Acts xxi. 28, where Paul is accused of having brought Greeks into the temple, and thus polluting the holy place.

Higher up than this balustrade was a wall of the court called חיל. This wall was from its foundation forty cubits high, but from within the court it appeared to be only twenty-five cubits high. To this higher court led a staircase and gate on the eastern side of the square. This staircase first led into the נשים, עזרת, γυναικωνῖτις, τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν περιτείχισμα, *the court of the women*, which was 135 cubits square. Again, fifteen steps higher up was the principal entrance to the עזרת ישראל, *the court of the Israelites*, *i. e.* the men, on the eastern side of the temple, On the other sides only five steps led up from the court of the women to that of the men. But the fifteen steps, each of which was lower than each of the five steps, seem to have terminated in the same level. Over the gates were structures more than forty cubits high, in which were rooms. Each of the gates was adorned with two columns, which were twelve cubits in circumference. In these gates were folding-doors, each of which was thirty cubits high and fifteen wide: they were plated with gold and silver. The gate towards the east, being the principal one, was of Corinthian brass, and was higher, larger, and more adorned with precious metal than the rest. Within the walls of this court were halls supported by beautiful columns. The court of the priests was separated from that of the Israelites by a low stone balustrade one cubit high. The whole space which was occupied by the court of the Israelites and that of the priests, together with the temple, was from east to west 187 cubits, and from north to south 135 cubits. Each of these courts was eleven cubits wide, in which measurement that of the halls seems not to have been included (comp. *Middoth*, ii. 6). The court of the priests surrounded the whole temple. On the northern and southern sides were magazines of salt, wood, water, &c., and on the south side also was the place of meeting for the Sanhedrin. Towards the east, with entrances from the court of the women, were two rooms in which the musical instruments were deposited; towards the north-west were four rooms in which the lambs for the daily sacrifices were kept, the shewbread baked, &c. (comp. 1 Chron. ix. 31, 32). In the four corners of the court of the women were lazarettos and quarantine establishments for the reception of persons suspected of leprosy and other infectious diseases: there was also a physician appointed to treat the priests who were unwell. There were several alms-boxes within the various courts, which had the shape of trumpets, and which sometimes are called γαζοφυλάκια, or also collectively τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον. All the courts were paved with flat stones. From the various statements concerning the court of the women, it is evident that this appellation did not mean a place exclusively devoted to the women, but rather a place to which even women were admitted, together with other persons who were not allowed to advance farther. The temple itself (ὁ ναός) was fifteen steps higher than the court of the Israelites, and stood, not in the middle, but rather towards the north-western corner of the court of the priests. In the usual plans of the temple the passage in Middoth (ii. 1) has been disregarded. This passage clearly states that the temple was not in the centre: 'The greatest space was from the south, the next greatest from the east, the third from the north, and the least from the west. The foundations of the temple consisted of blocks of white marble, some of which were forty-five cubits long, six cubits wide, and five cubits high. The porch measured externally a hundred cubits in width; the remaining part of the building sixty or seventy cubits.' Thus it appears that the porch projected on each side from fifteen to twenty cubits. The differ-

ence of measurement between Josephus and the Talmud may be accounted for by the difference of internal and external width. The projections of the porch were like shoulders (ὥσπερ ὦμοι). The whole building was a hundred or a hundred and ten cubits long, and a hundred cubits high. The internal measurement of the porch was fifty cubits by twenty, and ninety cubits in height. The holy was forty cubits by twenty, and sixty cubits high; the holy of holies was twenty cubits square and sixty cubits high. According to Middoth the porch was only eleven cubits, the holy forty cubits, the holy of holies twenty cubits, and behind this last there was a vestry of six cubits. The remaining twenty-three cubits were distributed among the diameters of the several walls, so that the whole was a hundred cubits long. In the eastern front, which was a hundred cubits square, was a proportionate gate, seventy cubits high and twenty-five cubits wide. Above the holy and holy of holies were upper rooms. On the summit of the temple (κατὰ κορυφὴν) were spikes (ὄβελοι), which resembled our conductors in shape, and were intended to prevent birds from settling on the temple. Middoth (iv. 6) calls these spikes, which were one cubit long, בולה עורב, *scare-crows*, or literally *scare-ravens*. It seems that the roof was flat, and surrounded by a balustrade three cubits high. On the north and south side of the temple were three stories of chambers, which were much higher than those of the Solomonic temple, but did not entirely conceal the temple itself, because it projected above them. The spaces on the north and south side of the porch contained the apparatus for slaughtering the sacrifices, and were called בית החילפות, *the house of knives*.

The holy of holies was entirely empty, ἔκειτο οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 5); however, there was a stone in the place of the ark of the covenant, called אבן שתיה, on which the high-priest placed the censer. Before the entrance of the holy of holies was suspended a curtain, which was torn by the earthquake that followed after the crucifixion. The rabbis talk of two curtains, between which was a space of one cubit, suspended before the holy of holies. The folding doors between the porch and the holy were twenty cubits high and ten cubits wide; but the entrance itself, with its mouldings, was fifty-five cubits high and sixteen cubits wide. These doors stood open; there were, however, behind them some other doors which were shut, and before which a splendid Babylonian byssus curtain was suspended, in colours and workmanship similar to that of the Solomonic temple. The entrance to the porch was externally seventy cubits high and twenty-five cubits wide, with folding doors of forty cubits high and twenty cubits wide. These doors were usually kept open. This entrance to the porch was adorned by a colossal golden vine, נפן של זהב, whose grapes were as big as men (Jani, *De vite aurea templi Hierosolymitani*, in Ugolino, tom. ix.). This vine was a symbolical representation of the 'noble vine' (Jer. ii. 21; Ezek. xix. 10; Joel i. 7), and of the vineyard (Isa. v.), under which the prophets represent their nation. It is very likely that this vine also gave an opportunity to the parable of the vine (John xv.), and to the strange misconception of pagan scribblers that the Jews worshipped Bacchus. (Comp. Lakemacheri *Observat. Philolog.* i. 17, sq.; Rosenmüller's *Exegetisches Repertorium*, i. 166, sq.)

Within the porch were a golden and a marble table, on which the priest who entered the sanctuary daily deposited the old and the new shewbread. Before the porch, towards the south, were the כיור, brazier or fire-pan, and the altar for burnt-offerings; towards the north were six rows of rings attached to the pavement, to which the sacrifices to be killed were fastened; also eight low columns overlaid with cedar beams, from which the beasts that had been killed were suspended in order to be skinned. Between these columns stood שלחנות של שיש, *marble tables*, on which the flesh and entrails were deposited. On the western side of the altar stood a marble table, on which the fat was deposited, and a silver table, on which the various utensils were placed.

The temple was situated upon the south-eastern corner of Mount Moriah, which is separated to the east by a precipitous ravine and the Kidron from the Mount of Olives: the Mount of Olives is much higher than Moriah. On the south, the temple was bounded by the ravine which separates Moriah from Zion, or the lower city from the upper city. Opposite to the temple, at the foot of Zion, were formerly the king's gardens, and higher up in a south-westerly direction, the stronghold of Zion or the city of David, on a higher level than the temple. The temple was in ancient warfare almost impregnable, from the ravines at the precipitous edge of which it stood; but it required more artificial fortifications on its western and northern sides, which were surrounded by the city of Jerusalem; for this reason there was erected at its north-western corner the tower of Antonia, which although standing on a lower level than the temple itself, was so high as to overlook the sacred buildings with which it was connected, partly by a large staircase, partly by a subterraneous communication. This tower protected the temple from sudden incursions from the city of Jerusalem, and from dangerous commotions among the thousands who were frequently assembled within the precincts of the courts; which also were sometimes used for popular meetings. Under the sons of Herod, the temple remained apparently in good order, and Herod Agrippa, who was appointed by the Emperor Claudius its guardian, even planned the repair of the eastern part, which had probably been destroyed during one of the conflicts between the Jews and Romans of which the temple was repeatedly the scene (*Antiq.* xvii. 10). Many savants have adopted a style as if they possessed much information about the archives of the temple; there are a few indications from which we learn that important documents were deposited in the tabernacle and temple. Even in Deut. xxxi. 26, we find that the book of the law was deposited in the ark of the covenant. 2 Kings xxii. 8, Hilkiah rediscovered the book of the law in the house of Jehovah. In 2 Macc. ii. 13, we find a βιβλιοθήκη mentioned, apparently consisting chiefly of the canonical books, and probably deposited in the temple. In Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* v. 5) it is mentioned that a book of the law was found in the temple. It appears that the sacred writings

were kept in the temple (*Antiq.* v. 1. 17). Copies of political documents seem to have been deposited in the treasury of the temple (1 Macc. xiv. 49).

This treasury, ὁ ἱερὸς θησαυρὸς, was managed by an inspector, γαζυφύλαξ, גזבר, and it contained the great sums which were annually paid in by the Israelites, each of whom paid a half shekel, and many of whom sent donations in money, and precious vessels, ἀναθήματα. Such costly presents were especially transmitted by rich proselytes, and even sometimes by pagan princes (2 Macc. iii. 3; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 16. 4; xviii. 3. 5; xix. 6. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 3; v. 13. 6; *c. Apion.* ii. 5; Philo, *Opp.* ii. 59, sq.; 569). It is said especially that Ptol. Philadelphus was very liberal to the temple, in order to prove his gratitude for having been permitted to procure the Septuagint translation (Aristeas, *De Translat. LXX.*, 109, sq.). The gifts exhibited in the temple are mentioned in Luke xxi. 5; we find even that the rents of the whole town of Ptolemais were given to the temple (1 Macc. x. 39). There were also preserved historical curiosities (2 Kings xi. 10), especially the arms of celebrated heroes (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 6. 1): this was also the case in the tabernacle.

The temple was of so much political importance that it had its own guards (φύλακες τοῦ ἱεροῦ), which were commanded by a στρατηγός.

Twenty men were required for opening and shutting the eastern gate (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 5. 3: *c. Apion.* ii. 9; *Antiq.* vi. 5. 3; xvii. 2. 2). The στρατηγός had his own secretary (*Antiq.* xx. 6. 2; 9. 3), and had to maintain the police in the courts (comp. Acts iv. 1 and v. 24). He appears to have been of sufficient dignity to be mentioned together with the chief priests. It seems that his Hebrew title was איש הר הבית, *the man of the mountain of the house*.

The priests themselves kept watch on three different posts, and the Levites on twenty-one posts.

It was the duty of the police of the temple to prevent women from entering the inner court, and to take care that no person who was Levitically unclean should enter within the sacred precincts. Gentiles were permitted to pass the first enclosure, which was therefore called the Court of the Gentiles; but persons who were on any account Levitically unclean were even not permitted to advance thus far. Some sorts of uncleanness, for instance that arising from the touch of a corpse, excluded only from the court of the men. If an unclean person had entered by mistake, he was required to offer sacrifices of purification. The high-priest himself was forbidden to enter the holy of holies under penalty of death on any other day but the day of atonement (Philo, *Opp.* ii. 591). Nobody was admitted within the precincts of the temple who carried a stick or a basket, and who wanted to pass merely to shorten his way, or who had dusty shoes (*Middoth*, ii. 2).

The various office-bearers in the temple were called στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, *captains* or *officers of the temple* (Luke xxii. 52), while their chief was simply designated στρατηγός.

During the final struggle of the Jews against the Romans, A.D. 70, the temple was the last scene of the tug of war. The Romans rushed from the tower Antonia into the sacred precincts, the halls of which were set on fire by the Jews themselves. It was against the will of Titus that a Roman soldier threw a firebrand into the northern outbuildings of the temple, which caused the conflagration of the whole structure, although Titus himself endeavoured to extinguish the fire (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 4). 'One cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by King Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years and forty-five days.'

The sacred utensils, the golden table of the shew-bread, the book of the law, and the golden candlestick, were displayed in the triumph at Rome. Representations of them are still to be seen sculptured in relief on the triumphal arch of Titus (comp. Fleck's *Wissenschaftliche Reise*, i. 1, plate i.-iv.; and Reland, *De spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani in arcu Titiano*, edit. E. A. Schulze, Traject. ad Rh. 1775. The place where the temple had stood seemed to be a dangerous centre for the rebellious population, until, in A.D. 136, the Emperor Hadrian founded a Roman colony, under the name Ælia Capitolina, on the ruins of Jerusalem, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the ruins of the temple of Jehovah. Henceforth no Jew was permitted to approach the site of the ancient temple, although the worshippers of Jehovah were in derision compelled to pay a tax for the maintenance of the temple of Jupiter. Comp. Dion Cassius (Xiphil.) lxix. 12; Hieron. *ad Jes.* ii. 9; vi. 11, sq.; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 6; *Demonstratio Evangelica*, viii. 18. Under the reign of Constantine the Great some Jews were severely punished for having attempted to restore the temple (comp. Fabricii *Lux Evangelii*, p. 124).

The Emperor Julian undertook, A.D. 363, to rebuild the temple; but after considerable preparations and much expense, he was compelled to desist by flames which burst forth from the foundations (comp. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 1; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 20; Sozomen, v. 22; Theodoretus, iii. 15; Schröckh, *Kirchen Geschichte*, vi. 385, sq.). Repeated attempts have been made to account for these igneous explosions by natural causes; for instance, by the ignition of gases which had long been pent up in subterraneous vaults (comp. Michaelis, *Zerstr. kl. Schrift.* iii. 453, sq.). A similar event is mentioned by Josephus (*Antiq.* xvi. 7. 1), where we are informed that Herod, while plundering the tombs of David and Solomon, was suddenly frightened by flames which burst out and killed two of his soldiers. Bishop Warburton contends for the miraculousness of the event in his discourse *Concerning the Earthquake and Fiery Eruption which defeated Julian's Attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem*. Comp. also J. G. Lotter, *Historia Instaurationis Templi Hierosolymitani sub Juliano*, Lips. 1728, 4to.; J. G. Michaelis (F. Holzfuss) *Diss. de Templi Hierosolymitani Juliani mandato per Judæos frustra tentato*

restitutione, Hal. 1751, 4to.; Lardner's *Collection of Ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, iv. p. 57, sq.; Ernesti, *Theol. Bibl.*, ix. 604, sq.). R. Tourlet's French Translation of the works of Julian, Paris, 1821, tom. ii. p. 435, sq., contains an examination of the evidence concerning this remarkable event. See also Jost's *Geschichte der Israeliten*, iv. p. 211 and 254, sq.; and Jost's *Allgemeine Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, vol. ii. p. 158.

A splendid mosque now stands on the site of the temple. This mosque was erected by the caliph Omar after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Saracens, A.D. 636. It seems that Omar changed a Christian church, that stood on the ground of the temple, into this mosque, which is called El Aksa, *the outer*, or *northern*, because it is the third of the most celebrated mosques, two of which, namely those of Mecca and Medina, are in a more southern latitude.

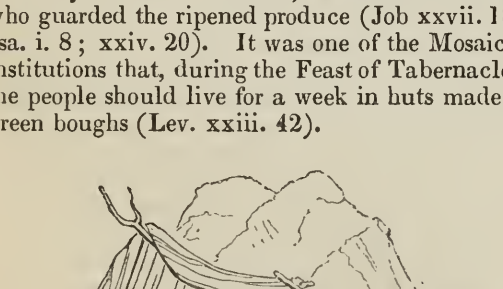
Compare on the whole subject Ugolino, tom. viii. 9; Lightfoot, *Descriptio Templi Hierosolymitani*, Opp. i. p. 533, sq.; J. Bapt. Villalpando et Pradi, *in Ezechiel;* J. Jud. Leonis, libri quatuor, *De Templo Hicros. tam priori quam poster. ex Hebr. Lat. vers*, a J. Saubert, Helmst., 1665, 4to.; L. Capelli, Τρισάγιον, *sive Triplex Templi delineatio*, Amst. 1643, 4to. This is also inserted in the *Critici Anglicani*, tom. viii., and in the first volume of Walton's Polyglott. Harenberg, *in d. Brem. u. Verdisch. Biblioth.*. iv. 1. sq.; 573, sq.; 879, sq.; Bh. Lamy, *De tabern. foed., urbe Hieros. et de Templo*, Par. 1720, sq.; Hirt, *Der Tempel Salomons*, Berl. 1809, 4to. m. 3 Kpfrn.; Stieglitz, *Gesch. der Baukunst*, Nürmb. 1827, p. 125, sq.; and Less, *Beiträge zur Geschich. d. Ausbild. Baukunst*, Leipz. 1834, i. 63, sq.; V. Meyer, *Der Temple Salom.* Berl. 1830; inserted also in *Blätter f. höhere Wahrneue Folge*, i.; Grüneisen, *im Kunstblatt z. Morgenbl.* 1831, No. 73-75, 77-80. Some more works are mentioned by Meusel, *Biblioth. Histor.*, i. ii. 113, sq. The best works on the antiquities and history of the Jews contain also chapters illustrative of the temple. Among the biblical dictionaries, see especially Winer's *Real-Wörterb. sub* 'Tempel;' *Ezekiel's Temple, being an Attempt to delineate the Structure of the Holy Edifice, its Courts, Chambers, and Gates, as described in the last nine chapters of the Book of Ezekiel, with plates*, by Joseph Isreels, London, 1827.—C. H. F. B.

TEMPTATION OF OUR LORD (Matt. iv. 1-11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1-12). The popular view of this undoubted portion of our Saviour's history, is, that it is a narrative of outward transactions; that our Saviour immediately after his baptism was conducted by the Spirit into the wilderness—either the desolate and mountainous region now called Quarantania by the people of Palestine (*Kitto's Physical History*, pp. 39, 40), or the great desert of Arabia, mentioned in Deut. xxxii. 10; viii. 15; Hos. xiii. 5; Jer. ii. 6, &c.—where the devil tempted him in person, appeared to him in a visible form, spoke to him in an audible voice, removed him to the summit 'of an exceeding high mountain,' and to the top of 'a pinnacle of the temple at Jerusalem;' whereas the view taken by many learned commentators, ancient and modern, is, that it is the narrative of a *vision*, which was designed to 'supply that ideal experience of temptation or trial, which it was provided in the divine counsels for our Lord to receive, previously to entering upon the actual trials and difficulties of his ministry' (Bishop Maltby, *Sermons*, vol. ii., Lond. 1822, p. 276). Farmer also considers it a '*divine* vision,' and endeavours with much learning and ingenuity, to 'illustrate the wise and benevolent intention of its various scenes, as symbolical predictions and representations of the principal trials attending Christ's public ministry' (*Inquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation*, 8vo., London, Preface). On behalf of the popular interpretation it is urged, that the accounts given by the evangelists convey no intimation that they refer to a vision; that the feeling of hunger could not have been merely ideal; that a vision of forty days' continuance is incredible; that Moses, who was a type of Christ, saw no 'visions,' and that hence it may be concluded Christ did not; that it is highly probable there would be a personal conflict between Christ and Satan, when the former entered on his ministry. Satan had ruined the first Adam, and might hope to prevail with the second (Trollope's *Analecta*, vol. i. Lond. 1830, p. 46). Why too, say others, was our Lord taken up into a mountain to see a vision? As reasonably might St. Paul have taken the Corinthians into a mountain to 'show them the more excellent way of charity' (1 Cor. xii. 31). On the contrary side, it is rejoined, that the evangelists do really describe the temptation as a vision. St. Matthew says, ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος; St. Mark, τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει; and St. Luke, ἤγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι. Do these phrases mean no more than that Jesus went by the guidance or impulse of the Spirit to a particular locality? Do they not rather import, that Christ was brought into the wilderness under the full influence of the prophetic spirit, making suitable revelations to his mind? With regard to the hunger, the prophets are represented as experiencing bodily sensations in their visions (Ezek. iii. 3; Rev. x. 10). Further arguments, derived from an unauthorized application of types, are precarious—that the first Adam really had *no personal* encounter with Satan; that all the purposes of our Lord's temptation might be answered by a vision, for whatever might be the *mode*, the *effect* was intended to be produced upon his mind and moral feelings, like St. Peter's vision concerning Cornelius, &c. (Acts x. 11-17); that commentators least given to speculate allow that the temptation during the first forty days was carried on by mental suggestion only, and that the visible part of the temptation began 'when the tempter *came* to him' (Matt. iv. 3; Luke iv. 3; Scott, *in loc.*); that, with regard to Christ's being 'taken up into an exceeding high mountain,' Ezekiel says (xl. 2), 'in the visions of God, brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me upon a very high mountain,' &c.; and that St. John says, 'he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and *showed* me that great city the holy Jerusalem' (Rev. xxi. 10). But certain *direct arguments* are also urged on the same side. Thus, is it consistent with the sagacity and policy of the evil spirit, to suppose that he appeared in his own proper person to our Lord, uttering solicitations to evil? Was not this the readiest mode to frustrate his own inten-

tions? Archbishop Secker says, 'certainly he did not appear what he was, for that would have entirely frustrated his intent' (*Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 114). Chandler says, 'The devil appeared not as himself, for that would have frustrated the effect of his temptation' (*Serm.* vol. iii. p. 178). Secker supposes that 'Satan transformed himself into an angel of light;' but was it likely that he would put on this form in order to tempt our Lord to idolatry? (Matt. iv. 9.) Chandler thinks he appeared as 'a good man;' but would it have served his purpose to appear as a good man promising universal dominion? The supposition that the devil disguised himself in any form might indeed constitute the temptation a trial of our Lord's understanding, but not of his heart. Besides, Christ is represented as addressing him as 'Satan' (ver. 10). It is further urged that the literal interpretation does but little honour to the Saviour, whom it represents as carried or conducted, 'by the devil at his will,' and therefore as accessory to his own temptation and danger; nor does it promote the consolation of his followers, none of whom could ever be similarly tempted. Our Lord indeed submitted to all the liabilities of the human condition; but do these involve the dominion of Satan over the body, to the extent thus represented? The literal interpretation also attributes miraculous powers to the devil, who, though a spiritual being, is represented as becoming visible at pleasure, speaking in an audible voice, and conveying mankind where he pleases—miracles not inferior to what our Lord's preservation would have been, had he cast himself headlong from the temple. Suppose we even give up the old notion, that 'the devil hurried Christ through the air, and carried him from the wilderness to the temple' (Benson's *Life of Christ*, p. 35), and say with Doddridge and others, that 'the devil took our Lord about with him as one person takes another to different places,' yet how without a miracle shall we account for our Saviour's admission to the exterior of the temple, unless he first, indeed, obtained permission of the authorities, which is not recorded? (Comp. Josephus *Antiq.* xv. 11, § iii. 5, and *De Bell. Jud.* v. 5.) The difficulty is solved by the supposition simply of a change in our Lord's perceptions. And how can we further understand, except by the aid of a vision or a miracle, that the devil 'showed our Lord all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them in a moment of time' (*ἐν στίγμῇ χρόνου*), a phrase referring to the mathematical point, and meaning the most minute and indivisible portion of duration, that is, instantaneously; yet in this space of time, according to the literal interpretation, 'the devil showed our Lord all the kingdoms of the world and all the glory of them' *i. e.* whatever relates to their magnificence, as imperial robes, crowns, thrones, palaces, courts, guards, armies, &c. Scott and Doddridge resort to the supposition of 'an illusory show;' but it may be asked, if one of the temptations was conducted by such means, why not the other two? Macknight endeavours to explain 'all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them' as relating only to the land of promise (*Harmony of the Gospels*, Lond. 1822, p. 350, note). Farmer conceives that no mountain in Palestine commands so extensive a prospect. It is a further difficulty attending the literal interpretation, that Satan represents all the kingdoms of the world and their glory to be at his disposal; an assertion not denied by our Lord, who simply rejects the offer. It may readily be conceived that it would answer all purposes that Jesus should *seem* to have the proposal in question made to him. It is next observed, that many things are spoken of in Scripture as being done, which were only done in vision. See the numerous instances collected by Bishop Law (*Considerations of the Theory of Religion*, Lond. 1820, pp. 85, 86). The reader may refer to Gen. xxxii. 30; Hosea i. iii.; Jer. xiii. xxv. xxvii.; Ezek. iii. iv. v. St. Paul calls his being 'caught up into the third heaven and into Paradise' a vision and revelation of the Lord (2 Cor. xii. 1-4). It is plain from this instance in the case of Paul, and from that of St. Peter (Acts xii. 7-9), who had already experienced visions (x. 10, &c.), that neither of the apostles could at first distinguish visions from impressions made on the senses. In further illustration it is urged that the prophets are often said to be *carried about* in visions (Ezek. viii. 1-10; xi. 24, 25; xxxvii. 1; xl. 1, 2). The phrases 'by the spirit,' &c., are equivalent to 'the hand of God,' &c., among the prophets (1 Kings xviii. 46; 2 Kings iii. 15; Ezek. i. 3). A comparison of the parallel phrases in the Sept. of Ezekiel, and the evangelists in regard to Christ's temptation, casts much light upon the subject. The phrase 'the devil leaveth him,' is equivalent to the phrase, 'the vision I had seen went up from me' (Ezek. xi. 24). Farmer's theory respecting the intention of this prophetic vision may be thus summarily stated. The spirit of God was its sole author, making suitable revelations to the mind of Jesus, with a view to his future trials. It is called a temptation of the devil, because couched under the figure of Satan coming to him and offering him temptations. The first scene was probationary, serving to try the present turn and temper of the Saviour's mind; and also prophetical, having reference to his future ministry, through the whole course of which he was pressed with the same kind of temptations, and resisted them upon the same principles. This part of the vision conveyed this general instruction, that Christ, though the Son of God, was to struggle with hunger and thirst, and all other evils incidental to the lowest of the sons of men, and that he was never to exert his miraculous power for his own personal relief, but with resignation and faith wait for the interposition of God in his favour. The second scene, in which he was tempted to cast himself from the temple, though dazzling as a proposal to demonstrate his Messiahship by a mode corresponding to the notions of the Jewish people, was intended to teach him not to prescribe to God in what instances he shall exert his power, nor rush into danger uncalled in dependance upon divine aid, nor to dictate to divine wisdom what miracles shall be wrought for men's conviction. Upon these principles he resisted this suggestion, and accordingly we find him ever after exemplifying the same principles. He never needlessly exposed himself to danger in reliance upon miraculous interposition, he cautiously declined hazards, avoided whatever might exasperate his enemies, enjoined silence with regard to his miracles, when the publication of

them might have excited envy or commotion ; he opened his commission in Galilee, not in Jerusalem, courted privacy, avoided the great, conversed with the common people, &c. The third scene presignified the temptation to which he would be subject during the whole course of his ministry, to prostitute all his miraculous endowments to the service of Satan, for the sake of worldly honours, or for gratifying the mistaken apprehensions of the Jewish people. It is pleaded that this explanation obviates all difficulties, justifies the wisdom of God in this dispensation, and confirms our confidence in Christ's divine mission and character, since we thus learn that he was made acquainted with all he had to suffer, and nevertheless persevered, and with final success; and further, that through the various exercises thus afforded to his moral principles he learned 'to succour those that are tempted.' Farmer's inquiry throughout is recommended to the careful perusal of the student. For a comparison of the circumstances of the temptation and of the crucifixion, see *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, vol. x., p. 604; for the coincidence between the petitions of the Lord's prayer and the temptation, p. 605, note ; and for the analogy between the temptation of our Lord in the wilderness and of Adam in Paradise, see Townsend's *Chronological Arrangement*, Lond. 1828, vol. i. p. 92.—J. F. D.

TENT. The patriarchal fathers of the Israelites were dwellers in tents, and their descendants proceeded at once from tents to houses. We therefore read but little of *huts* among them ; and never as the fixed habitations of any people with whom they were conversant. By huts we understand small dwellings, made of the green or dry branches of trees interwined, and sometimes plastered with mud. In Scripture they are called *booths*. Such were made by Jacob to shelter his cattle during the first winter of his return from Mesopotamia (Gen. xxxiii. 17). In after times we more frequently read of them as being erected in vineyards and orchards, to shelter the man who guarded the ripened produce (Job xxvii. 18; Isa. i. 8 ; xxiv. 20). It was one of the Mosaical institutions that, during the Feast of Tabernacles, the people should live for a week in huts made of green boughs (Lev. xxiii. 42).



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The Scriptures make us more familiar with *tents* than with huts. They were invented before the Deluge, and appear from the first to have been associated with the pastoral life, to which a moveable habitation was necessary (Gen. iv. 20). The practice of the pastoral fathers was to pitch their tents near wells of water, and, if possible, under some shady tree (Gen. xviii. 4; Judg. iv. 5). The first tents were undoubtedly covered with skins, of which there are traces in the Pentateuch (Exod. xxvi. 14); but nearly all the tents mentioned in Scripture were, doubtless, of goats' hair, spun and woven by the women (Exod. xxxv. 26; xxxvi. 14); such as are now, in Western Asia, used by all who dwell in tents ; hence their black colour (Sol. Song, i. 5). Tents of linen were, and still are, only used occasionally, for holiday or travelling purposes, by those who do not habitually live in them. The patriarchal tents were probably such as we now see in Arabia, of an oblong shape, and eight or ten feet high in the middle. They vary in size, and have, accordingly, a greater or less number of poles to support them—from three to nine. An encampment is generally arranged circularly, forming an enclosure, within which the cattle are driven at night, and the centre of which is occupied by the tent or tents of the Emir or Sheikh. If he is a person of much consequence, he may have three or four tents, for himself, his wives, his servants, and strangers, respectively. The two first are of the most importance, and we know that Abraham's wife had a separate tent (Gen. xxiv. 27). It is more usual, however, for one very large tent to be divided into two or more apartments by curtains. The Holy Tabernacle was on this model (Exod. xxvi. 31-37).

TERAH (תֶּרַח, Sept. Θάῤῥα), son of Nahor and father of Abraham, who, with his family, quitted Ur of the Chaldees to go to the land which God should show him, 'but tarried at Haran in Mesopotamia, and there died at the age of 205 years' (Gen. xi. 24-32 ; Acts vii. 2-4). From the latter text, it appears that the first call which prompted them to leave Ur was addressed to Abraham, not to Terah, as well as the second, which, after the death of his father, induced him to proceed from Haran to Canaan [ABRAHAM]. The order to Abraham to proceed to Canaan immediately after Terah's death seems to indicate that the pause at Haran was on his account. Whether he declined to proceed any further, or his advanced age rendered him unequal to the fatigues of the journey, can only be conjectured. It appears, however, from Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, that Terah was given to idolatry, or rather, perhaps, to certain idolatrous superstitions retained together with the acknowledgment and worship of Jehovah, such as existed in the family in the time of his great-grandson Laban (Gen. xxxi. 30). This may suggest that it was not in the Divine wisdom deemed proper that one who had grown old in such practices should enter the land in which his descendants were destined to exemplify a pure faith.

TERAPHIM (תְּרָפִים). The etymology and meaning of this word may be inferred from the various modes in which it is rendered by the Greek translators, such as Θεραφεῖν, Θεραφεῖν, or Θεραφίν, reminding us of the etymological relation of תרף טרף, *nutrivit*, to τρέφ-ειν. Its remote derivatives in modern languages, viz., the Italian *tarifa*, French *tarif*, and even the English *tripe*, throw a little light upon our subject.

According to its etymology the word Teraphim has been literally translated *nutritores*, *nourishers*. It seems that the plural form was used as a col-

lective singular for the personified combination of all nourishing powers, as the plural Teraphim signifies God, in whom all superior powers, to be revered with reverential awe, are combined (comp. the classical epithets of gods—Sol, Phœbus, Ceres, Venus, Cybele, Pales, Trivia, Fides, Sibylla, &c., *almus*, *ὄμπνιος*, *τρόφιμος*).

The word Teraphim signified an object or objects of idolatry, as we may learn from the renderings of the Septuagint, *εἴδωλον*, *γλυπτόν*; and that it was in meaning similar to the *Penates* is indicated by *κενοτάφιον*. Aquila renders it *μορφώματα*, *προτομαί*, *ἀνθυφαίρεσις*, *ἐπίλυσις*, *εἴδωλα*; Symmachus also translates it *εἴδωλα*. It seems therefore that תרפים, and the feminine which occurs in Rabbinical writers, תרפות, were tutelar household gods, by whom families expected, for worship bestowed, to be rewarded with domestic prosperity, such as plenty of food, health, and various necessaries of domestic life.

We have most remarkable proofs that the worship of Teraphim co-existed with the worship of Jehovah even in pious families; and we have more than one instance of the wives of worshippers of Jehovah, not finding full contentment and satisfaction in the stern moral truth of spiritual worship, and therefore carrying on some private symbolism by fondling the Teraphim. It seems, however, that this swerving from truth was comparatively innocent. It was never denounced and suppressed with the same rigour as the worship of Moloch.

We find in Gen. xxxi. 19, that Rachel stole the images (teraphim) belonging to her father without the knowledge of her husband, who, being accused by his father-in-law of having stolen his gods, answered, 'With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, let him not live.' Laban searched, but found not the images (teraphim).

It appears from Judg. xvii. 2-7, that the worship of the Lord, יהוה, was blended with that of a graven image of teraphim, as intimately as at present some forms of image-worship are blended with the worship of God in spirit and in truth. That such will-worship, however, was only comparatively innocent, and originated in an obstinate *pruritus* of improving rather than obeying God's revelation, Samuel clearly expressed in reproving Saul (1 Sam. xv. 23): 'Stubbornness is as iniquity and *idolatry*,' literally *teraphim*. We do not read that the stubbornness of Saul led him literally to worship teraphim. However, his daughter possessed teraphim as big as a man (1 Sam. xix. 13): Michal took *an image* (teraphim), and put it into the bed of David in order to conceal his flight: 'And behold an image (teraphim) in the bed' (ver. 16).

On every revival of the knowledge of the written revelation of God the teraphim were swept away together with the worse forms of idolatry (2 Kings xxiii. 24): 'The workers with familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the *images* (teraphim), and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might perform the words of the law, which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the Lord.'

As, however, the worship of teraphim, like that of the Penates and Lares among the Romans, was connected with nationality, it necessarily perished with the nationality itself (Hosea iii. 4): 'For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and (without) teraphim. Afterwards shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.'

The teraphim were consulted by persons upon whom true religion had no firm hold, in order to elicit some supernatural *omina*, similar to the *auguria* of the Romans.

Zech. x. 2: 'For the idols (teraphim) have spoken vanity,' &c. In connection with the *haruspicia*, instituted by the king of Babylon, we read (Ezek. xxi. 21, 26) that he consulted images (teraphim).

According to the great Rabbi Eliezer, who was the son of Hyrcanus, and the brother-in-law of Gamaliel the Second, who seems to have been the tutor of St. Paul (in פרקי, and the Targum of Jonathan on Gen. xxxi. 19), the worship of teraphim was connected with atrocities. 'The makers of teraphim slaughtered a man who was a first-born, cut his head off and salted it, and cured it with spices and oil. After this, they wrote the name of an impure spirit, and sentences of divination on a golden plate, which they placed under the tongue of the head, which was fastened to the wall, and lighted lamps before it, and knelt down in adoration, upon which the tongue began to utter divinations.' Rabbi Salomo or Rashi (2 Kings xxiii. 24) says, 'the teraphim uttered divinations by magical and horoscopic arts.' On 1 Sam. xix. 13 sq., he adduces the opinion that the teraphim were horoscopic and astrological instruments made of brass; but he confesses that this opinion, to which he is himself much inclined, is not consistent with the account of Michal, from which it is evident that the teraphim had the shape of man. On Gen. xxxi. Aben Ezra adduces the opinion, that the teraphim were *automata*, made by astrologers so as to show the hours and to utter divinations. Hence the Persian Tawas in Gen. xxxi. translates اسطرلابها *astrolabia*. Aben Ezra also adduces the opinion, that Rachel stole the teraphim of Laban in order to prevent him from idolatry, and from asking the teraphim whither his children had fled. Rabbi Levi ben Gersom (on Genesis) states that the teraphim were human figures, by which the imagination of diviners was so excited, that they supposed they heard a low voice speaking about future events with which their own thoughts were filled, although the image did not speak, an operation which can only be performed by such natural organs as God has provided for that purpose. The book Zohar derives the name teraphim from תורף, *turpitude*, but mentions also that Rabbi Jehuda derives it from רפה, *to slacken*, because they slackened the hands of men in well-doing. The Rabbi adds, that they uttered a נבואה רפה, *prophetia laxa, inanis, vana, a loose sort of prediction*. Hence Rabbi Bechai says that תרפים are the same as רפים, *feeble*, objects not to be depended upon. But in Tanchuma the former etymology is produced, since the teraphim were מעשה טורף, *opus turpitudinis seu*

fœditatis (see Buxtorfii *Lex. Talmud. et Rabb.* sub תרף, which root occurs in the Latin *turpis*).

Onkelos renders Teraphim in Gen. xxxi. by צלמניא, and Jonathan in Judges xvii. and xviii. by רמאין, *images*. The Targum on Hosea iii. 4 has מחוי, *indicans, expounder of oracles*, where the Greek has δήλων; and the Targum on 1 Sam. xv. 23, טעותא, *idols*. Goussetius, under תרף, goes so far as to assert that the word ἄνθρωπος is formed from התרפים. Lud. de Dieu, and after him Spencer, in *Leg. Rit. Hebr. Dissert.* (vii. l. 3, c. 3, s. 7), urges the frequent interchange of the sounds T and S and SH, in order to show that Teraphim and Seraphim are etymologically connected. Hottinger in his *Smegma*, and Athanasius Kircher in the first volume of his *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, exhibit the etymological progression thus: Sor Apis (σὼρ ἀπ, *ark of the ox*), Sarapis, Serapis, Terapis, Teraphim. The Arabic author, Aben Neph, also asserts the identity of Teraphim and Serapides. Others appeal to רפא, θεραπεύειν, *to heal* (compare Jo. Christ. Wichmannshausen, *Dissertatio de Teraphim;* Witsius, *Aegyptiac.* i. 8; Ugolino, *Thes.* tom. xii. p. 786).

Cöln, in his *Biblische Theologie*, derives teraphim from the Syriac ܛܪܦ, *percontari*. Michaelis, in *Commentationes Societati Gottingensi oblatæ*, Brem., 1763, p. 5, sq., compares the teraphim to the Satyri and Sileni, referring to the statement of Pausanias (vi. 24. 6), that there were graves of Sileni in the country of the Hebrews. Creuzer asserts 'Theraphimis asininum aliquid infuisse,' *that the Teraphim had something of asses in them* (*Commentationes Herod.* i. 277; *Symbolik*, iii. 208, sq.). Creuzer appeals also (*Symb.* ii. 340) to Gen. xxxi., in order to prove the fertilizing, or rather fecundizing power of the תרפים, which scarcely can be proved from ver. 19 (comp. here Rosenmülleri *Scholia;* Jahn, iii. 506, sq.) The dissertations of Wichmannshausen and of Pfeiffer, *De Teraphim*, are inserted in vol. xxiii. of Ugolini *Thesaurus*.—C. H. F. B.

TEREBINTHUS. [Alah.]

TERTIUS. We learn from Rom. xvi. 22 ('I Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord'), that the Apostle Paul dictated that epistle to Tertius. Some writers say that Tertius was bishop of Iconium (see Fabricii *Lux Evangelii*, p. 117). F. Burmann and Lightfoot conjectured that Tertius and Silas were one and the same person; but this conjecture rests on an exceedingly feeble foundation, namely, the similarity merely of the consonants in the Hebrew numeral שלש, *three*, to the consonants in the name Silas, while Tertius signifies in Latin *the third*. However, Σίλας is the usual Greek contraction of the Roman name *Silvanus*, meaning nearly the same as the English name *Forester* or *Woodman*, just as Λουκᾶς is a contraction of *Lucanus*, the meaning of which is nearly the same as that of Silas, and may be compared with the English name *Groves*. The scantiness of our information about Tertius has been a fruitful source of learned pedantry and petulant conjecture, such as that of F. Stosch in his *Exercitatio de Tertio qua esse eum non alium ac ipsum Paulum probatur*, p. 23—in the *Fortges. nützl. Anmm. Samml.* Compare also N. D. Briegleb, *De Tertio, scriba epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos*, Jen. 1754, 4to. See the article Tertius in Winer's *Real-Wört.*—C. H. F. B.

TERTULLUS (Τέρτυλλος), the Roman orator or advocate employed by the Sanhedrim to sustain their accusation against Paul before the Roman governor (Acts xxiv. 1-8). The Jews, as well as the other peoples subject to the Romans, in their accusations and processes before the Roman magistrates, were obliged to follow the forms of the Roman law, of which they knew little. The different provinces, and particularly the principal cities, consequently abounded with persons who, at the same time advocates and orators, were equally ready to plead in civil actions or to harangue on public affairs. This they did, either in Greek or Latin, as the place or occasion required.

TESTAMENT. [Bible.]

TETRARCH (τετράρχης), a prince or sovereign who holds or governs a fourth part of a kingdom, without wearing the diadem, or bearing the title of king. Such was the original import of the word, but it was afterwards applied to any petty king or sovereign, and became synonymous with ethnarch. The titles of tetrarch and king were often used indiscriminately. The tetrarch was sometimes a prince who possessed a half or only a third part, and though a mere tetrarch, was from courtesy called a king. In the same manner what was only a tetrarchy was sometimes called a kingdom.

In the reign of Tiberius Cæsar Herod's kingdom of Judæa was divided into three parts, which were called tetrarchies, and the sovereigns tetrarchs. His sons were made the heirs to his kingdom. Archelaus became tetrarch of Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa; Philip of Trachonitis and Ituræa; and Herod Antipas of Galilee and Peræa (Luke iii. 1). Herod Agrippa, the nephew of Herod Antipas, who afterwards obtained the title of king (Acts xxv. 13), was in the reign of Caligula invested with royalty, and appointed tetrarch of Abilene; to which was afterwards added Galilee and Peræa, Judæa and Samaria; until at length his dominion extended over the whole land of Palestine [Herodian Family]. The title of tetrarch was frequently conferred upon the descendants of Herod the Great by the Roman emperors (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33).—G. M. B.

THADDÆUS (Θαδδαῖος), a surname of the Apostle Jude, who was also called Lebbæus (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; comp. Luke vi. 16) [Jude].

THAMMUZ. [Tammuz.]

THEBES is a name borne by two of the most celebrated cities in the ancient world, Thebes in Bœotia, and Thebes in Egypt. Of the latter it is that we have here to speak in brief, referring those who wish for detailed information to the works of Wilkinson, especially his *Modern Egypt and Thebes*.

The name Thebes is corrupted from the Tápé of the ancient Egyptian language. In hieroglyphics it is written Ap, Ape, or with the feminine article, Tape, the meaning of which appears to be 'the head,' Thebes being the capital of the Thebais in Upper Egypt. By the Septuagint it is generally termed Διόσπολις, *Diospolis* (Magna), a name corresponding with that by which it is

spoken of in the Bible—as in Ezek. xxx. 14, 'I will make Pathros (Pathyris, the western division of the city) desolate, and will execute judgments in No' (the name of the city, as it lay on the eastern bank of the Nile); see verses 15, 16, and compare xxix. 14, 15. So in Jerem. xlvi. 25, 'I will punish the multitude of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods and their kings; and I will deliver them into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar.' Here Thebes is denominated by the term No; in Nahum iii. 8, the name is made more specific, becoming No Amon, that is, the abode of Amon or Amun, who may be roughly described as the Egyptian Jupiter. There was indeed another place bearing the same name in Lower Egypt, just above Mendes, whose position near the Mediterranean would correspond very well with the language of Nahum (iii. 8), who has been thought by some (Kreenen, *Nahumi Vaticinia Expos.*, 1808) to have intended this latter city; but the language employed by the prophet would answer equally well to the position of Thebes in Upper Egypt, situated as it was on both sides of the river Nile, still called el-Bahr, the sea, and having canals cutting the land in all directions, the waters of which (the Nile and its canals) would not only minister to the daily wants and to the affluence of the city, but form in case of attack a 'rampart' and a 'wall.' The Thebes of Upper Egypt, which lay on both the eastern and western banks of the Nile, was probably the most ancient city of Egypt, and the residence in very early ages of Egyptian kings who ruled the land during several dynasties. The plain was adorned not only by large and handsome dwellings for man, but by temples and palaces, of whose grandeur



520. [Thebes.—The palace-temple at Karnak.]

words can give but a faint conception. Of these edifices there are still in existence ruins that astound and delight the traveller. The most ancient remains now existing are in the immense temple, or rather cluster of temples, of Karnak, the largest and most splendid ruin of which either ancient or modern times can boast, being the work of a number of successive monarchs, each anxious to surpass his predecessor by increasing the dimensions of the part he added. Osirtasen I., the contemporary of Joseph, is the earliest monarch whose name appears on the monuments of Thebes. The wealth of these temples was as ample as their architectural pretensions were great. They were served by a numerous and learned priesthood. On the western shore the chief points of interest are the palace and temple of Rameses II., erroneously called the Memnonium; the temples of Medinet Habu, the statue of Memnon, and the tombs of the kings. On the eastern shore are the temple of Luksor, and the temple of Karnak, already mentioned. 'It is impossible,' says Robinson (*Bib. Researches*, i. 29), 'to wander among these scenes and behold these hoary yet magnificent ruins without emotions of astonishment and deep solemnity. Everything around testifies of vastness and of utter desolation. Here lay once that mighty city whose power and splendour were proverbial throughout the ancient world.' Yet, like all earthly things, Thebes had her period of death. She sprang up, flourished, declined, and sank. Memphis rose to be her rival when Thebes began to part with her glory. She was plundered by Cambyses, and destroyed by Ptolemy Lathyrus. In Strabo's time the city was already fallen; yet its remains then covered eighty stadia, and the inhabited part was divided into many separate villages, as the ruins now are portioned out between nine hamlets. Thebes is thus described by Homer:—

Not all proud Thebes' unrivalled walls contain,
The world's great empress on th' Egyptian plain,
That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,
And pours her heroes through a hundred gates,
Two hundred horsemen, and two hundred cars,
From each wide portal issuing to the wars.

But the countless generations of a city which well deserved to have Homer for its herald, have now passed for ever away, leaving their mighty works behind, to tell to wanderers from distant and unknown climes the story of her greatness and her fall. The desert hills around are filled with their corpses: on one spot Irby and Mangles counted in the side of the Libyan hills fifty mummy-pits, gaping with their open mouths, as if they would vomit forth their dusty contents, and showing how vain were the efforts which the Thebans made to preserve themselves from the dread decree—'Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return.' The period in which Thebes enjoyed the highest prosperity Robinson considers to have been coeval with the reigns of David and Solomon. This, however, appears too late a date. From the passage in Nahum (iii. 8, sq.), it would seem that in his day (according to Josephus, cir. 750 B.C.), the city had suffered a terrible overthrow—how long previously is not recorded, for we do not know what conquest or what conqueror was here intended by the prophet. The walls of all the temples at Thebes are covered with sculptures and hieroglyphics representing in general the deeds of the kings who founded or enlarged these structures. Many of these afford happy illustrations of Egyptian history. An interesting scene is thought to record the exploits of Sheshonk, the Shishak of the Scriptures, who made a successful expedition against Jerusalem in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, B.C. 971. These sculptures are on the exterior of the south-west wall of the great temple of Karnak.—J. R. B.

THEBEZ (תֵּבֵץ; Sept. Θήβης), a place near Shechem, where Abimelech met his death (Judg. ix. 50; 2 Sam. xi. 21). It seems to be the same with the place now called Tubas.

THEOLOGY, BIBLICAL. The historical contemplation of the Bible consists of three parts, namely, first, of an examination of the Biblical books themselves, or of what is called Introduction [INTRODUCTION]; secondly, of the interpretation of these writings [INTERPRETATION]; and lastly, of the system of religious doctrines contained in the Bible. We may define Biblical theology as the scientific form of the religious opinions contained in the Bible. Biblical theology belongs, therefore, entirely to the historical branch of divinity, and differs essentially from Biblical dogmatics by keeping clear from all doctrinal predilections. Biblical theology and Biblical dogmatics are, however, so nearly related that they have frequently been confounded. Biblical dogmatics, in developing the religious system of the Bible, assume the doctrine of inspiration. Biblical theology, however, does not consider inspiration to be an historical starting-point of a science, but rather an ecclesiastical attribute of the Bible to which a purely historical contemplation of the Bible may ultimately lead, but which ought not to be pre-supposed. The basis of the investigation in Biblical theology is nothing else but historical truth. The moral nature of man claims a purely historical contemplation of the Bible, although this is opposed by hierarchical narrow-mindedness.

The Bible itself consists of a variety of writings, the date of whose origin differs by centuries. Consequently, chronology is of great importance in Biblical theology. The mere division into the Old and New Testament does not suffice for the purposes of Biblical theology. In the history of Biblical literature before Christ, various periods are discernible, and the transition from the Old to the New Testament is such that we must suppose that there existed an intervening literature.

The great space of time to which the writings of the Old Testament belong is conveniently subdivided into the periods of HEBRAISM, MOSAISM, and JUDAISM. I. During the whole history before the exile, that is, as long as the Hebrews were an independent nation, we find no allusion to the existence of the Mosaical law as we have it in the Pentateuch. This is especially remarkable in the earlier prophets. For this reason the whole period of Hebrew national independence has been called the age of Hebraism, or the Hebraic age. II. Simultaneously with the loss of national independence the Mosaic law gradually makes its appearance, expelling the freer religious enthusiasm which before that time had prevailed in the nation in the form of Prophetism. This period of the prevalence of the Mosaical law is the period of Mosaism.

During this period of Mosaism a colony, chiefly from the tribe of Judah, gradually proceeded to Palestine; and in this colony the ancestral religion was further developed. This religion did not then seem the property of the whole nation, but to be restricted to the Jews alone.

The new phasis into which the religion of the Old Testament then entered is characterized by the extinction of prophetic inspiration. Consequently the period of Mosaism extends from the commencement of the exile to the times immediately after the latest prophets, Zechariah and Malachi, or to about the year B.C. 400.

III. The age of Judaism commences about the year B.C. 400. During this age the law and its interpretation remained paramount; but tradition took the place of the free inspiration of Jehovah. This tradition refers both to those writings which in the periods of Hebraism and Mosaism expressed the prevalence of the Divine Spirit, and also to some accounts said to be orally preserved. The oral tradition, following the spirit of the times, constantly imbibed new elements, and brought into subjection both the Mosaical law and the writings which were composed during the period of the prevalence of the Divine Spirit. The period of Judaism exhibits this new developement of the religion of the Old Testament, first, in its growth, and then in its maturity. There are no writings in the Old Testament canon which exhibit tradition in its maturity. The Old Testament canon contains a collection of the Mosaical laws, and of the books which were written under the Spirit of Jehovah. The Christian times, however, are directly connected with the formation of Judaism in its second stage, and the New Testament rests on the basis of this latter form of contemplation. The New

Testament presupposes, not so much the views and opinions of Hebraism and of Mosaism, but those of later Judaism, in which the canonical portion of the Bible leaves a gap, partly but imperfectly filled up by the Old Testament Apocrypha, and the writings of Philo and Josephus. Consequently we are frequently obliged to take from the New Testament itself the proofs requisite to convince us that certain opinions were prevalent in the Judaism of those times.

The New Testament, containing a collection of the writings of the Apostles, comprehends a much shorter period than the Old Testament; nevertheless, in these Christian writings also there is a twofold mode of viewing religion, namely, the particularistic or Judaizing, which chronologically preceded the more universal or catholic, which is embodied in the writings of St. Paul and St. John. In exhibiting the doctrines of the New Testament we ought to keep in view the difference of these particularistic and catholic tendencies. Consequently Biblical theology consists of the following parts, which may be historically distinguished—*Hebraism*, *Mosaism*, *Judaism*, *Judaizing Christianity*, and *Paulino-Johannic Christianity*. From the union of the two Christian tendencies proceeds the catholic and apostolic church, the maxims of which are in the New Testament only indicated.

It is the problem of Biblical Theology, first, to classify the Biblical books according to these periods or tendencies; secondly, to examine the writings of each author and of each tendency as much as possible in chronological succession—each by itself with reference to the religious doctrines contained therein—and also to sum up the results of each section, and thus to advance from Hebraism to Mosaism, and from Mosaism to Judaism, &c. In this generical developement of Biblical doctrines, the investigator ought to keep in view what is common to all Biblical books in all periods; also what is characteristic in each author and in each period; and finally, he ought to render prominent that in which all the authors of the New Testament agree, because this alone constitutes what is really essential in Christianity.

The science of Biblical theology, in this sense, is only in its infancy. Its principles were discovered after manifold errors and mistakes. A work comprehending the results of the historical investigation of the Bible, is still a desideratum. There exist, however, excellent preparatory works. The scientific description of Hebraism and Mosaism is further advanced than that of Judaism and the Biblical theology of the New Testament. The true cause of this fact is the greater internal definiteness of Hebraism and Mosaism.

Formerly, the expression *Theologia Biblica* implied the whole sphere of exegetical divinity. About the end of the seventeenth century the term *Theologia Biblica* was employed in preference in order to express the exegetical interpretation of the *dicta probantia*, or those Biblical passages by which divines defended their system. Spener and his followers introduced the habit of contradistinguishing Biblical theology and symbolical dogmatics. About this period Biblical theology consisted chiefly in strings of Biblical passages.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a divine in Gottingen, Gotthilf Traugott Zachariæ, first attempted to bring Biblical theology into the form of a system (comp. G. T. Zachariæ, *Biblischer Theologus oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren*, first published at Göttingen in 1771, in 2 vols. The third edition was published in 1786, in 4 vols., to which was added in the same year a fifth volume by Vollborth. Similar works are W. Fr. Hufnagel's *Handbuch der biblischen Theologie*, band i., Erlangen, 1782; band ii. Abtheilung i., 1789; Ammon's *Biblische Theologie*, Erlangen, 1792, band i. second edition, in 3 vols. 1801-1802; Storr's *Doctrinæ Christianæ pars theoretica, e sacris literis repetita*, Stuttgart, 1793, translated into German by T. Chr. Flatt, Stuttgart, 1803: a second, but incomplete edition, appeared in 1813. An English translation of this work, with additions, was published at Andover in America, by Dr. Schumacker, in 1836. The above works on Biblical Theology are too devoid of science, and do not rest upon the basis of a firm principle. F. Ph. Gabler, a pupil of Griesbach, first attempted to avoid these defects, in his *Oratio de justo discrimine Theologiæ Biblicæ et Dogmaticæ regundisque recte utriusque finibus*, Altorf, 1787; *Opuscula*, 1831, ii. 129, sq. In this work Biblical theology is established as a purely historical science. Gabler was followed by Georg Laurenz Baur and G. Ph. Chr. Kaiser, who, however, did not keep clear from mixing up with Biblical theology several not strictly historical, and therefore foreign, elements. Their works have been surpassed by those of De Wette and Baumgarten-Crusius. These writers, however, render history too much subservient to their philosophical opinions; comp. W. M. de Wette's *Biblischer Dogmatik des Alten und Neuen Testamentes*, Berlin, 1813, third edit. 1830; and Baumgarten-Crusius's *Grundzüge der Biblischen Theologie*, Jena, 1828.

The idea of Biblical theology has been best understood and executed by Dan. Georg. Conrad von Colln (*Biblische Theologie*), Leipzig, 1836, 2 vols. The second volume, which relates to the New Testament, is, however, much inferior to the first.

The following works refer to parts of Biblical theology: Gramberg's *Kritische Geschichte der Religions Ideen des Alten Testaments*, Berlin, 1822 and 1830, 2 vols; Vatke's *Biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt*, Berlin, 1835. Of this work the first volume alone has been published, which refers to the Old Testament, and is not so much an historical as a strictly Hegelian book. G. Fr. Œhler's *Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testamentes*, Stuttgart, 1845, is more an ecclesiastico-dogmatical than an historical book; Bertholdt, *Christologia Judæorum Jesu et Apostolorum ætate*, Erlangen, 1811; Aug. Gfrörer's *Philo und die Alexandrinische Theosophie*, Stuttgart, 1831, 2 vols.; A. F. Dähne's *Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch Alexandrinischen Religions Philosophie*, Halle, 1834, 2 parts; Georgi, *Ueber die neuesten Gegensätze in der Auffassung der jüdischen Religion, philosophie*, in Illgen's *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1839, Heft 3 und 4; Usteri's *Entwickelung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffes*, Zürich, 1824, 4th ed. 1832; Dähne, *Entwickelung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffes*, Halle, 1834; Frommann, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Leip-

zig, 1839; K. R. Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangelii und der Briefe des Johannis*, Berlin, 1843. This book also is rather too Hegelian. In Matthæi's *Religions-glaube der Apostel nach seinem Inhalte Ursprung und Werth*, Göttingen, 1826-1830, Hegelian ideas predominate.*—K. A. C.

THEOPHILUS (Θεόφιλος), a person of distinction, to whom St. Luke inscribed his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles (Luke i. 3; Acts i. 1). The word means 'lover of God;' whence some have fancied that it was to be taken as a general name for any or every lover of God. But there seems no foundation for this opinion, as the circumstance and style of address point to a particular person of honourable station, with whom Luke was acquainted. The title — κράτιστος, translated 'most excellent,' is the same which is given to governors of provinces, as Felix and Festus (Acts xxiii. 26; xxvi. 25); whence he is conceived by some to have been a civil magistrate in some high office. Theophylact (*Argument. in Luc.*) supposes that he was of the senatorian order, and perhaps a nobleman or prince.

THESSALONIANS, EPISTLES TO THE. —First Epistle.—The authenticity and canonical authority of this epistle have been from the earliest ages admitted; nor have these points ever been called in question, either in ancient or modern times, by those who have received any of Paul's epistles. Besides two probable quotations from it by Polycarp (Lardner, ii. 96, 8vo. ed.), it is certainly cited, and cited as the production of the apostle Paul, by Irenæus (v. 6, § 1), by Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* i. § 19, p. 109, ed. Potter), by Tertullian (*De Resur. Carnis*, c. 24), by Caius (ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 20), by Origen (*Cont. Cels.* lib. iii.), and by others of the ecclesiastical writers (Lardner, ii. *pl. locc.*).

This epistle has generally been regarded as the first written by Paul of those now extant. In the Acts of the Apostles (xvii. 5, sq.) we are told that Paul, after preaching the Gospel with success at Thessalonica, had to flee from that city in consequence of the malice of the Jews; that he thence betook himself to Berea, in company with Silas; that, driven by the same influence from Berea, he journeyed to Athens, leaving Silas and Timothy (the latter of whom had probably preceded him to Berea) behind him; and that after remaining in that city for some time, he went to Corinth, where he was joined by Timothy and Silas. It appears also from this epistle (iii. 1, 2, 5), that whilst at Athens he had commissioned Timothy to visit the infant church at Thessalonica; and from Acts xvii. 15, 16, we learn that he expected to be joined by Timothy and Silas in that city. Whether this expected meeting ever took place there, is a matter involved in much uncertainty. Michaelis, Eichhorn, De Wette, Koppe, Pelt, and others, are of opinion that, at least as respects Timothy, it did take place; and they infer that Paul again remanded him to Thessalonica, and that he made a second journey along with Silas to join the apostle at Corinth. Hug, on the other hand, supposes only one journey, viz., from Thessalonica to Corinth; and understands the apostle in 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2, as intimating, not that he had sent Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica, but that he had prevented his coming to Athens by sending him from Berea to Thessalonica. Between these two opinions, there is nothing to enable us to judge with certainty, unless we attach weight to the expression of Luke, that Paul had desired the presence of Timothy and Silas in Athens ὡς τάχιστα, 'as speedily as possible.' His desiring them to follow him thus, without loss of time, favours the conclusion that they did rejoin in Athens, and were thence sent to Thessalonica.

But whatever view we adopt on this point, it seems indisputable that this epistle was not written until Paul met Timothy and Silas at Corinth. The ancient subscription, indeed, testifies that it was written at Athens; but that this could not be the case is clear from the epistle itself. 1. In ch. i. 7, 8, Paul says that the Thessalonians had become 'ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia: for from you (says he) sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith to God-ward is spread abroad.' Now, for such an extensive diffusion of the fame of the Thessalonian Christians, and of the Gospel by them, a much longer period of time must have elapsed than is allowed by the supposition that Paul wrote this epistle whilst at Athens; and besides, his reference particularly to Achaia seems prompted by the circumstance of his being, at the time he wrote, in Achaia, of which Corinth was the chief city. 2. His language in ch. iii. 1, 2, favours the opinion that it was not from Athens, but after he had left Athens, that he wrote this epistle; it is hardly the turn which one living at Athens at the time would have given his words. 3. Is it likely that, during the short time Paul was in Athens, before writing this epistle (supposing him to have written it there), he should have '*over and again*' purposed to revisit the Thessalonians, but have been hindered? And yet such purposes he had entertained before writing this epistle, as we learn from ch. ii. 18; and this greatly favours the later date. 4. Before Paul wrote this epistle, Timothy had come to him from Thessalonica with good tidings concerning the faith and charity of the Christians there (iii. 6). But had Timothy followed Paul to Athens from Berea, what tidings could he have brought the apostle from Thessalonica, except such hearsay reports as would inform the apostle of nothing he did not already know? From these considerations, it follows that this epistle was not written from Athens. It must, however, have been written very soon after his arrival at Corinth; for, at the time of his writing, Timothy had just arrived from Thessalonica (ἄρτι ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου, iii. 6), and Paul had not been long in Corinth before Timothy and Silas joined him there (Acts xvii. 1-5). Michaelis contends for a later date, but his arguments are destitute of weight. Before Paul could learn that the fame of the Thessalonian church had spread through

* In the English language there are scarcely any works on Biblical Theology as defined in this article, except one or two which have been translated in America from the German. There are indeed several works of various merit on Biblical dogmatics, that is to say, doctrinal rather than historical, but they do not claim notice in this place.—Edit.

Achaia, and far beyond, it was not necessary, as Michaelis supposes, that he should have made several extensive journeys from Corinth; for as that city, from its mercantile importance, was the resort of persons from all parts of the commercial world, the apostle had abundant means of gathering this information even during a brief residence there. As little is it necessary to resort to the supposition that when Paul says, that over and again Satan had hindered him from fulfilling his intention of visiting Thessalonica, he must refer to shipwrecks or some such misfortunes (as Michaelis suggests); for Satan has many ways of hindering men from such purposes, besides accidents in travelling.

The design of this epistle is to comfort the Thessalonians under trial, and to encourage them to the patient and consistent profession of Christianity. The epistle may be conveniently divided into two parts. The former of these, which comprises the first three chapters, is occupied with statements chiefly of a retrospective character: it details the apostle's experience among the Thessalonians, his confidence in them, his deep regard for them, and his efforts and prayers on their behalf. The latter part of the epistle (iv. 5) is, for the most part, of a hortatory character: it contains the apostle's admonitions to the Thessalonians to walk according to their profession; to avoid sensuality, dishonesty, and pride; to cultivate brotherly love, to attend diligently to the duties of life, to take the comfort which the prospect of Christ's second coming was calculated to convey, but not to allow that to seduce them into indolence or idle speculations; to render due respect to their spiritual superiors; and, by attention to a number of duties which the apostle specifies, to prove themselves worthy of the good opinion he entertained of them. He concludes the epistle by offering fervent supplication on their behalf, and the usual apostolic benediction.

Second Epistle.—The apostle's allusion in his former epistle to the second coming of Christ, and especially his statement in ch. iv. 15-18, appear to have been misunderstood by the Thessalonians, or wilfully perverted by some among them, so as to favour the notion that that event was near at hand. This notion some inculcated as a truth specially confirmed to them by the Spirit; others advocated it as part of the apostolic doctrine; and some claimed for it the specific support of Paul in a letter (ii. 2). Whether the letter here referred to is the apostle's former epistle to the Thessalonians, or one forged in his name by some keen and unscrupulous advocates of the notion above referred to, is uncertain. The latter opinion has been very generally adopted from the time of Chrysostom downwards, and is certainly somewhat countenanced by the apostle's statement in the close of the epistle as to his autograph salutation being the mark of a genuine letter from him (iii. 17). At the same time, it must be admitted that the probability of such a thing being done by any one at Thessalonica, is, under all the circumstances of the case, not very strong.

On receiving intelligence of the trouble into which the Thessalonians had been plunged, in consequence of the prevalence among them of the notion (from whatever source derived) that the second coming of Christ was nigh at hand, Paul wrote to them this second epistle, in which he beseechingly adjures them by the very fact that Christ is to come a second time, not to be shaken in mind or troubled, as if that event were near at hand. He informs them that much was to happen before that should take place, and especially predicts a great apostacy from the purity and simplicity of the Christian faith (ii. 5-12). He then exhorts them to hold fast by the traditions they had received, whether by word or epistle, and commends them to the consoling and sustaining grace of God (ver. 15-17). The rest of the epistle consists of expressions of affection to the Thessalonians, and of confidence in them; of prayers on their behalf, and of exhortations and directions suited to the circumstances in which they were placed. As regards the disposition and arrangement of these materials, the epistle naturally divides itself into three parts. In the first (i. 1-12), the apostle mingles commendations of the faith and piety of the Thessalonians, with prayers on their behalf. In the second (ii. 1-17), he dilates upon the subject of the trouble which had been occasioned to the Thessalonians by the anticipation of the near approach of the day of the Lord. And in the third (iii. 1-16), he accumulates exhortations, encouragements, and directions, to the Thessalonians, respecting chiefly the peaceable, quiet, and orderly conduct of their lives, which he follows up with a prayer on their behalf to the God of peace. The epistle concludes with a salutation from the apostle's own hand, and the usual benediction (ver. 17, 18).

There is the strongest reason for believing that this second epistle was written very soon after the first, and at the same place, viz. Corinth. The circumstances of the apostle, while writing the one, seem very much the same as they were whilst writing the other; nor do those of the Thessalonians present any greater difference than such as the influences referred to in the second epistle may be supposed in a very short time to have produced. What seems almost to decide the question is, that whilst writing the second epistle, the apostle had Timothy and Silas still with him. Now, after he left Corinth, it was not for a long time that either of these individuals was found again in his company (Acts xviii. 18, compared with xix. 22); and with regard to one of them, Silas, there is no evidence that he and Paul were ever together at any subsequent period. At what period, however, of the apostle's abode at Corinth this epistle was written, we are not in circumstances accurately to determine.

'The genuineness of this epistle,' remarks Eichhorn, 'follows from its contents. Its design is to correct the erroneous use which had been made of some things in the first epistle; and who but the writer of that first epistle would have set himself thus to such a task? It however appears that the author of the first must also be the author of the second; and as the former is the production of Paul, we must ascribe the latter also to him. It was essential to the apostle's reputation that the erroneous consequences which had been deduced from his words should be refuted. Had he refrained from noticing the expectation built upon his words, of the speedy return of Christ, his silence would have confirmed the conclusion, that this was one of his peculiar doctrines; as such it would have passed to the succeeding genera-

tion; and when they perceived that in this Paul had been mistaken, what confidence could they have had in other parts of his teaching? The weight of this, as an evidence of the genuineness of this Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, acquires new strength from the fact, that of all the other expressions in the epistle, not one is opposed to any point either in the history or the doctrine of the apostle' (*Einleit. ins N. T.* iii. 69).

The internal evidence in favour of the genuineness of this epistle is equally strong with that which attests the first. Polycarp (*Ep. ad Philip.* § 11) appears to allude to ch. iii. 15. Justin Martyr, in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (p. 193, 32, ed. Sylburg. 1593), speaks of the reigning of the man of sin (*τὸν τῆς ἀνομίας ἄνθρωπον*), which seems to be an evident allusion to ch. ii. 3; and in a passage, quoted by Lardner (vol. ii. p. 125), he uses the phrase *ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἄνθρωπος*. The eighth verse of this second chapter is formally cited by Irenæus (iii. c. 7. § 2), as from the pen of an apostle; Clement of Alexandria specially adduces ch. iii. 2, as the words of Paul (*Strom.* lib. v. p. 554, ed. Sylb.), and Tertullian also quotes this epistle as one of Paul's (*De Resurrec. Carnis*, c. 24).

Notwithstanding these evidences in its favour, the genuineness of this epistle has been called into doubt by the restless scepticism of some of the German critics. The way here was led by John Ernest Chr. Schmidt, who, in 1801, published in his *Bibliothek fur Kritik und Exegese*, a tract entitled *Vermuthungen über die Beiden Briefe an die Thessalonicher*, in which he impugned the genuineness of the first twelve verses of the second chapter. He afterwards, in his *Einleitung*, p. 256, enlarged his objections, and applied them to the whole epistle. De Wette took the same side, and, in his *Einleitung*, has adduced a number of reasons in support of his opinion, drawn from the epistle itself. His cavils are more than usually frivolous, and have been most fully replied to by Guericke (*Beiträge zur Hist. Krit. Einl. ins N. T.* s. 92-99, Halle, 1828), by Reiche (*Authentiæ Post. ad Thess. Epist. Vindiciæ*, Gött. 1829), and by Pelt in the *Prolegomena* to his *Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians* (p. xxvii.).

Jewell, Bp., *An Exposition upon the two Epistles of the Apostle Saint Paul to the Thessalonians*, Lond. 1583, 12mo., 1811, 8vo.; W. Sclater, *Exposition and Notes on the Epistle to the Thess.*, Lond. 1619, 1629, 4to.; J. Alph. Turretin, *Commentarius in Epp. Pauli ad Thess.*, Basil, 1739, 8vo.; Lud. Pelt, *Epist. Pauli Apost. ad Thess. perpetuo illust. Commentario*, &c., Gryphiswald, 1830, 8vo.—W. L. A.

THESSALONICA (Θεσσαλονίκη), now called Salonichi, is still a city of about sixty or seventy thousand inhabitants, situated on the present gulf of Salonichi, which was formerly called Sinus Thermaicus, at the mouth of the river Echedorus. It was the residence of a *præses*, the principal city of the second part of Macedonia, and was by later writers even styled *metropolis* (Liv. xlv. 29, sq.; Cic. *Pro Planc.* 41). Under the Romans it became great, populous, and wealthy (Strabo, vii. p. 323; Lucian, *Osir.*, c. 46; Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, iv. 118; Mannert, *Geographie*, vii. 471, sq.). It had its name from Thessalonice, wife of Cassander, who built the city on the site of the ancient Thermæ, after which town the *Sinus Thermaicus* was called (Strabo, vii. p. 330; Herod. vii. 121; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 17; *Schol. Thuc.* i. 61; comp. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Thessalonica). Thessalonice is said to have been killed by her own son Antipater. Thessalonica was 267 Roman miles east of Apollonia and Dyrrachium, 66 miles from Amphipolis, 89 from Philippi, 433 west from Byzantium, and 150 south of Sophia. A great number of Jews were living at Thessalonica in the time of the apostle Paul, and also many Christian converts, most of whom seem to have been either Jews by birth or proselytes before they embraced Christianity by the preaching of Paul. Jews are still very numerous in this town, and possess much influence there. They are unusually exclusive, keeping aloof from strangers. The apostolical history of the place is given in the preceding article. The present town stands on the acclivity of a steep hill, rising at the north-eastern extremity of the bay. It presents an imposing appearance from the sea, with which the interior by no means corresponds. The principal antiquities are the propylæa of the hippodrome, the rotunda, and the triumphal arches of Augustus and Constantine.—C. H. F. B.

THEUDAS, a Jewish insurgent, who was slain, while a band of followers that he had induced to join him were scattered and brought to nought. This statement was made by Gamaliel at the meeting of the Sanhedrim held about A.D. 33, to consider what measures should be taken for the suppression of the Gospel now preached and recommended by the virgin zeal of Peter and the apostles (Acts v. 29, 34, sq.). Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 5. 1) tells us of a Theudas who, under the procurator Phadus (A.D. 44), set up for a prophet, and brought ruin on himself and many whom he deluded. Now the Theudas of Gamaliel appeared before 'these days,' that is, before the speech was delivered, A.D. 33; and also before 'Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing;' while the Theudas of Josephus arose not before A.D. 44. This difference of time would seem to show that the two were different persons; but an undue desire to draw from Josephus a corroboration of every fact mentioned in the New Testament led to the conversion of this simple diversity into a contradiction. Then came attempts at solution. Assuming that the two authorities referred to the same Theudas, expositors took two different ways of treating the difficulty: 1. they imputed an omission to Josephus; 2. they imputed an error to Luke. Supposing, however, that Josephus made no omission, and that he meant the same Theudas who is mentioned by Gamaliel, might not the Jewish historian be wrong in his chronology? If, however, his Theudas appeared in the defined time, might not the Theudas of Gamaliel have appeared before Gamaliel's days? Gamaliel, too, though 'a doctor of the law, held in reputation,' was not infallible. He might have mistaken the name. Religious insurgents were common. Several of them bore the not greatly dissimilar name of Judas. And if Gamaliel committed an error, surely it should not be charged on Luke, who was no more responsible for the erroneous history than for the lame argument of that learned doctor's speech, which seems to affect a display of knowledge not unlikely to lead into mistakes. If, however, any error is fairly imputable to the writer of the Acts

of the Apostles, it is too inconsiderable to occasion concern to the enlightened student of the New Testament.

These remarks have been made to meet the ordinary view of the case. But the name Theudas is an Aramaic form of the Greek Θεόδοτος, which is a literal translation of the Hebrew מַתִּתְיָה, Matthias or Matthew. It is, then, of a Matthew that Luke speaks; and in Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 6. 2-4) we find a detailed account of one Matthew, a distinguished teacher among the Jews, who, in the latter days of Herod the Great, raised a band of his scholars to effect a social reform in the spirit of the old Hebrew constitution, by 'destroying the heathen works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers.' A large golden eagle, which the king had caused to be erected over the great gate of the Temple, in defiance of the law that forbids images or representations of any living creatures, was an object of their special dislike, which, on hearing a false report that Herod was dead, Matthias and his companions proceeded to demolish; when the king's captain, supposing the undertaking to have a higher aim than was the fact, came upon the riotous reformers with a band of soldiers, and arrested the proceedings of the multitude. Dispersing the mob he apprehended forty of the bolder spirits, together with Matthias and his fellow-leader Judas. Matthias was burnt.

Now, had we used the term Theudas for the term Matthias, the reader would at once have seen that what we have just given from the more minute narrative of Josephus, is only a somewhat detailed statement of the facts of which Gamaliel gave a brief summary before the Sanhedrim. This chronological difficulty then disappears. Matthias or Theudas appeared 'before these days,' before Judas of Galilee, and before the census; he appeared, that is, some four years anterior to the birth of our Lord.—J. R. B.

THIEF, PENITENT ON THE CROSS (Luke xxiii. 39-43). It has been assumed that this man had been very wicked; that he continued so till he was nailed to the cross; that he joined the other malefactor in insulting the Saviour; and that then, by a miracle of grace, he was transformed into a penitent Christian. But this view of the case seems to involve some misconception of the facts, which it may not be inexpedient to indicate. Whitby says, 'Almost all interpreters that I have read here say that this thief began his repentance on the cross.' With regard to his moral character, he is indeed styled by the Evangelist one of the 'malefactors (κακοῦργοι) who were led with Jesus to be put to death' (ver. 32); but the word is evidently used δοξαστικῶς, *i. e.* malefactors as they were considered. St. Matthew (xxvii. 44) and St. Mark (xv. 27) call them λῃσταί; but this word denotes not only robbers, &c., but also brigands, rebels, or any who carry on unauthorized hostilities, *insurgents* (Thucyd. iv. 53). Bishop Multby observes, in his sermon on the subject, that 'these κακοῦργοι were not thieves who robbed all for *profit*, but men who had taken up arms on a principle of resistance to the Roman oppression, and to what they thought an unlawful burden, the tribute-money; who made no scruple to rob all the Romans, and when engaged in these unlawful causes, made less difference between Jews and Romans than they at first meant to do' (*Sermons*, 1819-22, vol. i.). Insurrection was a crime, but it was a crime a person might have committed who had good qualities, and had maintained a respectable character. Again, this man's punishment was crucifixion, which was not in use among the Jews, and inflicted by the Romans not on mere thieves, but rebels. Barabbas had been one of these, and though he 'lay bound with them that had made insurrection with him, who had committed murder in the insurrection,' Mark (xv. 27) has the same word, λῃστής, 'robber,' which is applied to him by St. John (xviii. 40). It is most probable that these 'malefactors' were two of his companions. Our Lord was condemned under the same charge of insurrection (Luke xxiii. 2), and the man whose case we are considering says to his fellow-sufferer, 'thou art under the same *sentence*,' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι, and admits that they both were guilty of the charge, while our Lord was innocent of it (Luke xxiii. 40, 41). It is impossible then to determine the degree of his criminality, without knowing what provocations he had received under the despotic and arbitrary rule of a Roman governor such as Pilate, how far he had been active, or only mixed up with the sedition, &c. The notion that he was suddenly and instantaneously converted on the cross is grounded entirely upon the *general* statement of Matthew, 'the thieves also which were crucified with him cast the same in his teeth' (xxvii. 44), whereas St. Luke, in his relation of the incident, is more exact. Instances of St. Matthew's style of speaking, which is called *amplification*, abound in the Gospels, and in all writers. Thus, 'the soldiers brought him vinegar' (Luke xxiii. 36: John xix. 29), 'one of them did so' (Matt. xxvii. 48; Mark xv. 36). 'The disciples had indignation' (Matt. xxvi. 8), 'some of them' (Mark xiv. 4), 'one of them' (John xii. 4). So in Mark xvi. 5; Matt. xxviii. 2, there is mention of one angel only; but in Luke xxiv. 4; John xx. 12, there is mention of two. It is also far from certain that either his faith or repentance was the fruit of this particular season. He must have known something of the Saviour, otherwise he could not have said οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἔπραξε, 'he hath done nothing amiss.' He may have been acquainted with the miracles and preaching of Jesus before he was cast into prison; he may have even conversed with him there. He was convinced of our Lord's Messiahship, 'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.' His crime possibly consisted of only one act of insubordination, and he might have been both a sincere believer, and, with this one exception, a practical follower of Christ. Koecher (ap. Bloomfield, *Recen. Synop.*) tells us that it is a very ancient tradition that the thief was not converted at the cross, but was previously imbued with a knowledge of the Gospel. See Kuinoel, Macknight, &c.—J. F. D.

THIGH, the part of the body from the legs to the trunk, of men, quadrupeds, &c. (Heb. יָרֵךְ; Sept. μηρός; Vulg. femur). It occurs in Gen. xxxii. 25, 31, 32; Judg. iii. 16, 21; Ps. xlv. 3; Cant. iii. 8. *Putting the hand under the thigh* appears to have been a very ancient custom, upon occasion of taking an oath to any one. Abraham required this of the oldest servant of his house, when he made him swear that he would not take a wife for Isaac of the daughters of the Canaanites (Gen. xxiv. 2-9). Jacob required it of his

son Joseph, when he bound him by oath not to bury him in Egypt, but with his fathers in the land of Canaan (xlvii. 29-31). The origin, form, and import of this ceremony in taking an oath, are very doubtful. Aben Ezra says, 'It appears to me that it was the custom in that age for a servant to place his hand on his master's thigh, at the command of the latter, to show that he considered himself subject to, and undertook his master's bidding; and such is at present the custom in India.' Grotius thinks that as the sword was worn upon the thigh (comp. Judg. iii. 16, 21; Ps. xlv. 3; Cant. iii. 8) this custom was as much as to say, If I falsify, kill me. Not a few commentators, ancient and modern, explain it of laying the hand on or near the *sectio circumcisionis*, to protest by that solemn covenant of God, whereof circumcision was the badge and type, in the Abrahamic family. So R. Eleazar says, 'Before the giving of the law, the ancient fathers swore by the covenant of circumcision' (*Pirke*, cap. 49). The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel explains it בגזירת מהולתי, in sectione circumcisionis meæ: the Jerusalem Targum, תחות ירך קימי, sub femore fœderis mei. Dr. Adam Clarke adopts the former of these two explanations (*Commentary on Gen.* xxiv. 9). This interpretation supposes a *meiosis*, or metonymy, such as is supposed by some to attend the use of the word with regard to the effect of the *water of Jealousy* (Num. v. 21, 22, 27). Bochart adduces many similar instances (*Hierozoic.* p. 2, lib. v. cap. 15). We may also refer to the margin or Heb. of Gen. xlvi. 26; Exod. i. 5; Judg. viii. 30. No further allusion to this ceremony in taking an oath occurs in Scripture, unless the phrase 'giving the hand under' refer to it. See Hebrew or margin of 1 Chron. xxix. 24, and 'giving the hand,' 2 Chron. xxx. 8; Jer. l. 15; Ezek. xvii. 18. Our translation states that '*the hollow of Jacob's thigh* was out of joint by the touch of the angel who wrestled with him' (Gen. xxxii. 25). Some, however, prefer to render ותקע, *was sprained*, or *wrenched*, and adduce Jer. vi. 8; Ezek. xxiii. 17, 18. The Septuagint renders it καὶ ἐνάρκησε τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ; the Vulg. tetigit nervum femoris ejus, et statim emarcuit. Some such sense better suits ver. 31, where we find Jacob *limping* on his thigh; see Gesenius on צלע The custom of Jacob's descendants, founded upon this incident, is recorded in ver. 32, which has been thus translated: 'Therefore the children of Yisrael eat not of the nerve Nashé, which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day: because he struck the hollow of Yaäcob's thigh, on the nerve Nashé' (Sept. τὸ νεῦρον, Vulg. nervus). The true derivation of the word נשה is considered by Dr. Fürst, in his *Concordance*, to be still a secret; but, along with Gesenius, he understands the nerve itself to be the *ischiatic nerve*, which proceeds from the hip to the ancle. This nerve is still extracted from the hinder limbs by the Jews in England, and in other countries where properly qualified persons are appointed to remove it (*New Translation*, &c., by the Rev. D. A. De Sola, p. 333). The phrase '*hip and thigh*' occurs in Judg. xv. 8, in the account of Samson's slaughter of the Philistines. Gesenius translates על in this passage *with*, and understands it as a proverbial expression for 'he smote them all.' The Chaldee paraphrast interprets it, 'He smote both footmen and horsemen, the one resting on their legs (as the word שוק should be rendered), the other on their thighs, as they sat on their horses.' Others understand that he smote them both on the legs and thighs. Some give another interpretation. *Smiting on the thigh* denotes penitence (Jer. xxxi. 19), grief, and mourning (Ezek. xxi. 12). A few mistranslations occur. The word 'thigh' should have been translated 'leg' in Isa. xlvii. 2, שוק, *κνήμας*, *crura*. In Cant. vii. 1, 'The joints of thy thighs,' &c., the true meaning is, 'the *cincture of thy loins* (*i. e.* the drawers, trowsers) is like jewellery.' Lady Wortley Montagu describes this article of female attire as 'composed of thin rose-coloured damask, brocaded with *silver flowers*' (*Letters*, ii. 12; see Harmer, *On Solomon's Song*, p. 110). Cocceius, Buxtorf, Mercerus, and Junius, all adopt this explanation. In Rev. xix. 16, it is said 'the Word of God (ver. 13) hath on his vesture and *on his thigh a name written*, King of kings and Lord of lords.' Schleusner thinks the name was not written upon the thigh, but upon the sword. Montfaucon gives an account of several images of warriors having inscriptions *on the thighs* (*Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. iii. part ii. pp. 268-9; Grupter, iii. 1489; and see Zornii *Opuscula S.S.* ii. 759.)—J. F. D.

THISTLE. [Thorns.]

THOMAS (Θωμᾶς). The word תְּאוֹמָא is equivalent to the Greek Δίδυμος, *twin*. This name occurs also on Phœnician inscriptions, in a form which reminds us of the colloquial English abbreviation, viz. תְּאוֹם and תְּאֹם (Gesenii *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 356).

The Apostle Thomas (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13) has been considered a native of Galilee, like most of the other apostles (John xxi. 2); but according to tradition he was a native of Antiochia, and had a twin-sister called Lysia (*Patres Apost.* ed. Cotel. pp. 272, 501). According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 13) the real name of Thomas was Judas; and he occurs under this name also in the *Acta Thomæ*. This Judas was deemed the same as Judas the brother of Jesus (Matt. xiii. 55). It would seem even that the surname Δίδυμος was understood to mean that Thomas was a twin-brother of Jesus (Philo, *ad Acta Thomæ*, p. 94, sq.).

In the character of Thomas was combined great readiness to act upon his convictions, to be faithful to his faith even unto death, so that he even exhorted his fellow-disciples, on his last journey to Jerusalem, 'Let us also go, that we may die with him' (John xi. 16), together with that careful examination of evidence which will be found in all persons who are resolved really to obey the dictates of their faith. Whosoever is minded, like most religionists who complain of the scepticism of Thomas, to follow in the common transactions of life the dictates of vulgar prudence, may easily abstain from putting his hands into the marks of the nails and into the side of the Lord (John xx. 25); but whosoever is ready to die with the Lord will be inclined to avail himself of extraordinary evidence for extraordinary facts, since nobody likes to suffer martyrdom by mistake. These remarks are directed against Winer and others, who find in the character of Thomas what they consider contradictory.

traits, viz., inconsiderate faith, and a turn for exacting the most rigorous evidence. We find that a resolute and lively faith is always necessarily combined with a sense of its importance, and with a desire to keep its objects unalloyed and free from error and superstition. Christ himself did not blame Thomas for availing himself of all possible evidence, but only pronounced those blessed who would be open to conviction even if some external form of evidence should not be within their reach (comp. Niemeyer's *Akademische Predigten und Reden*, p. 321, sq.).

Thomas preached the Gospel in Parthia (Origen, apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 1; Socrat. i. 19; Clement, *Recogn.* ix. 29), and, according to Jerome, in Persia; and was buried at Edessa (Rufin. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 5). According to a later tradition Thomas went to India, and suffered martyrdom there (Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* xxv. *ad Arian.* p. 438, ed. Par.; Ambrose, *in Ps.* xlv. 10; Hieron. *Ep.* 148 (59) *ad Marcell.*; Niceph. *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 40; *Acta Thomæ*, c. i. sq.; Abdiæ *Hist. Apost.* c. ix.; Paulin. A. S. Bartholomæo, *India Orient. Christiana*, Rom. 1794). This tradition has been attacked by Von Bohlen (*Indien*, i. 375, sq.). The ancient congregations of Christians in India who belong to the Syrian church, are called Thomas-Christians, and consider the Apostle Thomas to be their founder (Fabricii *Lux Evangelii*, p. 626, sq.: Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, iii. 2. 435, sq.; Ritter's *Erdkunde*, v. i. 601, sq.). Against this tradition Thilo wrote in his edition of the *Acta Thomæ*, p. 107, sq. (comp. Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, iii. 219, sq.).

The fathers frequently quote an *Evangelium secundum Thomam*, and *Acta Thomæ*, the fragments of which have been carefully edited by J. C. Thilo, in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, i. 275; and the *Acta Thomæ* separately, L. 1823; and see Winer's *Real-Wörterbuch*, under 'Thomas.'—C. H. F. B.

THORNS AND THISTLES. We have referred to this article the various words which, in the Authorized and other versions, have been considered to indicate brambles, briers, thorns, thistles. Rabbinical writers state that there are no less than twenty-two words in the Bible signifying thorny and prickly plants; but some of these are probably so interpreted only because they are unknown, and may merely denote insignificant shrubs. We shall enumerate them alphabetically, though not likely to throw any light upon what has already baffled so many inquirers. This does not arise from any deficiency of thorny plants to which the Biblical names might be applied, but from the want of good reasons for selecting one plant more than another; for, as Celsius has said, 'Fuerunt in Judæa haud pauca loca a spinis diversorum generum denominata, quod esset hæc terra non tantum *lacte et melle fluens*, sed herbis quoque inutilibus, et spinis multifariis passim infestata.' As examples we may mention the genera of which some of the species are thorny, such as Acacia, Astragalus, Acanthodium, Alhagi, Fagonia, Tribulus, Berberis, Prunus, Rubus, Cratægus, Solanum, Carduus, Cnicus, Onopordon, Eryngium, Rhamnus, Zizyphus; and of species which are named from this characteristic, Anabasis spinosissima, Paliurus aculeatus, Ruscus aculeatus, Forskalea tenacissima, Aristida pungens, Salsola Echinus, Echinops spinosus, Bunias spinosa, Lycium spinosum, Poterium spinosum, Atraphaxis spinosa, Prenanthes spinosa, Ononis spinosa, Smilax asper, Spartium spinosum, Zizyphus Spina Christi.



521. [Zizyphus Spina Christi.]

AKANTHA (ἄκανθα) occurs in Matt. vii. 16; xiii. 7, 22; xxvii. 27; and also in the parallel passages of Mark and Luke; and as forming the crown of thorns, in John xix. 2, 5. The word is used in as general a sense as 'thorn' is with us, and therefore it would be incorrect to confine it to any one species of plant in all the above passages, though no doubt some particular thorny plant indigenous in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem would be selected for plaiting the crown of thorns. Hasselquist says of the *Nabea Paliurus Athenæi* of Alpinus, now *Zizyphus Spina Christi*, 'In all probability this is the tree which afforded the crown of thorns put upon the head of Christ. It is very common in the East. This plant is very fit for the purpose, for it has many small and sharp spines, which are well adapted to give pain: the crown might easily be made of these soft, round, and pliant branches; and what in my opinion seems to be the greater proof is, that the leaves very much resemble those of ivy, as they are of a very deep glossy green. Perhaps the enemies of Christ would have a plant somewhat resembling that with which emperors and generals were crowned, that there might be a calumny even in the punishment.' Some have fixed upon *Paliurus aculeatus*, and others upon *Lycium horridum*.

ATAD, or ATHAD (אָטָד), occurs in Gen. l. 10; Judg. ix. 14, 15; Ps. lviii. 9. In the first passage it is said that 'they came to the threshing-floor,' or the place of Atad. In the fable in Judg. ix. 14, 15, the *atad*, or bramble, is called to reign over the trees. From Ps. lviii. 9, it is evident that the *atad* was employed for fuel: 'Before your

pots can feel the thorns.' *Athad* is so similar to the Arabic عوسج *ausuj*, that it has generally been considered to mean the same plant, namely, a species of buckthorn. This is confirmed by *atadmi* being one of the synonymes of *rhamnus*, as given in the supplements to Dioscorides. A species of *rhamnus* is described both by Belon and by Rauwolf as being common in Palestine, and by the latter as found especially in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. It has been described by Prosp. Alpinus as having an abundance of long branches, on which are found many long and very sharp thorns. So Rauwolf: 'It puts forth long, slender, crooked switches, on which there are a great many long, strong, and acute thorns.' As above mentioned, this has been supposed by some to be the true Christ's thorn, *Rhamnus*, now *Zizyphus Spina Christi*.

BESHA and BESHIM, translated *weed* and *thistles* in Auth. Vers. [BESHA].

BARKANIM (בַּרְקָנִים), translated *briers* in the Auth. Vers., occurs in Judg. viii. 7, 16, where Gideon is described as saying, 'then I will tear your flesh with the *thorns* (*kozim*) of the wilderness, and with *briers* (*barkanim*).' The Seventy in their version retain the original name. There is no reason for believing that *briers*, as applied to a rose or bramble, is the correct meaning; but there is nothing to lead us to select any one preferably from among the numerous thorny and prickly plants of Syria as the *barkanim* of Scripture. Rosenmüller, however, says that this word signifies 'a flail,' and has no reference to thorny plants.

BATOS (*βάτος*). [SENEH.]

CHARUL, 'nettle.' [CHARUL.]

CHEDEK (חֶדֶק) occurs twice in Scripture; in Prov. xv. 19: 'The way of the slothful is as a hedge of *thorns*' (*chedek*); and in Micah vii. 4: 'The best of them is as a *brier* (*chedek*), and the most upright like a thorn-hedge.' *Chedek* is generally supposed to be as little known as the other thorny and prickly plants, but there is an Arabic word, حدق *chadak* or *hudak*, which is applied in the East to a species of *solanum*. This is supposed by Rosenmüller and others not to be suitable to the above passages; but some species of *solanum* grow to a considerable size; others are among the most prickly plants of the East, and very common in dry arid situations. *S. sanctum*, the *S. spinosum* of others, is found in Palestine. Dr. Harris is of opinion that *chedek* is the *colutea spinosa* of Forskal, which is called *heddad* in Arabic, and of which there is an engraving in Russell's *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, tab. 5.

CHOACH (חוֹחַ) is found in several places, and is in the Auth. Vers. translated *thistle* in 2 Kings xiv. 9; Job xxxi. 40; and *thorns* in Job xli. 2; Prov. xxvi. 9; Isa. xxxiv. 13, &c. From the context of the several passages, it is evident that *choach* must have been some useless plant or weed of a thorny nature. Prov. xxvi. 9: As a *thorn* (*choach*) goeth into the hand of a drunkard, &c. The Septuagint translates it by *ἄκανθα*, and *ἄκαν*, that is, words which signify thorny plants in general, and also by *κνίδη*, 'a nettle.' But it is difficult in this, as in other instances, to ascertain what particular plant is intended, and hence *choach* has been variously translated. Celsius has pointed out that the Arabic خوخ *khokh* is similar in nature and origin to the Hebrew word, and is employed as its synonyme, and that *chucho* is the Syriac version. *Khookh* is applied in Arabic to the peach, and *bur khookh*, whence we have apricock, &c. to the apricot. *Choach* may therefore be considered as a generic term applied to the plum tribe; and some of these, as the common sloe, *Prunus spinosa*, are well known to be of a thorny nature: 'Sylvestris prunus, humilis, ac solidis spinis munitus est.' Some kindred species, as a thorny Cratægus, may supply its place in Syria. Bové says of Mesteh, not far from the Jordan, 'Les arbustes qui y croissent m'ont paru des Rhamnées ou des Rosacées du genre Prunus.'

DARDAR (דַּרְדַּר), translated *thistles* in the Auth. Vers., occurs in Gen. iii. 18, 'Thorns also and *thistles* shall it bring forth to thee;' and again in Hosea x. 8; in both of which passages *dardar* is conjoined with *koz*. The Rabbins describe it as a thorny plant which they also call *accobita*. The *accub* of the Arabs is a thistle or wild artichoke. The Septuagint, however, renders *dardar* by the Greek word *τρίβολος* in both passages, and this will answer as well as any other thorny or prickly plant. See below, TRIBULUS.

KIMOSH, translated 'nettles' [KIMOSH].

KOTZ or KOZ (קוֹץ) occurs in several passages of Scripture; in two of which it is mentioned along with *dardar*, where *koz* and *dardar* may be considered equivalent to the English *thorns* and *thistles*. The Septuagint translates it in all the passages by *ἄκανθα*, and it probably was used in a general sense to denote plants which were thorny, useless, and indicative of neglected culture or deserted habitations, growing naturally in desert situations, and useful only



522. [Ononis spinosa.]

for fuel. But if any particular plant be meant, the *Ononis spinosa* or 'Rest-harrow,' mentioned by Hasselquist, may be selected as fully charac-

teristic. 'Spinosissima illa et perniciosa planta, campos integros tegit Ægypti et Palestinæ. Non dubitandum quin hanc indicaverint in aliquo loco scriptores sacri.'

NAAZUZ or NAATZUTZ, supposed to be a species of *Zizyphus* [NAAZUZ].

SALLONIM. [SILLON.]

SEREBIM (Ezek. ii. 6), supposed to be the 'gadfly' or something of the kind.

SENEH. [SENEH.]

SHAIT (שַׁיִת) occurs in several passages of Isaiah: v. 6; vii. 23, 24, 25; ix. 18; x. 17; xxvii. 4, in all of which it is associated with *shamir*, the two being translated *thorns* and *briers* in the Authorized Version. From the context of all the passages it is evident that some weed-like plants are intended, either of a thorny or prickly nature, or such as spring up in neglected cultures and are signs of desolation, and which are occasionally employed for fuel. Nothing has, however, been ascertained respecting the plant intended by *shait*, and consequently it has been variously translated in the several versions of the Scriptures.

SHAMIR (שָׁמִיר) occurs in all the same passages as the word *shait*, with the addition also of Isa. xxxii. 13: 'Upon the land of my people shall come up thorns (*kozim*) and *briers*' (*shamir*). Being associated with *koz*, it has been inferred that *shamir* must also mean some thorny plant.

سمر *samir*, in Arabic, according to Celsius (*Hierobot.* xi. p. 188), from Abulfeda, is a thorny plant, said to be a species of *sidri*, which does not bear fruit. *Sidr* is another name of *Nabca*, a species of *Zizyphus*. No plants are more common in the warm and dry uncultivated parts of the East than prickly species of *Zizyphus*, which impede the path and choke up vegetation, and are therefore very suitable for the illustration of the passages in which *shamir* occurs. This kind of *sidri* not bearing fruit may be the *Paliurus aculeatus* of botanists.



533. [Zizyphus Paliurus.]

SILLON (סִלּוֹן) occurs in Ezek. xxviii. 24: 'And there shall be no more a pricking *brier* (*sillon*) unto the house of Israel, nor any grieving *thorn*' (*koz*). As *sillon* is here mentioned with *koz*, it has been inferred that it must mean something of the same kind. Several Arabic words resemble it in sound; as *seel*, signifying a kind of wormwood; *silleh*, the plant *Zilla Myagrum*; *sillah*, the τράγος of the Greeks, supposed to be *Salsola kali* and *S. tragus*; *sulal* or *sulalon*, which signifies the *thorn* of the date-tree, while the Chaldee word *silleta* signifies a thorn simply. It is probable, therefore, that *sillon* has something of the same meaning, as also *sallonim* or *sillonim*, which occurs in Ezek. xi. 6 along with *serebim*; but we are unable to fix upon any particular plant of Syria as the one intended.

SIKKIM (שִׁכִּים) is another of the words which is considered to indicate thorny plants, as in Num. xxxiii. 55: 'Those which ye let remain of them shall be *pricks* (*sikkim*) in your eyes and *thorns* (*zinnim*) in your sides.' It occurs in the feminine form *sykkoth* (שִׁכּוֹת) in Job xli. 7, where it is translated 'barbed irons.' *Sikkim* has been variously translated, but its resemblance to the Arabic شوك *shok*, *thorns*, sufficiently indicates the probability of its meaning something of the same kind, though it has not been ascertained whether it is used in a general sense, as is probable, or applied to some particular plant.

SIRIM (סִירִים) occurs in several passages, *e. g.* in Eccles. xii. 6, 'as the crackling of thorns (*sirim*) under a pot,' &c.; Isa. xxxiv. 14, 'And thorns (*sirim*) shall come up in her palaces,' &c.; Hosea xi. 6; Amos iv. 2: Nahum i. 10. The Seventy and other translators have employed words signifying thorns, as conveying the meaning of *sirim*, but nothing has been advanced to lead us to select one plant more than another.

SIRPAD (סִרְפָּד) is mentioned only once by Isaiah (lv. 13), 'And instead of the brier (*sirpad*) shall come up the myrtle.' Though this has generally been considered a thorny and prickly plant, it does not follow from the context that such a plant is necessarily meant. It would be sufficient for the sense that some useless or insignificant plant be understood, and there are many such in desert and uncultivated places. In addition to *Paliurus Carduus*, *Urtica*, *Conyza*, species of *Polygonum*, *of Euphorbia*, &c., have been adduced; and also *Ruscus aculeatus*, or 'butcher's broom.'

TRIBOLOS or TRIBULUS (τρίβολος) is found in Matt. vii. 16, 'Do men gather figs of thistles' (τριβόλων)? and again, in Heb. vi. 8, 'But that which beareth thorns and briers (τρίβολοι) is rejected.' The name was applied by the Greeks to two or three plants; one of which was, no doubt, aquatic, *Trapa natans*; of the others *Tribulus terrestris* is undoubtedly one, and *Fagonia cretica* is supposed to be the other. Both, or nearly allied species, are found in dry and barren places in the East; and as both are prickly and spread over the surface of the ground, they are extremely hurtful to tread upon. The word τρίβολος is further interesting to us, as being employed in the Septuagint as the translation of *dardar*. The presence of species of *Tribulus* and of *Fagonia*

indicates a dry and barren uncultivated soil, covered with prickly or thorny plants.



524. [Tribulus terrestris.]

Zinnim (צִנִּים) and Zenenim (צנינים) occur in several passages of Scripture, as in Num. xxxiii. 55; Josh. xxiii. 13, where they are mentioned along with Sikkim; also in Job v. 5, and Prov. xxii. 5. The Septuagint has *τρίβολος* in Prov. xxii. 5, and *βολίδες* in Num. xxxiii. 55, and Josh. xxiii. 13. It has been supposed that *zinnim* might be the *Rhamnus Paliurus*, but nothing more precise has been ascertained respecting it, than of so many other of these thorny plants; and we may therefore, with Michaelis, say, 'Nullum simile nomen habent reliquæ linguæ Orientales; ergo fas est sapienti, Celsio quoque, fas sit et mihi, aliquid ignorare. Ignorantiæ professio via ad inveniendum verum, si quis in Oriente quæsierit.'—J. F. R.

THREE. שָׁלֹשׁ, שָׁלוֹשׁ, &c., occur frequently as cardinal numbers; thus, שלש שנים, *three* years (Lev. xix. 23); as ordinals, בשנת־שלש, in the *third* year (2 Kings xviii. 1); in combination with other numbers, as שלש עשרה, thirteen; and they are also used in the plural as ordinals for thirty, שלשים (1 Kings xvi. 23). For other forms and uses of the words, see Lexicons. The nouns שלש, שלישׁ, and שלוש, literally, according to *one* derivation, a *third man*, are used in the sense of a commander or general, sometimes as connected with war-chariots or cavalry. Thus (Exod. xiv. 7), 'Pharaoh took all the chariots of Egypt and captains (שלשם, *third men*), over all this armament' (על כלו), *not* as in our translation, 'over every one of them.' Sept. *τριστάτας ἐπὶ πάντων*, *tristatæ* over all; Vulg. *duces totius exercitus*. So it is said (xv. 4), that 'the choice of all Pharaoh's captains' (שלשי), or third men, were drowned; Sept. *ἀναβάτας τριστάτας*; Vulg. *principes*. The Septuagint word seems chosen upon the assumed analogy of its etymology to the Hebrew, *quasi τριτοστάτης*, 'one who stands third.' According to Origen, *tristates* has this meaning, because there were three persons in each chariot, of whom the first fought, the second protected him with a shield, and the third guided the horses. Wilkinson, however, says, 'there were seldom three persons in an Egyptian war-chariot, except in triumphal processions. In the field, each one had his own car with a charioteer' (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 335). Jerome, on Ezekiel xxiii., says, '*Tristatæ* among the Greeks is the name of the *second* rank after the royal dignity.' But it is possible that the *ideal* meaning of the verb שׁלשׁ, may be to *rule* or *direct*, as appears from its share in such words as שׁלשׁים, 'excellent things,' or rather 'rules and directions' (Prov. xxii. 20), and מׁשׁל, 'a proverb,' from מׁשׁל, 'to rule,' hence an *authoritative* precept. According to this sense, our translation renders the word שׁלישׁ, 'lord:' 'a *lord* on whose hand the king leaned' (2 Kings vii. 2; comp. v. 17, 19). If the latter derivation of the Hebrew word be admitted, it will cease to convey any allusion to the number three; of which allusion Gesenius speaks doubtingly of any instance, but which he decidedly pronounces to be unsuitable to the first passage, where the word evidently stands in connection with war-chariots (see Gesenius, *s. v.* שׁלישׁ). *Three days and three nights.* 'For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.' The apparent difficulty in these words arises from the fact that our Lord continued in the grave only one day complete, together with a part of the day on which he was buried, and of that on which he rose again. The Hebrews had no word expressly answering to the Greek word *νυχθήμερον*, or natural day of twenty-four hours, an idea which they expressed by the phrases *a night and a day* and *a day and a night*. Thus (Dan. viii. 14), 'Unto two thousand and three hundred *evening mornings* (i. e. days, as it is in our translation), then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.' Thus, also, what is called 'forty days and forty nights' in Gen. vii. 12, is simply 'forty days' in ver. 17; wherefore, as it is common in general computations to ascribe a whole day to what takes up only a part of it, when this was done in the Jewish language, it was necessary to mention both *day* and *night;* hence a part of three days was called by them three days and three nights. Another example we have in 1 Sam. xxx. 12, where the Egyptian, whom David's men found in the field, is said to have *eaten no bread, nor drunk any water, three days and three nights.* Nevertheless, in giving an account of himself, the Egyptian told them that his master had left him, 'because three days ago I fell sick;' in the Hebrew it is, *I fell sick this third day*, that is, this is the third day since I fell sick. Indeed, among the Hebrews, things were said to be done *after three days*, which were done on the third day (comp. 2 Chron. x. 5 with ver. 12; Deut. xiv. 28 with xxvi. 2). Agreeably to these forms of speech, the prophecy of our Lord's resurrection from the dead is sometimes represented as taking place *after three days*, sometimes *on the third day* (see Whitby, Macknight, Wakefield, Dr. Adam

Clarke, in loc.). The phrase, 'three and four,' so often repeated (Amos i.), means *abundance*, anything that goes on toward excess. It finds its parallel in Virgil's well-known words, O terque quaterque beati—'Oh three and four times happy' (*Æn.* i. 94; see also *Odyss.* v. 306). Three has also been considered, both by Jews and Christians, as a distinguished or *mystical number*, like 'seven.' Ainsworth, on Gen. xxii. 4, has collected many such instances, but they all appear to us to be fanciful.—J. F. D.

THRESHING. [Agriculture.]

THRONE. The Hebrew word כִּסֵּא is generally thought to have for its root-meaning the idea of covering; hence it denotes a covered seat, or throne. Fürst, in his admirable Hebrew *Concordance*, holds it to convey the notion of an arched or curved body, and so to have come to signify a seat of dignity, having the elegance given to it which curved lines can easily impart. Whatever the original import of the term may have been, כסא, or rather כסא המלכות, denoted the ornamented seat on which royal personages gave audience on state occasions among the Hebrews (1 Kings ii. 19; xxii. 10; comp. Esth. v. 1). It was originally a decorated arm-chair, higher than an ordinary seat, so as to require a foot-stool (הדום) to support the feet. Sometimes the throne was placed on a platform ascended by steps (Isa. vi. 1). Solomon made a throne of ivory overlaid with gold, which had six steps, with six lions on each side (1 Kings x. 18). Archelaus addressed the multitude from 'an elevated seat and a throne of gold' (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 1. 1). A throne became the emblem of regal power (Gen. xli. 40); whence the phrases, 'to sit on the throne of his kingdom' (Deut. xvii. 18), that is, to rule as a monarch; and 'to sit on the throne of a person' (1 Kings i. 13; 2 Kings x. 30), which signifies, to be his successor.—J. R. B.

THUMMIM. [Urim and Thummim.]

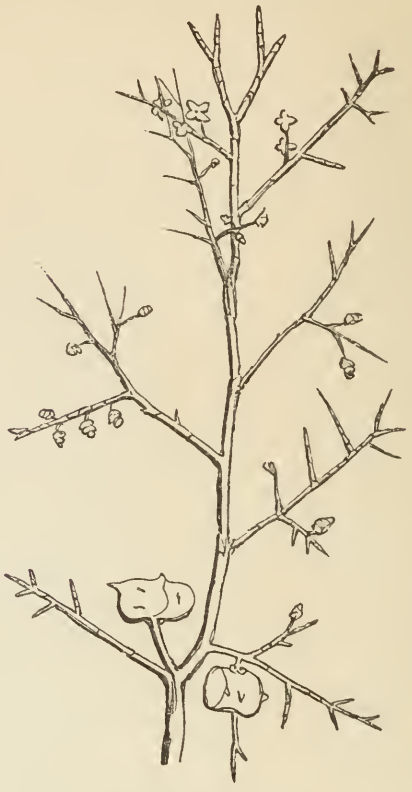
THUNDER (רַעַם; Sept. Βροντή, passim; also קוֹל, φωνή). This sublimest of all the extraordinary phenomena of nature is *poetically* represented as the voice of God, which the waters obeyed at the creation (Ps. civ. 7; comp. Gen. i. 9). For other instances see Exod. ix. 28 (Hebrew, or margin); Job xxxvii. 4, 5; xl. 9; Ps. xviii. 13; and especially Ps. xxix., which contains a magnificent description of a thunder storm. Agreeably to the popular speech of ancient nations, the writer ascribes the effects of lightning to the thunder: 'The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars' (ver. 5; comp. 1 Sam. ii. 19). Thunder is also introduced into the poetical allusion to the passage of the Red Sea in Ps. lxxvii. 18. The plague of hail on the land of Egypt is very naturally represented as accompanied with 'mighty thunderings,' which would be *literally* incidental to the immense agency of the electric fluid on that occasion (Exod. ix. 22-29, 33, 34). It accompanied the lightnings at the giving of the law (xix. 16; xx. 18). See also Ps. lxxxi. 7, which probably refers to the same occasion: 'I answered thee in the secret place of thunder,' literally, 'in the covering of thunder,' בסתר רעם, *i. e.* the thunder-clouds. It was also one of the grandeurs attending the divine interposition described in 2 Sam. xxii. 14; comp. Ps. xviii. 13. The enemies of Jehovah are threatened with destruction by thunder; perhaps, however, lightning is included in the mention of the more impressive phenomenon (1 Sam. ii. 10). Such means are represented as used in the destruction of Sennacherib's army (Isa. xxix. 5-7; comp. xxx. 30-33). Bishop Lowth would understand the description as metaphorical, and intended, under a variety of expressive and sublime images, to illustrate the greatness, the suddenness, the horror of the event, rather than the manner by which it was effected (New Translation, and notes *in loc.*). Violent thunder was employed by Jehovah as a means of intimidating the Philistines, in their attack upon the Israelites, while Samuel was offering the burnt-offering (1 Sam. vii. 10; Ecclus. xlvi. 17). Homer represents Jupiter as interposing in a battle with thunder and lightning (*Iliad*, viii. 75, &c.; xvii. 594; see also Spence's *Polymetis*, Dial. xiii. p. 211). Thunder was miraculously sent at the request of Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 17, 18). It is referred to as a natural phenomenon subject to laws originally appointed by the Creator (Job xxviii. 26; xxxviii. 25; Ecclus. xliii. 17); and introduced in *visions* (Rev. iv. 5; vi. 1; viii. 5; xi. 19; xiv. 2; xvi. 18; xix. 6; Esther (Apoc.) xi. 5). In Rev. x. 3, 4, 'seven thunders' [Seven]. It is adopted as a *comparison*. Thus 'as lightning is seen before the thunder is heard, so modesty in a person before he speaks recommends him to the favour of the auditors' (Ecclus. xxxii. 10; Rev. xix. 6, &c.). The sudden ruin of the unjust man is compared to the transitory noise of thunder (Ecclus. xl. 13); but see Arnald, *in loc.* One of the sublimest *metaphors* in the Scriptures occurs in Job xxvi. 14, 'Lo, these are parts of his ways; but how little a portion is heard of him (שָׁמֻץ, a mere whisper); but the *thunder* of his power who can understand?' Here the whisper and the thunder are admirably opposed to each other. If the former be so wonderful and overwhelming, how immeasurably more so the latter? In the sublime description of the war-horse (Job xxxix.) he is said to perceive the battle afar off 'by the thunder of the captains, and the shouting' (ver. 25). That part of the description, however (ver. 19), 'hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?' appears to be a mistranslation. The word רעמה from רעם, 'to be agitated,' 'tremble,' refers rather to the *mane*: 'Canst thou clothe his neck with the trembling mane?' To the class of mistranslations must be referred every instance of the word 'thunderbolts' in our version, a word which corresponds to no reality in nature. Thus 'hot thunderbolts' (Ps. lxxviii. 48, רשפים) means 'lightnings,' τῷ πυρί, *igni*. 'Then shall the right-aiming thunderbolts go abroad' (Wisd. v. 21), βολίδες ἀστραπῶν, 'flashes' or 'strokes of lightning.' 'Threw stones like thunderbolts' (2 Macc. i. 16), συνεκεραύνωσαν. The word conveys an allusion to the mode in which *lightning strikes the earth*. Thunder enters into the appellative or surname given by our Lord to James and John—Boanerges; ὅ ἐστιν, υἱοὶ βροντῆς, says St. Mark, 'sons of thunder' (iii. 17). Schleusner here understands, the thunder of eloquence, as in Aristoph. (*Achar.* 530). Virgil applies a like figure to the two Scipios: 'Duo fulmina belli' (*Æn.* vi. 842). Others understand the allusion to be to the energy and courage, &c. of the two apostles (Lardner's *Hist. of the Apostles and Evangelists.*

ch. ix. § 1; Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v. Βροντή). Theophylact says they were so called because they were great preachers and divines, ὡς μεγαλοκήρυκας καὶ θεολογικοτάτους. Others suppose the allusion to be to the proposal of these apostles to call fire from heaven on the inhospitable Samaritans (Luke ix. 53, 54). It is not certain *when* our Lord so surnamed them [BOANERGES].

The word קוֹל, simply 'voice,' is often used for thunder, as in Exod. ix. 23; Ps. xxix. 3; lxxvii. 18; Jer. x. 13. In the last of these passages the production of rain by lightning is referred to: 'When he uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens, he maketh lightnings with (or for) rain.' It is related (John xii. 28) that Jesus said, 'Father, glorify thy name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again.' Some of the people that stood by, but had not heard the words distinctly, said it had 'thundered,' for the voice came from heaven; others who had caught the words, supposed that God had spoken to Jesus by an angel, conformably to the Jewish opinion that God had never spoken but by the ministry of angels. Perhaps, however, thunder attended the voice, either a little before or after; comp. Exod. xix. 16, 19; Rev. iv. 5; vi. 1 [BATH KOL].—J. F. D.

THYATIRA (Θυάτειρα, τά), a city on the northern border of Lydia, about twenty-seven miles from Sardis, the seat of one of the seven Apocalyptic churches (Rev. i. 11; ii. 18). Its modern name is Ak-hissar, or *the white castle*. According to Pliny, it was known in earlier times by the names Pelopia and Euhippa (*Hist. Nat.* v. 29). Strabo asserts that it was a Macedonian colony (xiii. p. 928). The Roman road from Pergamus to Sardis passed through it. It was noted for the art of dyeing, as appears from Acts xvi. 14. Luke's account has been confirmed by the discovery of an inscription in honour of Antonius Claudius Alphenus by the corporation of dyers, which concludes with the words οἱ βαφεῖς. It still maintains its reputation for this manufacture, and large quantities of scarlet cloth are sent weekly to Smyrna. The town consists of about two thousand houses, for which taxes are paid to the government, besides two or three hundred small huts; of the former 300 are inhabited by Greeks, 30 by Armenians, and the rest by Turks. The common language of all classes is the Turkish; but in writing it, the Greeks use the Greek, and the Armenians the Armenian characters. There are nine mosques and one Greek church.—J. E. R.

THYINE WOOD (ξύλον θύϊνον) is mentioned as one of the articles of merchandise which would cease to be purchased in consequence of the fall of Babylon (Rev. xviii. 12). This wood was in considerable demand by the Romans, being much employed by them in the ornamental wood-work of their villas, and also for tables, bowls, and vessels of different kinds. It is noticed by most ancient authors, from the time of Theophrastus. It was the citron-wood of the Romans; thus Salmasius: 'Θύα Theophrasti est illa citrus, quæ *citreas mensas* dabat Romanis inter lautissima opera' (Cels. *Hierobot.* vol. ii. p. 25). It was produced only in Africa, in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas, and in Granada: 'citrum, arborem Africæ peculiarem esse, nec alibi nasci.' It grew to a great size: 'quarum amplitudo ac radices æstimari possunt ex orbibus' (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 15).



525. [Callitris quadrivalvis.]

This cedar or citron-wood was most likely produced by *Callitris quadrivalvis*, the *Thuja articulata* of Linnæus, which is a native of Mount Atlas, and of other uncultivated hills on the coast of Africa. In the kingdom of Morocco, according to Broussouel, this tree produces the Sandarach resin of commerce. Capt. S. E. Cook, in his *Sketches in Spain* (vol. ii.), brought to light the fact that the wood-work of the roof of the celebrated mosque, now the cathedral of Cordova, built in the 9th century, is of this wood; it had previously been thought to be that of the larch, from the resemblance of the Spanish word *alerce*, which is applied to the wood of *Callitris quadrivalvis* in Spain and Barbary, to the Latin word *larix*. After carefully examining the wood in question, Capt. Cook came to the conclusion that the timber of the mosque was not of any Spanish, or even European tree. 'By a singular coincidence, the subject had been undergoing investigation about the same time in Africa. Mr. D. Hay, the British Consul at Tangiers, had, by tracing the Arabic etymology of the word *alerce* (no doubt *al arz* or *eres*), by availing himself of the botanical researches of the Danish Consul in Morocco, and by collating the accounts of the resident Moors, made out that the *alerce* was the *Thuja articulata*, which grows on Mount Atlas. In corroboration of his views, a plank of its timber was sent to London. This plank, which is in the possession of the Horticultural Society, is 1 foot 8 inches in diameter. Capt. Cook says he is perfectly satisfied of its identity with the parts of the timber of the mosque at Cordova which he examined. It is highly balsamic and odoriferous, the resin, no doubt, preventing the ravages of insects, as well as the influence of the air.' (Lou-



Thomas Stothard, R.A. pinx.

W. Ensom Sculpt.

TIRESIAS.

don's *Arboret.* iv. 2463). This, no doubt, was also the citron or thyine-wood of the ancients, and therefore that of the above cited passage of the Revelation.—J. F. R.

TIBERIAS (Τιβεριάς; Talm. טבריא; Arab. طبرية) is a small town situated about the middle of the western bank of the lake of Gennesareth. Tiberias was chiefly built by the Tetrarch Herodes Antipas, and called by him after the Emperor Tiberius (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3). According to the *Life of Josephus* (§ 65), Tiberias was 30 stadia from Hippo, 60 from Gadara, and 120 from Scythopolis; according to the Talmud, it was 13 Roman miles from Sepphoris; and Joliffe, in his *Travels*, states that it is nearly 20 English miles from Nazareth, and 90 miles from Jerusalem. Others find it above two days' journey from Ptolemais.

From the time of Herodes Antipas to the commencement of the reign of Herodes Agrippa II., Tiberias was the principal city of the province (see Joseph. *Vita*, § 9). Justus, son of Pistus, when addressing the inhabitants of Tiberias, stated that 'the city Tiberias had ever been a city of Galilee'; and that in the days of Herod the Tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place; and that he had ordered that the city Sepphoris should be subordinate to the city Tiberias; that they had not lost this pre-eminence even under Agrippa, the father, but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judæa; but he told them that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present of by Nero to Agrippa; and that upon Sepphoris's submission of itself to the Romans, that city was become the capital of Galilee, and that the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from them.' Tiberias was one of the four cities which Nero added to the kingdom of Agrippa (*De Bell. Jud.* xx. 13. 2). Sepphoris and Tiberias were the largest cities of Galilee (Joseph, *Vita*, § 65). In the last Jewish war the fortifications of Tiberias were an important military station (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 6; iii. 10, 1; *Vita*, § 8, sq.).

According to Josephus (*Vita*, § 12), the inhabitants of Tiberias derived their maintenance chiefly from the navigation of the lake of Gennesareth, and from its fisheries. After the destruction of Jerusalem Tiberias was celebrated during several centuries for its famous Rabbinical academy (see Lightfoot's *Horae Heb.* p. 140, sq.).

Not far from Tiberias, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Emmaus, were warm mineral springs, whose celebrated baths are sometimes spoken of as belonging to Tiberias itself (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 21, § 6; *Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3; *Vita*, § 16; Mishna, *Sabb.* iii. 4; and other Talmudical passages in Lightfoot's *Horae Heb.* p. 133, sq. Compare also Wichmannshausen, *De Thermis Tiberiensibus*, in Ugolini *Thesaur.* tom. vii.) These springs contain sulphur, salt, and iron; and were employed for medicinal purposes. Compare the *Travels* of Volney and Scholz.

There is a tradition that Tiberias was built on the site of the town כנרת *Kinnereth*. Compare Hieronymi *Onomasticon*, sub voc. 'Chennereth:' 'Oppidum, quod in honorem Tiberii Cæsaris Herodes rex Judææ postea instauratum appellavit Tiberiadem, ferunt hoc primum appellatum nomine.' Against this tradition it has been urged that, according to Joshua (xix. 35), Chinnereth belonged to the tribe of Naphthali. Compare Reland (*Palæstina*, p. 161). It has also been said that this tradition is contradicted by the following statement of Josephus (*Antiq.* xviii. 2. 3):—'Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also, and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, such as those that were collected from all parts to dwell in it. He was a benefactor to these, and made them free in great numbers, but obliged them not to forsake the city by building them very good houses at his own expense, and by giving them land also; for he was sensible that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberias, whereas our law pronounces that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.'

Others have identified Tiberias with Chamath; but it also belonged to the tribe of Naphthali, and the graves mentioned by Josephus militate against it as much as against Chinnereth. According to the Rabbins, Tiberias was situated on the site of Rakkath (*Hieros. Megil.* fol. 701). Compare Othonis, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 755; but it too was in the territory of Naphthali, and if the graves mentioned by Josephus are any objection they must militate against this assumption likewise (Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.* cap. 72-74).

According to Joliffe (*Travels*, pp. 48, 49, sq.) the modern Tabaria has about four thousand inhabitants, a considerable part of whom are Jews. The hot springs are about thirty-five minutes from Tabaria, and about twenty paces from the lake. Compare the *Travels* of Mariti, Hasselquist, Buckingham, Burckhardt, and Richter. The site of the present town does not fill the area of the ancient Tiberias, of which there are still some insignificant vestiges. Tabaria suffered greatly by an earthquake on New Year's day, 1837. Almost every building, with the exception of the walls and some part of the castle, was levelled to the ground. The inhabitants were obliged to live for some time in wooden booths (Schubert, in *d. München. Gelehrt. Anzeig.* 1837, No. 191, p. 505; Winer's *Real-Wörterb.*).—C. H. F. B.

TIBERIUS (Τιβέριος), the third Emperor of Rome. He is mentioned by name only by St. Luke, who fixes in the fifth year of his reign the commencement of the ministry of John the Baptist, and of Christ (Luke iii. 1). The other passages in which he is mentioned under the title of Cæsar, offer no points of personal allusion, and refer to him simply as the emperor (Matt. xxii. 17, sq.; Mark xii. 14, sq.; Luke xx. 22, sq.; xxiii. 2, sq.; John xix. 12, sq.).

TIBNI (תִּבְנִי, *building of God*; Sept. Θαμνί), one of those factious men who took a prominent

part in the troubles which followed the violent death of Elah. He disputed the throne of Israel with Omri, and the civil war which was thus kindled between the two factions lasted for about three years with varying success, till the death of Tibni left his adversary master of the crown, B.C. 929 (1 Kings xvi. 21-23).

TIDAL (תִּדְעָל, *veneration;* Sept. Θαργάλ), one of the allies who with Chedorlaomer invaded Palestine in the time of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 1). Tidal bears the somewhat singular title of 'king of nations' or 'Gentiles' (גּוֹיִם *goyim*). Some make it almost a proper name here, as in Josh. xii. 23, where we read of a 'king of the Gentiles, (*goyim*) of Gilgal.' Le Clerc and others take it for Galilee, because in Isa. viii. 23, we meet with 'Galilee of the nations.' But there were reasons for its having then acquired that name, which did not exist in the time of Abraham, when all Palestine and the neighbouring countries were as much Gentile as Galilee. In fact, we cannot tell who these Goyim were over whom Tidal ruled; but it seems probable that he was a chief of several confederated tribes, whose military force he contributed to the expedition of Chedorlaomer.

TIDHAR (תִּדְחָר) is twice mentioned in Scripture (Isa. xli. 19, and lx. 13), in both of which places it is enumerated along with the BEROSH and TEASHUR, or cypress and box-tree, and is translated *pine-tree* in the Authorized Version. But it has been variously interpreted, and even by the same translator in the two passages. Thus it is rendered *elm* in one passage, and *box* or *pine* in the other. In the Chaldee paraphrase, the word *murneyan*, commonly thought to mean the elm, is used as the synonyme of *tidhar*. But no similar name having been discovered in any of the cognate languages, no proofs can be adduced in favour of one more than another. The name *tidhara*, meaning 'three-cornered,' is applied in India to a species of Euphorbia (E. antiquorum); but this is not likely to be the plant alluded to in Scripture. Gesenius is of opinion that *tidhar* signifies a durable tree, or one that yields durable wood. It is difficult, therefore, to select from among the trees of Lebanon that which is specially intended.—J. F. R.

TIGLATH-PILESER, the Assyrian king who subjected the kingdom of Israel in B.C. 747. [See ASSYRIA, ISRAEL.]

TIGRIS (חִדֶּקֶל; Sept. Τίγρις), one of the four rivers of Paradise, twice mentioned in Scripture under the name of HIDDEKEL (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4). In Aramæan it is called ܕܩܠ *Digla*, in Arabic دجلة *Diglat*, in Zend *Teger*,



526. [The Tigris at its junction with the Euphrates. Korna.]

in Pehlvi *Tegera*, 'stream;' whence have arisen both the Aramæan and Arabic forms, to which also we trace the Hebrew *Dekel* divested of the prefix *Hid.* This prefix denotes activity, rapidity, vehemence, so that Hid-dekel signifies 'the rapid Tigris.' From the introduction of the prefix, it would appear that the Hebrews were not entirely aware that *Teger*, represented by their דקל *Dekel*, by itself signified velocity; so in the language of Media, Tigris meant an *arrow* (Strabo, ii. 527; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 27; comp. Pers. تیر *teer*, 'arrow;' Sanscrit *tigra*, 'sharp,' 'swift'): hence arose such pleonasms as 'king Pharaoh' and 'Al-coran.'

The Tigris rises in the mountains of Armenia, about fifteen miles south of the sources of the Euphrates, and pursues nearly a regular course south-

east till its junction with that river at Korna, fifty miles above Basrah (Bassorah). The Tigris is navigable for boats of twenty or thirty tons' burden as far as the mouth of the Odorneh, but no further; and the commerce of Mosul is consequently carried on by rafts supported on inflated sheep or goats' skins. These rafts are floated down the river, and when they arrive at Bagdad, the wood of which they are composed is sold without loss, and the skins are conveyed back to Mosul by camels. The Tigris, between Bagdad and Korna, is, on an average, about two hundred yards wide; at Mosul its breadth does not exceed three hundred feet. The banks are steep, and overgrown for the most part with brushwood, the resort of lions and other wild animals. The middle part of the river's course, from Mosul to Korna, once the seat of high culture and the residence of mighty kings, is now desolate, covered with the relics of ancient greatness in the shape of fortresses, mounds, and dams, which had been erected for the defence and irrigation of the country. At the ruins of Nimrod, eight leagues below Mosul, is a stone dam quite across the river, which, when the stream is low, stands considerably above the surface, and forms a small cataract; but when the stream is swollen, no part of it is visible, the water rushing over it like a rapid, and boiling up with great impetuosity. It is a work of great skill and labour, and now venerable for its antiquity. The inhabitants, as usual, attribute it to Nimrod. It is called the Zikr-ul-Aawaze. At some short distance below there is another Zikr (dyke), but not so high, and more ruined than the former. The river rises twice in the year: the first and great rise is in April, and is caused by the melting of the snows in the mountains of Armenia; the other is in November, and is produced by the periodical rains. See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 448; Kinneir, *Geog. Mem. of Pers. Empire*, pp. 9, 10; Rich's *Koordistan*, which includes a minute and accurate account of observations made in a voyage down the river from Mosul to Bagdad, and of another voyage up the river from Basrah to the same place; being in fact a survey of the greater and more interesting part of the Tigris.

TIMBRELS. [Musical Instruments.]

TIMNA (תִּמְנָע, *restraint;* Sept. Θαμνά), a concubine of Eliphaz, the son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 12-22; 1 Chron. i. 36). From her the name passed over to an Edomitish tribe (Gen. xxxvi. 40; 1 Chron. i. 51).

TIMNAH (תִּמְנָה; Sept. Θαμνά), or TIMNATH (תִּמְנַת), an ancient city of the Canaanites (Gen. xxxviii. 12), first assigned to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 10-57), and afterwards to Dan (Josh. xix. 43); but it long remained in the possession of the Philistines (Judg. xiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxviii. 18; comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 8. 5). It is chiefly noted as the abode of Samson's bride, and the place where he held his marriage feast. It is probably represented by a deserted site now called Tibneh, which is about one hour's journey south-west of Zerah, the residence of Samson. Another Timnah lay in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xxv. 57; Gen. xxviii. 12-14).

TIMNATH-HERES. [Timnath-serah.]

TIMNATH-SERAH (תִּמְנַת־סֶרַח, *portion of abundance*, i. e. *remaining portion;* Sept. Θαμνασαράχ), a town in the mountains of Ephraim, which was assigned to Joshua, and became the place of his residence and burial (Josh. xix. 50; xxiv. 30). In Judg. ii. 9, it is called Timnath-heres (*portion of the sun*); but the former is probably the correct reading, since a possession thus given to Joshua after the rest of the land was distributed (Josh. xix. 49), would strictly be a portion remaining. This was probably the same with the Timnah (Θαμνά) of Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. iv. 11. 12; *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 5), the head of a toparchy lying between those of Gophna and Lydda; which seems to be recognised in a place called Tibneh, lying north-west of Gophna on the Roman road to Antipatris (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, i. 483). The choice of Joshua was certainly not in the best of the land. Jerome relates that Paula, when travelling in these parts, marvelled that the distributor of the possessions of the children of Israel should have chosen for himself a situation so rough and mountainous (*Epitaph. Paulæ*, fol. 99).

TIMOTHY (Τιμόθεος), a young Christian of Derbe, grandson of Lois, and son of Eunice, a Jewess, by a Greek father, who was probably a proselyte (Acts xvi. 1; xx. 4). He seems to have been brought up with great care in his family, and to have profited well by the example of the 'unfeigned faith' which dwelt in the excellent women named in 2 Tim. i. 5; iii. 15. The testimonials which Paul received in Lycaonia in favour of this young disciple, induced the apostle to make him the companion of his journeys and labours in preaching the Gospel (Acts xvi. 2, 3; 1 Tim. iv. 12). He became his most faithful and attached colleague; and is frequently named by Paul with truly paternal tenderness and regard. He calls him 'son Timothy' (1 Tim. i. 18); 'my own son in the faith' (1 Tim. i. 2); 'my beloved son' (1 Cor. iv. 17); 'my workfellow' (Rom. xvi. 21); 'my brother' (which is probably the sense of Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφός in 2 Cor. i. 1). Timothy appears to have been with the apostle at Rome, and to have been, like him, a prisoner there, though liberated before him (Heb. xiii. 23). His subsequent history is, however, unknown. It appears from 1 Tim. i. 3, that when Paul went into Macedonia he left Timothy in charge of the church at Ephesus, and there are indications that he was still at Ephesus when the apostle was (as usually understood) a second time captive at Rome, and without hope of deliverance (1 Tim. iii. 14). The tradition is, that Timothy retained the charge of the church at Ephesus till his death, and eventually suffered martyrdom in that city.

TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO. The common authorship of these two epistles has seldom been denied; nor, if denied, could the denial be successfully maintained, so marked and so numerous are the points of resemblance between the two, except upon the assumption that the one has been made up from the other. When, however, we proceed to inquire, By *whom* were they written? the question is one which has occasioned in more recent times no small controversy.

If we defer to the testimony of the early ecclesiastical writers, no doubt will remain upon the

point. For the high antiquity of these epistles, the allusions to passages in them by Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius, sufficiently vouch (Lardner, ii. 20, 38, 79, 96). That they are also to be regarded as genuine productions of the apostle whose name they bear, is attested by Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* lib. i., *sub init.* iii. 3. 3); by Theophilus of Antioch, who quotes 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, along with Rom. xiii. 7, 8, as part of 'the divine word' (*Ad Autol.* iii. 14); by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 383); *ibid.* p. 448); by Tertullian (*De Præscr. Hæret.* c. 25); by Caius (ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 20); by Origen, &c. (comp. Lardner, vol. ii. To this weighty mass of external evidence, there is nothing to oppose of the same kind, for the omission of these epistles by Marcion from his *Apostolicon*, is a fact, to which, from the well-known caprice and prejudice of that heretic, no weight can be attached. Unless, therefore, difficulties of an insurmountable nature are presented by the epistles themselves to our regarding them as the productions of Paul, we must hold their claim to rank as his to be unimpeachable.

That such difficulties are presented by these epistles has been confidently maintained by Eichhorn (*Einleit.* iii. ff. 317), and De Wette (*Einleit.* s. 283, ff.), as well as by some other scholars of less note. The learned and acute Schleiermacher has also assailed the genuineness of the first epistle in his *Kritisches Sendschreiben an J. C. Gass* (Berlin, 1807); but that of the second he admitted, and not only so, but was wont to censure the attempts of those who rejected it and that to Titus, as 'removing the occasion and the means for the criticism of the first' (Lücke, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1834, s. 766). To examine all the cavils which these eminent men, in the exercise of that micrologistic criticism, in which it seems characteristic of their nation to delight, would be a task altogether incompatible with the limits within which we are confined. A succinct survey of the more weighty of their objections we shall, however, attempt to supply; beginning with those which are common to both epistles, and proceeding to such as are peculiar to each.

1. It is objected that the general style of these epistles is not Pauline. 'Has Paul's language in general,' asks Eichhorn, 'the clearness and ease of expression which we find in these pastoral epistles? Is it not much more unpolished, careless, and allied to a prose which has been thrown together, rather than carefully elaborated?' &c. 'The force of such an objection,' Eichhorn adds, 'it is very difficult to make apparent to those who have not the natural gift of discerning modes of writing.' A most convenient difficulty! enabling the critic to retort the charge of incapacity upon all who do not see the characteristics of Paul's style in exactly the same light as they are viewed by him. We shelter ourselves behind the ample authority of Hug, who says of the latter part of the objection, that it 'is absolutely false,' and who replies to the former by asserting for a letter, written by the apostle to a friend so intimate as Timothy, the right to exhibit a more free and flowing style than would be proper in a letter addressed to a church (*Introd.* Fosdick's transl. p. 569).

2. Much stress is laid by all who have impugned the Pauline origin of these epistles on the occurrence in them of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, and forms of expression not elsewhere usual with Paul. But to this it may be replied that the same objection might be offered against many of the unquestioned writings of the apostle, such, *e. g.*, as the epistle to the Galatians, in which 57 ἅπαξ λεγόμενα occur, and the epistle to the Philippians, in which we find 54, &c.; from which it appears but fair to infer that the occurrence of such is, so far as it can prove anything, an evidence for rather than against the Pauline origin of these epistles. All such reasonings, however, appear to rest upon too precarious a basis to be allowed much weight. When it is remembered how much the style of a writer is affected by his subject, by his design, by the state of his mind at the time of writing, by the circumstances of the parties for whom his composition is intended, as well as how much in the course of a few years the style of even a very careful writer alters, we shall cease to be much moved by the occurrence in the epistles of such a writer as Paul, of unexpected varieties and peculiarities of expression. The only valid argument that can be urged against the genuineness of a writing from such facts is, when it can be shown that the writer has used phrases or words, which it is historically impossible that the party to whom the writing is ascribed could have employed; as has been done so successfully in several instances by Bentley, in his work on the Epistles ascribed to Phalaris. No attempt of this sort, however, is made by those who have impugned the authenticity of the Epistles to Timothy; 'not one word has been adduced which can be shown to be foreign to the age of Paul; not a single phrase has been pointed out, of which either the outward form or the conception on which it is based, belongs to a later age' (Planck, *Bemerkungen, u. s. w.* s. 17). So far from this, Eichhorn himself admits 'that they have in their language much that is Pauline,' and that the allusion to the apostle's persecuting zeal before his conversion (1 Tim. i. 13), the principles asserted respecting both the substance and the form of Christianity, and the proofs adduced, are highly Pauline (p. 318).

Besides these objections, which apply to both epistles alike, there are some which affect each epistle separately.

To the first epistle it is objected: 1. That it presents Timothy in a light in which it is inconsistent with other notices of him in Paul's epistles to regard him. Here he appears as little better than a novice, needing instruction as to the simplest affairs of ecclesiastical order; whereas, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, written earlier than this, we find him (iv. 17) described by Paul as 'My beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach everywhere in every church;' and in 1 Thess. i. 1-3, we are told that the apostle had sent him to Thessalonica to establish the believers there, and to comfort them concerning their faith. If Timothy was so well able to regulate the churches at Corinth and Thessalonica, how, it is asked, can it be supposed that a short while afterwards he should require such minute instructions for his conduct as this epistle contains? To this it may be replied, (1) that in visiting Corinth and Thessalonica Timothy acted as the apostle's delegate, and had,

doubtless, received from him minute instructions as to how he should proceed among those to whom he was sent; so that the alleged difference in the circumstances of Timothy when sent to Corinth, and when left in Ephesus, disappears; (2) that it does not necessarily follow, from the injunctions given to Timothy in this epistle, that the writer regarded him as a novice; for they rather respect the application of general principles to peculiar local circumstances, than set forth instructions such as a novice would require; and (3) it is not to be forgotten that the apostle designed through Timothy to present to the church at large a body of instruction which should be useful to it in all ages of its existence.

2. It is objected that after the church at Ephesus had enjoyed the apostle's instructions and presidency for three years, it could not have been, at the time this epistle is supposed to have been written by Paul, in such ignorance of ecclesiastical arrangements as the injunctions here given would lead us to suppose. But what is there in the epistle that necessitates such a supposition? It contains many directions to Timothy how he should conduct himself in a church, some of which are certainly of an elementary character, but there is nothing that leads to the conclusion that they were *all* intended for the benefit of the church at Ephesus, or that the state of that church was such as to require that injunctions of this kind should be given for its sake alone. Timothy's sphere of evangelistic effort extended greatly beyond Ephesus; and this epistle was designed at once to guide him as to what he was to do in the churches which he might be called to regulate, and to supply his authority for so doing. Besides, does it not naturally occur that such minute injunctions are just such as a person forging this epistle at a later period in Paul's name, would be most likely to avoid?

3. The absence of allusions to events in Timothy's history has been alleged against the Pauline origin of this epistle. A strange objection!—and as untenable as strange! This may be seen by a reference to the following passages: i. 18; iv. 14; v. 23; vi. 12.

4. It is alleged that the writer of this epistle has made such a mistake as Paul could not have made when he classes Alexander with Hymenæus (1 Tim. i. 20) as a false Christian, whereas we know from 2 Tim. iv. 14, that he was not a Christian at all. But where is the shadow of evidence that the Alexander mentioned in 1 Tim. i. 20, is the same person with the Alexander mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 14? Was this name so uncommon in Ephesus that we must needs suppose a blunder, where a writer speaks of one so called as a heretic, simply because in other passages mention is made of one so called who was not a heretic? Nothing can be more obvious than that there were two Alexanders, just as there might have been twenty, known to the apostle and Timothy; and that of these two one was a heretic and troubler of the church at Ephesus, and the other probably a heathen and an enemy of the apostle.

5. In 1 Tim. i. 20, mention is made of Hymenæus as a heretic, whom the writer makes Paul say he had excommunicated; but this is a mistake, for in 2 Tim. ii. 17, we find Hymenæus still a member of the church at Ephesus, and such a mistake could not have been made by Paul. Here, however, it is assumed without proof, (1) that the Hymenæus of the one epistle is the same as the Hymenæus of the other; (2) that being the same, he was still a member of the same church; and (3) that it was impossible for him, though excommunicated, to have returned as a penitent to the church, and again to have become a plague to it. Here are three hypotheses on which we may account for the fact referred to, and until they be all excluded it will not follow that any blunder is chargeable upon the writer of this epistle.

6. In 1 Tim. vi. 13, the writer refers to our Lord's good confession before Pontius Pilate. Now of this we have a record in John's Gospel; but as this was not written in Paul's time, it is urged that this epistle must be ascribed to a later writer. It is easy to obviate any force that may appear to be in this remark by the consideration that all the prominent facts of our Lord's life, and especially the circumstances of his death, were familiarly known by oral communication to all the Christians before the Gospels were written. Though, then, John's Gospel was not extant in Paul's time, the facts recorded by John were well known, and might therefore be very naturally referred to in an epistle from one Christian to another. Of our Lord's confession before Pilate we may readily suppose that Paul, the great advocate of the spirituality of the Messiah's kingdom, was especially fond of making use.

7. The writer of this epistle, it is affirmed, utters sentiments in favour of the law which are not Pauline, and teaches the efficacy of good works in such a way as to be incompatible with Paul's doctrine of salvation by grace. This assertion we may safely meet with a pointed denial. The doctrine of this epistle concerning the law is, that it is good if it be used *νομίμως*, as a law, for the purposes which a moral law is designed to serve; and what is this but the doctrine of the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, where the apostle maintains that in itself and for its own ends the divine law is holy, just, and good, and becomes evil only when put out of its proper place, and used for purposes it was never designed to serve? (Rom. vii. 7-12; Gal. iii. 21, &c.) What the writer here teaches concerning good works is also in full harmony with the apostle Paul's teaching in his acknowledged epistles (comp. Rom. xii., Ephes. v. and vi., &c.); and if in this epistle there is no formal exposition of the Gospel scheme, but rather a dwelling upon practical duties, the reason may easily be found in the peculiar character of this as a pastoral epistle—an epistle of official counsels and exhortations to a minister of Christianity.

8. De Wette asserts that 1 Tim. iii. 16, bears marks of being a quotation from a confession or symbol of the church, of which there were none in Paul's day. But what marks of this does the passage present? The answer is, the use of the word *ὁμολογουμένως*, a technical word, and the word used by the ecclesiastical writers to designate something in accordance with orthodox doctrine. This is true; but as technical words are first used in their proper sense, and as the proper sense of *ὁμολογουμένως* perfectly suits the passage in question, there is no reason for sup-

posing any such later usage as De Wette suggests. Besides, his argument tells both ways, for one may as well assert that the ecclesiastical usage arose from the terms of this passage, as affirm that the terms of this passage were borrowed from ecclesiastical usage.

9. The writer of this epistle quotes *as a part of Scripture* a passage which occurs only in Luke x. 7; but as Luke had not written his Gospel at the time Paul is supposed to have written this epistle, and as it is not the habit of the New Testament writers to quote from each other in the way they quote from the Old Testament, we are bound to suppose that this epistle is the production of a later writer. But *does* this writer quote Luke x. 7, in the manner alleged? The passage referred to is in ch. v. 18, where we have first a citation from Deut. xxv. 4, introduced by the usual formula, 'The Scripture saith;' and then the writer adds, as further confirmatory of his position, the saying of our Lord, which is supposed to be quoted from Luke's Gospel. Now we are not bound to conclude that this latter was adduced by the writer as a part of Scripture. It may be regarded as a remark of his own, or as some proverbial expression, or as a well-known saying of Christ's, by which he confirms the doctrine he is establishing. We are under no necessity to extend the formula with which the verse is commenced so as to include in it *all* that the verse contains. The καὶ by itself will not justify this; indeed we may go further, and affirm that the use of καὶ alone rather leads to an opposite conclusion, for had the writer intended the latter clause to be regarded as a quotation from Scripture as well as the former, he would probably have used some such formula as καὶ πάλιν (comp. Heb. ii. 13).

10. De Wette maintains that the injunction in ch. v. 23, is so much beneath the dignity of an apostle, that we cannot suppose it to have proceeded from such a writer as Paul. But what is there in such an injunction less dignified than in many injunctions of an equally familiar nature scattered through Paul's epistles? And in what is it incompatible with the apostolic character that one sustaining it should enjoin upon a young, zealous, and active preacher, whom he esteemed as his own son, a careful regard to his health; the more especially when, by acting as is here enjoined, he would vindicate Christian liberty from those ascetic restraints by which the false teachers sought to bind it.

Such are the principal objections which have of late been urged against the Pauline authorship of the first epistle to Timothy. Let us now turn to glance with equal brevity at those which have been urged against the second. Of these the most weighty are founded on the assumption that this epistle must be viewed as written during the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome; and as, for reasons to be subsequently stated, we do not regard this assumption as tenable, it will not be necessary to occupy space with any remarks upon them. We may leave unnoticed also those objections to this epistle which are mere repetitions of those urged against the first, and which admit of similar replies.

1. In ch. iii. 11, the writer enumerates a series of persecutions and afflictions which befell him at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, of which he says Timothy knew. Would Paul, it is asked, in making such an enumeration, have committed the mistake of referring to persecutions which he had endured *before* his connection with Timothy, and have said nothing of those which he endured *subsequently*, and of which Timothy *must* have known, whilst of the former he *might* be ignorant? But there is no mistake in the matter. Paul has occasion to refer to the knowledge Timothy had of his sufferings for the Gospel. Of these some had occurred before Timothy's connection with him, whilst others had occurred while Timothy was his companion and fellow-sufferer. Of the latter, therefore, Paul makes no specific mention, feeling that to be unnecessary; but of the former, of which Timothy could know only by hearsay, but of which he no doubt did know, for we cannot conceive that any interesting point in Paul's previous history would be unknown to his 'dear son in the faith,' he makes specific enumeration. This fully accounts for his stopping short at the point where Timothy's personal experience could amply supply the remainder.

2. The declaration in ch. iv. 7, &c. is incompatible with what Paul says of himself in Phil. iii. 12, &c. But respect must be had to the very different circumstances in which the apostle was when he wrote these two passages. In the one case he viewed himself as still engaged in active work, and having the prospect of service before him; in the other he regards himself as very near to death, and shortly about to enter into the presence of his master. Surely the same individual might in the former of these cases speak of work yet to do, and in the latter of his work as done, without any contradiction.

3. In ch. i. 6, and ii. 2, there are allusions to ecclesiastical ceremonies which betray a later age than that of Paul. This is said without reason. The laying on of hands in the conferring of a χάρισμα was altogether an apostolic usage; and the hearing of Paul's doctrines was what Timothy, as his companion in travel, could easily enjoy, without our needing to suppose that the apostle is here represented as acting the part of professor in a school of theology.

A survey of these objections, to say nothing of the petty cavils with which De Wette has crowded his pages, and which one can only wonder that such a man should for a moment have deemed worthy of notice, will amply show that no real and insuperable objection lies in the way of our yielding full assent to the claims of these two epistles to Timothy to rank among the productions of the apostle Paul. On the contrary, the entire spirit, tone, character, and contents of these epistles are so truly Pauline, that they carry the evidence of their authenticity with them, and set at defiance the idle ingenuity of men to whom scepticism has become a habit, and who, indifferent to all consequences, seek only to display their learning or acuteness in their assaults upon the sacred writings.

(Comp. the *Introductions* of Hug, Haerlium, Michaelis, Eichhorn, De Wette, Bertholdt, Guericke, Schott, &c.; Schleiermacher, *Ueb. den sogenannten ersten Brief des Paulos an den Timotheos, ein Kritisches Sendschreiben an J. C. Gass*, Berlin, 1807, 12mo.; Planck, *Bemerkungen über d. ersten Paulin. Brief an d. Tim.*, Gött. 1808, 8vo.; Beckhaus, *Specimen Obss.*

crit. exeget. de vocabulis ἅπαξ λεγομένοις in I. ad Tim. Ep. Paulina obviis, authentia ejus nihil detrahentibus, Lingæ, 1810, 8vo.; Curtius, *De tempore quo prior Pauli ad Tim. Epist. exarata sit*, Berol. 1828, 8vo., &c.)

Assuming that these epistles were written by Paul, the question next to be considered respects the *time* when each of them was composed.

With regard to the first, it is clear that it was written not long after Paul had left Ephesus for Macedonia (ch. i. 3). Now from Acts xx. 1, we learn that Paul left Ephesus after the uproar caused by Demetrius, and went into Macedonia. Shall we suppose, then, that it was at this time this epistle was written? Many excellent critics reply in the affirmative; and upon the whole we think this opinion the one to be preferred. It is not, however, without difficulties; the chief of which lies in the fact that Timothy, to whom this epistle is addressed, appears to have been with Paul in Macedonia at this time (comp. 2 Cor. i. 1). To obviate this objection, it has been suggested that Paul might have written this epistle immediately after leaving Ephesus, and the second to the Corinthians not before the concluding period of his stay in Macedonia; so that Timothy might have visited him in the interval. This appears to remove the difficulty, but it does so by suggesting a new one; for how on this supposition are we to account for the apostle's delaying so long to write to the Corinthians after the arrival of Titus, by whose intelligence concerning the state of the Corinthian church Paul was led to address them? [Second Epistle to the Corinthians.] It may be asked also if it be likely that Timothy, after receiving such a charge as Paul gives him in this epistle, would so soon have left Ephesus and followed the apostle. Pressed by these difficulties, many critics of note have resorted to the hypothesis that this epistle must have been written at a later period, subsequent to the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome, and upon a journey undertaken by him during the interval between that and his final imprisonment. As the evidence that the apostle took such a journey is purely hypothetical and inferential, it must be admitted that the hypothesis built upon it as to the date of this epistle rests at the best on somewhat precarious grounds. This hypothesis, besides, seems to assume the possibility of churches remaining in and around Ephesus in a state of defective arrangement and order for a greater length of time than we can believe to have been the case. It is opposed also by what Paul says, ch. iv. 12, from which we learn that at the time this epistle was written Timothy was in danger of being despised as a youth; but this could hardly be said of him *after* Paul's first imprisonment, when he must on the lowest computation have been thirty years of age. And, finally, this hypothesis is directly opposed to the solemn declaration of Paul to the elders of the church at Ephesus when he met them at Miletum: 'I know that ye all shall see my face no more' (Acts xx. 25), for it assumes that he did see them again and preached to them. These difficulties in the way of the hypothesis of a later date for this epistle seem to us weightier than those which attach to the other supposition.

With regard to the second epistle, it is certain that it was written at Rome, and whilst Paul was a prisoner there (i. 8, 16; ii. 9; i. 17; iv. 21); but the question arises, was it during his first or his second imprisonment that this took place?

In favour of the first, the most weighty consideration arises out of the fact that the apostle appears to have had the same individuals as his companions when he wrote this epistle, as he had when he wrote the epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, and that to Philemon, which we know were written during his first imprisonment at Rome. 'At the beginning of the imprisonment,' says Hug, who has very forcibly stated this argument in favour of the earlier hypothesis, 'when the epistle to the Ephesians was written, Timothy, who was not one of Paul's companions on the voyage to Italy (Acts xxvii. 2), was not with him at Rome; for Paul does not add his name in the address with which the epistle commences, as he always did when Timothy was at his side. Timothy afterwards arrived; and accordingly, at the outset of the epistles to the Colossians and Philemon, his name appears with the apostle's (Col. i. 1; Phil. 1); secondly, Luke was in Paul's company (Col. iv. 14; Phil. 24); thirdly, Mark was likewise with him (Col. iv. 10; Phil. 24); fourthly, Tychicus was then Paul's διάκονος and letter-bearer, and, in particular, was sent to Asia (Ephes. iv. 21; Col. iv. 7, 8). All these circumstances are presented to view in the second epistle to Timothy. Timothy was not with Paul at first, but was summoned to his side (2 Tim. iv. 9, 21); secondly, Luke was with him (iv. 11); thirdly, he wishes Mark to come with Timothy, so that he must have been with him in the course of his imprisonment (iv. 11); fourthly, Tychicus was with him in the capacity of letter-bearer, and, in particular, was sent to Asia (iv. 12). Now, in order to suppose that Paul wrote this epistle to Timothy during a second imprisonment at Rome, we must assume that the circumstances of both were exactly the same, &c. We must also assume that Paul at both times, even in the latter part of Nero's reign, was permitted to receive friends during his confinement, to write letters, dispatch messengers, and, in general, to have free intercourse with everybody' (*Introduction*, p. 556, &c., Fosdick's transl.).

The case, as here stated, it must be admitted, is strongly in favour of our assigning the composition of this epistle to the time of Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. On the other hand, the difficulties lying in the way of this seem insuperable. Hug's reasoning assumes that the epistle must have been written in the *early* part of the apostle's imprisonment, else Timothy could not have been absent at the time of its composition. But that this is utterly inadmissible the following considerations show:— 1. When Paul wrote to the Colossians, the Philippians, and Philemon, Demas was with him; when he wrote this epistle to Timothy, Demas had forsaken him, having loved this present world and gone to Thessalonica (iv. 10). 2. When Paul wrote to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon, he was in good hopes of a speedy liberation from his imprisonment; when he wrote this epistle to Timothy he had lost all these hopes, and was anticipating death as near at hand (iv. 6-8). 3. At the time this epistle was written Paul had been, if not oftener, at least

once before the bar of the emperor, when he had offered his apology (iv. 16). 4. Tychicus, the bearer of the letters to the Colossians, had been despatched from Rome *before* this epistle to Timothy was written (iv. 12). 5. At the time the epistles to the Colossians and Philemon were written, Aristarchus was with Paul; by the time this was written Aristarchus had left Paul (iv. 11). All these circumstances forbid our supposing that this Second Epistle to Timothy was written before the epistles above named, that is, in the early part of Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. Shall we then assign the epistle to a later period of that same imprisonment? Against this also lie difficulties. Before we can admit it we must suppose that Timothy and Mark, who did not accompany Paul to Rome, had shortly after followed him thither, and, after remaining awhile, left Paul, and were again requested by him in this epistle to return; that during the interval of their absence from Rome, Paul's first trial had occurred; and that, yet even before he had so much as appeared before his judges, he had written to his friends in terms intimating his full confidence of a speedy release (Phil. i. 25; ii. 24; Philem. 22). These circumstances may perhaps admit of explanation; but there are others which seem to present insuperable difficulties in the way of the supposition, that this epistle was written at any period of Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. 1. Paul's imprisonment, of which we have an account in the Acts, was of a much milder kind than that in which he was at the time he wrote this epistle. In the former case he was permitted to lodge in his own hired house, and to receive all who came to him, being guarded only by a single soldier; in the latter he was in such close confinement that Onesiphorus had no small difficulty in finding him, he was chained, he suffered evil even unto bonds as a malefactor, his friends had mostly deserted him, and he had narrowly escaped destruction from the Roman tyrant (i. 16-18; ii. 9; iv. 6, 7, 8, 18). 2. In ch. iv. 13, he requests Timothy to bring with him from Troas some books, parchments, &c., which he had left at that place. If we suppose the visit here referred to the same as that mentioned in Acts xx. 5-7, we must conclude that these documents had been allowed by the apostle to lie at Troas for a space of seven or eight years, as that length of time elapsed between the visit to Troas, mentioned by Luke, and Paul's first imprisonment at Rome. This is surely very unlikely, as the documents were plainly of value to the apostle; and if by φαιλόνης, in this passage, he meant a *cloak* or *mantle*, the leaving of it for so long a time unused, when it might have been of service, and the sending so anxiously for it, when it could be of little or none, as the apostle's time of departure was at hand, must be allowed to be not a little improbable. 3. In ch. iv. 20, Paul speaks of having left Trophimus sick at Miletus. Now this could not have been on the occasion referred to in Acts xx. 15; for subsequent to that Trophimus was with Paul at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29). It follows that Paul must have visited Miletus at a subsequent period; but he did not visit it on his way from Jerusalem to Rome on the occasion of his first imprisonment; and this, therefore, strongly favours the hypothesis of a journey subsequent to that event, and immediately antecedent to the writing of this epistle. The attempt to enfeeble the force of this by translating ἀπέλιπον, '*they* left' &c., and understanding it of messengers from Ephesus coming to visit Paul, is ingenious, but can hardly be admitted, as no sound interpreter would forcibly supply a subject to a verb where the context itself naturally supplies one. 4. In ch. iv. 20, the apostle says 'Erastus abode in Corinth.' Such language implies that shortly before writing this epistle the apostle had been at Corinth, where he left Erastus. But before his first imprisonment Paul had not been at Corinth for several years, and during the interval Timothy had been with him, so that he did not need to write to him at a later period about that visit (Acts xx. 4). Hug contends that ἔμεινε simply expresses the fact that Erastus was then residing at Corinth, without necessarily implying that Paul had left him there; but would the apostle in this case have used the aorist?

On these grounds the hypothesis has been adopted, that Paul, after his first imprisonment, was set at liberty, resumed his missionary labours, was again apprehended, and wrote this epistle during his second imprisonment. Whichever hypothesis we adopt we shall encounter difficulties; but the latter seems, upon the whole, the preferable (comp. the *Introductions* of Horne, Hug, Michaelis, Eichhorn; Hemsen's *Leben Pauli;* Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, &c.).

The *design* of the first epistle is partly to instruct Timothy in the duties of that office with which he had been intrusted, partly to supply him with credentials to the churches which he might visit, and partly to furnish through him guidance to the churches themselves. It may be divided into *three* parts, exclusive of the introduction (i. 1, 2), and the conclusion (vi. 20, 21). In the *first* of these parts (i. 3-20) the apostle reminds Timothy generally of his functions, and especially of the duties he had to discharge in reference to certain false teachers, who were anxious to bring the believers under the yoke of the law. In the *second* (ii.-vi. 2) he gives Timothy particular instructions concerning the orderly conducting of divine worship, the qualifications of bishops and deacons, and the proper mode of behaving himself in a church. In the *third* (vi. 3-19) the apostle discourses against some vices to which the Christians at Ephesus seem to have been prone.

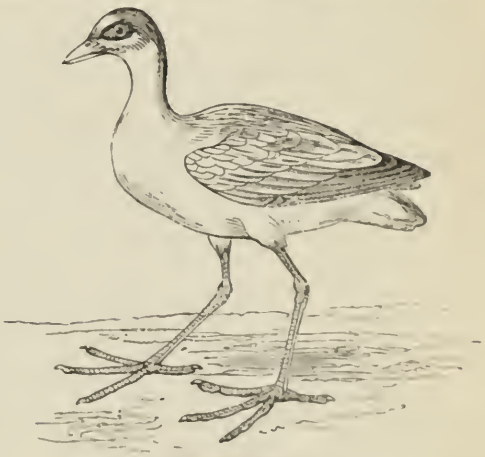
The design of the Second Epistle is partly to inform Timothy of the apostle's trying circumstances at Rome, and partly to utter a last warning voice against the errors and delusions which were corrupting and disturbing the churches. It consists of an inscription (i. 1-5); of a series of exhortations to Timothy, to be faithful in his zeal for sound doctrine, patient under affliction and persecution, careful to maintain a deportment becoming his office, and diligent in his endeavours to counteract the unhallowed efforts of the false teachers (i. 6; iv. 8); and a conclusion in which Paul requests Timothy to visit him, and sends the salutations of certain Christians at Rome to Timothy, and those of the apostle himself to some believers in Asia Minor.

Commentaries: Mosheim, *Erklärung der beyden Briefe des Ap. Pauli an den Timotheum*, Hamb. 1755, 4to.; Zachariae, *Paraphrast. Erklär. der*

Br. an Tim., 1775. Wegscheider, *Der I. Br. des Ap. P. an d. Tim. übersetz und erklärt.* Gött. 1810, 8vo.; Heydenreich, *Die Pastoralbriefe Pauli erlaütert.* Hadamar. 1826-1828, 2 vols. 8vo.; Mack, *Comment. üb. d. Pastoralbr. des Ap. Paulus*, Tüb. 1841, 8vo.; Matthies, *Erklär. d. Pastoralbr.* Griefswald, 1840; Leo, *Pauli Epist. prima ad Tim. Græca cum Comment. perpetuo*, Lips. 1838, 8vo.—W. L. A.

TIN (בְּדִיל *bedil;* Sept. *κασσίτερος*). If this substance be really intended by the Hebrew word, which seems somewhat doubtful, it is first mentioned among the metals which were to be purified by fire found among the prey taken from the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 22). It is also named among the articles of commerce which the Tyrians received from Tarshish (Ezek. xxvii. 12); and a levelling instrument of *bedil* used by builders is noticed in Zech. iv. 10. The Hebrew word also denotes the *alloy* of lead, tin, and other inferior metals, combined with silver in the ore and separated from it by smelting (Isa. i. 25).

TINSHEMETH (תִּנְשֶׁמֶת). This name has already been referred to the 'chamæleon,' but there is no doubt that it also denotes a bird; for it occurs in the enumeration of unclean species which the law forbade to be eaten, and we are not at liberty to presume that a lizard could be meant, where all the others are positively flying creatures (Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 16). Bochart, with his usual learning, endeavours to prove it to be a species of owl; but in that case not less than three species of owls would be enumerated in the series, while many other birds that cannot well be assumed to be clean would be omitted. The Sept. and the Vulgate understand a water-fowl to be meant, the first rendering it *πορφυρίων*, and the second, not comprehending the meaning of this designation, rendering it 'swan.' Giggeius wavered between these two; and Dr. Mason Harris, seemingly not better informed, and confounding the American red species with the white one of Africa, guessed that *porphyrion* must mean the 'flamingo.' The swan, for which some recent scholars contend, asserting that it was held sacred in Egypt, does not occur, so far as we have ascertained, in any Egyptian ancient picture, and is not a bird which, in migrating to the south, even during the coldest seasons, appears to proceed further than France or Spain, though no doubt individuals may be blown onwards in hard gales to the African shore. We recollect only two instances of swans being noticed so far to the south as the sea between Candia and Rhodes: one where a traveller mentions his passing through a flock reposing on the sea during the night; the other recorded by Hasselquist, who saw one on the coast of Egypt; but we conjecture that they mistook pelicans for swans, particularly as the last mentioned are fresh-water birds, and do not readily take to the true salt sea. Parkhurst, deriving the word from נשם *nasam*, 'to breathe,' was inclined to render Tinshemeth by 'goose;' but as this bird is not by the present Jews deemed unclean, it may be confidently assumed that no mistake in this matter can have occurred during any period, and consequently that the goose cannot have been marked unclean by the law, and afterwards admitted among the clean birds, with its name transferred to another species. The Hebrew dictionary by Selig Newman, it is true, renders Tinshemeth 'swan;' but the Polyglotts show the great uncertainty there is in several of the names of both the chapters in question. We prefer the rendering of the Sept., because the porphyrion, or purple gallinula, cannot have been unknown to the translators, as it was no doubt common in the Alexandrian temples, and was then, as it is now, seen both in Egypt and Palestine. The circumstance of the same name being given to the chamæleon may have arisen from both having the faculty of changing colours, or being iridescent; the first when angry becoming green, blue, and purple—colours which likewise play constantly on the glossy parts of the second's plumage. The porphyrion is superior in bulk to our water-hen or gallinula, has a hard crimson shield on the forehead, and flesh-coloured legs; the head, neck, and sides are of a beautiful turquoise blue, the upper and back parts of a dark but brilliant indigo.



527. [The Porphyrion.]

The porphyrion is a remarkable bird, abounding in the southern and eastern parts of Europe and Western Asia, feeding itself standing on one leg, and holding its food in the claws of the other. It was anciently kept tame in the precincts of pagan temples, and therefore perhaps was marked unclean, as most, if not all, the sacred animals of the heathens were. When in the decline of idolatry the dog, peacock, ibis, the purple bird in question, and other domesticated ornaments of the temples, had disappeared, Gesner's researches show how early and long the writers of the middle ages and of the revival of literature were perplexed to find again the porphyrion of the ancients, although modern naturalists have not the shadow of a doubt upon the subject, the species being, moreover, depicted upon Egyptian monuments. We subjoin a figure of *porphyrio hyacinthinus*, the species most common in Europe, although there are several others in Asia and Africa; *porphyrio erythropus*, abundant on the south-east coast of Africa, appears to be that which the pagan priests most cherished.—C. H. S.

TIPHSAH (תִּפְסַח; Sept. *Θαψά*), a large and opulent city on the western bank of the Euphrates. It is doubtless the same as the Thapsacus of the Greeks and Romans. The name means 'ford;' and the town was, in fact, situated at the lowest fording-place of the Euphrates; whence it became the point of trading-communication between the natives east and west of the river. On

this account, and as commanding the ford, the possession of the place was deemed of great importance by the ruling powers of the day (Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 4-11; Arrian, ii. 13; iii. 7; Strabo, xvi. p. 1082; Q. Curtius, x. 1-9). This circumstance explains the contentions of the kings of Syria and Egypt respecting Carchemish, which was a strong place a little lower down the river, at the junction of the Chaboras. Solomon obtained possession of Tiphsah (1 Kings iv. 24), probably in connection with the series of operations (of which the building or fortification of Tadmor was one) adopted by him for the purpose of drawing the Eastern trade into his own dominions [Solomon; Tadmor]. Nothing remains of Tiphsah at the present day except the name; but the site is supposed to be marked by the village of Ed-Deyr. The Tiphsah of 2 Kings xv. 16, is usually identified with the above by Jewish writers; but it seems rather to have been in the land of Israel, and not far from Tirzah.

TIRHAKAH, king of Cush (Ethiopia in the Common Version), who in the days of Hezekiah came out against Sennacherib when he was making war on Judah (2 Kings xix. 9; Isa. xxxvii. 9). He is the Ταρακός of Manetho, the third king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, and the Τεαρκών of Strabo (xv. 687), with whom the twenty-fifth Ethiopic dynasty came to an end. According to Strabo, he made his way victoriously as far as the pillars of Hercules. The length of his reign is fixed by Syncellus at eighteen, and by Eusebius at twenty years. According to the first statement, the period of his reign falls in the years 714-696 B.C. His successful opposition to the power of Assyria is recorded on the walls of a Theban temple, for at Medinet Habu are the figure and the name of this king and the captives he took. That Tirhakah ruled at Napata, now Gebel Berkel, and in the Thebaid at the same period, is proved by the additions he made to the temples of Thebes, and by the monuments he built in Ethiopia. That he was a very potent monarch is evident from his defeat of Sennacherib, as well as from the monuments he has left both in Egypt and Ethiopia, and his maintenance of the Egyptian possessions in Asia; and although Strabo may have exaggerated his power when he affirms that he extended his conquests like Sesostris into Europe, yet his authority is of use, as it leads to the conclusion that Tirhakah ruled Lower as well as Upper Egypt [Sennacherib].—J. R. B.

TIRSHATA (תִּרְשָׁתָא; Sept. *ἀθερσασθά*), a title borne by Zerubbabel and Nehemiah as Persian governors of Judæa (Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65, 70; viii. 9; x. 2). It seems to come from the Persic ترش *torsh*, 'severe,' and, in that case, would be equivalent to 'your severity:' comp. 'dread sovereign,' and the German 'gestrenger Herr,' a title formerly borne by the magistrates of the free and imperial German states.

TIRZAH (תִּרְצָה) is mentioned only once in Scripture, namely in Isa. xliv. 14. 'He (that is, the carpenter, ver. 13) heweth him down cedars, and taketh the cypress (*tirzah*), for the purpose of making an idol. There is no doubt but the wood must have been of a texture fit to be worked, as well as to retain the shape given to it. Though translated 'cypress,' we have no proof that this tree was intended, but it is well suited for the purpose indicated [Berosh]. The Greek translators, Aquila and Theodotion, have employed a word which denotes the wild or forest oak (*ἀγριοβάλανος*). The oldest Latin version renders the Hebrew word by *ilex*, 'the evergreen oak' (Rosenmüller, p. 317). As the wood of this species is well-fitted for being worked into images, and was so employed by the ancients, it is possible that it may be that intended, though we have no satisfactory proof of its being so.

TIRZAH (תִּרְצָה; Sept. Θερσά), an ancient Canaanitish city (Josh. xii. 24), pleasantly situated (Cant. vi. 4), which Jeroboam made the capital of his kingdom, and which retained that rank till Samaria was built by Omri (1 Kings x.; xv. 21; xvi. 24; 2 Kings xv. 4). It is nowhere stated to what tribe this town belonged; but Adrichomius (*Theat. T. S.*, p. 74) and others place it in Manasseh. Lightfoot (*Chorograph. Cent.* c. 88) seems to suspect that Tirzah and Shechem were the same; for he says that 'if Shechem and Tirzah were not one and the same town,' it appears that Jeroboam had removed when his son died from where he was when he first erected his idols (comp. 1 Kings xii. 25; xiv. 17). It is not very probable that Shechem and Tirzah were the same; but it would seem that they were not very distant from each other. The site is, however, entirely unknown.

TISHBITE (תִּשְׁבִי; Sept. Θεσβίτης), the Gentile name of Elijah—'Elijah the Tishbite' (1 Kings xvii. 1, 2; xxi. 17)—derived from a town called Tishbi in the tribe of Naphtali, the name of which occurs only in Tob. i. 2, Θίσβη (see Reland, *Palæstina*, p. 1035).

TISRI (תִּשְׁרִי, from a root which denotes *to begin*) was the first month of the civil, and the seventh month of the ecclesiastical year, in which fell the Festival of Atonement and that of Tabernacles. In 1 Kings viii. 2, it is termed the month of Ethanim, that is, the month of streaming rivers, which are filled during this month by the autumnal rains. It corresponds with our September—October. Tisri is one of the six names of months found in Palmyrene inscriptions; which, with other evidence, renders it very probable that the Jewish names of months form a member in a great series of names of months, which were extensively in use in the eastern parts of the world (see *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker* von T. Benfey und M. A. Stern, Berlin, 1836).—J. R. B.

TITHE, &c. (מַעֲשֵׂר, Lev. xxvii. 30, 31, 32, &c.; Sept. *δεκάτη, scil. μοῖρα*, 'a part;' Vulg. *decimæ*). The Hebrew word is plainly derived from עשׂר, 'ten,' which also means 'to be rich;' hence ten is the *rich* number, because *including* all the units under it. The same idea is retained in the Greek; thus, *δέκω, δέχομαι*, 'to receive,' 'hold,' &c. *δέκα*, 'ten,' because the ten fingers hold everything; and in the Latin, *teneo;* French, *contenir;* English, *contain, ten.* Pythagoras speaks of the Decade, which is the sum of all the preceding numbers 1+2+3+4, as *comprehending* all musical and arithmetical proportions. For a view of his doctrine of numbers, and the probability of its Egyptian origin, see Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of*

the Ancient Egyptians, vol. iv. pp. 193-200. For Aristotle's similar ideas of the number ten, see *Probl.* iii. 15. This number seems significant of completeness or abundance in many passages of Scripture. Jacob said unto Laban, 'Thou hast changed my wages these ten times' (Gen. xxxi. 41); 'Am not I better to thee than ten sons' (1 Sam. i. 8)? 'These ten times have ye reproached me' (Job xix. 3); 'Thy pound hath gained ten pounds' (Luke xix. 16), &c. This number, as the end of less numbers and beginning of greater, and as thus signifying perfection, sufficiency, &c., may have been selected for its suitableness to those Eucharistic donations to religion, &c., which mankind were required to make probably in primeval times. Abraham gave to Melchizedec, 'priest of the most high God,' a tenth of all the spoils he had taken from Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 20; Heb. vii. 4). The incidental way in which this fact is stated, seems to indicate an established custom. Why should Abraham give tithes of the spoils of war, and not of other things? For instances of the heathen dedicating to their gods the tenth of warlike spoils see Wetstein on Heb. vii. 4. Jacob's vow (Gen. xxviii. 22) seems simply to relate to *compliance* with an established custom; his words are, literally, 'And all that thou shalt give me, I will assuredly tithe it unto thee' עשר אעשרנו לך. On the practice of the heathen, in various and distant countries, to dedicate tithes to their gods, see Sir Henry Spelman, *On Tithes*, ch. xxvi.; Selden, c. iii.; Lesley's *Divine Right of Tithes*, § 7; Wetstein on Heb. vii. 2. The Mosaic law, therefore, in this respect, as well as in others, was simply a reconstitution of the patriarchal religion. Thus, the tenth of military spoils is commanded (Num. xxxi. 31). For the law concerning tithes generally, see Lev. xxvii. 30. &c., where they are first spoken of as things already known. These tithes consisted of a tenth of all that remained after payment of the first-fruits of seeds and fruits, and of calves, lambs, and kids. This was called the first tithe, and belonged to God as the sovereign and proprietor of the soil (Lev. xxvii. 30-32; 2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6). The proceeds of this rent, God, as king, appropriated to the maintenance and remuneration of his servants the Levites, to be paid to them in their several cities (Num. xviii. 21-24). A person might redeem or commute in money his tithes of seeds and fruits, by adding the value of a fifth part to them (Lev. xxvii. 31). Out of this tithe the Levites paid a tenth to the priests, called the tithe of tithes, or tithe of holy things (Num. xviii. 26-28); and another tithe of the produce of the fields belonging to their cities (ver. 29). The first tithe being paid, the proprietor had to set apart out of the remainder a second tithe, to be expended by him in the courts of the tabernacle, in entertaining the Levites and his own family, &c. (Deut. xii. 18). If the trouble and expense of transporting this second tithe in kind to the tabernacle were too great, he might turn it into money, but this he must take in person, and expend there for the appointed purpose (ver. 24-28). Some have supposed that in addition to the first and second tithe, there was another, to be paid every third year to the poor, &c. (Deut. xiv. 28, 29), and that it is referred to in Tobit i. 6-8 (τρίτην δεκάτην, 'the third tithe);' but others understand the meaning to be, that every third year, called שנת־המעשר, 'the year of tithes,' the people made a feast of the second tithes in their *own houses* for the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (Deut. xii. 26; Jahn, *Bibl. Arch.* § 390), and that from being put to this use every third year, it was called 'the third tithe,' and 'poor man's tithe.' Josephus, however, speaks positively of a third tithe every third year to those in want (*Antiq.* iv. 8. 8, 22). It seems that the people were left to their own consciences in regard to the just payment of their tithes, subject, however, to the solemn declaration 'before the Lord,' which they were required to make concerning it every third year (Deut. xxvi. 12-16). Possibly the Levites were not prohibited from taking due care that they received their rights, inasmuch as in later times, at least, they paid their own tithes to the priests under sacerdotal supervision (Neh. x. 38). Upon examination it will be found that the payments required by Moses of the Jewish people were exceedingly moderate, and were no doubt easily borne till they chose to incur the additional expenses of a regal establishment. It pleased God, while sustaining the relation to them of sovereign and proprietor of the land, to require the same quit-rent of one-tenth which was usually paid to the kings in other nations (1 Sam. viii. 14, 15, 17; comp. 1 Macc. ii. 35). Aristotle speaks of it as παλαιὸς νόμος, 'an ancient law' at Babylon (*Œconomic.* lib. ii. sub fin.). In Egypt one-fifth was paid to the king, which was more than the first-fruits and first and second tithes put together. This quit-rent God appointed to be paid to the Levites for their subsistence, since their festive share in the second tithes can hardly be accounted part of their income. They had, as a tribe of Israel, an original right to one-twelfth of the land, for which they received no other compensation than the tithes, subject to the sacerdotal decimation, their houses, and glebes. In return for these, they consecrated their time and talents to the service of the public [LEVITES]. The payment of tithes, &c. was re-established at the restoration of religion by Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6, 12), and upon the return from the captivity by Nehemiah (x. 37; xii. 44; xiii. 5). The prophet Malachi reproves the people for their detention of the tithes, &c., for which they had brought a divine chastisement by famine upon themselves, and promises a restoration of plenty upon their amendment (iii. 8-12; comp. iii. 9; Ecclus. xxxv. 9). In our Saviour's time the Pharisees scrupulously paid their tithes, but neglected the weightier matters of the law. His comment on their conduct conveys no censure on their punctiliousness on this point, but on their neglect of more important duties. 'These *ought ye to have done*, and not to leave the other undone' (Matt. xxiii. 23; Luke xviii. 12). For an illustration of St. Paul's reasoning on Abraham's payment of tithes to Melchizedec (Heb. vii. 4, &c.), see Stuart, *On the Hebrews;* Professor Wilson, *On the Priesthood of Christ.* On the Jewish tithes, see Hottinger, *De decimis Judæorum*, Lugdun. Batav. 1713; Michaelis, *On the Laws of Moses*, by A. Smith, Lond. 1814, vol. iii. pp. 141-146; and *On the Heathen Tithes;* Rose's *Inscriptiones Græcæ*, Lond. 1825, p. 215.—J. F. D.

TITUS (Τίτος), a Christian teacher, and companion and fellow-labourer of St. Paul. He was of Greek origin, but was converted by the apostle, who therefore calls him his own son in the faith (Gal. ii. 3; Tit. i. 4). He was one of the persons sent by the church of Antioch to Jerusalem to consult the apostles, and it was not judged necessary that he should receive circumcision (Acts xv. 2; Gal. ii. 1). After a time we find him in company with Paul at Ephesus, whence he was sent to Corinth (2 Cor. xii. 18), where he was well received, discharged with discretion the task confided to him, and declined to suffer the church to defray his expenses (2 Cor. viii. 13, sq.; xii. 18). He then proceeded to Macedonia, and at Philippi rejoined his master, who had vainly been expecting him at Troas (2 Cor. vii. 6; ii. 12, 13). He was then employed by Paul in preparing the collection for the poor saints in Judæa, and, as an incident of this mission, became the bearer of the second epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. viii. 16, 17, 23). On a subsequent journey, Titus was left by the apostle in Crete, to establish and regulate the churches in that island (Tit. i. 5), and he was still there when he received the epistle from St. Paul which bears his name (Tit. iii. 12). He is therein desired to join the apostle at Nicopolis; and it is presumed that he did so, and afterwards accompanied him in his last journey to Rome, whence he was sent into Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv. 10). Tradition states that Titus eventually returned to Crete, and died there at an advanced age.

TITUS, EPISTLE TO. The genuineness of this Epistle is attested by a large body of evidence, and seems never to have been questioned, except by the heretic Marcion, and that upon the most frivolous grounds (Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* v. 21), until, in recent times, it was attacked by Eichhorn and De Wette. It is manifestly quoted by Clement of Rome (*Ep. ad Cor.* cap. 2); and it is referred to as the production of Paul by Irenæus (iii. 3. § 4); as part of the divine word by Theophilus (*Ad Antol.* iii. § 14); as Paul's, by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. lib. i. p. 299, and in many other places); by Tertullian (*De Præser. Hær.* c. 6); and by Origen, in many places (Lardner, *Works*, vol. ii. 8vo.). The objections of the German critics are founded chiefly upon the difficulty of ascertaining the proper date of this Epistle, and upon minute peculiarities in its style and sentiments. The latter class of objections are so much identical with those already considered in reference to the Epistles to Timothy, that it is unnecessary to enter upon any examination of them here. To the former the best reply will be furnished by ascertaining, if possible, when and where the Epistle was written; but even should we fail in this, it would be strange were we to relinquish our conviction of the authenticity of an ancient writing simply because, possessing very imperfect information as to many parts of the alleged author's history, we were unable to say with certainty when he was in circumstances to compose it.

It is evident from the Epistle itself, that at the time it was written Paul had recently visited Crete (ch. i. 5); that he was about to spend the winter in Nicopolis (ch. iii. 12); and that Apollos was about to visit Crete, on his way to some other place (ch. iii. 13). These points may serve, in some measure, if not as indices to the exact time when this Epistle was written, at least as criteria by which to test the truth of any hypothesis that may be suggested on this subject.

We learn from the Acts of the Apostles that Paul visited Crete on his voyage to Rome (ch. xxvii. 7); but the shortness of his visit at that time, the circumstances under which it was made, and the improbability of his expecting to spend the ensuing winter at Nicopolis, place it out of the question to suppose that it was to this visit he refers in this Epistle. As this is, however, the only visit recorded by Luke, in rejecting it we are forced to suppose another visit, and to find some period in the apostle's life when it was probable that such a visit was paid.

It has been suggested by Henry that the period referred to in Acts xviii. 18, 19 admits of our placing this visit to Crete within it. Paul, at that time, was on his journey from Corinth to Palestine, but on some account or other landed at Ephesus. This leads to the suggestion that the apostle must either voluntarily have departed from the usual course in order to visit some place lying between Corinth and Ephesus; or that he must have been driven by stress of weather from the course he meant to pursue. In either case the probability of his visiting Crete at that time is strong. We find, from the mention made by Paul in this Epistle of Apollos, that he, on his way from Ephesus to Corinth (Acts xviii. 24; xix. 1), was to touch at Crete; which renders it not improbable that it was customary for ships sailing between these two ports to call at Crete by the way; and Paul may have availed himself of this practice in order to visit Crete before going to Palestine. Or he may have sailed in a ship bound directly from Corinth to Palestine, and have been driven out of his course, shipwrecked on Crete, and obliged to sail thence to Ephesus as his only remaining method of getting to his original destination—a supposition which will not appear very improbable when we remember that Paul must have suffered several shipwrecks of which Luke gives no account (2 Cor. xi. 25, 26); and that his getting to Ephesus on his way from Corinth to Palestine is a fact for which, in some way or other, we are bound to account.

It was whilst staying on this occasion at Ephesus that Henry supposes Paul to have written this Epistle. As confirmatory of this may be adduced the two other facts above referred to as mentioned in the Epistle itself, viz. the visit of Apollos to Crete, and Paul's intention to winter at Nicopolis. From Acts xix. 1 we learn that during the time Apollos was residing at Corinth, whence he had gone from Ephesus, Paul was engaged in a tour through the upper coasts (viz. Phrygia and Galatia; comp. Acts xviii. 23), which ended in his return to Ephesus. This tour was commenced after the apostle had been at Jerusalem and Antioch (ch. xviii. 22). It appears, therefore, that Paul left Antioch much about the same time that Apollos reached Corinth. But Apollos went to Corinth from Ephesus, Paul went to Jerusalem from Ephesus. At this city, therefore, they must have met; and before leaving it Paul probably wrote this Epistle, and gave it to Apollos to deliver to Titus at Crete, on his way to Corinth.

Further, Paul went up to Jerusalem to keep the feast; after which he visited Antioch, and then

travelled for some considerable time in Upper Asia. He, therefore, probably spent the winter somewhere in Asia Minor. Now there was a town named Nicopolis, between Antioch and Tarsus, near to which, if not through which, Paul must pass on his way from Antioch to Galatia (Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 465, ed. Casaubon, fol. 1587). May not this have been the very place referred to in Tit. iii. 12? In such a locality it was quite natural for Paul to desire to spend the winter; and as Titus was a native of Asia it would be well known to him, especially if he knew what route the apostle designed to pursue. All this supports the hypothesis that Paul wrote this Epistle before leaving Ephesus to go to Syria.

Another circumstance in favour of this hypothesis is the close resemblance in sentiment and phraseology between this Epistle and the first Epistle to Timothy. This resemblance is so close, and in some particulars so peculiar, that we are naturally led to conclude that both must have been written whilst the same leading ideas and forms of expression were occupying the apostle's mind. Now the first Epistle to Timothy was most probably written after Paul had left Ephesus the second time to go into Macedonia [TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO], that is, about two years and a half after the period when Henry supposes the Epistle to Titus to have been written. To some this may appear too long a time to justify any stress being laid upon the similarity of the two epistles in this question of their respective dates; but when it is remembered that during the interval Paul had been dealing at Ephesus with very much the same class of persons, to whom a great part of both Epistles refer, and that both are addressed to persons holding the same peculiar office, the force of this objection will be weakened.

Such is Henry's hypothesis. To us it appears worthy of all respect. The only one which can compete with it is that which Benson, Paley, Pearson, and several other British scholars have adopted, viz. that this Epistle was written after Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, and whilst he was residing probably at Nicopolis in Macedonia. As this hypothesis, however, is formed solely *out of the Epistle itself*, it can be legitimately resorted to only when no other, supported by external authority, can be found. If Henry's hypothesis be not untenable, it must on this account claim the preference.

The task which Paul had committed to Titus, when he left him in Crete, was one of no small difficulty. The character of the people was unsteady, insincere, and quarrelsome; they were given to greediness, licentiousness, falsehood, and drunkenness, in no ordinary degree; and the Jews who had settled among them appear to have even gone beyond the natives in immorality. Among such a people it was no easy office which Titus had to sustain when commissioned to carry forward the work Paul had begun, and to set in order the affairs of the churches which had arisen there, especially as heretical teachers had already crept in among them. Hence Paul addressed to him this Epistle, the main design of which is to direct him how to discharge with success the duties to which he had been appointed. For this purpose the apostle dilates upon the qualifications of elders, and points out the vices from which such should be free (ch. i.). He then describes the virtues most becoming in aged persons, in the female sex, in the young, in servants, and in Christians generally (ch. ii.). From this he proceeds to enjoin obedience to civil rulers, moderation, gentleness, and the avoidance of all idle and unprofitable speculations (iii. 1-11). He then invites Titus to join him at Nicopolis, commends to him certain brethren who were about to visit Crete, and concludes with the apostolic benediction (ver. 12-15).

Commentaries. Most of those who have written commentaries on the Epistles to Timothy have written also on that to Titus. The following works are on Titus alone: Taylor, *Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul written to Titus*, Cambridge, 4to., 1612, fol., 1658; P. von Haven, *Commentatio Analyt. in Ep. Pauli ad Titum*, Hamb. 4to. 1742.—W. L. A.

TOB (טוֹב; Sept. Τώβ), a region or district beyond the Jordan into which Jephthah withdrew when expelled from Gilead (Judg. xi. 5). As the name occurs nowhere else, some doubt has arisen in determining its position. *Tob* signifies 'good,' and the Targum and Abarbanel render what we translate 'land of Tob' by 'good land;' while Kimchi and Ben Gerson look upon *Tob* as the name of the lord or owner of the land. It is, however, more usually regarded as the name of a city or country, and some conjecture it to be the same with Ish-tob, which was not far from the land of the Ammonites, seeing that they sent thither for assistance (2 Sam. x. 6). Jerome makes it a country, but says nothing of its situation. Junius places it on the border of Arabia Deserta; which is likely, if Tob be the same with the Τούβιον or Τώβιον of 1 Macc. v. 13.

TOBIAH, a base Samaritan, who, having raised himself from a state of slavery to be a trusted favourite of Sanballat, did his utmost to gratify his master by resisting the proceedings of Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. With an affectation of scorn, he, after the manner of Remus in the Roman legend, looked on the constructions of the now hopeful and thriving Jews, and contemptuously said, 'Even if a fox go up he will break down their stone wall' (Neh. iv. 3). This insult was the more disgraceful to Tobiah, because his own conduct quickly exposed the insincerity which lay at the bottom of it, for he took a prominent and active part with Sanballat in his unworthy courses against Nehemiah. In these treachery had its share; which Tobiah was enabled to carry on the more easily because he had allied himself with the chief men of Judah, having married the daughter of Shechaniah, the son of Arah, while his son Johanan had taken to wife the daughter of Meshullam, the son of Berechiah (Neh. vi. 17, sq.; comp. xiii. 4). These dishonest practices and the use of threats alike proved nugatory. Nehemiah, however, was obliged to leave Jerusalem. By this absence Tobiah profited, in order, with the aid of his relative Eliashib, the priest, to get himself comfortably and splendidly established in 'a great chamber in the house of God' (ch. xiii. 4). But his glory was short-lived. Nehemiah returned and caused him and his household-stuff to be ignominiously cast out of the temple. This is the last that we know of this member of that vile class who are ready and unscrupulous tools in the

hands of their superiors for any dishonourable undertaking.—J. R. B.

TOBIT, BOOK OF (Sept. Τωβίτ, Τωβήτ, Vulg. *Tobias, Tobis*) [Apocrypha], one of the deutero-canonical books, containing the private history of a venerable and pious old man of this name, who was carried captive into Assyria by Shalmaneser. The following is an abstract of the narrative.

At the time of the destruction of Samaria and the exile of the ten tribes [B.C. 734-678], there lived a pious Israelite, of the tribe and city of Naphtali in Galilee, named Tobit, or, according to the Vulgate, Tobias, who was distinguished above his compatriots for his piety and his strict observance of the law. Instead of following their example in sacrificing to the golden calves (1 Kings xii. 30), he went regularly to Jerusalem to the feasts, paid his tithes and first-fruits, and was distinguished by his charities. Upon the conquest of Samaria by Shalmaneser, here called Enemessar (Ἐνεμέσσαρος), he was carried away captive to Nineveh,* where he was intrusted by that monarch with the high office of purveyor to the court. Having amassed considerable wealth, he employs a portion of it in relieving the wants of his fellow-exiles, and deposits ten talents of silver with his kinsman Gabael (Γαβαήλος) who resided at Rages, in Media. Shalmaneser is succeeded at his death by Sennacherib, the oppressor of the Israelites, who displaces Tobit, and puts to death several of the exiles, especially after the failure of his unfortunate expedition against Hezekiah, King of Judah. Tobit still devotes himself to the protection of his unhappy countrymen, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and burying the dead. The circumstance of his performing the last office for one of his murdered compatriots having reached the ears of the irritated monarch, Tobit conceals himself from his fury by flight, until Sennacherib's assassination by his own two sons, when he returns to Nineveh under the protection of his kinsman Achiacharus, keeper of the signet and cup-bearer to Esar-haddon. His property meantime is taken away from him, and nothing left him but his wife Anna, and his son Tobias. He still perseveres in burying the dead, and upon one occasion having rendered himself unclean by burying a strangled Israelite, he lies all night outside the walls of his house, when he has the misfortune to be deprived of the sight of both his eyes by the hot dung of some swallows, who had chanced to nestle over his head. He is now maintained by Achiacharus until the departure of the latter for Elymais, and his wife is forced to support herself by manual labour. His scrupulous honesty during his state of poverty draws down upon him the unjust reproaches of his wife, who, like Job's, upbraids him with his integrity and his misfortunes. Tobit can endure no more, and prays for death.

It happened on the same day that Tobit's kinswoman Sara, the daughter of Raguel, an exile at Ecbatana,† in Media, had to sustain an equally unmerited and cruel reproach under the following singular circumstances. She had been betrothed at various times to seven different men, each of whom was destroyed on the day of his nuptials by the demon Asmodeus. Having punished one of her female slaves, the latter reproaches Sara with being herself the murderess of her seven husbands. Sara's indignation at these unmerited taunts at first suggests to her the idea of putting an end to her existence, but her filial duty sustains her, and she prays for death or the vindication of her honour. She descends from her chamber, where she had been praying at her window, and at the same moment Tobit enters his own house. It appears from the sequel that the prayers of both are heard.

Tobit, under the apprehension of death, sends his son Tobias to Rages for the ten talents which he had deposited with Gabael. A young stranger of his kindred, named Azarias, offers himself as his companion, and he sets out accompanied by his dog. While bathing in the Tigris he is rescued, by the help of Azarias, from the jaws of an enormous fish (supposed by Bochart to be a shark). He drags the fish to shore, and by the advice of his companion takes out the gall and liver to preserve them for medicinal purposes. Upon arriving at Rages, they proceed to the house of Raguel, where Azarias brings about a marriage between Tobias and his fair cousin Sara, and teaches him to expel the demon by the fumes arising from the heart and liver of the fish. Asmodeus now flees, and is bound in the deserts of Egypt. Azarias meantime proceeds to Rages, and receives the ten talents from Gabael, who accompanies him to Ecbatana. Upon the conclusion of the festivities the bride and bridegroom return to Nineveh, Tobias having received as his marriage dower half the wealth of his father-in-law Raguel. Tobias is now anxiously and hourly expected by his parents. Their approach is first announced by the appearance of the dog, who, according to the Vulgate, shows his joy by fawning and wagging his tail (blandimento suæ caudæ gaudebat). Tobias greets his venerable father, and at the same moment, by the advice of the faithful Azarias, anoints his eyes with the gall of the fish, by which his sight is restored. The joy of all is now complete. Tobit proposes to reward Azarias by giving him half the amount of the deposit, when he concludes a beautiful admonition on the advantages of prayer and almsgiving by the unexpected announcement, 'I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One.' Tobit and Tobias burst out into a sublime song of thanksgiving, and the former concludes with reiterating the prophecy of Jonah respecting the destruction of Nineveh, and adds a prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, of the Babylonish exile, and of the rebuilding of the second temple, to be succeeded by the universal return of the Jews from all places of their captivity, the rebuilding of Jerusalem in splendour, and of a glorious temple. Tobit dies at Nineveh, at the advanced age of 158, according to the Greek, or 102 according to the Vulgate, having seen six grandchildren; and Tobias, who

* The tribe of Naphtali was, however, carried away captive by Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xv. 29), nearly twenty years before. Tobit must therefore have remained behind his tribe, or an historical inaccuracy be acknowledged.

† So the Greek, old Latin, and Hebrew of Fagius. The Vulgate here, instead of Ecbatana, reads Rages.

survives the destruction of Nineveh (Sept. xiv. 15), dies at Ecbatana, at the age of 127, or of 99 years according to the Vulgate, wherein it is also stated that he saw his children's children as far as the fifth generation (Vulg., xiv. 15).

Character of the Narrative.—The question has been first raised in modern times, whether this book is a true history or a moral fiction. All ancient writers looked upon it as historical and authentic. As far as we have been able to ascertain, Luther was the first who doubted its historic truth. He does not at the same time conceal his admiration of its contents. 'What we have said of Judith,' he observes (*Pref. to Tobit*), 'may be equally applied to Tobias. If it be a history, it is a fine holy history; if it be a fiction, it is a fine holy fiction. But if a fiction, it is indeed a right beautiful, wholesome, profitable fiction, the play of a poet rich in fancy.' And again, 'Would God the Greeks had learned from the Jews their method of comedies and tragedies as well as much of their other wisdom and godliness, for Judith furnishes a good, serious, gallant tragedy; Tobit a fine, pleasant, devout comedy. As Judith teaches . . . . . that blustering tyrants often meet with an ignominious end, so Tobit shows that however ill it fares with a pious burgher or peasant, who has much to endure in the married state, God is ever at hand to bring to a joyful issue the case of such as, with prayer and good works, patiently support their sufferings.'

Paul Fagius agreed with Luther in representing the history of Tobit as a moral fiction, but Eichhorn observes that he had but few followers. Most of the moderns, among whom are Eichhorn, Jahn, and Bertholdt, have, however, adopted this view, to which, it has been observed, not only its resemblance to the book of Job, but also its historical and geographical difficulties, and the significancy of its names, not a little contribute (De Wette, *Einleitung*). In this last particular those writers have also Luther as their precursor. 'The Greek text,' observes this distinguished reformer and commentator, 'shows that it is a drama, for it makes Tobit speak in the first person. Subsequently a master reduced it to a regular narrative. The names are a further evidence of its being a fiction, for Tobias signifies "a pious man" (טוביה, *goodness of God*), from whom proceeds a second Tobias. . . . . As misfortunes do not come alone, he becomes blind, is at variance with his dear Anna . . . . Anna means "graceful." . . . The devil, Asmodeus, means the "destroyer," and is the house-devil, who spoils everything, so that all goes wrong with children and servants. . . . . Sarah means "heroine." . . . Raphael signifies a "physician" (רפא, see Gen. l. 2), also called Azarias, that is, "helper," son of the great Ananias, that is, the chief helper or God. Without his help all goes wrong through the power of Asmodeus.'

Luther adds, that this book is, although the work of a fine Hebrew poet, as profitable to the Christian as it was to the Jew. Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Jahn, and others, who consider the work a pure fiction, do not entirely agree upon its main object, although they lean to the opinion that the moral is contained in the words of Raphael (xii. 6-10). Seiler (§ 218, Wright's *Translation*, p. 312), supposes that the book of Tobit is designed to convey, in the form of a moral tale, the following truth,—that the pious, notwithstanding all their zeal in good works, have often many sufferings to undergo, but will be finally rewarded by God.' The author probably intended to imitate the book of Job.

Others have maintained that the book is partly historical and partly mythical. Among these is Ilgen (*Die Geschichte Tobis nach 3 verschied. Originalen*, 1830), who supposes that Tobit is a true but poetically adorned history, interspersed with beautiful and edifying discourses. Calmet, although he does not go the length of these writers (who consider the miraculous portions to be designed merely as ornaments to the plot), supposes that the narrative has been embellished by various writers; but it is amusing to hear him, by way of supporting the historic truth of the narrative, attaching some degree of credit to the report that a monstrous serpent, which is still said to reside in a cavern in Egypt, is no other than the demon Asmodeus. Gutmann, a modern Jewish Rabbi, in his learned work (*Die Apokryphen des Alten Test.*, Alton. 1841), adopts the opinion that the book of Tobit is a fiction founded on facts. Under any view he conceives the moral of the book to be of a pure and exalted character, and the book itself on this account to be one of the most important among the Apocrypha. Alber maintains (as might be expected) the literal historical truth of the whole book.

Author, Age, and Language.—The author of the book is unknown. The old writers considered it to have been the work of Tobit and his son Tobias (Huet, *Demonst. Evang.*). But this opinion has no other authority than the fact that Tobit (in the Greek) speaks in the first person in the first three chapters, and that in xii. 20, Raphael says to Tobit, 'Write all things which are done in a book.' Calmet supposes that the memoirs left by Tobias and his son were edited by some later writer, who composed the history; but he does not attempt to determine in what age he lived. Eichhorn (*Einleitung*) maintains that the angelology of Tobit proves that it could not have been written before the time of Darius Hystaspes, and that the notice of the seven holy angels (xii. 15) was derived from the practice introduced in that monarch's reign, of having seven counsellors round the Persian throne. He also maintains that the narrator presupposes an acquaintance with the philosophy of good and evil, guardian and national angels, which was first introduced under the Persian rule during and after the exile. Jahn (*Introd.*) maintains that the Magian notions regarding Asmodeus, whom he conceives to be the same with Ahriman (the destroyer) points to the Persian period. Professor Stuart, however, who does not appear to hold that the angelology and demonology of the book of Tobit, 'one of the earliest, most simple, and attractive of all the apocryphal books' (*Comment. on the Apocalypse*),* differ in kind from those of the Old Testament, ascribes the book to an early period of the exile (*Biblioth. Sacra*, vol. i.). The name Raphael, which first

* This new work contains a more recent treatise on the *names of the beast* than that referred to in p. 650 of this vol. Prof. Stuart conceives the Emperor Nero to be the person indicated.

occurs in Tobit, is said in the Talmud (*Beres. Rabba*, and *Jer. Talm.*) to have been derived from the exile. De Wette, Gutmann, and most modern critics conceive that the age of Tobit is negatively determined by the mention of the city of Rages (Ragæ, see MEDES), which, according to Strabo (*Geog.* p. 524), was founded by Seleucus Nicator B.C. 300, and Jahn, in order to allow a reasonable time for the name of the founder to have been forgotten, supposes that the author lived B.C. 150 to 200. No nearer conjecture can be formed. Seiler (*ut supra*) says that the author 'seems to have lived among the Greek Jews after the time of Alexander the Great.' Eichhorn and Jahn suppose that the work was written by a Greek, but Ilgen, on the other hand, with whom are De Wette and Gutmann, are satisfied, from internal evidence, that the author was a Jew of Palestine, who wrote in the Hebrew or Aramaic language, but that the original text has been lost. Ilgen ascribes the present contradictions to the ignorance of the Greek translator, and is of opinion that the book in its pristine state was written by Tobit himself.

Authority of Tobit.— Although this book is never cited by Josephus (to whom, however, its existence must have been known), and although the first writer who gives it the character of *canonical* was Augustine, at a time that, according to De Wette (*Einleitung*), this term had acquired the notion of an ecclesiastical decision, its authority in the early Christian church is beyond question. It is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* ii. p. 503), 'The Scripture says, *do that to no man which thou hatest*' (Tob. iv. 15), and '*prayer is good with fasting*' (Tob. xii. 8). Polycarp also (*ad Phil.*) cites the words 'alms doth deliver from death' (Tob. xii. 9); but some suppose them to be a citation from Prov. xxi. 12. Tob. iv. 15 is also cited in the Apostolical Constitutions—according to Ilgen, in a Greek translation from the Vulgate of Jerome (but comp. Lev. i. 18; Matt. v. 44–47; Mark xii. 32). Cyprian also (xii. 9) cites Tobit xiv. 14, 'The Holy Spirit says in the Scriptures, "alms shall purge away all sin"—Eleemosynis et fide purgantur delicta,' or as in the Vulg. 'Eleemosyna purgat peccata.' Some, however, refer this citation to Prov. xvi. 6: ἐλεημοσύναις καὶ πίστεσιν ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμάρτιαι. It is also cited by Ambrose (*Hexaëmeron*, vi. 4. p. 88, Paris, 1614—Talis canis viator et comes angeli est, quem Raphael in *Libro Prophetico* non otiose sibi et Tobiæ filio adjungendum putavit), who considers Tobit a Prophet, no doubt because of his allusion to the future destruction of Nineveh (xiii. 14), or his prediction of the rebuilding of Jerusalem (xiii. 16) according to the Greek, for in the Vulgate it is *liberavit Jerusalem civitatem suam* (xiii. 19). Origen (*De Orat.* p. 47) says that the Jews reject this book (τῇ δὲ τοῦ Τωβὴτ βίβλῳ ἀντιλέγουσιν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς). In the work attributed to Augustine, entitled *Speculum Scripturæ*, it is asserted that the Jews reject Tobit, but that it is received by the Church of the Saviour (Non sunt omittendi et hi, quos quidem ante Salvatoris adventum constat esse conscriptos, sed eos non receptos a Judæis recipit tamen ejusdem Salvatoris ecclesia). Tobit has been at all times a favourite book in the church, and its influence is still manifest in the Anglican liturgical forms, as in the Offertory (Tobit iv. 7, 8); also in the Litany, 'ne vindictam sumas de peccatis meis, neque reminiscaris delicta mea, vel parentum meorum.' In the preface to the marriage service there is also a manifest allusion to Tob. vi. 17, according to the Vulgate: 'Hi qui conjugium ita suscipiunt, ut Deum a se et a suâ mente excludant, et suæ libidini ita vacent, sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus.' Chaps. i., ii., vii., and viii., are read in the course of lessons. It has been supposed from a comparison of Rev. xxi. 18 with Tobit xiii. 21, 22, that the author of the Apocalypse must have been acquainted with the book of Tobit.

Texts of Tobit.—There have descended to us no less than six different texts of the book of Tobit.

1. *Jerome's Latin text.*—This is a translation from the lost Chaldæan. 'I do not cease to wonder at your urgency,' says Jerome (*Pref. to Tobit*); 'you require of me to translate into Latin a book written in Chaldee, the book of the two Tobiases.... I have done so at your request, but not of my own wish, for the zeal of the Jews reproaches us for translating for Latin ears what is opposed to their canon. But preferring to displease the Pharisees rather than to decline the command of my bishop, I have done as well as I could; and as the Chaldee is nearly allied to the Hebrew, I found a man perfectly acquainted with both tongues, and giving one day to the task, I procured the aid of an amanuensis, who wrote down from my dictation in Latin what the other uttered in Hebrew.' It would seem from this that Jerome considered the Chaldee to be the original, for he says nothing of the Greek text, with which, however, he must necessarily have been acquainted. The Chaldee text has not since been heard of, but judging from the hurried work of Jerome, it must have differed widely in several of its details from the present Greek.

2. *The Greek text.*—This is the text of the Septuagint, from which the English version has been made. Eichhorn, Jahn, and many others consider the Greek as the original; while this text is more copious in the moral, the Latin of Jerome is more detailed in the historical parts (comp. chaps. i., ii., iii., iv., viii., ix., xi., and xiv.).

3. *The Antehieronymian Latin Version*, published by Sabatier. This is from the Greek, and Ilgen maintains that it was partly employed by Jerome in his version. It differs however considerably from the Greek, both in omissions (see chaps. v., vi., vii., viii., ix., x., xi.) and additions (see i., vii., xi., xiv.).

4. *The Syriac Version.*— This too is made from the Greek, but is also distinguished by several additions and omissions after chaps. vii., xi.

5. *The Hebrew text of Sebastian Munster.*— This was first published at Basel in 1542, and again in Walton's Polyglott. Nothing certain is known respecting the history of this text. De Wette considers it a free recension of the original Hebrew. Ilgen thinks it the work of an Italian Jew, who lived at latest in the 5th century. He makes use of it to correct the Greek.

6. *The Hebrew text of Paul Fagius.*—Published first at Constantinople in 1517, and afterwards by this learned Reformer in 1542. It is

not properly a translation from the Greek, as some have supposed, but rather a mixed text formed from the Greek, Italic, and other sources. It altogether omits chapters xii. and xiii.—W. W.

TOGARMAH (תּוֹגַרְמָה, תּוֹגָרְמָה, or in some Codices transposed תרגמה), is the Hebrew name of Armenia, which in the Septuagint translation is called Θοργαμά, Θεργαμά, Θυργαμά, and Θυργαβά. According to Moses Chorenensis, the Armenians consider themselves to be descended from Gomer, through Torgom, and therefore they call themselves the *house of Torgom*. The sons of Gomer were Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen. x. 3; 1 Chron. i. 6). The name תוגר, for *Turk* and *Turkoman*, reminds us of תוגרמה.

Armenia was, according to Strabo (xi. 13. 9, p. 529), distinguished by the production of good horses (comp. Xenoph. *Anab.* iv. 5. 24; Herod. vii. 40). This account harmonizes with the statement that the house of Togarmah traded in the fairs of Tyre in horses, and horsemen, and mules (Ezek. xxvii. 14). The situation of Togarmah was north of Palestine: 'Gomer and all his bands; the house of Togarmah of the north-quarters' (Ezek. xxxviii. 6). The countries of אררט and מני (Μινυάς), and also חול, were contiguous to Togarmah (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 1. 6; compare the articles Ararat, Armenia; see also Moses Chorenensis, *Historiæ Armen.* lib. iii., *Armen. edidit, lat. vert. notisque illustr.* W. et G. Whistonii, Lond. 1736; Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 1, 305; D. Michaëlis, *Spicilegium Geographiæ*, tom. i. 67-78; Klaproth's *Travels*, ii. 64). — C. H. F. B.

TOMB. [Burial.]

TONGUE (לָשׁוֹן; Sept. γλῶσσα, φωνή; Vulg. *lingua, os*), is used, 1. *literally*, for the human tongue. 'Every one that lappeth the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth' (Judg. vii. 5; Job xxvii. 4; Ps. xxxv. 28; xxxix. 1, 3; li. 14; lxvi. 17; Prov. xv. 2; Zech. xiv. 12; Mark vii. 33, 35; Luke i. 64; xvi. 24; Rom. iii. 13; 1 Cor. xiv. 9; James i. 26; iii. 5, 6, 8; 1 Pet. iii. 10; Rev. xvi. 10; Ecclus. xvii. 6; Wisd. x. 21; 2 Macc. vii. 4; for the tongue of the dog, Ps. lxviii. 23; of the viper, Job xx. 16; of idols, Baruch vi. 8; the tongues of the seven brethren cut out, 2 Macc. vii. 4, 10; comp. Prov. x. 20). Various explanations have been offered, why Gideon's three hundred followers should have been selected because they lapped water out of their hands, standing or perhaps moving onward, while they who stayed and 'bowed down to drink' were rejected. Josephus says, that the former thereby showed their timorousness and fear of being overtaken by the enemy, and that these poor-spirited men were chosen on purpose to illustrate the power of God in the victory (*Antiq.* v. 6. 3.) On Mark vii. 33, 35, Dr. A. Clarke offers the interpretation, that it was the deaf and stammering man himself who put his own fingers into his ears to intimate his deafness; spat or emptied his mouth, that the Saviour might look at his tongue; touched his own tongue to intimate that he could not speak; looked up to heaven as imploring divine aid; and groaned to denote his distress under his affliction; and that our Saviour simply said 'be opened' (*Commentary*). This explanation certainly clears the passage of some obscurities. James iii. 8, Dr. Macknight translates, 'But the tongue of men no one can subdue,' that is, the tongue of other men, for the apostle is exhorting the Christian to subdue his own (comp. ver. 13). He observes that Œcumenius read the passage interrogatively, as much as to say, Wild beasts, birds, serpents, marine animals, have been tamed by man, and can no man tame the tongue? 2. It is *personified*. 'Unto me every tongue shall swear,' that is, every man (Isa. xlv. 23; comp. Rom. xiv. 11; Phil. ii. 11; Isa. liv. 17). The tongue is said to rejoice (Acts ii. 26); to meditate (Ps. lii. 2); to hate (Prov. xxvi. 28); to be bridled (James i. 26); to be tamed (James iii. 8; comp. Ecclus. xxviii. 18, &c.). It is apostrophized (Ps. cxx. 3). 3. It is used by *metonymy* for speech generally. 'Let us not love in tongue only' (1 John iii. 18; comp. γλώσσῃ φίλος, Theogn. lxiii. 13; Job vi. 30; xv. 5; Prov. vi. 24); 'a soft tongue,' *i. e.* soothing language (xxv. 15). 'Accuse not a servant to his master,' literally, 'hurt not with thy tongue' (Prov. xxx. 10); 'the law of kindness is in her tongue,' *i. e.* speech (xxxi. 26; Isa. iii. 8; l. 4; Wisd. i. 6). 4. For a *particular language* or dialect, spoken by any particular people. 'Every one after his tongue' (Gen. x. 5, 20, 31; Deut. xxviii. 49; Esth. i. 22; Dan. i. 4; John v. 2; Acts i. 19; ii. 4, 8, 11; xxvi. 14; 1 Cor. xii. 10; xiii. 1; xiv. 2; Rev. xvi. 16). 5. For the *people* speaking a language (Isa. lxvi. 18; Dan. iii. 4, 7, &c.; Rev. v. 9; vii. 9; x. 11; xi. 9; xiv. 6; xvii. 15). 6. It is used *figuratively* for anything resembling a tongue in shape. Thus, 'a wedge of gold,' literally a 'tongue' (Josh. vii. 21, 24; γλῶσσα μία χρυσῆ; Vulg. *regula aurea.*) The French still say *un lingot d'or*, 'a little tongue of gold,' whence, by corruption, our word 'ingot.' 'The bay that looketh southward,' literally 'tongue' (xv. 2; xviii. 19); 'a tongue of fire' (Isa. v. 24; comp. Acts ii. 3; Isa. xi. 15). 7. Some of the Hebrew *idioms, phrases*, &c., formed of this word are highly expressive. Thus, 'an evil speaker' (Ps. cxl. 11; איש לשון, literally, 'a man of tongue;' comp. Ecclus. viii. 3, and see Eccles. x. 11, Hebrew, or margin); 'a froward,' or rather 'false tongue' (Prov. x. 31; לשון תהפכות, 'a tongue of revolvings'); 'a wholesome tongue' (Prov. xv. 4; מרפא לשון, literally, 'the healing of the tongue,' reconciliation, &c.; Sept. ἴασις γλώσσης, *lingua placabilis*); 'a backbiting tongue' (Prov. xxv. 23; סתר, 'secret;' 'slow of speech' (Exod. iv. 10; כבד לשון, literally, 'heavy of tongue,' unfit to be an orator; βραδύγλωσσος; contrast Ecclus. iv. 29); 'the tongue of the stammerer' (Isa. xxxii. 4), *i. e.* rude, illiterate (comp. xxxv. 6; on Isa. xxviii. 11, see Lowth). In xxxiii. 19, it means a foreign language, which seems gibberish to those who do not understand it (comp. Ezek. iii. 5); 'the tongue of the learned' (Isa. l. 4), *i. e.* of the instructor. The lexicons will point out many other instances. 8. Some *metaphorical* expressions are highly significant. Thus, Hos. vii. 16, 'the rage of the tongue,' *i. e.* verbal abuse; 'strife of tongues' (Ps. xxxi. 20); 'scourge of the tongue' (Job v. 21 [Execration]; comp. Ecclus. xxvi. 6; xxviii. 17); 'snare of the slanderous tongue' (li. 2); on the phrase 'strange tongue' (Isa. xxviii. 11), see Lowth, notes on ver.

9-12, and afterwards the vivid rendering of the Vulg.; 'to slip with the tongue' (Ecclus. xx. 18; xxv. 8), *i. e.* use inadvertent or unguarded speech; 'they bend their tongues, their bows, for lies' (Jer. ix. 3), *i. e.* tell determined and malicious falsehoods; 'they sharpen their tongues' (Ps. civ. 3), *i. e.* prepare cutting speeches (comp. lvii. 4); 'to smooth the tongue' (Jer. xxiii. 31), employ flattering language; 'to smite with the tongue' (Jer. xviii. 18), *i. e.* to traduce—if it should not be rendered, '*on* the tongue,' alluding to a punishment for false witness; 'to lie in wait with the tongue' (Ecclus. v. 14); 'to stick out the tongue (Isa. lvii. 4), *i. e.* to mock; 'against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue' (Exod. xi. 7), *i. e.* none shall hurt them; but both Sept. and Vulg. have, 'not a dog belonging to the children of Israel shall howl, which, as opposed to the 'great cry' in Egypt over the first-born, means, not one of the children of Israel shall have cause to wail (Josh. x. 21; Judith xi. 9). 'To hide under the tongue,' means, to have in the mouth, whether spoken of hidden wickedness (Job xx. 12; comp. Ps. x. 7), or delicious language (Cant. iv. 11); 'the word of God in the tongue,' denotes inspiration (2 Sam. xxiii. 2); 'to divide the tongues of the wicked,' is to raise up dissensions among them (Ps. lv. 9; comp. 2 Sam. xv. 34; xvii. 14, 15). 'The tongue cleaving to the palate,' signifies profound attention (Job. xxix. 10), or excessive thirst (Lam. iv. 4; comp. xxii. 16): 'to cause the tongue to cleave to the palate,' is to inflict supernatural dumbness (Ezek. iii. 26; Ps. cxxxvii. 6). 9. Some beautiful *comparisons* occur. 'An evil tongue is a sharp sword' (Ps. lvii. 4); 'the tongue of the wise is health' (Prov. xii. 18); 'like choice silver' (x. 20), *i. e.* his words are solid, valuable, sincere. 10. The *vices* of the tongue are specified in great variety: flattery (Ps. v. 9; Prov. xxviii. 33); backbiting (Ps. xv. 3), literally, 'run about with the tongue' (Prov. xxv. 23); deceit (Ps. l. 19); unrestrained speech (lxxiii. 9); lying (cix. 2); 'a lying tongue hateth those that are afflicted by it' (Prov. xxvi. 28; comp. Tac. (*Agr.* 42) Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse, quem læseris). 'They have taught their tongue to speak lies, and weary themselves to commit iniquity' (Jer. ix. 5)—words which beautifully illustrate the fact, that falsehood and vice are not natural, but are a restraint and compulsion upon nature: 'double-tongued' (1 Tim. iii. 8), δίλογος, saying one thing to this man and another to that (comp. Ecclus. v. 9, 14; xxviii. 13). The retribution of evil speakers brought on themselves (Ps. lxiv. 8). 11. The *virtuous* uses of the tongue are specified: 'keeping the tongue' (Ps. xxxiv. 13; 1 Pet. iii. 10; Prov. xxi. 23); 'ruling the tongue' (Ecclus. xix. 6; James i. 26); the origin of the right and wrong use of the tongue traced to the heart (Matt. xii. 34). 12. Mistranslations: as 'holding the tongue;' the Hebrews had no such idiom (Ps. xxxix. 2; comp. the Bible and prayer-book version of Habak. i. 13). In Ezra iv. 7, 'the Syrian tongue,' literally, 'in Syriac' (Esth. vii. 4; Ecclus. xx. i. 7). Our mistranslation of Prov. xvi. 1, has misled many: 'The preparations of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue, is from the Lord,' literally, 'Of man are the dispositions of the heart, but a hearing of the tongue is of the Lord.' 13. The miraculous *gift of tongues*, as well as its corresponding gift of interpretation, has been the subject of two opinions. It was promised by Christ to believers: they shall speak γλώσσαις καιναῖς (Mark xvi. 17); and fulfilled at Pentecost, when the apostles and their companions 'began to speak ἑτέραις γλώσσαις' (Acts ii. 4, 11; comp. Acts x. 46; xix. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 30; xiv. 2, 39). In the last passage we have 'to pray in a tongue' (ver. 14), 'to speak words in a tongue' (ver. 19); 'tongues' (1 Cor. xii. 10, 28; xiii. 8; xiv. 22, 26). The obvious explanation of most of these passages is, to speak in *other living languages*, the supernatural acquisition of which demonstrated the truth of the Gospel, and was a means of diffusing it. But some verses in 1 Cor. xiv. have given rise to the notion of a *strange*, exstatic, inspired, unearthly language; but these all admit of a different solution. In ver. 2, 'he who speaketh in a tongue' evidently means, he who speaks some foreign living language; the supplied word 'unknown' in the Auth. Vers. is needless, and misleads the English reader. It is further said that 'he edifieth himself' (which, as Macknight justly pleads, required that he should understand himself), and edifieth the church also if an interpreter were present (ver. 28). The apostle says (ver. 14), 'If I pray in a tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful,' which words in English seem to intimate that the speaker might not understand himself; but the words ὁ δὲ νοῦς μου signify, 'my *meaning*' (comp. 1 Cor. ii. 16; Vulg. sensum domini), or, as Hammond and Schleusner say, 'my faculty of thinking upon and explaining to others the meaning of what I utter' (comp. vers. 15, 19), though in ver. 15 some take τῷ νοΐ as a dativus commodi, and render, 'that others may understand.' The key to the difficulties of this subject is the supposed absence of an inspired interpreter (ver. 28), in which case the gift would not be *profitable* to the hearers. The gift of tongues was to cease (1 Cor. xiii. 8). See Macknight's notes on 1 Cor. xiv.; Olshausen's *Comment. on Acts* ii. 4; Neander's *Hist. of the Apostolic Age*, and in *Bibl. Repos.*, iv. p. 249, &c.; Stosch, *Archæol. Œcon. N. T.*, p. 93; Gataker, *ad M. Anton.*, p. 120; and Ernesti, *Lex. Techn. Gr. Rhet.*, p. 62.—J. F. D.

TONGUES, CONFUSION OF. We have already touched upon this subject in the articles Babel (vol. i. p. 266, col. 2), and Nations, Dispersion of (vol. ii. pp. 393-395). Trusting to the favour of our readers to peruse those passages, we shall now first cite the part of the primeval history which relates the fact, so remarkable and influential upon the subsequent fortunes of mankind; and then we propose to offer observations and opinions upon the narrative.

'And all the earth was [in the use of] the same language and the same words. And it was in their migrating from the east that they discovered a plain in the land of Shinar, and they settled there. And they spake each to other, Come, let us make bricks, and let us burn them completely. And the brick was to them for stone, and the asphalt [bitumen] was to them for cement. And they spake, Come, let us build for ourselves a city and a tower, and its top in the sky, and let us make for ourselves a name [a designation of eminence, and which may well denote a sign, land-mark, or rallying point, as in Isa. lv. 13], that we may not be dispersed over the face of the

whole earth. And Jehovah descended to inspect the city and the tower which the sons of men were building. And Jehovah spake, Behold the people is one, and the language one to the whole of them; and this is their beginning for doing [*i. e.*, according to their own self-will], and now nothing whatever which they may take into their heads to do will be prevented them. Come, let us descend, and there put confusion into their speech, so that they shall not understand the speech of each other. And Jehovah dispersed them thence over the face of the whole earth; and they ceased from building the city. For that reason its name was called BABEL, because there Jehovah put confusion into the speech of the whole earth, and thence Jehovah dispersed them over the face of the whole earth' (Gen. xi. 1-10).

Obs. Verse 1: As the Hebrew word for *one* has a plural, used in the second member of this sentence, but which we cannot imitate, we have rendered it in both cases *the same*, which sufficiently expresses the idea.—Verse 3: Literally, if we might coin an English cognate verb, *Let us brick-make bricks*. The existence of such a verb in Hebrew pretty clearly indicates that this simple and early art was in previously common use.—Verse 4: 'Top in the sky;' *i. e.*, their intention was to carry their tower to a great height. So the cities of the Canaanites were described as 'walled up to heaven.' Also the expression indicates pride and impiety.—Verse 6: The exact sense of the verb *zamam* is expressed by the common phrase of *taking into the head*—an arbitrary fancy, an irrational resolution.

I. This narration is given in the extreme style of anthropopathic and anthropomorphic description (see vol. i. pp. 66, 161, 267; vol. ii. p. 394). Not only was this style the best adapted, rather we must say, the *only one* adapted, to the comprehension of mankind in the infantile state of our race, but it awakens our minds to a deeper meaning: it conveys the most explicit and expressive idea of a *communion* of the creature with the Creator, an *intercourse* of man with God, a REVELATION of the Supreme Will as to purpose and authority. Let it be expunged, and we have no hold of the all-momentous reality of a manifestation from the Lord of the universe to the mind of man, which shall be sure in its principle and safe in its effects—the combination of moral desert and invincible power in the Highest Being, and of holiness and love in his administration. Let it be expunged, and any assignable revelation upon the duty and prospects of the creature would be indistinguishable from the products of the mind itself, the mere fabric of its own reasoning powers. The mental picture of a celestial palace, of the Deity coming down from it, of his exploring and inspecting, of his deliberating and weighing contingencies, of his concluding and acting,—these form the first and most childlike form of an exhibition of God's perfections, truth, and dominion. This is the representation which reigns in the earliest Scriptures; and though, in the subsequent records of revelation, we can trace a very perceptible advancement, still the principle remains in all its gradations of ascent to the very last and highest forms of communication from God to man. The style is ever, 'Thus saith the Lord—the Lord spake—the Lord appeared—God spake unto the fathers by the prophets, and unto us by his Son—He who sitteth upon the throne, saith.' We add a passage from a German essay, which, we humbly think, can scarcely be too strongly recommended: 'The languages of men, in the first ages of the world, comprised, of natural necessity, but very few words. Those words did not reach to the expression of that which is not cognizable by the senses; they for the most part expressed only such objects as present themselves to our organic perceptions, or are felt in our inward experience. When, then, it pleased God to impart to men the instruction which they needed, by *appearances*, whether visions or manifestations, his wisdom saw fit, in order to convey the knowledge of invisible things, to avail itself of terms derived from sensible objects and sensible perceptions. And, as men cannot pass beyond the sphere of themselves and the things which surround them, it was *not possible* to bring within their comprehension a representation of the exalted nature of the Deity in any other way than that GOD *should speak of himself as if he were a human being*, and thought, and felt, and acted like a human being. Only by means of this wise condescension of God, placing his own attributes and counsels in a constant comparison with the faculties and mental operations of men, could mortals arrive at the necessary, though as yet very feeble, knowledge of the invisible and eternal Creator' (Seiler, in Pye Smith's *Script. Testimony to the Messiah*, vol. iii. Append. ii.).

Upon this principle of Bible interpretation, in itself most important and incontrovertible, while its application to any particular case must be specially judged of, we conceive that the passage before us may be resolved into a statement to this effect:—

An orderly and peaceful distribution and migration of the families descended from Noah had been directed by divine authority, and carried into general effect (see p. 393 of this volume). But there was a part of mankind who would not conform themselves to this wise and benevolent arrangement. This rebellious party, having discovered a region to their taste, determined to remain in it. They built their houses in contiguity, and proceeded to the other method described for guarding against any further division of their company. This was an act of rebellion against the divine government. The omniscient and righteous God therefore frustrated it, by inflicting upon them a remarkable affection of the organs of speech, which produced discord and separation.

At the same time, we cannot dogmatically affirm that this infliction was absolutely and visibly miraculous. It is an undeniable character of the Scriptural idiom, especially in the Old Testament, that verbs denoting *direct* efficiency are used when only *mediate* action is to be understood, or permission, or declaration. Instances are numerous: *e. g.*, 'God caused me to wander' (Gen. xx. 13); 'I have made—given—sustained' (xxvii. 37); the 'hardening of wicked men's hearts' (Exod. vii.; Isa. vi., &c.); 'I will come up into the midst of them' (Exod. xxxiii. 5). See many examples in Mr. Hartwell Horne's *Introd.*, 7th ed., vol. ii. p. 459. And all such declarations are perfectly true. The Infinitely Wise and Holy and Powerful worketh all

things according to the counsel of his own will, as much when his operation is through the instrumentality of rational creatures and the free exercise of their own faculties, as when there is a miraculous intervention. Mr. Shuckford inclines, at least, to the opinion that the whole was the result of natural and moral second causes, fulfilling the purposes of the Most High. 'The builders of Babel were evidently projectors; their designed tower is a proof of it. And if they had one project, and that an idle one, why might not they have others? Language was but one, until they came to multiply the tongues; but that one was without doubt scanty, fit only to express the early thoughts of mankind, who had not yet "subdued" the world (Gen. i. 28), nor arrived at a large and comprehensive acquaintance with the things of it. Men now began to build towers, to open to themselves views of a larger fame, and consequently of greater scenes of action than their ancestors had pursued. And why may not the thought of finding new names for the things which their enlarged notions offered to their consideration, have now risen? God is said to have "come down and confounded their language;" but it is usual to meet with things spoken of as immediately done by God which were effected, not by extraordinary miracle, but by the course of things permitted by him, to work out what he would have done in the world. Language was without doubt enlarged at some particular time; and if a great deal was attempted at once, *confusion* would naturally arise. The men of Shinar were got away from their ancestors, and their heads were full of innovations; and the projectors being many, the projects might be different, and the leading men might make up several parties amongst them. If we were to suppose the whole number of them to be no more than a thousand, twenty or thirty persons, endeavouring to invent new words and spreading them amongst their companions, might in time cause a deal of confusion. It does indeed look more like a miracle to suppose the Confusion of Tongues effected instantly, in a moment; but the text does not oblige us to think it so sudden a production. From the beginning of Babel to the dispersion of the nations might be several years; and perhaps all this time a difference was growing up, until at length it came to such a height as to cause them to form different companies, and so to separate' (*Connect. of Hist.* i. 133-135).

II. The date of this event we cannot satisfactorily place so early as at 100 years after the flood, as it is in the commonly received chronology. Every view that we can take of the previous history inclines us to one of the larger systems, that of the Septuagint, which gives 530 years, or that of Josephus, adopted with a little emendation by Dr. Hales, which gives 600 years; and thus we have at least five centuries for the intervening period. Professor Wallace, in his elaborate work, makes it more than eight centuries (*Dissertation on the True Age of the World, and the Chronology to the Christian Era*, 1844, p. 298).

III. Upon the question, Whether all of mankind were engaged in this act of concerted disobedience, or only a part? we confess ourselves unable to adduce irrefragable evidence on either side, but we think that there is a great preponderance of argument on the part of the latter supposition. The simple phraseology of the text wears an appearance of favouring the former; but the extreme brevity and insulated character of these primeval fragments forbid our arguing from the mere juxtaposition of the first and the second sentence. It is a common idiom in Hebrew, that a pronoun, whether separate or suffixed, stands at the introduction of a new subject, even when that subject may be different and remote from the nearest preceding, and requires to be supplied by the intelligence of the reader. Instances: Ps. ix. 13 (12); xviii. 15 (14); xliv. 3 (2); lxv. 10 (9); cv. 37. So far as the grammatical structure is concerned, we may regard the two sentences as mutually independent; and that, therefore, the question is open to considerations of reason and probability. It is difficult to suppose that Noah (who, according to the Hebrew chronology, lived 350 years beyond the time of the deluge; but this we do not urge, for we embrace a longer series of years), and Shem, and all others of the descendants of Noah, were confederates in this proceeding. Hence the opinion has been maintained, more or less definitely, by many critics and expositors, that it was perpetrated by only a part of mankind, chiefly if not solely the posterity of Ham, and upon the instigation and under the guidance of Nimrod, who (ch. x. 10) is declared to have had Babel for the head place of his empire. The latter part of this position is asserted by Josephus, and the whole by Augustine and other ancients. Of modern writers who have maintained this opinion, we may specify Luther, Calvin by apparent implication, Cornelius à Lapide, Bonfrere, Poole in his English Annotations, Patrick, Wells, Samuel Clarke the annotator, Henry, by implication; narratives derived from Arabian and Hindoo sources, in Charles Taylor's *Illustrations of Calmet, Fragm.* 528; and the late Jacob Bryant, who, though too imaginative and sanguine a theorist, and defective in his knowledge of the Oriental tongues, often gives us valuable collections of facts and sound reasonings from them (see the passages quoted from him in p. 395 of this volume). A considerable part of his celebrated work, the *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, is occupied with tracing the historical vestiges of the builders of Babel, whom, on grounds of high probability at least, he regards as Cuthites (assumed to be a dialectic variety for Cushites), the descendants of Cush, the son of Ham, but with whom were united many dissatisfied and apostate individuals of the branches of Japheth. Dr. Doig, in the article 'Philology,' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (seventh edition, 1842), has entered at some length into this question, and arrives at the following conclusion: 'From these circumstances, we hope it appears that the whole mass of mankind was not engaged in building the tower of Babel; that the language of all the human race was not confounded upon that occasion, and that the dispersion reached only to a combination of Hamites, and of the most profligate part of the two other families who had joined their wicked confederacy.'

IV. Admitting, however, our inability to determine, with absolute certainty, on which side of this alternative the truth lies, no difference accrues to the subject of this article, What were

the phenomena of the case? In WHAT did the Confusion of Tongues *actually consist?* For the answer a considerable variety of opinions has been promulgated.

1. Some have supposed that the operation, produced either by a positively miraculous intervention, or in the ordinary way of natural causes under the divine direction, was not upon the words or the modes of speech at all, but upon the tempers of the men concerned; a discordance of minds, an irreconcilable contradiction of opinions and counsels, upon the operations and various circumstances of the building, and consequently an angry abandonment of the work and disruption of the confederacy. Such a judgment upon the minds of wicked men is expressed in Ps. lv. 10: 'Swallow up [*i. e.* demolish, frustrate] and divide [*palag*] their tongues.' But the declaration of verse 1 stands in apparent opposition to this interpretation, and in verse 6, the unanimity of the people and the identity of their language are distinguished. The learned and pious Vitringa explains and defends it at great length. He places it in juxtaposition with the hypothesis of a sudden impulse to new habits of *pronunciation*, though the language remained the same. He regards either of these interpretations as perfectly accordant with the sacred narrative, but he seems to give the preference to the former (*Observ. Sacræ*, tom. i. Diss. i. cap. 9). The quotation above from Shuckford supports this opinion.

2. Others suppose it to have referred to opinion about religion and worship; applying the word *saphah*, 'lip,' to signify *confession* as a religious act, and affirming this meaning to be supported by Ps. lxxxi. 6 (5); Isa. xix. 18, &c. But that interpretation of those passages is, to say the least, very disputable: also, the secondary use of *saphah* to denote *speech* or *language* as a mode or system of speaking, is abundantly established in the Hebrew Scriptures; and the connection with the term *words* in the case before us (verse 1) determines that signification.

3. By many, probably most, learned and eminent men, it is supposed that there was a miraculous infusion into the minds and the practical habit of the Babel-builders, of *languages* absolutely new and possessing no affinity to each other; or of divergence into *varieties of dialect*, radically indeed the same, but mutually unintelligible; or of mere alterations in the *pronunciation*, by permutation of the labial letters (for instance) with the palatal. Some, among whom was the distinguished divine Vitringa, conceive the effect to have been transient, and to have gradually worn away after the design was answered by the dispersion; others, that it was permanent, producing a certain number of great stems of language, from each of which others branched out according to the ordinary laws of vocal derivation. 'The great affinity that still reigns among the kindred dialects of the east and the remoter of the west, leads us to suspect that the Confusion of Tongues consisted rather in diversity of pronunciation of the same words, than in the introduction of new words expressing the same ideas' (Hales's *Analysis of Chronology*, vol. i. p. 365). For Mr. Bryant's opinion, see this volume, p. 395.

The hypothesis of a change in the pronunciation leading to diversified results, some of which might be of persistent influence, appears to us to have the most of probability and reason on its side.

But perhaps we need not lose ourselves in the invention of conjectural modes, of greater or less probability, and in which imagination may perform a principal part. We will offer only two lines of consideration, as what we think applicable to the inquiry.

1. The all-comprehensive providence of God, —the great chain of dependent causes and effects, each cause being an effect of a preceding cause, and each effect being in its turn a new cause: in a word, the universal government of the Supreme Cause, is the product of infinite wisdom and rectitude, and can never stand in need of being helped out, corrected, or remedied. Supernatural events—*miracles*—are such only to our limited perceptions; they are not so to God. In his purposes and their executive performance there is no deviation from the pre-established, all-harmonious course. They are signs and wonders *to men*, inasmuch as they stand forth in prominent distinction from the habitual appearance and sequence of things; but they are not so to 'HIM who worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will—with whom there is no darkness at all—no variableness nor the shadow of turning.'

It follows, that we are not lightly to assume the occurrence of supernatural events. Right views of the divine perfections, the analogies of nature and providence, and the current evidence of Scripture, forbid our doing so. The whole sum of events, supernatural (as, from our feeble faculties, we will call them) equally with the so-called natural, is but the unfolding of the latent energies infused by the Creator into the system of his works when he gave them existence, and continually operating under his all-pervading and Almighty activity. It follows, also, that in any instance, we are not warranted to assume an amount of deviation from the regular order of things beyond that which is *necessary* to the effect.

Therefore, in the case of the *Confusion of Tongues*, it was not necessary to the end designed that any new language or languages should be introduced into the mental conceptions or the organic expressions of the persons affected: for all that was requisite would be accomplished by some differences in pronunciation, or by a few further divergencies of meaning and shades of meaning, like what we find in the provincialisms and dialects of all living languages. The occurrence of such a condition of things between the rulers and the ruled, the directors and the labourers, and that aggravated by consequent mutual irritations, would be quite sufficient to derange their plans, inflame their animosities, and drive them to separation and mutual avoidance.

2. To some such conclusion as this we are led by the meaning of the verb, which occurs here twice, בָּלַל *balal*, 'confound.' Its signification is to *mingle* things together so as to produce compounds or heterogeneous masses. It occurs nearly forty times in the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, where prescriptions are given for the *compounding* of various substances (flour, wine, and animal flesh) for the sacrificial rites.

There are only two other places of its occurrence in the Old Testament, and in them it is used metaphorically. 'I shall be *anointed* [adverting probably to the ceremonial mixtures] with fresh oil' (Ps. xcii. 10). 'Ephraim, he hath *mixed* himself with the [heathen and idolatrous] nations' (Hosea vii. 8). In those passages, we have the whole evidence from the usage of the Hebrew Scriptures; and it appears to the writer of this article that the expression describes the condition of men speaking different *dialects* of the same original language; and that it by no means requires any further extension.

The case, however, is one in which we cannot presume to expect positive evidence. The following positions are what appear to the writer to possess the higher degrees of probability.

1. That the whole scheme was an act of rebellion against the plan of a well-regulated dispersion of families, or peaceful parties variously organized—the plan which had been directed by wisdom and benevolence, to accelerate the occupation and culture of the earth, and the many advantages consequent. Upon the urgent motives for speedy occupation, see p. 393 of this volume. To counteract this beneficent arrangement the lofty edifice was to be a *signal-house*, a rallying-point; and probably on the site had been already built, and around it speedily would be built, groups of habitations, not mere tents, but houses with brick walls; so that the adventurers had both 'a city and a tower.'

2. That the persons engaged in the project were not the whole of mankind, but a body, probably numerous but certainly powerful, of the descendants of Ham, with an intermixture of some other parties.

3. That Nimrod was their chief instigator, that he became their leader and commander, that some of them remained after the dispersion, or returned to the spot when their embarrassments had in a measure subsided, and that thus originated the most ancient kingdom of Babylon. This is strongly intimated in Gen. x. 9-11, where Nimrod is expressly said to have been the founder of Babel.

4. That—still speaking under an humble sense of difficulty, and disclaiming presumption and dogmatism—we have not sufficient reason to believe that the differences in the LANGUAGES which exist among mankind originated in this event. This is a field of inquiry far too vast to be attempted in such an article as this; and, in addition to its extent, it abounds with entangled thickets and dark places, which we cannot expect to penetrate and enlighten. We venture only upon a few observations.

1. It cannot with any show of reason be doubted that the antediluvian world possessed only one language, and that that language passed through the family of Noah to his descendants, and continued in their line down to the times of sacred and profane history.

2. We think it more probable than any other hypothesis, that this original language of men was essentially the same as what modern scholars generally call the *Semitic*, or *Shemitic*, a term comprehending the three divisions of the Hebrew, the Aramaic (Chaldee and Syriac), and the Arabic, which includes the Ethiopic. Of these three, we judge the Hebrew to be the closest representative of the primeval language. Its radical words are few, yet fully adequate to the wants of mankind in a state of such knowledge and happiness as involved moral goodness unalloyed by sin; and it was adapted, by its expansive applications, to assist and sustain the course of improvement, and for the progress of discovery in the cultivation of agricultural and other arts, which would continually augment usefulness and delight. Those radical words are, to a large extent, the offspring of an effort to produce, by the *action* of utterance, or by the *sound* itself uttered (*onomatopœia*), some resemblance to the signification. The letters are all consonants, vowels being supplied in speaking. Very many of those primitive words were originally formed by only two letters; and those which had three (the third being usually a subsequent annexation) were made monosyllables in pronunciation (see Nordheimer's *Hebrew Grammar*, i. 74, 75, and Ewald's *Heb. Gramm.* by Nicholson, § 10). All the proper names in the antediluvian history are personally and historically descriptive, and the verb or appellative which forms the name *really* and *always* gives the sound and meaning wanted; which could not be if the compositions which we have were a translation from a prior document in a different language. Thus: '*Ishah*, because she was taken from *Ish*' (Gen. ii. 23). 'Adam called the name of his *Ishah*, *Havah*, because she was the mother of all *Hai*' (iii. 20). '*Cain* [obtained], because *canithi* [I have obtained] a man from Jehovah' (iv. 1). 'She called his name *Sheth* [set, put, laid down instead of something else], for God *shath* [hath set] for me another seed' (ver. 20). 'He called his name *Noach* [rest, quiet, comfort], saying, this *jenachamenu* [shall give us rest; the verb lies in the second syllable, and if expressed alone would be *nuach*] on account of our toils' (ver. 29). It must be remembered that, in the early times of probably all nations, the names of infants were often modified or wholly changed, to be expressive of some fact of personal or family interest. Of the instances which lie here before us, *Nod* signifies *wandering*, *banishment*, and *grief*; *Enoch* (better written *Hanoch*), *cramming* as of food into an infant's mouth, and thence, making a beginning to *train up*, *instructing*, *educating*; *Irad*, *ornament of the city*, mentioned in the preceding sentence as having been founded by Cain; *Meehujael*, *smitten by God*, perhaps with some deformity or some personal affliction; *Methushael*, *weakness from God*, possibly having some reference to his father, the last-mentioned, or it may denote *man of God*, as one peculiarly favoured, in contrast to his father's calamity; *Lamech*, *strong young man*, probably to intimate his fighting and murdering disposition (ver. 23), for which his son *Tubal-cain* had provided him with a sword (?); *Adah*, *greatly adorned*, *very beautiful*; *Zillah*, *shade*, or *tone* in music; *Jabal*, *cattle-drover* (see ver. 20); *Jubal*, *lively music*, *musician*, he being the inventor or most distinguished improver of both the classes of musical instruments; *Tubal-cain*, *the man of progress in obtaining*, but Dr. Fürst (*Concordant. Hebr.* p. 1293, Leipzig, 1840) gives *iron-smith*; *Naamah*, *lovely*. These examples are all that occur in the account of the descendants of Cain, in regard to most of whom there is an intimation of the character or history. In the line of Seth, and the genealogy descending from

Noah, as all the names are significant, we should undoubtedly find them the echo of some historical description, if we had any such fragments of narration. In a few cases there does remain some hint of exposition: 'God will *japhet* [*enlarge, cause to spread out far and wide*] Japheth; and will dwell [*i. e.* God will dwell] in the tents of Shem' (vii. 27). This is the plain grammatical construction, and we regard it as a prophecy that the true God would be worshipped and honoured by distinguished branches of the posterity of Shem, when all other nations would have apostatized to polytheism and its attendant impieties; and as this was an effect of God's special grace and mercy, it is, by a frequent Hebraistic phrase, called his *dwelling with* the person so favoured. It is worthy of observation, that here we have the first instance in the volume of revelation of the Infinite One being called 'the God of' any special person or persons; a testimony both to the exemplary piety of Shem, and to that heavenly condescension which is so wondrously manifested in the subsequent promises of the Bible. The word *Shem* [*name, celebrity*] thus expresses that favour and honour, in meaning, though not in similarity of sound, and therefore we do not adduce it as an instance parallel to the others; but it merits our especial observation as an anticipation of that line of Shem's posterity in which all the families of the earth shall be blessed. In this view, also, we mention *Ham, warm, dark-complexioned*, even *black* (Fürst, p. 1276), the chief of whose posterity, and probably himself, moved into the hottest regions then known. So *Nimrod, rebel*, from *marad, to rise up against*. We have already referred to *Peleg*, whose name commemorates the *division* of the earth. The word *Babel* itself has propagated its *onomatopœitic* representatives to a wide extent among ancient and modern languages; in βαβάζω, βαμβαίνω, βαμβαλίζω, βάρβαρος, balbutio, baldordd (Welsh), babble (English), bobbel and bibbel (Dutch), babiller (French); and no doubt in other tongues and dialects. The more we scrutinise this branch of argument, the more its solidity appears.

In a word, we think that all the positive evidence goes to substantiate the opinion, that the primitive and universal language of mankind was one of which the *Shemitic*, in its Hebrew form, is *the closest representative*. We venture to suppose that the primitive language bore a relation to the successive stages of the biblical Hebrew, analogous to that of the Latin of the Twelve Tables compared with the Roman classics. It might not be a mere work of fancy to place the parallelism thus: Moses and Job with Lucretius, David with Horace, Isaiah with Virgil, and the prophets who flourished about the times of the exile with the Latin authors from Quintilian to Claudian.

3. From the history of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, it appears that no difference of language obstructed their conversation with the inhabitants of Egypt, Philistia, and Syria; and the proper names of the family are all Hebrew and significant. But, in the latter part of this period, the Syriac degradation of Hebrew had gained some currency in parts far to the east (Gen. xxxi. 47); and, in the next generation, the Hebrews and the Egyptians spoke widely different languages.

V. If we now turn our attention to the vast field of the known languages of the ancient world —freely confessing its appalling difficulties, many of them probably insuperable—we are led to put them into three primary divisions, which we may call classes. Let the first be that of all the cultivated languages of which we have any historical knowledge or documentary specimens; or we may describe them as the languages of nations who had a considerable degree of science and art, and a literature. The second shall be the group of languages possessed by tribes or nations whose abode lay to the east of the Noachian settlements, and of which ancient history gives us scarcely any information. The third must comprehend those which lay at and beyond the outskirts of civilization.

The first divides itself into two branches, the *Shemitic* and the *Sanscritic*.

The Shemitic (or, as some write, Semitic), a term brought into use by the late J. G. Eichhorn, to express the relation of the Hebraistic family of languages to the patriarch Shem. The term is generally acquiesced in, though it is not strictly applicable; for it is undoubted that, besides the posterity of Shem, other families and nations used this language in one or other of its varieties. One incontrovertible and very striking exception is, that the Canaanitish tribes, descendants of Ham by his worst son, spoke it, and, we have good grounds of belief, in its primitive and purest form. Dr. Prichard prefers, for this distinction, the term Syro-Arabian; but that has the disadvantage of throwing into the shade the most important branch of all; it seems not logical to merge the Hebrew in the Syriac. Our opinion, but not dogmatical assertion, is, that this primitive Shemitic was the universal language of men before the flood, and for some ages after; and that its best and most unaltered form came forth in the speech and writings of Job and Moses. Of this language, the distinguished philologist Ewald has said, that 'it stands one degree nearer [than the Sanscrit] to the simplicity of nature and antiquity; but it possesses, on the other hand, the warmest feeling, the most enchanting and childlike truthfulness, with the most delightful naturalness and clearness. That primitive and natural artlessness can be recognised in it more easily than in any other language' (*Heb. Gramm.*, transl. by Nicholson, § 16, 17). We see its early state of majestic simplicity in the books of Moses, its most polished condition in the period which includes David and Isaiah, and its decline in the century before the captivity; after which humiliating and depressing event it ceased to be the spoken language of the people; and the last compositions that we have in it are the narratives of Ezra and Nehemiah, the prophecies of Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and probably a number of the Psalms. In this period of twelve hundred years, notwithstanding the course at which we have hinted of advancement and decay, the difference is more in the genius and spirit than in the grammatical forms. The uniformity of the language is preserved far more than in the history of any European living language. Compare it, for example, with the changes in English, German, Dutch, or French, within only the last four hundred years. But this high degree of fixedness is a property of the Asiatic languages. The classical Chinese of the present day is the very same as that of Confucius twenty-three centuries ago.

In the countries north of Palestine, the Shemitic developed itself, or more probably degenerated, into the harsh, impoverished, and clumsy Aramaic; and this again separated into two dialects, the Eastern, usually called Chaldee, and the Western, or Syriac. 'But,' says Professor Ewald, 'in the south, among the never-conquered Arabs, it preserved greater purity and sweetness, and a greater richness of formations and words; many of which excellences are found in the Ethiopic language, a very old daughter of the Arabic' (*Heb. Gramm.*, § 1).

Our second division of cultivated languages we venture to denominate *Sanscritic*, in order to include both that most remarkable phenomenon, the Sanscrit, a language whose very existence was scarcely known seventy years ago, whose origin is concealed in remotest antiquity, and which possesses the perfections of language, natural and artificial, in a degree almost unrivalled; and the *Zend*, supposed to be allied to the Sanscrit, and to be the mother-form of the most ancient Persian. To this division the late Professor Gesenius gave the name of *Indo-Germanic*, which others have improved into *Indo-European*. The researches of that able philologist, and the not less distinguished Professors A. W. Schlegel (treading in the path opened by Carey and the other Serampore missionaries), Bopp, Rask, Burnouf, Bohlen, Lassen, Wilson, and other honoured names, have established the fact that the principal languages of India on this side the Ganges, the Persian, the Armenian, and the stems of the great European languages, Celtic, Gothic, Sclavonic, Greek, and Latin, have been derived from this amazingly fertile root.

A British nobleman, deservedly honoured for his attainments and his services in science and literature, has given the following summary of the relations of the Sanscrit: 'This language,' says Lord Francis Egerton, 'will be found to interest the philologer of every country in Europe. The subjects of every government in Europe are writing and speaking living derivatives of that language—every university is occupied in teaching its two noblest extinct varieties; and philology must cease to exist as a study and a science, when interest ceases to attach to the exploration of a connection so curious and so extensive as that which binds together the members of the Indo-Germanic family. In this point of view, the Sanscrit claims an indisputable preference, as a subject of European research, over the two other great streams of language which seem to have descended from the Caucasus—the Semitic, and the monosyllabic system which has pervaded China' (*On the Study of Sanscrit*, in the *Classical Museum*, Oct. 1844, p. 248).

The question arises, Was there any affinity, or other connection, between the Shemitic and the Sanscrit, in their earliest stage of existence? To this inquiry we fear that a satisfactory answer cannot be given. The existence and the extraordinary characters of the Sanscrit literature form a problem which we do not hope to see resolved. That there was some primeval affinity we can scarcely doubt; but the vestiges of it have probably been obscured and obliterated in the wonderful process of philosophical elaboration to which the Sanscrit has been subjected, it is supposed under the influence of the court of Benares and the great poets who there flourished a little before the Christian era. The following sentences from Ewald indicate his opinion that there really was an original affinity: 'We learn, from the investigation of the primitive elements of the Semitic language, that its beginnings or *roots*, like those of all other languages, were short monosyllabic words. Hence arises the great connection which these roots have with Indo-Germanic roots; a connection the less astonishing, as the territories of both these families afterwards also bordered on one another in Asia. *Formation* has become the predominant principle of the Semitic language. In this [system of] formation, the Semitic language has, it is true, more simplicity and freshness, and much that is finer and more regular, than the Indo-germanic family; but in general it has not reached the high degree of perfection which distinguishes the latter. To the power of *composition* [as in the Greek], a chief ornament of the Sanscrit family of language, the Semitic has not advanced. Like the whole genius of the Semitic nations, like their poetry and religion, their language also, as opposed to the Indo-Germanic, possesses rather keen sensibility of heart and spirit, than rest and extended scope of thought and fancy; more lyric and poetical, than epic and oratorical elements. It is the business of Hebrew grammar everywhere to point out this central position of the Hebrew, between the most unformed, *e. g. Chinese*, and the most perfectly developed language, *e. g.* the *Indo-Germanic*' (*Heb. Gramm.* § 13-17).

The Chinese spoken language (for the written is only a rude system of picture-signs of ideas, not of vocal sounds) has a striking character of deficiency and powerlessness. It consists of a few more than 300 monosyllables, each being a consonant followed by a vowel. One might conjecture that, by combining some of these radicals, compound words would be formed; but this is not the case. The multiplication of words is only by varying the tone; and of such variations there are at least ten or twelve, some of which are with difficulty perceivable by a foreign ear. The endurance of so miserable a method of intercourse, for above three thousand years, however consistent with the surprising fixedness of manners and habits which characterizes the millions of China, cannot but astonish us. Whence could be derived that strange immutability, hostile to the most rational interests of our nature, checking every tendency to improvement, and debasing the soul of man to wretched servility? Is it not a striking proof of a hateful usurpation, the dominion of the prince of darkness, 'the spirit which even now worketh in the children of disobedience?' The same system subsists in other tribes and nations bordering upon China properly so called, the inhabitants of Cochin-China, Siam, Japan, &c. But the origin of such a language is as difficult to account for as its retention. Mr. Shuckford has raised the hypothesis, and he is followed by the authors of the *Ancient Universal History*, that before or at the time of the Shinar revolt, Noah with a party of his descendants, most probably voluntary separatists from different families, removed themselves eastwards; and that from them the whole population of which we are speaking was derived. He adduces no contemptible reasons in support of this hypothesis.

The Chinese traditions concerning Fohee, the alleged founder and first monarch of their nation, or, as Sir John Barrow deduces from the Chinese traditions, the third, have remarkable points of coincidence with the history of Noah. Shuckford places the residence of the great patriarch, after the deluge, in Thibet or Tartary, north of the Coosh and the Himalaya mountains, and supposes that his offspring spread down southward to India, and eastward to China; 'and so,' he adds, 'it is probable that they also peopled Scythia [meaning no doubt Tartary], and afterward the more northern continent; and, if America be anywhere joined to it, perhaps all that part of the world came from these originals' (*Connection*, vol. i. p. 104). In Mr. Shuckford's time, Behring's Straits were unknown; nor could he know much of the 'traits of resemblance in the manners, laws, arts, and institutions of the two nations [Chinese and Peruvians], which, in our opinion, are too numerous, striking, and peculiar, to be the effect of chance' (Mr. Charles Maclaren, in the *Encyclop. Brit.*, vol. ii. p. 626, 7th ed.).

But there are languages, of unknown number and variety, which cannot be reduced to any of the classes and kinds of which we have been writing. Such are those of the inhabitants of India before the arrival of the Hindoo nations, supposed to be now represented by mountain-tribes in the Himalayas, the Singalese, the inhabitants of the extreme north-east of Asia, the people of Southern Africa, those of America, from the frozen ocean of the north to the southern extremity, and the Australian tribes. With regard to these, we know most concerning the American tribes or nations. They and their languages form a very great number, probably not fewer than four hundred, though many of these may be dialects at a second or third stage of derivation from an earlier form of speech. The materials of which they are made (the sounds of the radical words) differ much; but they resemble each other in the extreme complication of their forms. 'In America, from the country of the Esquimaux to the banks of the Orinoko, and again from those torrid banks to the frozen climate of the Straits of Magellan, mother-tongues, entirely different with regard to their roots, have, if we may use the expression, the same physiognomy. Striking analogies of grammatical construction have been recognised, not only in the more perfect languages, as that of the Incas, the Aymara, the Guarani, the Mexican, and the Cora, but also in languages extremely rude. Idioms, the roots of which do not resemble each other more than the roots of the Sclavonian and the Biscayan, have resemblances of internal mechanism, similar to those which are found in the Sanscrit, the Persian, the Greek, and the German languages' (William von Humboldt, in Dr. Prichard's *Nat. Hist. of Man*, 1843, p. 358). 'Amidst that great *diversity* of American languages, considered only in reference to their vocabularies, the *similarity* of their structure and grammatical forms has been observed and pointed out by the American philologists. The result appears to prove that all the languages, not only of our own [North American] Indians, but of the native inhabitants of America, from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn, have, as far as they have been investigated, a distinct character common to all, and apparently differing from any of those of the other continent with which we are most familiar' (Gallatin's *Archæol. Amer.*, quoted by Dr. Prichard). 'There exist, in both Americas, *linguistic formulæ*, which Balbi refers to a Semitic and even Hebrew affinity; and many words in the Carib tongue, particularly among the trading, vagrant, and fighting Accawas, have striking resemblances to the languages of ancient Syria and Carthage' (Col. Hamilton Smith, *On the Original Population of America*, in the *Edinb. Philos. Journal*, Jan. 1845, p. 11).

We have reason also to believe that there are a few scattered fragments of tribes, situated in fastnesses of hardly accessible regions in other parts of the world, whose languages are little known, and are therefore as yet incapable of being brought into any classification.

We now shall conclude this disquisition by a brief statement of the inferences which to us appear to possess the greatest degree of probability; premising that there are obscurities and difficulties in almost every part of the subject, which we do not pretend or hope to remove.

1. The original language of mankind was a form of that which was preserved in the post-diluvian world, principally in the line of Shem; a form to which the subsequent Hebrew bore, and, with its necessary changes and improvements, still bears, the closest resemblance.

2. This was the universal language till many centuries after the flood.

3. Deflections from it arose, in various modes and degrees, after the general separation and wide dispersion of clans and tribes; the causes and occasions of those alterations were natural and human, arising from physical and historical causes, such as climate, peculiar conformation of individuals, imitation of those erratic examples, caprice, and the intercourse of tribes after separation.

4. The variety of languages existing, or having existed, among mankind, may be traced back, with approximation to probability, to one source, the family of Noah, as the representative of the antediluvian world.

5. The dispersion of the Babel-builders was attended by circumstances of discord and violence. Some of them gained the mastery, and, under the government of Nimrod, retained possession of the city and the unfinished tower. The rest migrated, probably in hostile parties, to different regions. Whether the change in their speech affected the substance of language, or consisted only in the pronunciation, and whether it was temporary or permanent, cannot be with certainty determined.

6. The greatest degree of alteration from any assumed primeval standard, attaches to the American branches. Perhaps the *conjecture* might not be dismissed as absurd, that the fugitives from Shinar, or their early descendants, were the first settlers in America; whether by making their way to the north-east coast of Asia, or upon isthmuses or chains of islands which have been since submerged (not impossible nor improbable; and the old traditions of Atlantis may have originated in some fact of this kind), or by drifted canoes. Hence a reason might be given for the monstrously entangled forms of those languages.

7. The whole question runs parallel to that

concerning the derivation of all mankind from a common ancestry, the family of Noah. The range of argument and difficulty is nearly if not entirely equal; and we humbly think that the resulting problems are insoluble by mortals in the present state.

The following are the principal passages of ancient authors, rescued from the wreck of time by the quotations of Josephus and Eusebius. It scarcely need be said that we do not adduce these fragments as authorities, in any other sense than that they repeat the traditional narratives which had descended from the remotest antiquity among the people to whom they relate. The 'Sibyl' cited by Josephus is the fictitious appellation of some unknown author, probably about the second century B.C. Alexander Cornelius Polyhistor flourished about one hundred years before Christ. Eupolemus was probably an Asiatic Greek, two or three centuries earlier. Abydenus (if he was Palæphatus) lived in the middle of the fourth century B.C.

'Concerning this tower, and the discordance of language among men, the Sibyl also makes mention, saying thus: "All men having one language, some of them built a very high tower, as if they proposed by means of it to climb to heaven: but the gods, by sending storms of wind, overthrew the tower, and gave to each person a peculiar language; and on this account the city came to be called Babylon"' (Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 4. 3).

The Sibyl here quoted may be that very ancient anonymous authority, to which we have obscure references (in the discourse of Theophilus to Autolycus) in Plutarch's *Morals*, in Virgil's *Pollio*, and in the *Stromata* of Clemens Alexandrinus.

'Alexander Polyhistor—a man of the highest celebrity for talents and attainments, in the estimation of those Greeks who are the most profoundly and accurately learned—has the following passage: "Eupolemus, in his book concerning the Jews of Assyria, says that the city of Babylon was first built by those who had been preserved from the deluge; that they were giants [the Greeks used this word to signify, not so much men of enormous stature, as their mythological heroes, of great prowess, and defying the gods]; that they also erected the tower of which history gives account; but that it was overthrown by the mighty power from God, and consequently the giants were scattered abroad over the whole earth" (Euseb., *Præpar. Evang.*, Col. 1688).

'Further, with respect to the narrative of Moses concerning the building of the tower, and how, from one tongue, they were confounded so as to be brought into the use of many dialects, the author before mentioned [Abydenus], in his book concerning the Assyrians, gives his confirmation in these words: "There are some who say that the first men sprung out of the earth; that they boasted of their strength and size; that they contemptuously maintained themselves to be superior to the gods; that they erected a lofty tower, where now is Babylon; then, when it had been carried on almost up to heaven, the very winds came to assist the gods, and overthrew the vast structure upon its builders. Its ruins were called Babylon. The men, who before had possessed one tongue, were brought by the gods to a many-sounding voice; and afterwards war arose between Cronus [Saturn] and Titan. Moreover, the place in which they built the tower is now called Babylon, on account of the confusing of the prior clearness with respect to speech; for the Hebrews call confusion Babel"' (Euseb., *Præpar. Evang.* ix. 14).

Abydenus, the Grecian historian of Assyria, is known to us only by citations in Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, and Syncellus; but they confirm his respectability as a writer.—J. P. S.

TOOTH, TEETH (שֵׁן; Sept. *ὀδούς*, quasi *ἐδούς*, from *ἔδω*, 'to eat;' Vulg. *dens*, quasi edens, 'eating'). The Hebrew word is usually derived from שנה, 'to change' or 'repeat,' because the teeth are changed, or replaced by others. It occurs first, with reference to the literal member itself in man, the loss of which, by violence, is specified by Moses, in illustration of his law concerning taliones, 'tooth for tooth' (Exod. xxi. 24). This outrage occurring between freemen (or between an Israelite and a foreigner, Lev. xxiv. 22) admitted, like other cases of maiming, most probably of a pecuniary compensation, and under private arrangement, unless the injured party proved exorbitant in his demand, when the case was referred to the judge, who seems addressed in Deut. xix. 21. The Targum of Jonathan renders the words, 'the price of a tooth for a tooth,' in Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 20; and Deut. xix. 21 (comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8. 35, and the article PUNISHMENT in this work); but if a master inflicted this irreparable damage upon a servant, *i. e.* slave, of either sex, he was punished by the absolute loss of his slave's services (Exod. xxi. 27). The same law applied, if the slave was a Gentile, notwithstanding the national glosses of the Jewish doctors (Selden, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* iv. 1, p. 468). Our Lord's comment upon the law (Matt. v. 38), which was much abused in his time (Horne's *Introd.* vol. ii. p. 377, 6th ed.), prohibits no more than *retaliation* upon the *injurer* (*τῷ πονηρῷ*), not such a defence of our innocence as may consist in words, but *private revenge*, and especially with such a disposition as actuated the aggressor, with impetuous rage or hatred. His exhortations relate rather to those injuries which cannot be redressed by the magistrate, or by course of law: these we should bear, rather than resort to revenge (see Rosenmuller, Grotius, and Whitby, *in loc.*). Indeed the hermeneutics of our Lord's precepts in his Sermon on the Mount require much knowledge, care, and discrimination, in order to avoid a *primâ facie* interpretation of them, which has often been given, at variance with his intention, subversive of the principles of natural justice, and productive of false ideas of Christian duty.

In Ps. iii. 7, we have לחי שני, for the human jawbone; for that of an ass, Judg. xv. 15-17, *σιαγόνα*, 'maxillam, *i. e.* mandibulam' (which becomes מכתש in ver. 19, *τὸν λάκκον τὸν ἐν τῇ σιαγόνι*, 'molarem dentem in maxilla asini') [SAMSON]; and for that of leviathan, Job xl. 14, *τὸ χεῖλος*, *maxillam*. A 'broken (or rather 'bad,' רעה, that is, decayed; Vulg. *dens putridus*) tooth,' is referred to in Prov. xxv. 19, as furnishing an apt similitude of 'confidence in an unfaithful man in the time of trouble.' 'The teeth of beasts,' or rather 'tooth,' שן, is a phrase expressive of devastation by wild animals: thus, 'I will send the tooth of beasts upon them' (Deut. xxxii. 24), שן־בהמת, *ὀδόντας*

θηρίων, *dentes bestiarum* (comp. 2 Kings xvii. 25). The word is sometimes metaphorically used for a sharp cliff or summit of a rock (Job xxxix. 28): thus, 'The eagle dwelleth and abideth upon the tooth of the rock;' על-שן-סלע, ἐπ' ἐξοχῇ πέτρας, *inaccessis rupibus*. So also (1 Sam. xiv. 4): 'a sharp rock on the one side and a sharp rock on the other side;' שן־הסלע, ὀδοὺς πέτρας, *quasi in modum dentium scopuli*: these eminences were named Bozez and Seneh.

Teeth, שנים, ὀδόντες, *dentes*, is found in the dual number only, referring to the two rows, yet used for the plural (1 Sam. ii. 13). The word occurs first with reference to the literal organs in man (Gen. xlix. 12): 'His teeth shall be white with milk,' which the Sept. and Vulg. understand to mean 'whiteness greater than milk,' ἢ γάλα, *lacte candidiores* (Num. xi. 33; Prov. x. 26; Cant. iv. 2; vi. 6). Although שנים be the general word for teeth, yet the Hebrews had a distinct term for the molares or jaw teeth, especially of the larger animals; thus, מתלעות, Job xxix. 17; Ps. lvii. 4; Prov. xxx. 14; Joel i. 6; and by transposition מלתעות, Ps. lviii. 6, μύλαι, *molæ* and *molares*. The *apparent* teeth of the leviathan, *gyrus dentium*, are however called שנים (Job xli. 14). Ivory, 'elephants' teeth,' 1 Kings x. 22, is simply שנים; in Sept. deest; Vulg. *dentes elephantorum: dens* in Latin is sometimes so used. In 2 Chron. ix. 21, the word is שנהבים, ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντινοι, *ebur*, where שן evidently denotes a tooth; but the signification of the latter part, הבים, is unknown, and Gesenius thinks that the form of the word may be so corrupted as to disguise its original meaning. May it not be of foreign origin, imported with the material from Ophir? [Ivory]. In other passages the reference to teeth is metaphorical; thus, 'a flesh-hook with three teeth,' that is, prongs (1 Sam. ii. 13) [Hooks]. 'The teeth of lions' is a symbol of the cruelty and rapacity of the wicked (Job iv. 10). 'To take one's flesh into one's teeth,' signifies to gnaw it with anguish (Job xiii. 14; comp. Rev. xvi. 10. 'The skin of his teeth,' with which Job says he had 'escaped' in his affliction, is understood by the Vulgate, of the lips—'derelicta sunt tantummodo labia circa dentes meos;' but Gesenius understands it as a proverbial expression, meaning, I have scarcely a sound spot in my body. 'To smite upon the jaw-bone' and 'to break the teeth,' mean to disgrace, and to disable (Ps. iii. 7: comp. Mic. vi. 13; 1 Kings xx. 35; Lam. iii. 30). The teeth of calumniators, &c., are compared to 'spears and arrows' (Ps. lvii. 4; comp. 1 Sam. xxiv. 9). To break the teeth of such persons, means to disable them (Ps. lviii. 6). To escape the malice of enemies, is called an 'escape from their teeth' (Ps. cxxiv. 6; Zech. ix. 7). Oppression is compared to 'jaw-teeth like swords, and grinders like knives' (Prov. xxx. 14). Beautiful teeth are compared to 'sheep newly shorn and washed' in Cant. iv. 2; vi. 6; but the remaining part of the comparison, 'whereof every one beareth twins, and none is barren among them,' is much better rendered by Le Clerc, 'all of them twins, and none hath lost his fellow.' To 'break the teeth with gravel stones,' is a most hyperbolical metaphor for inflicting the harshest disappointment (Lam. iii. 16). 'Iron teeth' are the symbol of destructive power (Dan. vii. 7, 19). A nation having the teeth of lions, and the cheek-teeth of a great lion, denotes one which devours with irresistible force (Joel i. 6; comp. Ecclus. xxi. 2; Rev. ix. 8). 'Prophets who bite with their teeth, and cry Peace,' are greedy and hypocritical prophets (Mic. iii. 5). 'To take away blood out of the mouth, and abominations from between the teeth,' means, to rescue the intended victims of cruelty (Zech. ix. 7). 'Cleanness of teeth,' is a periphrasis for hunger, famine (Amos iv. 6); Sept. γομφιασμὸν ὀδόντων; Symmachus and Theodotion, καθαρισμόν. *Gnashing of teeth* means properly grinding the teeth with rage or despair. The Hebrew word so rendered is חרק (Job xvi. 9; Lam. ii. 16; Ps. xxxv. 16; xxxvii. 12; cxii. 10): it is invariably rendered in the Sept. βρύχω, and in the Vulg. infremo, fremo, frendo (see also Acts vii. 54; Ecclus. li. 2). In the New Testament it is said of the epileptic child (Mark ix. 18), τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας, *stridet dentibus*. The phrase, ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, is in the Vulgate 'stridor dentium' (Matt. viii. 12; xiii. 42, 50; xxii. 13; xxiv. 51; xxv. 30; Luke xiii. 28). Suidas defines βρυγμός· τρισμὸς ὀδόντων. Galen, ὁ ἀπό τῶν ὀδόντων συγκρουομένων ψόφος. The phrase 'lest thou gnash thy teeth' (Ecclus. xxx. 10), is γομφιάσεις τοῦς ὀδόντας σοῦ. 'To cast in the teeth,' is an old English phrase (for the Hebrew has no such idiom), signifying *to reproach;* thus 'the thieves who were crucified with Jesus cast the same in his teeth,' ὠνείδιζον αὐτόν (Matt. xxvii. 44); Vulg. *improperabant ei;* compare also the Bible and Prayer Book version of Ps. xlii. 11. פיפיות, 'a sharp threshing instrument having teeth,' literally 'edges' (Is. xli. 15). The action of acids on the teeth is referred to in the proverb, 'the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge' (Ezek. xviii. 2); ἐγομφίασαν, *obstupuerunt* (Prov. x. 26).—J. F. D.

TOPAZ. [Pitdah.]

TOPHET (תֹּפֶת; Sept. Ταφέθ; Vulg. *Topheth*), a place very near to Jerusalem, on the south-east, in the valley of the children of Hinnom, where the ancient Canaanites, and afterwards the apostate Israelites, made their children to pass through the fire to Moloch (comp. Ps. cvi. 38; Jer. vii. 31). It is first mentioned, in the order of time, by Isaiah, who alludes to it as deep and large, and having an abundance of fuel (ch. xxx. 33). He here evidently calls the place where Sennacherib's army was destroyed (B.C. 710) Tophet, by a metonymy; for it was probably overthrown at a greater distance from Jerusalem, and quite on the opposite side of it, since Nob is mentioned as the last station from which the king of Assyria should threaten Jerusalem (ch. x. 32), where the prophet seems to have given a very exact chorographical description of his march in order to attack the city (Lowth's Translation, Notes on xxx. 33). In the reformation of religion by King Josiah (B.C. 624), he caused Topheth to be defiled in order to suppress idolatry (2 Kings xxiii. 10). The means he adopted for this purpose are not specified, whether by throwing all manner of filth into it, as well as by overthrowing the altars, &c., as the Syriac and Arabic versions seem to understand it. The prophet Jeremiah was ordered by God to announce

from this spot (ch. xix. 14) the approaching captivity, and the destruction, both by the siege of the city and by famine, of so many of the people, whose carcases should be here buried, as that it should 'no more be called Tophet, nor the valley of the son of Hinnom, but the valley of slaughter' (ch. vii. 31, 32; xix. 6, 11-14). The name of this place is generally derived from תף, 'a drum,' because, it is said, the rites of Moloch were accompanied with the sound of that instrument; but, in the absence of any other evidence, this assertion must be considered a mere Rabbinical conjecture, derived from the etymon. Some, with more probability, derive the word from Chald. תוף, 'to spit out,' or 'vomit;' hence תפת, 'that which causes loathing or abhorrence' (comp. Job xvii. 16, Hebrew). Others derive it from the *fire-stove* (תפת) in which the children were burnt to Moloch (2 Chron. xxviii. 3). The place might be called, even by the idolaters themselves, תפתה, 'the place of burning.' With regard to its locality, Jerome, on Jer. vii. 31, remarks, 'Tophet signifies that place which is watered by the streams of Siloam; it is pleasant and woody, affording horticultural pleasures.' Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, under the word Θαφέθ, says, 'In the suburbs of Ailah is still shown the place so called, to which is adjacent the fuller's pool and the potter's field, or the parcel of ground Acheldamach.' For an account of the modern aspect of the place, see Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine* (pp. 122, 123). After the return from the captivity, the Jews resumed the ancient name for the whole valley, viz., the valley of Hinnom, called in our Lord's time by the Greek name Ge Hinnom, by corruption Γέεννα [GEHENNA]; and in order to perpetuate the disgrace of idolatry, they made it the common receptacle of the filth, &c., of the city, in which 'fires' were *continually* kept burning, to consume the carcases of animals, executed criminals, &c., the unconsumed portions of which, as well as the offscourings in general, became the nidus of insects, whose larvæ, or 'worms,' revelled in the corruption. These circumstances furnished the most *apt* representation to the Jewish mind of future punishment (comp. Judith xvi. 17; Ecclus. vii. 17; see also Chaldee Par. on Isa. xxxiii. 4, where מוקדי עלם, 'everlasting burnings,' is rendered 'the Gehenna of everlasting fire'). Some writers, however, restrict our Lord's allusions to Gehenna (Matt. v. 22) entirely to temporal punishments. Thus, 'whosoever is *angry* with his brother without a cause,' *i. e.* captious, peevish, arbitrary, irascible, 'shall be in danger of the judgment,' that is, by indulging such an unreasonable disposition shall be in danger of committing some act for which he shall be cited before ἡ κρίσις, 'the judgment,' an inferior court, consisting of seven presidents—taken before the magistrate for an assault, as we should say: 'and whosoever shall *say* to his brother, Raca,' *i. e.* worthless, dissolute! 'shall be in danger of the council,' or Sanhedrim —shall render himself liable, by the indulgence of such a rancorous disposition, and by the use of such injurious language, to be called to trial for slander—cited before the spiritual court, as we should say, for defamation: 'but whosoever shall say, Moreh,' 'thou atheistic wretch!' ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός, will betray a likelihood of incurring capital punishment—come to the gallows, as we say—through violence of disposition, and of his body being cast into Gehenna, and exposed to its 'fire' and 'worm.' Our Lord's object in the use of these several figures is simply to *exemplify* the danger of unrestrained anger. So also his *illustration* of the evil of unrestrained concupiscence, &c. (Matt. v. 27-31) is to be understood. The principle on which he reasons is no doubt applicable to future punishment; namely, that self-denial, at any cost, is preferable to the evils incurred by the neglect of it.—J. F. D.

TOWNS. We use the term in its general signification, so as to embrace any assemblage of inhabited human dwellings of larger size than a hamlet or a village, the only way in which we can speak with correctness and advantage.

Towns are a natural result of the aggregative principle in human nature. Necessity led the early races of men to build their towns on lofty spots, where, with the aid of the natural advantages of the ground, they could easily protect themselves against beasts of prey and human foes. A town, and a stronghold or fort, would thus be originally identical. As population increased and agriculture spread, so some degree of security came, which permitted the inhabitants of the castle to diffuse themselves over the hill-side, and take up their abode in the valley, and by the side of the stream that lay nearest their acropolis; still the inhabitants kept at no great distance from the centre of strength, in order not to be deprived of its protection. The town, however, would thus be enlarged, and as the necessity for self-defence still existed, so would the place soon be surrounded with walls. Thus would there be outer and inner bulwarks, and in some sort two species of community—the townspeople, who tilled the ground and carried on trade, and the soldiers, whose business it was to afford protection: these two, however, in the earliest stages of civilization were one, the peasant and tradesman taking arms when the town was put in danger. How early towns were formed cannot be determined by any general principle: they were obviously a work of time. The primary tendency in population was to diffuse itself. Aggregation on particular spots would take place at a later period. When then Cain is said to have built a city (Gen. iv. 17), the first city (Enoch, so called after Cain's son), we have evidence which concurs with other intimations to show that it is only a partial history of the first ages that we possess in the records of the book of Genesis. In the time of the Patriarchs we find towns existing in Palestine which were originally surrounded with fortifications, so as to make them 'fenced cities.' In these dwelt the agricultural population, who by means of these places of strength defended themselves and their property from the nomad tribes of the neighbouring desert, who then, as they do now, lived by plunder. Nor were works of any great strength necessary. In Palestine at the present day, while walls are in most parts an indispensable protection, and agriculture can be advantageously prosecuted only so far as sheltered by a fortified town, erections of a very slight nature are found sufficient for the purpose, the rather because the most favourable localities offer themselves on all sides, owing to the natural inequality of the ground. The ensuing ex-

tract (*Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land*, &c., by Rev. S. Olin, New York, 1843, vol. ii. 423, 424) throws light on the subject:—'Continuing our route over a well-wooded limestone ridge, we came in sight of a large village which occupied a hill directly before us, while farther to the right, and upon a still loftier summit, was a ruinous castle of great extent, and from its commanding position, of very imposing appearance. The intervening region and that to the right of the castle, was undulating, fertile, and cultivated. We were nearly an hour in reaching the base of the isolated mount, which we passed to the right through a deep ravine that divides it from another lofty hill on the east, which is also surmounted with what appeared to be a ruined fortress. We passed round the acropolis to the north side, where we obtained a good view of this ancient stronghold. It embraces the entire summit of the mountain within a massive wall, which, as well as the several towers by which it was strengthened, is in a very dilapidated state. A little further west another summit is occupied by ruinous bulwarks and towers. The large village, called from the castle, Tibinin, or Chibinin, lies in a valley between these two fortified hills. East of the principal works is another elevation surmounted with ruins, and farther in the same direction, beyond the narrow valley we had just traversed, is a fourth summit, the one I have already referred to as having ruins upon its top.' From this striking passage, an illustration may be gathered of the force of our Lord's language, when he describes his disciples as a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid (Matt. v. 14). Jesus has been thought to refer in this description to some particular city, and the modern Safet has been fixed on and is still traditionally regarded as the place which he had in view. This town, now in a ruinous state,—one of the four cities—Hebron, Tiberias, Jerusalem, Safet, regarded as especially holy—occupies the summit of the highest mountain in Galilee, and one of the highest in the Jewish territories. It is conspicuously seen from a great distance in all directions but the north. The town does not occupy the precise summit of the rounded mountain, but rather the sloping ground immediately below it, a military castle or citadel having been erected upon the highest point. The hilly position of towns sometimes caused the dwellings to be curiously placed relatively to each other. Thus, in Safet, the traveller, as he sits on his horse in the midst of the town, finds the smoke of a kitchen rise from the earth near him, and by a little survey ascertains that the smoke issues from the mouth of a chimney standing a few inches above the ground at his horse's feet: that he and his animal are in reality on the flat roof of a house; and that, as the hill-side is nearly perpendicular, the inhabitants have judged it the easiest mode of building to place the houses one upon another.

Of the ancient method of building in towns and cities we have no accurate knowledge, any farther than we may gather information from the ruins which still lie on the soil of Palestine. But these ruins can afford only general notions, as, though they are numerous, and show that the Land of Promise was thickly peopled and highly flourishing in its better days, the actual remains of ancient towns are to be ascribed to different and very distant periods of history. The crusades left many strongholds which are now in a state of dilapidation; but the crusades are of modern days compared with the times of the Saviour, which themselves are remote from the proper antiquity of the nation. The law of sameness, however, which prevails so rigidly in Eastern countries, gives us an assurance that a modern town in Palestine may be roughly taken as a type of its ancient predecessors.

At the gates of the town, which were frequented as the court of justice, the town's market, the rendezvous for loungers, newsmongers, pleasure-seekers, there were wide open places of greater or less dimensions, where on important occasions the entire population assembled for consultation or for action (Neh. viii. 1, 16; 2 Chron. xxxii. 6; 2 Sam. xxi. 12; Job xxix. 7; 2 Kings vii. 1). The streets were not so narrow as streets generally are in modern Oriental towns. Their names were sometimes taken from the wares or goods that were sold in them: thus in Jer. xxxvii. 21, we read of 'the bakers' street.' The present bazaars seem to be a continuation of this ancient custom. The streets of Jerusalem at least were paved (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 7); but the streets of most cities of Palestine would not need paving, in consequence of the rocky nature of the foundations on which they lay. Herod the Great laid an open road in Antioch with polished stone (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 5. 3; comp. 1 Kings xx. 34). In regard to the earlier periods, we find only a notice to the effect that Solomon caused the fore-court of the temple to be laid with flags. Besides paved streets, Jerusalem before the exile had an extensive system of watercourses or aqueducts, which seems to have been rendered necessary by the natural supply having been limited to one or two spots in the immediate vicinity. This subject has been handled by Robinson, and more fully by Olin (ii. 139, sq.: see Isa. vii. 3; xxii. 9; 2 Kings xx. 20; Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 2). Other cities were contented with the fountains whose existence had probably led to their formation at the first.

Palestine underwent constant changes in regard to its towns, from the earliest ages; one consequence of which is, that there are names of towns that belong exclusively to certain eras. The period of the Roman domination gave existence, as to structures of great splendour, so to many towns and fortified places. Gal'ee was especially rich in towns and villages, which, according to Josephus (*Vita*, § 45), amounted in all to the number of 204. The names of the Palestinian cities, for the most part, have meaning, reference being made to the nature of the locality, as Rama, Ain, Jericho, Bethlehem, Gibeon, Mizpah. Many are compounds formed with the aid of one of the following words, בית (house), עיר or קרית (city), חצר (court), עמק (valley), אבל (a grass plot), באר (well), עין (fountain), כפרי (hamlet). To distinguish cities that bore the same name, the name of the tribe was added. In 'the latter days,' especially under the Herods, it was the fashion to give to ancient towns new Greek names, as Diospolis, Neapolis, Sebaste, Caesarea, Tiberias. Jerusalem, at a later period, was denominated Ælia Capitolina. These innovations indicated the slavish disposition of the age, and were tokens of the bondage in which the nation was held; as

much as the incorporation of the name בעל (Baal), at a much earlier era, pointed out the Canaanitish origin of a place, and gave reason to think that it was originally addicted to idolatrous worship. The population of towns cannot now be ascertained with any degree of accuracy, for the materials are not only scanty and disconnected, but in a measure uncertain. Respecting the government of towns, we have no detailed information relating to the ante-exilian periods, though it was probably in the hands of the elders; and in Deut. xvi. 18, Moses commands, 'Judges (Hengstenberg translates the word 'scribe' or 'writer,' *Authentie des Pent.* i. 450) and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, and they shall judge the people with just judgment.' In the post-exilian era magistrates occur under the name of Council (Joseph. *Vita*, § 14, 34, 61, 68), at whose head was a president or mayor (Joseph. *Vita*, § 27; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 21. 3).—J. R. B.

TRACHONITIS (Τραχωνῖτις; טרכון) was, in the days of the Herodian dynasty, the name of the country situated between the Antilibanus and the Arabian mountains south of Damascus and west of the provinces of Batanæa, Gaulonitis, Ituræa, and Auranitis, under about the thirty-third degree of northern latitude. Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, *s. v.*, Ituræa, places Trachonitis between Bostra and Damascus Plin. (*Hist. Nat.* v. 16; Strabo, xvi. pp. 755, 756). This country had its name from the Greek τραχών = τραχὺς καὶ πετρώδης τόπος, *a rough and rocky place*. Josephus sometimes uses the term Τράχων, instead of Trachonitis (*Antiq.* xiii. 16. 5; *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 5). Strabo mentions two Τραχῶνες, which, according to Burckhardt (*R. I.* 115), are the summits of two mountain-ranges on the road from Mecca to Damascus, near the village El Kessue. Trachonitis is at present called *Ledja*. The eastern range of mountains is now called *Dshebel Manai*, and contains great caverns in chalk rocks. The southern portions of the ancient Trachonitis, or the present Ledja, consist chiefly of basalt rocks. A Greek inscription found at the modern Missema, one league and a half from Shaara, proves that the surrounding country was part of Trachonitis (Burckhardt's *R. I.* 204, 510; comp. Berghaus, *Annalen*, i. 556, ii. 453). The inhabitants of Trachonitis are called by Ptolemy (v. 15) οἱ Τραχωνῖται Ἄραβες, *the Trachonite Arabians*, and are described by Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 1) as much addicted to robbery. A very famous commander of banditti named Zenodorus is mentioned by Strabo and Josephus. Under him the robbers gave so much trouble, and made the country so unquiet, that Augustus was induced to put Trachonitis under the authority of Herod the Great; who forthwith took such vigorous and decided measures as soon brought the district into a state of security.

After the death of Herod the Great, Trachonitis belonged to the tetrarchy of his son Philip (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 4. 6, and 9. 1; xviii. 5. 6; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 6. 3). At a later time it belonged to Herod Agrippa (*Antiq.* xx. 6. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 5; Philo, *Opp.* ii. 593; comp. Raumer's *Palästina*, p. 158, sq.; Winer's *Real-Wörterbuch*, under Trachonitis.—C. H. F. B.

TRANCE (תַּרְדֵּמָה; Sept. ἔκστασις, Vulg. *sopor;* Gen. ii. 21, &c.), a supernatural state of body and mind, the nature of which has been well conjectured by Doddridge, who defines it—'Such a rapture of mind as gives the person who falls into it a look of astonishment, and renders him insensible of the external objects around him, while in the meantime his imagination is agitated in an extraordinary manner with some striking scenes which pass before it and take up all the attention.' He refers to some extraordinary instances of this kind mentioned by Gualtperius in his note on Acts x. 10 (*Family Expositor*, in loc., note g.) Stockius also describes it as 'A sacred ecstasy, or rapture of the mind out of itself, when the use of the external senses being suspended, God reveals something in a peculiar manner to prophets and apostles, who are then taken or transported out of themselves.' The same idea is intimated in the English word trance, from the Latin '*transitus*,' the state of being carried out of oneself. The Greek word, ἔκστασις, denotes the effect of any passion by which the thoughts are wholly absorbed. In the Sept. it corresponds to שמה, 'a wonderful thing' (Jer. v. 30); and תמהון, 'astonishment' (Deut. xxviii. 28). In the New Testament it represents the absorbing effects of admiration (Mark v. 42; Luke v. 26; Acts iii. 10); of terror, Mark xvi. 8. The Hebrew word is used to denote the prophetic ecstasy. Thus 'the deep sleep' which fell upon Adam during the creation of Eve (Gen. ii. 21), and during which, as appears from the narrative, he was made aware of the transaction, and of the purport of the attendant circumstances (21-24) [Marriage]. It is applied again to the 'deep sleep' which fell upon Abraham (xv. 12, ἔκστασις, *sopor*), during which the bondage of his descendants in Egypt was revealed to him. Possibly all the accounts recorded in that chapter occurred in 'vision' (1-12), which ultimately deepened into the trance (12-21). Compare verses 5, 12, where he is said to have seen the stars, though the sun was not gone down. The apparent objection, that Abraham was 'brought forth abroad' to see the stars, is only of the same nature with others explained in the Art. Temptation of our Lord. Some, perhaps many things recorded in Scripture, belong to this supernatural state of trance, which are not expressly referred to it. See the long list of such supposed instances in Bishop Law's *Consideration of the Theory of Religion* (pp. 85, 86, Lond., 1820). Elsner includes in this list the star seen by the wise men (*Comment. on Matt.* ii. 9, 10, &c.). In the narrative which Balaam gives of himself our translators have rightly added the words 'into a trance' after the word 'falling.' The incident of the ass speaking to him, &c., is also understood by many learned Jews and Christians to have occurred in a vision (Bishop Law, *u. s.*). To the same mode of divine communication must be referred the magnificent description in Job iv. 13-21. Persons receiving it often fall to the earth. 'Abraham fell on his face, and God talked with him' (Gen. xvii. 3, &c.; 1 Sam. xix. 24, Hebrew, or margin; Ezek. i. 28; Dan. viii. 18; x. 15, 16; Rev. i. 10, 17). It is important to observe that in all these cases the visions beheld are also related; hence such cases are distinguished from a mere deliquium animi. We find cases of prophetical trance in the New Testament as that of St. Peter: 'he fell into a trance' (or rather a 'trance fell upon him,'

ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις), *during* which he 'saw a vision,' which is therefore distinguished from the trance (Acts x. 10; comp. St. Paul's trance, xxii. 17; 2 Cor. xii. 2, &c.). The reality of the vision is established by the correspondence of the *event*. The nearest approach we can make to such a state is that in which our mind is so occupied in the contemplation of an object as to lose entirely the consciousness of the body—a state in which the highest order of ideas, whether belonging to the judgment or imagination, is undoubtedly attained. Hence we can readily conceive that such a state might be supernaturally induced for the higher purpose of revelation, &c. The *alleged* phenomena of the Mesmeric trance and clairvoyance, if they serve no higher purpose, may assist our conceptions of it.—J. F. D.

TRANSFIGURATION. One of the most wonderful incidents in the life of our Saviour upon earth, and one so instructive that we can never exhaust its lessons, is the Transfiguration. The apostle Peter, towards the close of his life, in running his mind over the proofs of Christ's majesty, found none so conclusive and irrefragable as the scenes when he and others were with him in the holy mount, as eye witnesses that he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' If we divide Christ's public life into three periods—the first of miracles to prove his divine mission, the second of parables to inculcate virtue, and the third of suffering, first clearly revealed and then endured, to atone for sin—the transfiguration may be viewed as his baptism or initiation into the third and last. He went up the mount of transfiguration on the eighth day after he had bidden every one who would come after him take up his cross, declaring that his kingdom was not of this world, that he must suffer many things, and be killed, &c.

The mount of transfiguration was long thought to have been Mount Tabor; but as this height is fifty miles from Cæsarea Philippi, where Jesus last taught, it is now supposed to have been a mountain much less distant, namely, Mount Hermon. It may have been neither of them, and nothing forbids us to imagine that it was that exceeding high mountain where the devil showed our Saviour the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them in a moment of time. The only persons thought worthy to ascend this mount of vision were Peter, James, and John, three being a competent number of witnesses, or they being more faithful and beloved than any others. Whatever the reason was, these three disciples appear on more than one other occasion as an elect trimvirate—as at the raising of Jairus's daughter, and during our Lord's agony in the garden. The disciples, in all probability, ascended the mountain anticipating nothing more than that Jesus, as at other times (Luke vi. 12), would continue all night in prayer to God. When the curtains of night closed around them, they were so worn out by their labours as to sink down in sleep, till startled from their slumbers by the glory of the Lord shining round about them; for as Jesus prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered, 'and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.' And behold there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elias, who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem. Peter's words, 'Master, it is good for us to be here,' are a natural expression of rapture; and his proposal to build three tabernacles indicated his desire both to keep his Lord from going down to Jerusalem to die there, and to prolong the blessedness of beholding with open face the glory of God. Such is at least a plausible interpretation of his language, while 'he wist not what to say.' It is worthy of remark that Peter had no thought of tents for himself and his companions, his only desire being that the beatific vision might endure for ever. While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them—not a black cloud, such as that which rested on Mount Sinai, but a cloud glistening as the Shechinah, when the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle, or as the cloud that filled the house of the Lord when the priests were come out of the holy place. 'And behold a voice out of the cloud'—that is, out of the long-established symbol of Jehovah's presence—'which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him. And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, and were sore afraid'—like Daniel and all others who have felt themselves entranced by revelations of God. 'And Jesus came and touched them, and said, Arise, and be not afraid,'—showing such gentleness as proved him to be fitly named the Lamb of God. How long the glorification of our Saviour continued it were vain to inquire; but it appears from the narrative of Luke that he did not lead down his disciples till the day following that on which they had ascended the height. As they descended he bade his disciples keep what they had seen a secret till after his resurrection,—doubtless because the whole vision, to those who had not seen it, would have been a rock of offence, appearing as an idle tale. He also opened their eyes to see that Elias whom they looked for in the future was to be sought in the past, even in John the Baptist, who was clothed with his spirit and power.

The final causes of the transfiguration, although in part wrapped up in mystery, appear to be in part plain. Among its intended lessons may be the following:—First, to teach that, in spite of the calumnies which the Pharisees had heaped on Jesus, the old and new dispensations are in harmony with each other. To this end the author and the restorer of the old dispensation talk with the founder of the new, as if his scheme, even the most repulsive feature of it, was contemplated by theirs, as the reality of which they had promulgated only types and shadows. Secondly, to teach that the new dispensation was superior to the old. Moses and Elias appear as inferior to Jesus, not merely since their faces did not, so far as we know, shine like the sun, but chiefly because the voice from the excellent glory commanded to hear *him*, in preference to them. Thirdly, to gird up the energies of Jesus for the great agony which was so soon to excruciate him; as in Gethsemane itself an angel appeared unto him strengthening him; as the Holy Ghost descended upon him in the likeness of a dove before his temptation in the wilderness; and as when the devil left him angels came and minis-

tered unto him. Fourthly, to comfort the hearts of the disciples, who, being destined to see their master, whom they had left all to follow, nailed to a cross, to be themselves persecuted, and to suffer the want of all things, were in danger of despair. But by being eye-witnesses of his majesty they became convinced that his humiliation, even though he descended into the place of the dead, was voluntary, and could not continue long. Gazing at the glorified body of their Master, they beheld not only a proof but an express and lively image of his resurrection, ascension, and exaltation above the heavens. As in a prophetic vision, they beheld him seated upon clouds, and seen by every eye as the Judge of the quick and the dead, or enthroned in heaven amid the host of his redeemed. Henceforth they ceased not questioning one another, what the rising from the dead should mean. Fifthly, to teach that virtue will not allow supine contemplation, but demands the exercise and exertion of our several powers. To some this lesson may seem a refinement, but it is ingeniously deduced by Schleiermacher from the fact that while Peter yet spake in his extasy, the vision in which he longed to wear out his life vanished away: as if the aim were to teach us that when we have ascended the mount of vision on the cherub-wings of contemplation, even if we burn to dwell there in a perpetual sweetness, yet we must shun all monastic seclusion, that we may mingle among men and do them good; even as the great Exemplar would not let his chosen repose in rapturous musings, and had scarcely come down from the mountain of his glory before he recommenced his works of usefulness.

The transfiguration is so fine a subject for the painter that we are not surprised to learn that it employed Raphael's best hours, and that his portraiture of it is confessedly the highest of all efforts of pictorial genius. The original work, still unfaded, though more than three centuries have passed over it, hangs in the Vatican. A copy of it in mosaic, on a colossal scale, and which might pass with most men for the original, fills the head of the left aisle in St. Peter's at Rome. The design is as simple as the artless narrative of the Evangelists. In the centre, and in raiment white as the light, is He, the fashion of whose countenance was altered. On either hand, and floating on the air, appear in glory Moses and Elias. Beneath, the disciples, overshadowed by a bright cloud, their hands shielding their dazzled eyes, are fallen on their faces, sore afraid of the voice proceeding out of the cloud, but catching glimpses of Jesus transfigured before them. Then, just below the brow of the hill, the only son torn by a spirit, foaming, gnashing his teeth, and pining away, is brought to the disciples that they may cure him, and they cannot. The scribes are cavilling—physicians close the books they have consulted in vain—the disciples confess their impotence—the mother and sister of the possessed are half frantic—and the multitude have no hope; but the vision above is on the point of bursting upon them, to amaze them all at the mighty power of God. Some say that the wild eyes of the boy, rolling in agony, are already catching a glimpse of his Redeemer transfigured in glory on high.

If, as is often said, no picture is worth seeing which can be copied in language, what infatuation were it to think of sketching the attitude, grouping, colouring, and expression of the figures in a painting which shines unrivalled and inimitable!—J. D. B.

TRIAL. [PUNISHMENT.]

TRIBES (מַטּוֹת, שְׁבָטִים; φυλαὶ, *tribus*) is the name of the great groups of families into which the Israelitish nation, like other Oriental races, was divided. The modern Arabs, the Bedouins, and the Berbers, and also the Moors on the northern shores of Africa, are still divided into tribes. The clans in Scotland are also analogous to the tribes of the ancient Israelites. The division of a nation into tribes differs from a division into castes, since one is a division merely according to descent, and the other superadds a necessity of similar occupations being prevalent among persons connected by consanguinity. There occurs, however, among the Israelites a caste also, namely, that of the Levites. In Gen. xlix. the tribes are enumerated according to their progenitors; viz., 1, REUBEN, the first-born; 2, SIMEON, and 3, LEVI, instruments of cruelty; 4, JUDAH, whom his brethren shall praise; 5, ZABULON, dwelling at the haven of the sea; 6, ISSACHAR, the strong; 7, DAN, the judge; 8, GAD, whom a troop shall overcome, but who shall vanquish at last; 9, ASHER, whose bread shall be fat; 10, NAPHTALI, giving goodly words; 11, JOSEPH, the fruitful bough; 12, BENJAMIN, the wolf; all these were originally the twelve tribes of Israel. In this enumeration it is remarkable that the subsequent division of the tribe of Joseph into the two branches of Ephraim and Manasseh, is not yet alluded to. After this later division of the very numerous tribe of Joseph into the two branches of Ephraim and Manasseh had taken place, there were, strictly speaking, thirteen tribes. It was, however, usual to view them as comprehended under the number twelve, which was the more natural, since one of them, namely, the caste of the Levites, did not live within such exclusive geographical limits as were assigned to the others after they exchanged their nomadic migrations for settled habitations, but dwelt in towns scattered through all the other twelve tribes. It is also remarkable that the Ishmaelites as well as the Israelites were divided into twelve tribes; and that the Persians also, according to Xenophon (*Cyropædia*, i. 2, 4 sq.), were similarly divided. Among other nations also occur ethnological and geographical divisions, according to the number twelve. From this we infer that the number twelve was held in so much favour that, when possible, doubtful cases were adapted to it. An analogous case we find even at a later period, when the spiritual progenitors of the Christian δωδεκάφυλον, or the apostles, who were, after the death of Judas, the election of Matthias, and the vocation of Paul, really thirteen in number, but were nevertheless habitually viewed as twelve; so that wherever, during the middle ages, any division was made with reference to the apostles, the number twelve, and not thirteen, was adopted, whether applied to the halls of theological libraries, or to the great barrels of costly wines in the cellar of the civic authorities at Bremen. Concerning the arrangement of these tribes on their march through the wilderness, in their encampments around the

ark, and in their occupation of the land of Canaan, see the cognate articles, such as EXODUS, ENCAMPMENT, GENEALOGIES, LEVITES, WANDERING, and the names of the several tribes. We confine ourselves here to a few words about that inexhaustible source of theologico-historical charlatanism, the LOST TRIBES, on which there have been written so many volumes that it would be difficult to condense the contradictory opinions advanced in them within the limits of a moderate article. Suffice it to say, that there is scarcely any human race so abject, forlorn, and dwindling, located anywhere between the Chinese and the American Indians, who have not been stated to be the ten tribes which disappeared from history during and after the Babylonian captivity. If the books written on the Ten Tribes contained much truth it would be difficult to say WHERE THEY ARE NOT. And although these books, according to our opinion, generally bear stronger evidence of their writers' activity of imagination than the strength of their judgment, they lead, not individually but collectively, to some truth, if they only impress us with the fact that it is difficult to say where the ten tribes are not. This result the author of *Coningsby* should have borne in mind, when he lately tracked rather than traced Hebrew-Arabian blood in all men of European celebrity.

However, among the various works about the lost tribes, the following, although written diffusely, contains quite as much probability as any: *Our Israelitish Origin; or, British Christians a Remnant of the true Israelites; with a Reply to the Objections of the Rev. E. Bickersteth*, by J. Wilson, a witness of the word of Prophecy; London, 1844. We refer here especially to the ninth and tenth lectures contained in this book, in which the author endeavours to show that the Saxons proceeded from Central Asia to the west of Europe, and that in them the promises given to Israel are fulfilling.

The truth, however, of the matter seems rather to be as follows. After the division of the Israelites under Jeroboam and Rehoboam into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the believers in whom the feelings of ancient theocratic legitimacy and nationality predominated, and especially the priests and Levites, who were connected by many ties with the sanctuary at Jerusalem, had a tendency to migrate towards the visible centre of their devotions; whilst those members of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin who had an individual hankering after the foreign fashions adopted in Samaria, and the whole kingdom of Israel, had a tendency externally to unite themselves to a state of things corresponding with their individuality. After the political fall of both kingdoms, when all the principal families connected with the possession of the soil had been compelled to emigrate, most Israelites who had previously little feeling for theocratic nationality gradually amalgamated by marriages and other connections with the nations by which they were surrounded; while the former inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah felt their nationality revived by the very deprivation of public worship which they suffered in foreign lands. Many of the pious members of those tribes which had formerly constituted the kingdom of Israel, undoubtedly joined the returning colonies which proceeded by the permission of the Persian monarchs to the land of their fathers. However, these former members of the other tribes formed so decidedly a minority among the members of the tribe of Judah that henceforth all believers and worshippers of Jehovah were called יְהוּדִים, Ἰουδαῖοι, JUDÆI, JEWS. Thus it came to pass that the best, although smaller, portion of the ten tribes amalgamated with the Jews, some of whom preserved their genealogies till after the destruction of Jerusalem; while the larger proportion of the ten tribes amalgamated with the Gentiles of Central Asia, to whom they probably imparted some of their notions and customs, which again were, in a state more or less pure, propagated to distant regions by the great national migrations proceeding from Central Asia. We are glad to find that this our historical conviction has also been adopted by the most learned among the Jews themselves. We may refer to *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes*, by Dr. J. M. Jost, Berlin, 1832, vol. i. p. 407 sq., 416 sq.

That the name of THE JEWS became general for all Israelites who were anxious to preserve their theocratic nationality was the more natural, since the political independence of the Ten Tribes was destroyed long before that of the kingdom of Judah.—C. H. F. B.

TRIBUTE (מַס *mas*, from *masas*, 'to melt' or 'liquify;' Gr. *φόρος*), a tax which one prince or state agrees, or is compelled, to pay to another, as the purchase of peace, or in token of dependence.

The Hebrews acknowledged no other sovereign than God; and in Exodus xxx. 12, 15, we find they were required to pay tribute unto the Lord, to give an offering of half a shekel to 'make an atonement for their souls.' The native kings and judges of the Hebrews did not exact tribute. Solomon, indeed, at the beginning of his reign levied tribute from the Canaanites and others who remained in the land and were not of Israel, and compelled them to hard servitude (1 Kings ix. 21-23; 2 Chron. viii. 9); but the children of Israel were exempted from that impost, and employed in the more honourable departments and offices of his kingdom. Towards the end of his reign, however, he appears to have imposed tribute upon the Jews also, and to have compelled them to work upon the public buildings (1 Kings v. 13, 14; ix. 15; xi. 27). This had the effect of gradually alienating their minds, and of producing that discontent which afterwards resulted in open revolt under Jeroboam, son of Nebat. 'Thy father made our yoke grievous,' said the Israelites to Rehoboam; 'now, therefore, make thou the grievous service of thy father and his heavy yoke which he put upon us lighter, and we will serve thee' (1 Kings xii. 4).

The Israelites were at various times subjected to heavy taxes and tributes by their foreign conquerors. After Judæa was reduced to a Roman province, a new poll of the people and an estimate of their substance were taken by command of Augustus, in order that he might more correctly regulate the tribute to be exacted (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 15). This was a capitation-tax levied at so much a head, and imposed upon all males from 14, and all females from 12 up to 65 years of age (Ulpian, *Digest. de Censib.* lib. iii.; Fischer, *De Numism. Census*).

To oppose the levying of this tribute Judas the Gaulonite raised an insurrection of the Jews, asserting that it was not lawful to pay tribute to a foreigner, that it was a token of servitude, and that the Jews were not allowed to acknowledge any for their master who did not worship the Lord. They boasted of being a free nation, and of never having been in bondage to any man (John viii. 33). These sentiments were extensively promulgated, but all their efforts were of no avail in restraining or mitigating the exactions of their conquerors.

The Pharisees who sought to entangle Jesus in his talk, sent unto him demanding whether it was lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not; but knowing their wicked designs he replied, 'Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites?' 'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.'

The apostles Peter and Paul severally recommended submission to the ruling powers, and inculcated the duty of paying tribute, 'tribute to whom tribute is due' (Rom. xiii. 1-8; 1 Peter ii. 13).—G. M. B.

TRIBUTE-MONEY. The money collected by the Romans in payment of the taxes imposed upon the Jews. The phrase may apply to money of any description, coined or uncoined. The piece shown to our Saviour at his own request was a Roman coin, bearing the image of one of the Cæsars, and must have been at that time current in Judæa, and received in payment of the tribute in common with other descriptions of money. There is no reason to suppose that the tribute was collected exclusively in Roman coins, or that the tribute-money was a description of coin different from that which was in general circulation [Money].—G. M. B.

TROAS (Τρωάς), more fully Alexandria-Troas, a city of northern or Lesser Mysia, in Asia Minor, situated on the coast at some distance southward from the site of Troy upon an eminence opposite the island of Tenedos (Strabo, xiii. p. 593; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 33). Paul was twice at this place (Acts xvi. 8, 9; xx. 6; 2 Cor. ii. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 13). The name Troas, or Troad, strictly belonged to the whole district around Troy. Alexandria-Troas is represented by the present Eski-Stamboul, and its ruins are now concealed in the heart of a thick wood of oaks, with which the country abounds (Pococke, pt. iii. 153; Richter, *Wallfahrten*, p. 462).

TROGYLLIUM (Τρωγύλλιον), a town and promontory on the western coast of Asia Minor, opposite Samos, at the foot of Mount Mycale (Strabo, xiv. p. 636). It is mentioned in Acts xx. 15.

TROPHIMUS (Τρόφιμος), a disciple of Ephesus, who accompanied St. Paul into Judæa, and was the innocent cause of the dangers which the apostle there encountered; for having been recognised by some Jews of Asia Minor, and seen in company with Paul, they took occasion to accuse Paul of having brought Greeks into the temple (Acts xx. 4; xxi. 29). His name does not again occur till after, seemingly, the first imprisonment of Paul. In one of the ensuing journeys he remained behind at Miletus sick (2 Tim. iv. 20). This circumstance is regarded as furnishing a strong fact to show that Paul was twice imprisoned at Rome; for Trophimus, in the first passage to Miletus (Acts xx. 15), was not left behind, but proceeded to Judæa; after which we do not lose sight of Paul for one day, and know that he was not again at Miletus *before* his first imprisonment at Rome.

TRUMPET. [Musical Instruments.]

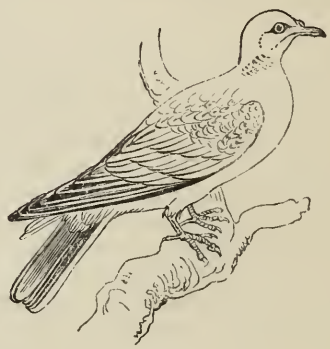
TRUMPETS, FEAST OF. [Festivals.]

TRYPHENA and TRYPHOSA (Τρύφαινα καὶ Τρυφῶσα), female disciples at Rome, who laboured to extend the Gospel and to succour the faithful (Rom. xvi. 12). Their history is unknown; but, from their names, they were probably sisters.

TUBAL (תּוּבַל; Sept. Θοβέλ), a son of Japhet, and a people descended from him (Gen. x. 2; Isa. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1), supposed to have been settled in Asia Minor near the Euxine [Nations, Dispersion of.]

TUBAL-CAIN (תּוּבַל קַיִן, *scoriarum faber;* Sept. Θόβελ), son of Lamech and Zillab, to whom the invention of the art of forging metals is ascribed in Gen. iv. 22 [Smith].

TURTLE-DOVE (תּוֹר *Tur*, or *Thor;* Gr. τρυγών; Lat. *Turtur*) occurs in Gen. xv. 9; Lev. i. 14; v. 7, 11, &c.; Luke ii. 24.



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The birds of this subgenus are invariably smaller than pigeons properly so called; they are mostly marked with a patch of peculiarly coloured scutelated feathers on the neck, or with a collar of black, and have often other markings on the smaller wing-covers. The species *Columba Turtur*, with several varieties merely of colour, extends from the west of Europe through the north of Africa, to the islands south of China. The turtle-dove of Palestine is specifically the same; but there is also a second, we believe local: both migrate further south in winter, but return very early; when their cooing voice in the woods announces the spring. In the rites of the Hebrew law, full-grown or old turtle-doves might be offered in pairs, but only גּוֹזָל (*gozal*) the young of pigeons not full grown. They were the usual offering of the poor, a circumstance, Bochart remarks, indicating the humble station of the Virgin Mary, since at her purification she offered a pair of turtle-doves instead of a lamb. This, however, was the usual practice on that and sundry other occasions: indeed, so constantly was either one or other species wanted, that dealers in doves and turtle-doves abounded within the precincts of the temple, and had an overseer appointed to superintend what concerned them.—C. H. S.

TYCHICUS (Τυχικὸς·ὁ Ἀσιανὸς) is the name of an assistant and companion of the Apostle Paul. The name has nearly the same signification which we find in the Hebrew Gad, and in the Latin *Felix*, or *Fortunatus*. Tychicus was a native of Asia, who accompanied Paul on his third missionary journey (Acts xx. 4), and was, at a later period, the bearer of Paul's letter from Rome to the Colossians. Paul styled him a beloved brother, faithful minister, and fellow-servant in the Lord, who should declare all his state unto the Colossians, to whom he was sent that he might know their estate and comfort their hearts (Col. iv. 7, 8). For a similar purpose Tychicus was sent to the Ephesians also (Eph. vi. 21, 22; 1 Tim. iv. 12), and employed in various missionary journeys (Tit. iii. 12). According to tradition, Tychicus was made bishop of Chalcedon.—C. H. F. B.

TYPE (Gr. τύπος), *derivatively* signifies the print or mark which is made by beating Thus, in John xx. 25, τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων, which, literally translated, is 'the *type* of the nails.'

Again, it denotes a model or example, placed before us for imitation (see Phil. iii. 17; 1 Thess. i. 7; 2 Thess. iii. 9; 1 Tim. iv. 12; Titus ii. 7; 1 Pet. v. 3; ii. 21; Acts xxiii. 25; Rom. vi. 17).

The word is used also by physicians to designate the particular form which diseases assume: hence Galen wrote a work entitled Περὶ τῶν τύπων. But in its *theological* sense the best definition perhaps is that which Heb. x. 1 supplies: *a type is a shadow of good things to come*, or, as the apostle elsewhere expresses it (Col. ii. 17), 'a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.' Adopting this definition as the correct one, we proceed briefly to point out the different *types* by which God was pleased in various ages to adumbrate the *person* and *work* of the Redeemer. It would be beside our present purpose to inquire as to the reasons why Jehovah developed his plan of human redemption in a gradually progressive form—by visions, dreams, voices, inspirations, impulses of his spirit, and by miracle. It is enough for us to know that he actually did speak (Heb. i. 1) 'at sundry times and in divers manners to the fathers.'

In tracing out *who* and *what* typified or shadowed forth Christ and his salvation under the antediluvian, patriarchal, and Mosaic dispensations, we must be careful not to substitute the suggestions of our own imaginations for the intimations of Scripture. We must endeavour to learn the mind of God as to what actually constitutes a type, either by the express declarations of Scripture, or by the obvious analogy which subsists between things under the Gospel and its antecedent dispensations. *Thus guarding ourselves*, we may notice the various types by which God was pleased, at all times, in a sense, to preach the Gospel to mankind. 1. Before the law, Adam, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedec, Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph were eminently typical of Christ. Again, under the law, Moses, Joshua, Samson, David, Solomon, Elijah, Elisha, Jonah, Zerubbabel, and Joshua the high priest, were, *in many points*, singularly types of Christ.

2. The first-born, the Nazarites, prophets, priests, and kings, were *typical orders of persons*.

3. Under the head of *things typical* may be noticed: Jacob's ladder, the burning-bush, the pillar of cloud and fire, the manna, the rock, and the brazen serpent.

4. *Actions typical* were: the deliverance out of Egypt, passage of the Red sea, sojourn in the wilderness, passage over the Jordan, entrance into Canaan, and restoration from Babylon.

5. *Rites typical* were: circumcision, various sacrifices, and sundry purifications.

6. *Places typical* were: the land of Canaan, the cities of refuge, the tabernacle, and the temple.

The above types were designed to shadow forth Christ and the blessings of his salvation; but there were others also which pointed at our miseries without him. There were ceremonial uncleannesses; the *leprosy*, for instance, was a type of our natural pollution; and Hagar and Ishmael a type of the covenant of works.

As there must be a similarity or analogy between the type and the antitype, so there is also a disparity or dissimilitude between them.

It is not in the nature of type and antitype that they should agree *in all things;* else, instead of similitude, there would be *identity*. Hence the apostle, whilst making Adam a type of Christ, yet shows how infinitely the latter excelled the former (1 Cor. xv. 47). So the priests of old were types of Christ, though he infinitely excelled them both as to his own person and as to the character of his priesthood (see Heb. vii., viii., ix., and x.). Chrysostom observes (*Hom.* 61, *in Gen.*) that there must be more in the type than in the antitype. Hence the distinction must be observed between *total* and *partial* types. This distinction Œcumenius also draws, in commenting on vii. Heb. p. 829. He says: 'Ο τύπος οὐ κατὰ πάντα ἶσος ἐστὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ (ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτος ἀλήθεια εὑρίσκεται, καὶ ταυτότης μᾶλλον, ἢ τύπος), ἀλλ' εἰκόνας ἔχει τινὰς καὶ ἰνδάλματα:—'A type does not express that which it represents in every minute particular, for then instead of similitude there would be identity, but it contains certain outlines and assimilations of the antitype.'

Cyril of Alexandria in cap. vi. *Amos* p. 315, also observes on this subject: 'Ο τύπος οὐκ ἀλήθεια, μόρφωσιν δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσφέρει:—A type is not the very truth itself, but its representation.

Did the confined limits of this article permit, it would be at once both easy and interesting to trace out how conspicuously the wisdom and goodness of God are displayed in adapting different modes of instruction to the state and condition of his creatures in all ages; and how his divine purposes, dimly portrayed by types, were gradually developed from the moment the first promise of salvation was given till the advent of that Messiah, who was the theme of all the prophets, and the substance of all the shadows under each successive dispensation (See on this interesting subject *Tropologia*, by Rev. B. Keach, pp. 225—237; Suicer, *Thesaur.* vol. ii. p. 1337; *Types of the Old Testament*, by Sam. Mather; *Christ Revealed*, by J. Taylor, D.D.; also M'Ewen, *On the glory and fulness of Christ revealed.*—J. W. D.

TYRANNUS (Τύραννος), a sophist or rhetorician of Ephesus, who kept one of those schools of philosophy and eloquence so common at that period. St. Paul preached for two years daily in his school after quitting the synagogue (Acts xix. 9). This proves that the school was Greek,

not Jewish. It does not appear whether Tyrannus was himself a convert or not; for it may be that he let to the apostle the house or hall which he used: but it is more pleasant to suppose that he was a convert, and that the apostle was hospitably entertained by him and obtained the use of the hall in which he himself taught.

TYRE. Besides its antiquity, manufactures, colonies, and commerce, the city of Tyre claims attention as frequently mentioned in biblical history, and still more on account of the prophecies of its overthrow, and their exact fulfilment. Its Hebrew name, צור *Tsôr* or *Tsur*, which means a *rock*, was probably derived from its being at first founded for purposes of defence on a rocky hill. Our word Tyre and its Latin form Tyrus, which are used interchangeably (indifferently) in the English version of the Scriptures, as well as its Greek form Τύρος, are only slightly changed from טרא, the Aramæan form of the original Hebrew name.

The original position of Tyre was on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, about midway between Egypt and Asia Minor, near the northwestern frontier of Palestine. As it was a colony of Zidon, Isaiah, by a well-known Hebraism, styles it (xxiii. 12) '*daughter of Zidon*,' and as it was founded before the records of history, or, as some say, 240 years before the building of Solomon's temple, Isaiah also speaks (xxiii. 7) of its '*antiquity of ancient days*.' A defensible location, which was also favourable to commerce, combined with other circumstances to make the daughter surpass the mother city, becoming the metropolis of Phœnicia, a mart of nations, and the planter of colonies.

As early as the eleventh century before the advent of Christ, the Tyrians had become famous for skill in the arts. Apart from the statement that the territory of Asher extended to theirs (Josh. xix. 29), the first notice of them in the Scriptures is, that about 1142 B.C. (2 Sam. v. 11), their king Hiram sent cedar-trees to Jerusalem, and workmen who built David a house. A generation later, when Solomon, preparing to build the temple, sent to the same monarch for similar assistance, he said to him (1 Kings v. 6), 'Thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians.' He also (1 Kings vii. 13) sent and fetched Hiram out of Tyre, a widow's son, filled with cunning to work all works in brass. At nearly the same period, the Sidonians, of whom the Tyrians were a branch, were often alluded to in Homer as artists of everything elaborate and beauteous. In subsequent ages, every king coveted a robe of Tyrian purple, and Ezekiel (xxvii. 16) speaks of 'the multitude of wares of its making,'—emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate.

The commerce of Tyre was commensurate with its manufactures. Situate at the entry of the sea, it became a merchant of the people for many isles. It was inhabited by seafaring men, and was styled by way of eminence 'the merchant-city,' whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth (Isa. xxiii. 8). When the ships of Solomon sailed away to Ophir (1 Kings ix. 27), 'Hiram sent in the navy his servants, ship-men that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon.' The Tyrians already adventured three years' voyages to Tarshish beyond the pillars of Hercules. In its vicinity they afterwards built Cadiz. Among their other colonies, whither 'their own feet carried them afar off to sojourn,' were Cyprus, Utica, and Carthage —the last so long the most formidable rival of Rome, the founding of which, so poetically treated by Virgil, is placed by antiquarians in the year B.C. 869. In the 27th chapter of Ezekiel, Syria, Persia, and Egypt, Spain, Greece, and every quarter of the ancient world, are portrayed hastening to lay their most precious things at the feet of Tyre, who sat enthroned on ivory, covered with blue and purple from the isles of Elishah; while the Gammadims were in her towers, hanged their shields upon her walls round about, and made her beauty perfect.

Near the close of the eighth century before the Christian era, Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria who captured Samaria, was led by cupidity to lay siege to Tyre. He cut off its supplies of water which aqueducts had furnished, but wells within the walls supplied their place; and at the end of five years he gave up his blockade as hopeless. At this crisis, or even earlier, an island half a mile from the shore was made a stronghold for the riches of the city: the water, to a nautical people, being the best bulwark against the Assyrians, who had no maritime power. The original city on the mainland was subsequently named Palaio-Tyrus, or Old Tyre.

The Tyrians were naturally proud of having successfully done battle with the mightiest king of the East, and for a time played a part in the ancient world like that which Venice played in the middle ages. Each was insular, colonial, and continental—its borders in the midst of the seas—the builders had perfected its beauty—every precious stone was its covering. Each was not only commercial and opulent, but a joyous city, a pleasant place of all festivity—dance, song, and harp.

It was against a city such as this, so confident, and to all appearance so justifiably confident, of sitting a queen for ever, that several prophets, particularly Isaiah and Ezekiel, fulminated the denunciations which Jehovah dictated. They prophesied that it should be overthrown by Nebuchadnezzar, that it should revive, but at length be destroyed and never rebuilt.

Before a generation had passed away, according to Josephus, Philostratus, and Seder Olam, Nebuchadnezzar came up, as had been predicted (Ezek. xxvi. 7-13), making a fort, casting a mount, and lifting up the buckler. At the end of thirteen years (about A.M. 3422) he took the city, at least that on the mainland, and Tyre was forgotten seventy years, as had been foretold by Isaiah (xxiii. 15). In the year B.C. 332 Tyre, which had again become a flourishing emporium for all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth, 'and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets,' was assailed by Alexander the Great in the midst of his Oriental career of conquest. It is doubtful whether the city on the mainland had been rebuilt; if so, it yielded at once to the youthful conqueror. But the insular city sustained a siege of seven months, and was at length taken only by means of a mole, by which the island was turned into a peninsula, and rendered ac-

cessible by land forces. In constructing this mole Alexander made use of the ruins of the old city, and thereby fulfilled two prophecies. One was (Ezek. xxvi. 12), 'And they shall lay thy stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the water.' The other was (ver. 21), 'And thou shalt be no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord God.' So utterly were the ruins of old Tyre thrown into the sea, that its exact site is confessedly undeterminable, although the ruins of nearly fifty cities near Rome, which perished almost 2500 years ago, testify that the extinction of every trace of a city is a sort of miracle. Moreover, Alexander laid Tyre in ashes: thus accomplishing the prediction of Zechariah (ix. 4), 'She shall be devoured with fire.' Besides, as ships from Tyre, out on a three years' voyage, returned to find that city razed to the ground which they had left and looked to find once more in the perfection of beauty, there is a significance in the prophecy of Isaiah not at first obvious (xxiii. 1, 14): 'Howl, ye ships of Tarshish; for it is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entering in. Howl, ye ships of Tarshish, for your strength is laid waste.'

The mole of Alexander has prevented Tyre from becoming insulated again. The revival of the city was long retarded by the rivalship of the newly-founded Alexandria, and by other causes, so that, although a ship in which Paul sailed was there to unlade her burden (Acts xxi. 3), Pliny, who wrote in the first century, after relating how great it had been, and that its ruins were nineteen miles in circuit, adds, 'at this day all its nobility consists in oysters and purple' (v. 17). But in the time of Jerome, the latter half of the fourth century, it had so far revived that he was embarrassed in commenting on Ezek. xxvi. 14, 'Thou shalt be built no more;' and at last interprets the meaning to be, that it should not again become an independent state, but remain subject to the Macedonian, Selencian, Roman, or some other power. But time was a better commentator, or has now made Sabbath-school children better commentators than St. Jerome.

The possession of Tyre was often afterwards contested as if it were a key to unlock a kingdom; it was beleaguered more than once during the crusades, was the burial-place of the German Emperor Barbarossa, and, remaining in European hands till 1291, was almost the last place in Asia which the chivalry of the West yielded to the Moslems. Its fortifications, which were almost impregnable, were demolished, and it has never since been a place of consequence. Travellers of every succeeding century describe it as a heap of ruins, broken arches and vaults, tottering walls and towers, with a few starveling wretches housing amid the rubbish. A chief of the Druses, indeed, attempted to rebuild it two hundred years ago, but in vain. Maundrell, in 1694, found 'not so much as one entire house left.' In Pococke's day (1738) it was a place of export for grain, but contained only two or three Christian families and a few other inhabitants. In 1766 a part of the peninsula was walled, and a town named Sûr founded, which still exists, and exports tobacco, cotton, wool, and wood. Yet its population has never exceeded three thousand souls. It cannot compete with its neighbour Beirût; its harbour is navigable only by boats, and becomes more and more shallow every year. It was half ruined by an earthquake in 1837. One of the best accounts of its present appearance is given by the American traveller Robinson, who spent a Sabbath there in 1838 (*Biblical Researches*, iii. 395): 'I continued my walk,' says he, 'along the shore of the peninsula, part of which is now unoccupied, except as "a place to spread nets upon," musing upon the pride and fall of ancient Tyre. Here was the little isle, once covered by her palaces and surrounded by her fleets: but alas! thy riches and thy fame, thy merchandise, thy mariners and thy pilots, thy caulkers, and the occupiers of thy merchandise that were in thee,—where are they? Tyre has indeed become like "the top of a rock." The sole tokens of her more ancient splendour—columns of red and grey granite, sometimes forty or fifty heaped together, or marble pillars—lie broken and strewed beneath the waves in the midst of the sea; and the hovels that now nestle upon a portion of her site present no contradiction of the dread decree, "Thou shalt be built no more."

The downfall and permanent desolation of Tyre is one of the most memorable accomplishments of prophecy which the annals of the world exhibit. The sins which sealed its ruin were, in the words of the sacred writers, these: 'Because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates of the people; she is turned unto me; I shall be replenished now she is laid waste' (Ezek. xxvi. 2). 'Because thy heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas' (xxviii. 2). 'The children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians that ye might remove them far from their border' (Joel iii. 6).—J. D. B.

TZAPHTZAPHA (צַפְצָפָה) occurs only in Ezek. xvii. 5, and is usually translated 'willow-tree:' 'He took also of the seed of the land, and planted it in a fruitful field; he placed it by great waters, and set it as a *willow-tree*.' Celsius, however, thinks that the word means *locus planus*, *planities*, although he at the same time gives all the evidence for the former meaning. First, the Rabbins consider it to mean a tree, 'et quidem *salix*;' R. Ben Melech says it is 'species salicis, Arabibus *Tziphtzaph* dicta;' while 'Avicenna hoc tit. dicit *Tziphtzaph* esse *Chilaf*.' Travellers, also, give us similar information. Thus Paul Lucas: 'Les Arabes le nomment *safsaf*, qui signifie en Arabe *saule*.' Rauwolf (*Travels*, i. ch. 9), speaking of the plants he found near Aleppo, remarks, 'There is also a peculiar sort of willow-trees, called *safsaf*, &c.: the stems and twigs are long, thin, weak, and of a pale yellow-colour; on their twigs here and there are shoots of a span long, like unto the Cypriotish wild fig-trees, which put forth in the spring tender and woolly flowers, like unto the blossoms of the poplar-tree, only they are of a more drying quality, of a pale colour, and a fragrant smell. The inhabitants pull of these great quantities, and distil a very precious and sweet water out of them.' This practice is still continued in Eastern countries as far as Northern India, and was, and probably still is, well known in Egypt. The species which is called *chilaf* by the Arabs is

called *Salix Ægyptiaca* by botanists; and it is probable that it is also found in Syria, and may be the above *safsaf*. Indeed, it was found by Hasselquist on his journey from Acre to Sidon, as he mentions it as S. Egyptiaca, *v.* S. Safsaf [Orebim].—J. F. R.



529. [Salix Ægyptiaca.]

TZEBI (צְבִי; Sept. Δορκάς). Dorcas is applicable to the whole group of Gazelles properly so called. We may here notice that Ant. Subgutturosa may have been the typical animal whence Thisbe, in the Babylonian legend of Pyramus and Thisbe, took her name; and that the Cervus Dama, or fallow-deer, said to have been seen in Palestine by Hasselquist, was the same species, or Cervus barbarus, which, when young, has horns slightly palmated, and a speckled livery [Antelope].—C. H. S.

TZERI (צֳרִי), or Zeri, also Zori, translated *balm*, occurs in Gen. xxxvii. 25; xliii. 11; and in both passages is mentioned along with *lot* and *necoth*, with the addition in the second of *botnim* and *shekadim*. In Gen. xliii. 11, Jacob thus addresses his sons: 'Take of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present: a little balm (*tzeri*), and a little honey (*debash*), spices (*tragacanth*) [Necoth] and myrrh [*ladanum;* Lot], nuts [Botnim] and almonds' [Shekadim]. In the separate articles on these substances some general observations have been made, which will equally apply to *tzeri*. This, therefore, like the other substances intended as presents, or forming articles of commerce, must have been a produce of Gilead, or of the northern parts of Syria, and would thus be suitable for conveying to Egypt on the occasion referred to. Balm or balsam [Basam; Baal-shemen], we have seen, was an Arabian and Abyssinian plant cultivated in one or two places of Palestine, but at a later period than the transactions recorded in the book of Genesis. As we have before said, 'It is probable, therefore, that some other tree producing a balsamic secretion is intended in the above passages, where the word *balm* has been considered the equivalent of *tzeri*.' But it is difficult to determine exactly what substance is intended: we may, however, adduce the other passages in which the word is found. Ezekiel (xxvii. 17) mentions *tzeri* along with 'wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil,' as merchandise which Judah brought to the market of Tyre. That it was possessed of medicinal properties appears from Jer. viii. 22: 'Is there no *balm* in Gilead?' 'Go up into Gilead and take *balm*' (xlvi. 11). 'Take *balm* for her pain, if so she may be healed' (xli. 8). It has been variously translated—cera, theriaca, cedri resina, stacti unguenta, medicamenta, resina, colophonia. Celsius and others state that *zuroo* in Arabic signifies *mastic*, and that *tzeri* therefore is this resin: in which he is followed by Sprengel. In the Arabic and English Dictionary

فرو

is translated the gum of an Arabian tree, which is called *kamkam*, and said to be found in the mountains of Yemen. In the writer's MS. Materia Medica, *khushkhush*, one of the names of the poppy, is given as the synonyme of *zuroo;* but this may be a mistake of transcribers. It is curious, however, that Avicenna mentions *zuroo* as a well-known gum brought to Mecca, as being odorous, and having the power of laudanum.

فري *zuree*, moreover, means 'bleeding profusely,' as a vein, or according to Rosenmüller, 'fluid or liquid in general, which equally applies to oil of every kind.'

We are unable, however, distinctly to connect any of the above names with any product of Gilead. But there is a product which, though little known to Europeans, is highly esteemed by the Arabs, according to the testimony of several travellers. This is the oil of the *zackum* tree, sometimes called the Jericho plum-tree, also the Jerusalem willow, oleaster or wild olive-tree, or Elæagnus angustifolius of Linnæus. The fruit of one species is much esteemed in Persia, and known by the name of *zinzyd*. The Syrian fruit is ovoid, but oblong, fleshy, having an olive-shaped nut with a kernel containing oil. The oil is separated by pressure and floating it on water, and a further portion by boiling. The Arabs are described by Maundrell and Mariti as holding it in high esteem, and as preferring it to the balsam of Mecca, because they found it very efficacious against contusions and wounds. 'Formerly, if not now, when the Christian caravan advanced towards Jericho it used to be met by crowds of Arab women, offering the salutary oil for sale to the pilgrims, in small leather bottles' (Kitto, *Palestine*, ccxxiii.). This is supposed by some to be the Myrobalanus of Pliny and other ancient writers; but by some the fruit of Melia azadirachta, and by others again that of Hyperanthera Moringa, or H. aptera, are considered the true Myrobalanus of the ancients. Of the last it is said, 'Oleum, e cotyledonibus expressum, in omni oriente usitatum, ea propter prædicatur, quod non facile rancorem contrahat.' But, as we are unable to

connect any of these with the *tzeri* of Scripture, we need not further pursue this subject [Agrielaia].—J. F. R.

TZIYIM (צִיִּים). Bochart, inclined to recognise this word as a general term denoting cats, or any kind of wild beasts that frequent dry places, discovered an incongruity when it is opposed to a single species, אִיִּים *Iyim*, which he translates 'Thoes' (Isa. xxxiv. 14, and Jer. l. 39). Both words are meant, it seems, to imitate the cry of animals; and if he be right in regarding the first as expressive of the mewing or screaming of wild cats, with such other animals as the ancients included in the feline tribe, and we now class among viveridæ and mustelidæ, each including several genera, more or less represented by species residing in and around Palestine; we then find the opposition of the two words strikingly just, provided that, instead of the single *Thoes* of Bochart, we make *Iyim* include also the various wild canidæ (dogs) of the same region, amounting to at least twelve species, without including two hyænas [Weasel].—C. H. S.

U.

ULAI (אוּלַי; Sept. Οὐβάλ), a river which flowed by Susa [Shushan] into the united stream of the Tigris and Euphrates. It is mentioned in Dan. viii. 2. It is called by Pliny Eulæus (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 81), but is described by Greek writers under the name of Choaspes (Herodot. v. 49; Strabo, xv. p. 728), and is now known by the name of Kerah, called by the Turks Karasu. This river is formed by the junction of many streams in the province of Ardelan, in Kurdistan. It runs through the plain of Kermanshah, and being greatly increased in magnitude by the junction of two small rivers, proceeds with a furious course towards Khuzistan, receiving numerous tributaries in its passage. It passes on the west of the ruins of Shus [Susa: see Shusan], and enters the Shat-ul-Arab about twenty miles below Korna (Kinneir, *Geog. Mem. of the Persian Empire*, pp. 96, 97).

UNCLEAN BIRDS. The species which the law forbade the Israelites to use for food (Levit. xi. and Deut. xiv.) include bats, because in the most ancient classifications of animals, all flying animals were considered to belong more to birds than quadrupeds; in other respects the list is confined nearly to the same genera and species as are at the present day rejected in all Christian countries. There are only twenty named; but in the text the additional words 'of the like kind' clearly imply sometimes even more than genera, and the explanations of the law superadded by human authority indicate several which do not occur in either list. Such are, for example (as stated in the Chaldee Paraphrase), all long-legged waders or stilters, and cursorial birds that have the hind-toe or hallux wanting: no doubt an extension of the prohibition of the ostrich; but in this roamer including most bustards, plovers, &c., and giving rise to nice distinctions 'among those gallinaceæ which are nearly allied to partridges, whose hind-toe is found gradually to be higher up the leg, and very much reduced in size, till it becomes altogether wanting. This gradation proceeds from the grouse species through the pterocles or gangas, until its total absence is observed in the turnix, as in the Andalusian or Spanish and the Gibraltar, which nevertheless are in other respects partridges or quails according to the systems of Linnæus and Latham:—

1.	נֶשֶׁר	*Neser*	Eagles.
2.	פֶּרֶס	*Peres*	Gypæta, or bearded Vulture.
3.	עָזְנִיָּה	*Ozniya*	Osprey—Bacha.
4.	דָּאָה, רָאָה	*Daah, Raah*	Glede—Black Kite.
5.	אַיָּה, דַּיָּה	*Ayah, Dayah*	Vulture—Merlin and allied species.
6.	עֹרֵב	*Oreb*	Raven—Crow and Congeners.
7.	יַעֲנָה	*Yaanah*	Ostrich.
8.	תַּחְמָס	*Tachmas*	Night Hawk, or Goat-sucker.
9.	שַׁחַף	*Shacaph*	Cuckoo—Gull.
10.	נֵץ	*Netz*	Hawk and congeners.
11.	כּוֹס	*Chos*	Owl.
12.	שָׁלָךְ	*Shalach*	Caspian and Nilotic Tern.
13.	יַנְשׁוּף	*Yanshuph*	Owl (?), Night Heron.
14.	תִּנְשֶׁמֶת	*Tinshemeth*	Porphyrio.
15.	קָאַת	*Kaath*	Pelican.
16.	רָחָם	*Racham*	White Carrion Vulture Neophron.
17.	חֲסִידָה	*Chasidah*	Stork.
18.	אֲנָפָה	*Anaphah*	Heron—Plover and allied species.
19.	דּוּכִיפַת	*Dukiphah*	Hoopoo.
20.	עֲטַלֵּף	*Ataleph*	Bat.

We confess that if it were not for the influence which Rabbinical decisions have so long exercised upon the opinion of Christian Hebraists, we should have been greatly inclined to regard most of the names here enumerated as arranged in greater order of consimilarity than our versions admit, and as more typical of what we now would denominate families and genera than they appear to show. Every ornithologist who reviews this question with care will feel with Winer (*Biblisch. Real-Wörterbuch*), that, with certain exceptions, the proposed identifications cannot be regarded as claiming entire confidence.—C. H. S.

UNICORN. [Reem.]

UPHAZ (אוּפָז; Sept. Ὠφάζ), a country from which gold was obtained (Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5). It is generally supposed to be a corruption of אוֹפִר Ophir, which would require the change of only one letter, and there are other cases in which ר and ז are interchanged.

UPPER-ROOM. [House.]

UR, of the Chaldees, was the native place of the family of Abraham, whence he migrated first to Haran and then to Canaan (Gen. xi. 28, 31; xv. 7; Neh. ix. 7; Acts vii. 4). The Biblical narratives supply only indirect implications as to the locality intended. From these we conclude that it was land lying to the East of Canaan, and affording suitable pasture-grounds for a nomade race that had made some considerable progress in

civilization. And as the Chaldees were originally a tribe of mountaineers in the high lands of Armenia, in those parts must we look for Ur of the Chaldees. With this view the most recent geographical researches are substantially in agreement. Ritter, in the last volume of his profound, comprehensive, and invaluable work (*Erdkunde*, vii. 320, sq.), after a review of all that has been ascertained respecting the countries covered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, from their sources to their mouths, gives it as his opinion that Ur was a district identical with the modern pachalic of Urfa, to which there belong several districts, among others Rouha, which is the ancient Edessa. —J. R. B.

URBAN (Οὐρβανός), a disciple at Rome, and one of Paul's companions in labour (Rom. xvi. 9). Nothing is known of him; but his name shows him to have been a Roman.

URIAH (אוּרִיָּה, *flame of Jehovah;* Sept. Οὐρίας), a Hittite, and therefore a descendant of the ancient inhabitants of Palestine, whose name occurs in the list of the 'worthies' or champions of king David, in whose army he was an officer. He was the husband of Bathsheba; and while he was absent with the army before Rabbah, David conceived and gratified a criminal passion for his wife. The king then directed Joab to send him to Jerusalem, but failing to make his presence instrumental in securing Bathsheba from the legal consequences of her misconduct, he sent him back with a letter directing Joab to expose him to the enemy in such a manner as to ensure his destruction. This the unscrupulous Joab accomplished; and David then took the widow into his own harem (2 Sam. xi.; xxiii. 39) [David; Bathsheba].

1. URIJAH (אוּרִיָּהוּ, *flame of Jehovah;* Sept. Οὐρίας), high priest of the Jews in the time of king Ahaz. He received from this young prince, who was then at Damascus, the model of an altar which had there engaged his attention, with orders to make one like it at Jerusalem. It was his duty to refuse compliance with this dangerous order; but he made such haste in his obedience that the altar was completed by the time Ahaz returned; and he afterwards went so far in his subservience as to offer upon this new and unauthorized altar the sacrifices prescribed by the law of Moses (2 Kings xvi. 10-12). He was probably not so fully aware as he ought to have been of the crime and danger involved in this concession to a royal caprice, being a transgression of the law which fixed the form of the Mosaical altar (Exod. xxvii. 1-8; xxxviii. 1-7): for he appears to have been in intention a good man, as he is one of the 'faithful witnesses' chosen by Isaiah (viii. 2) to attest one of his prophecies.

2. URIJAH, a prophet, son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim in Judah, who, in the time of Jehoiakim, uttered prophecies against Judæa and Jerusalem of the same tenour as those which Jeremiah was commissioned to deliver. Menaced with death by the king, Urijah sought refuge in Egypt; but Judæa was at that time subject to Pharaoh-Necho, who had no interest in protecting a proscribed fugitive who foretold the conquests of the Babylonians. He was therefore delivered up on the demand of Jehoiakim, who put him to death, and ordered him to be buried dishonourably in one of the graves of the meanest of the people (Jer. xxvi. 20, 21).

URIM and THUMMIM (אוּרִים וְתֻמִּים; Sept. δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια, &c.; Vulg., Doctrina et Veritas). The Hebrew words are generally considered to be plurales excellentiæ, denoting *light* (*i. e.* revelation) and *truth;* and as used by a metonymy for the things or modes whereby the revelation was given, and truth declared. They may, however, be *duals.* A similar view of their construction and meaning pervades the Sept. and Vulg. renderings, under some varieties of expression. There are two principal opinions respecting the Urim and Thummim. One is, that these words simply denote the four rows of precious stones in the breastplate of the high-priest, and are so called from their brilliancy and perfection; which stones, in answer to an appeal to God in difficult cases, indicated his mind and will by some supernatural appearance. Thus, as we know that upon each of the stones was to be engraven the name of one of the sons of Jacob, it has been conjectured that the letters forming the divine response became some way or other distinguished from the other letters. It has been conjectured by others that the response was given by an audible voice to the high-priest arrayed in full pontificals, and standing in the holy place with his face turned towards the ark. The other principal opinion is, that the Urim and Thummim were two small oracular images, similar to the Teraphim, personifying *revelation* and *truth,* which were placed in the cavity or pouch formed by the folds of the breastplate, and which uttered oracles by a voice. [Priest, *the breastplate;* Teraphim.] We propose simply to lay before the reader a statement of the facts connected with this obscure but interesting subject. It is remarkable that the first time the Urim and Thummim are mentioned in Scripture, they are referred to *as things already known.* After a *minute* description of the breastplate, which, as we have shown in Priest, was to differ in several particulars from that worn by the Egyptian priests, it is simply added, 'And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment, the Urim and the Thummim' (Exod. xxviii. 30). So indefinite, however, is the preposition אֶל, here translated 'in,' that it may also mean 'on' or 'near' (Sept. reads ἐπί). The Urim and Thummim are, however, here clearly distinguished from the breastplate itself, or from the four rows of gems, unless we can imagine that the breastplate should be so called before the gems, the essential part of it, were put into their place. We observe the like distinction made in the account of Aaron's consecration (Lev. viii. 8; comp. Ecclus. xlv. 10), and by Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 8), where he distinguishes the τὸ λογεῖον, or oracle, from the precious stones. So does the Samaritan text, which also states the Urim and Thummim to have been *made* on the occasion. We think the distinction indicated in these passages of Scripture sufficiently clear to withstand the inference which has been derived from comparing Exod. xxviii. 29, with 30, and Exod. xxxix. 8, &c., with Lev. viii. 8; namely, that the Urim and Thummim were identical with the gems in the breastplate. In Num. xxvii. 21, the word האורים

alone is used in a brief recapitulatory manner, and, no doubt, including the Thummim, or else, in the general sense of divine revelations, answers, &c., by this method (Sept. ἡ κρίσις τῶν δήλων ἔναντι κυρίου; comp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6; Sept. ἐν τοῖς δήλοις; Vulg. *per sacerdotes*). The usual order is reversed in Deut. xxxiii. 8, where it is Thummim and Urim. The last mention of them occurs after the return of the captivity, when 'the Tirshatha' decreed that certain claimants to the rights of the priesthood, but who could not produce their ecclesiastical pedigree, should wait 'till there stood up a priest with Urim and with Thummim,' by whom their claim might be infallibly decided (Ezra ii. 63; Sept. τοῖς φωτίζουσι καὶ τοῖς τελείοις; Vulg. *sacerdos doctus atque perfectus;* Neh. vii. 65, ἱερεὺς φωτίσων, *sacerdos doctus et eruditus*). From these obscure statements of Scripture we naturally turn to Josephus, the professed antiquarian of his nation. He says, when intending to treat of the subject, that 'God declared beforehand by those twelve stones which the high-priest bore on his breast, and which were inserted into the breastplate, when they should be victorious in battle; for so great a splendour shone forth from them before the army began to march, that all the people were sensible of God's being present for their assistance, and that the breastplate left off shining two hundred years before he composed that book' (*Antiq.* iii. 8. 9; see Whiston's *Notes in loc.*). On the contrary, Philo, the learned contemporary of Josephus, represents the Urim and Thummim as two images of the two virtues or powers—δήλωσίν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν. The full quotation is: 'Τὸ δὲ λογεῖον (the pectoral or breastplate); τετράγωνον, διπλοῦν κατεσκευάζετο, ὡσανεὶ βάσις, ἵνα δύο ἀρετὰς ἀγαλματοφορῇ (that they might carry the image of the two powers); δήλωσίν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν' (*De Vita Mosis*, lib. iii. p. 152, t. 2, ed. Mangey). He also uses the following words (*De Monarch.* lib. ii. p. 821; *Opp.* vol. ii. p. 226), Ἐπὶ τοῦ λογείου διττὰ ὑφάσματα καταποικίλλει, προσαγορεύων τὸ μὲν δήλωσιν, τὸ δ' ἀλήθειαν. Of the two statements, that of Philo is best supported by certain external evidence, which will now be produced. It had been noticed by all the old commentators, that a remarkable resemblance existed between the Urim and Thummim of the Jewish high-priest, and the custom recorded by Ælian of the Egyptian archjudge, who was always a priest venerable for age, learning, and probity, and who opened judicial proceedings by suspending, by a gold chain hung round his neck (comp. Gen. xli. 42), an image made of a sapphire stone, which was called Ἀλήθεια, *i. e.* 'truth,' and with which Diodorus Siculus says he touched (προσθεῖτο) the party who had gained the cause. Certain traces of a similar custom among the Romans had also been adverted to, namely, that among the Vestal Virgins, at least she that was called Maxima, and who sat in judgment and tried causes, as the Pontifex Maximus did, wore a similar antepectorale (Lipsius, *De Vestal. et Vestal; Syntagma Ant. ap. Plant.* 1603, cap. ult.). But these resemblances among the Egyptians were considered to have been derived by them from the Jews, in consequence of their correspondence with them after Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's daughter (Patrick on Exod. xxviii. 30). Subsequent discoveries, however, among the antiquities of Egypt lead to the conclusion that these resemblances belong to a much earlier period. Sir G. Wilkinson says the figure of Truth which the Egyptian arch-judge suspended from his neck, was, in fact, a representation of the goddess who was worshipped under the *dual* or double character of Truth and Justice, and whose name, Thmei, the Egyptian or Coptic name of Justice or Truth (compare the Greek θέμις), appears to have been the *origin* of the Hebrew Thummim—'a word,' he remarks, 'according to the Sept. translation, implying truth, and bearing a further analogy in its plural termination.' He also remarks that the word Thummim, being a plural or dual word, corresponds to the Egyptian notion of the '*two* Truths,' or the double capacity of this goddess. 'This goddess,' he says, 'frequently occurs in the sculptures in this double capacity, represented by two figures exactly similar, as in No. (530). It is,' he adds, 'further observable that the chief-priest of the Jews, who, before the election of a king, was also the judge of the nation, was alone entitled to wear this honorary badge. Does the *touch* of the successful



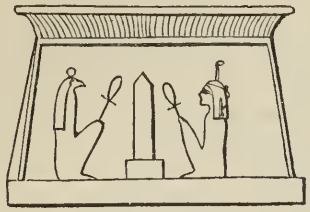
530. [Goddess of Truth and Justice.]



531. [Goddess of Truth and Justice.]

litigant with the figure, by the Egyptian arch-judge, afford any illustration of such passages as Isa. vi. 7, Jer. i. 9, Est. v. 2, or of those numerous instances in which touching is represented as the emblem or means of miraculous virtue? Our authority

for these Egyptian antiquities adds, that according to some the Urim and Thummim signify 'lights and perfections,' or 'light and truth'—which last presents a striking analogy to the two figures of Rê, *the sun*, and Thmei, *truth*, in the breastplate worn by the Egyptians (No. 532). Here Thmei



532. [Breastplate.]

is represented, as she is frequently, as a single figure wearing two ostrich feathers, her emblem, because all the wing-feathers of this bird were considered of equal length, and hence meant true or correct' (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 27, &c.; v. 28, &c. London, 1842. See also other remarks on the dual offices of Thmei, in *Gallery of Antiquities*, selected from the British Museum by F. Arundale and J. Bonomi). Upon a view of the preceding facts, we incline to Mr. Mede's opinion, that the Urim and Thummim were 'things well known to the patriarchs,' as divinely appointed means of inquiring of the Lord (Gen. xxv. 22, 23), suited to an infantine state of religion; that the originals were preserved, or the real use, at least, among the Abrahamidæ, and at the reformation under Moses, were simply recognised; that the resemblances to them among the Egyptians were but imitations of this primeval mode of divine communication, as were the heathen auspices of similar means originally connected with the sacrifice of animals [Cain; Abel; Liver]. The speculations of learned Jews and Christians connected with this subject, may be seen in Winer's *Biblisch. Real-Wörterbuch*, Leips. 1835, art. 'Urim und Thummim;' or in Robinson's *Theological Dictionary*, London, 1816; and some of them in Cruden's *Concordance*. Dr. Prideaux maintains that the divine answer was given by an audible voice to the high-priests arrayed, and standing opposite to the ark (*Connection*, i. 123. &c.); but when David consulted the oracle by Abiathar (1 Sam. xxiii. 9, 11; xxx. 7, 8), the ark was at Kirjath-jearim, whereas David was in the one case at Ziklag, and in the other in the forest of Hareth. Jahn supposes that the answer was given by the words *yes* and *no* inscribed on two stones (a third being left blank for *no answer*) which the high-priest carried on his breastplate; and consequently that the Urim and Thummim was the sacred lot referred to in Prov. xvi. 33. The lot is cast (בחיק) into the *bosom;* but the whole judicial decision is of the Lord (comp. xviii. 18; *Archæol.* § 370). Michaelis also considers it as a lot, which was used in criminal cases to discover, not *convict* the criminal; for the confessions of the guilty are recorded in the only two instances of this kind mentioned in Scripture (Josh. vii. 14-18, and 1 Sam. xiv. 37-45). Observe the Hebrew or margin of ver. 41, in the last reference. He remarks that the discovery of an unknown murder was not left to these means (*Notes on Exod.* xxviii. 30, and *Laws of Moses*, art. 304). Braunius maintains the notion of Josephus as to the mode of the divine answer (*De Vestitu Sacer. Heb.*, ii. 20). Spencer maintains that of Philo (*De Legib. Heb.* lib. iii. Diss.ult.); but is opposed by Pocock (*On Hosea* iii. 4, p. 149). See also Buxtorf, *Historia Urim et Thummim*, in *Exercitt. ad Hist.* Basileæ, 1659; Jennings, *Jewish Antiquities*, i. 233; Witsius, *Ægyptiaca*, c. 10, &c. Winer also refers to Norris's *Archæologia*, or *Miscell. Tracts relating to Antiquity*, iv. No. 19; Schroeder, *Diss. de Urim et Thymmim*, Marb. 1744; Bellarmann, *Urim u. Thummim die ältesten Gemmen*, Berl. 1824; Stiebriz, *Diss. de Variis de Urim et Thummim Sententt.* Hal. 1753-4.—J. F. D.

USURY, an unlawful contract for the loan of money, to be returned again with exorbitant increase. By the laws of Moses the Israelites were forbidden to take usury from their brethren upon the loan of money, victuals, or anything else, not, it has been observed by Michaelis, as if he absolutely and in all cases condemned the practice, for he expressly permitted interest to be taken from strangers, but only out of favour to the poorer classes. In other words, he did not mean to represent that the taking of interest for the loan of money was in itself sinful and unjust; but as at that period the Israelites were comparatively a poor people and strangers to commerce, they borrowed, not with a view to profit but from poverty, and in order to procure the common necessaries of life. It would therefore have been a hardship to have exacted from them more than was lent. The Israelites were, however, permitted to take usury from strangers, from the Canaanites, and other people devoted to subjection. This was one of the many means they adopted for oppressing and ruining the Canaanites who remained in the land. After the return of the Jews from captivity, they were required by Nehemiah to 'leave off this usury,' and to restore to their brethren what they had exacted from them—'their lands, their vineyards, their olive-yards, and their houses; also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil' (Neh. v. 10, 11). Our Saviour denounced all extortion, and promulgated a new law of love and forbearance:—'Give to every man that asketh of thee, and of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again.' 'Love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again' (Luke vi. 30, 35).

The practice of exacting an exorbitant rate of interest for the loan of money is condemned by all laws divine and human. It was first prohibited in England during the reign of Edward the Confessor; but that law is considered to have become obsolete, as in 1126 usury was forbidden only to the clergy, and in 1138 it was decreed by the Council, that 'such of the clergy as were usurers and hunters after sordid gain, and for the public employment of the laity, ought to be degraded.' In 1199, the last year of the reign of Richard I., the rate of interest for money was restricted to 10 per cent., which continued to be the market rate until the reign of Henry VIII. In 1311, Philip IV. fixed the interest that might be exacted in the fairs of Champagne at 20 per cent. James I. of Arragon, in 1242, fixed it at 18 per cent. In 1490 the rate of interest in Placentia was 40 per cent. Charles V. fixed

the rate of interest in his dominions at 12 per cent. In 1546 the rate in England was fixed at 10 per cent; in 1624 it was reduced to 8; in 1651 to 6; and in 1714 to 5 per cent., at which it remained until 1833. By 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 98, bills not having more than three months to run were exempted from the operation of the laws against usury; and by the 1 Vic. c. 80, the exemption was extended to bills payable at twelve months. By the 2 and 3 Vic., c. 37, it was enacted that bills of exchange and contracts for loans or forbearance of money above 10*l.* shall not be affected by the usury laws. Five per cent. is still left as the legal rate of interest for money, unless it shall appear that any different rate was agreed upon between the parties.—G. M. B.

UZ (עוּץ; Sept. Αὐσίτις), a region and tribe named in Job i. 1; Jer. xxv. 20; Lam. iv. 21, now generally supposed to have been situated in the south of Arabia Deserta, between Idumæa, Palestine, and the Euphrates, called by Ptolemy (*Geog.* v. 19) Αἰσίται, unless the reading Ἀώσιται is to be restored [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF]. The tribe seems to have been descended from Uz, the son of Aram (Gen. x. 23), although it has been sometimes doubted whether its origin might not rather be referred to Huz, the son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 21), or to Uz, the Horite, son of Dishan (Gen. xxxvi. 28).

UZAL (אוּזָל; Sept. Αἰβήλ), a descendant of Joktan, founder of one of the numerous tribes of Joktanidæ in Yemen (Gen. x. 27) [NATIONS, DISPERSION OF].

UZZAH (עֻזָּה, *strength;* Sept. Ὀζά), son of Abinadab, a Levite, who, with his brother Ahio, conducted the new cart on which the ark was taken from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem. When the procession reached the threshing-floor of Nachon, the oxen drawing the cart became unruly, and Uzzah hastily put forth his hand to stay the ark, which was shaken by their movements. For this the anger of the Lord smote him, and he died on the spot. This judgment appeared to David so severe, or even harsh, that he was much distressed by it, and becoming afraid to take the ark any farther, left it there, in charge of Obed-edom, till three months after, when he finally took it to Jerusalem (2 Sam. vi. 1-11). The whole proceeding was very irregular, and contrary to the distinct and far from unmeaning regulations of the law, which prescribed that the ark should be carried on the shoulders of the Levites (Exod. xxv. 14), whereas here it was conveyed in a cart drawn by oxen. The ark ought to have been enveloped in its coverings, and thus wholly concealed before the Levites approached it; but it does not appear that any priest took part in the matter, and it would seem as if the ark was brought forth, exposed to the common gaze, in the same manner in which it had been brought back by the Philistines (1 Sam. vi. 13-19). It was the duty of Uzzah, as a Levite, to have been acquainted with the proper course of proceeding: he was therefore the person justly accountable for the neglect; and the judgment upon him seems to have been the most effectual course of ensuring attention to the proper course of proceeding, and of checking the growing disposition to treat the holy mysteries with undue familiarity. That it had this effect is expressly stated in 1 Chron. xv. 2, 13.

UZZEN-SHERAH (אֻזֶּן שְׁאֵרָה; Sept. Ὀζὰν Σεηρά), a small city, founded by Sherah, the daughter of Ephraim (1 Chron. vii. 24).

UZZIAH (עֻזִּיָּה, *might of Jehovah;* Sept. Ὀζίας), otherwise called AZARIAH, a king of Judah, who began to reign B.C. 809, at the age of sixteen, and reigned fifty-three years, being, with the sole exception of Manasseh's, the longest reign in the Hebrew annals. Uzziah was but five years old when his father was slain. He was sixteen before he was formally called to the throne: and it is disputed by chronologers, whether to count the fifty-two years of his reign from the beginning or from the end of the eleven intervening years. In the first half of his reign, Uzziah behaved well, and was mindful of his true place as viceroy of the Divine King. He accordingly prospered in all his undertakings. His arms were successful against the Philistines, the Arabians, and the Ammonites. He restored and fortified the walls of Jerusalem, and planted on them engines for discharging arrows and great stones; he organized the military force of the nation into a kind of militia, composed of 307,500 men, under the command of 2600 chiefs, and divided into bands liable to be called out in rotation; for these he provided vast stores of all kinds of weapons and armour,—spears, shields, helmets, breastplates, bows, and slings.

Nor were the arts of peace neglected by him: he loved and fostered agriculture; and he also dug wells, and constructed towers in the desert, for the use of the flocks. At length, when he had consolidated and extended his power, and developed the internal resources of his country, Uzziah fell. His prosperity engendered the pride which became his ruin. In the twenty-fourth year of his reign, incited probably by the example of the neighbouring kings, who united the regal and pontifical functions, Uzziah, unmindful of the fate of Dathan and Abiram, dared to attempt the exercise of one of the principal functions of the priests, by entering the holy place to burn incense at the golden altar. But, in the very act, he was smitten with leprosy, and was thrust forth by the priests. He continued a leper all the rest of his life, and lived apart as such, the public functions of the government being administered by his son Jotham, as soon as he became of sufficient age (2 Kings xv. 27, 28; 2 Chron. xxvi.).

V.

VALE; VALLEY. [PALESTINE; PLAIN.]

VASHTI (וַשְׁתִּי; Pers. *beauty;* Sept. Ἀστίν), the wife of Ahasuerus, king of Persia, whose refusal to present herself unveiled before the compotators of the king led to her degradation, and eventually to the advancement of Esther (Esth. i. 9-12) [AHASUERUS; ESTHER].

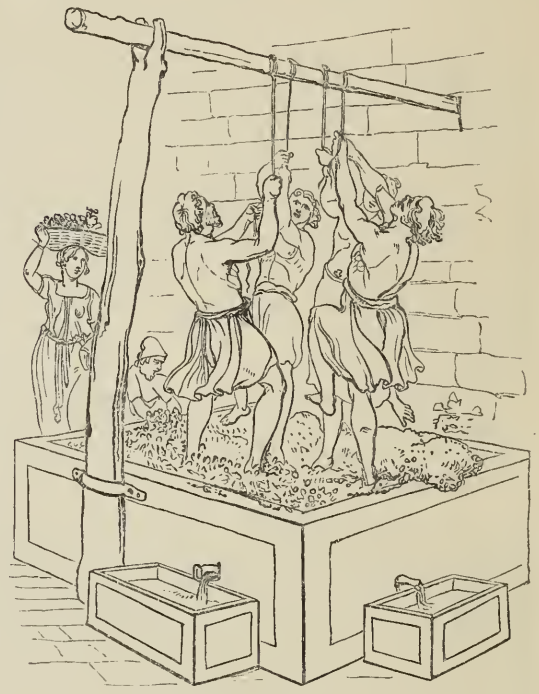
VAT. The three Hebrew words translated *wine-fat*, *wine-press*, and *vat*, are not well discriminated in the common version of the Bible; nor indeed, owing to their comparatively infre-

quent occurrence, are their original distinctions very obvious.

1. יקב *yekeb* or *yekev*, seems to denote *the fruit-house and wine-press* as a whole, including the press-vat and the receptacle for grapes intended to be preserved; just as 'barn' includes both the corn-heap and the threshing-floor. The word occurs sixteen times, in most of which it evidently denotes the entire building appropriated to vintage and orchard fruit (Deut. xvi. 13; Judges vii. 25; Isa. v. 2; Hos. ix. 2; Hag. ii. 16; Zech. xiv. 10). In Joel iii. 13; iv. 13, 'the *press* (gath) is full, the *fruit-vats* (yekeb) overflow.' This term is clearly distinguished from the *press*-vat in which the grapes were trodden. The apparent exceptions are Prov. iii. 10; Joel ii. 24; but these texts are capable of a better rendering. We translate the former—'Thy fruit-vats shall be heaped up with vintage-fruit.' Gesenius observes that 'neither the wine-press nor wine-vat can be said to burst from the quantity of wine made, the figure applying only to a cask or wine-skin' (*Lex.* by Prof. Robinson, p. 879); hence he considers פרץ, translated 'overflow,' as a verb of abundance—metaph. '*to be redundant with.*' The latter text is explained under Fruits. Olearius, in his *Persian Travels*, 1637, says, 'they have a way to keep grapes by wrapping them up in green reeds and hanging them up in the roof of their chambers' (lib. vi. p. 310). It is a mistake to suppose that the *yekeb* would be needed only during the vintage, since the grapes are capable of preservation all the year round, and it would therefore be useful as a store-house. Ellis W. Delesser, Esq., of Florence, thus describes to us the mode of keeping grapes adopted in Italy: 'The grapes are preserved in the state in which they are cut from the vine, from the time of the vintage till the month of March, by spreading them out on hurdles, taking care to leave sufficient space between the bunches, in lofty and dry outhouses' (*Private Letter*, 1844). Gesenius considers that the *yekeb* was 'the vat or receptacle into which the *must*, or new wine, flowed from the press גת;' probably impressed with the affinity between *yekev* and the root of '*excavate.*' But the fact is, that in the rudest and original states of society amongst the Orientals it was common to form storehouses by excavating, in which they kept their grain, grapes, and other fruit. The name *yekeb* might originally have referred to this, and would afterwards be retained in its application to more civilized methods and structures. By this interpretation Gesenius is compelled to give two distinct meanings to the word—1, the *wine-vat;* 2, the *grape-vat;* whereas, by adopting our more generic but inclusive definition, these and other difficulties are obviated.

2. פורה *poorah*, occurs but twice (Isa. lxiii. 3; Hag. ii. 16). It is derived from פור 'to break,' and hence is applied to the vat in which the grapes are crushed or broken. The vats were generally large and deep, requiring several persons to tread the grapes in them together. Hence to 'tread the *wine-press* alone' indicated extreme distress and desolation. Probably this term was applied only to the *wine*-vat, as distinguished from *Gathshemen*, the oil-press.

3. גת *gath*, occurs in five passages. It denotes *the vat* (ληνός) in which grapes and olives were trodden with the feet. These were either formed with stones and covered with insoluble cement, or were, in favourable localities, hewn out of the rock, forming raised reservoirs, into which the picked grapes were cast and trodden upon by men to press out the *must*, or new wine, which flowed out through gratings or spouts into large vessels placed outside (ὑπολήνιον). In the Egyptian paintings these vats are represented as having a temporary beam extended over them, with short ropes hanging down, by which the treaders held fast, and which greatly helped them in their labour, inasmuch as the beam acted as a lever in its rebound, lifting them up from the mass of grapes into which they sank.



533. [Wine-press.]

This work, although laborious, was performed with great animation, accompanied by vintage-songs, and with a peculiar shout or cry, and sometimes by instrumental music (Isa. xvi. 9, 10; Jer. xxv. 30; xlviii. 32, 33).

The ὑπολήνιον referred to in Mark xii. 1, was a vessel placed below the ληνός, or vat, as a receptacle for the new wine or oil. A place was digged for holding it, as well as sometimes for the vat in which the fruit was trodden (Mark xxi. 33).—F. R. L.

VEIL. There are several words denoting veil in the Hebrew Scripture, showing that, as at present, there were different kinds of this essential article of an Eastern female's attire. These are essentially of two descriptions. The first, and which alone offer any resemblance to the veils used among us, are those which the Eastern women wear in-doors, and which are usually of muslin or other light texture, attached to the head-dress and falling down over the back. They are of different kinds and names, some descending only to the waist, while others reach nearly to the ground. These are not used to conceal the face.

The veils mentioned in Scripture were, no doubt, mostly analogous to the wrappers of dif-

ferent kinds in which the Eastern women envelop themselves when they quit their houses. These



534. [In-door Veils.]

are of great amplitude, and, among the common people, of strong and coarse texture, like that in which Ruth carried home her corn (Ruth iii. 15). The word here is מטפחת *mitpachat*, and is rightly rendered 'veil' by our translators, although some lexicographers, not understanding Eastern veils, have considered it a mantle or cloak. The cuts will show how sufficient the out-door 'veils' of the Eastern women are for such a use. The word which indicates Ruth's ample and strong veil is that which also occurs in Isa. iii. 22, and is there translated 'mantle.' In the same verse we find רדיד *radid*, which denotes another kind of veil, probably of finer materials, from the manner in which it is mentioned in this text and in Cant. v. 7. The latter passage shows that it was an out-door veil, which the lady had cast around her when she went forth to seek her beloved. In Isa. iii. 22, this word is rendered by the old English and now obsolete term 'wimple,' which means a kind of hood or veil in use at the time the translation was made, and was not a



535. [Dress Veils, &c. In-door.]

bad representative of the original. The word occurs in Spenser:—

'For she had laid her mournful stole aside,
And widow-like sad *wimple* thrown away.'

'But (she) the same did hide
Under a veil that *wimpled* was full low;
And over all a black stole she did throw,
As one that inly mourned.'

Another kind of veil, called צמה *tzamah*, is named in Cant. iv. 1, 3; vi. 7, and Isa. xlvii. 2, in which places the word is rendered 'locks' in the Auth. Vers.; but in these texts, according to the best critics, we should read, 'Thou hast dove's eyes within thy veil;' not 'within thy locks.' 'Thy temples within thy veil;' not 'within thy locks.' 'Raise thy veil;' not 'uncover thy locks.' And as these passages refer mostly to the effect of the veil as connected with the head-dress, it may perhaps have been one of those veils which have been already described as a part of in-door dress; although it must be admitted that the expressions are almost equally applicable to some kind of street-veil. Of this the reader can judge from the engravings.



536. [Out-door Veils.]

Another veil, called צעיף *tzaiph*, is mentioned in Gen. xxiv. 65; xxxviii. 14, 19, under circumstances which show that it was one of those ample wrappers which women wore out of doors. The etymology, referred to the Arabic لَفَّ, *sub duplicavit*, suggests that it was 'doubled' over the shoulders, or folded about the body, in some peculiar manner which distinguished it from other veils. It is clear that it concealed the face, as Judah could not recognise Tamar when she had wrapped herself in a *tzaiph*.

VEIL OF THE TABERNACLE AND TEMPLE. [Tabernacle; Temple.]

VERMILION. [Purple.]

VERSE (פָּסוּק; στίχος, κόμμα; *cæsum*, *incisum*, *versus*, *versiculus*). An inquiry into the origin of the verses into which the printed text of the Bible in every language is at present divided, will not, we trust, prove uninteresting to the lovers of Biblical literature. As there was no distinct work on the subject of these divisions, the writer of this article attempted to supply the deficiency in a series of papers published in the year 1842 in the *Christian Remembrancer*, but the subject was discontinued, as not being found adapted to the present circumstances of that periodical. We shall here give the results of our inquiries, which are not fully developed in the papers referred to.

We shall first treat of the versicular divisions in *manuscripts* of the Bible, viz.:—

1. Members of rhythmical passages.
2. Logical divisions in the prose books, peculiar to the versions.
3. Logical divisions in the original texts.

The term *verse* (*versus*, from *verto*, 'to turn'), like the Greek στίχος, was applied by the Romans to lines in general, whether in prose or verse, but more particularly to the rhythmical divisions which generally commenced the line with a capital letter. The custom of writing poetical books in stanzas was common to the Greeks, Romans, Arabians, and Hebrews. The poetical books (viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles), in the oldest Hebrew MSS., as the Paris, Bodleian, Cassel, and Regiomontanus, are also thus divided, and the poetical passages in the historical books are still given in this form in our printed Hebrew Bibles. The Alexandrian MS., and those of the Italic version, are equally so written, and this division is found in the Psalterium Turicense, the Verona and St. Germain Psalters, and in Martianay's edition of Jerome. Athanasius applied the term στίχος to the passage in Ps. cxix. 62: 'I arose at midnight to praise thee for the judgment of thy righteousness;' and Chrysostom observes, on Ps. xlii., that 'each stich (στίχος) suffices to afford us much philosophy.' He also uses the term ῥῆσις in the same sense. The poetical books are called by Epiphanius the five στιχηρεῖς.

The following example is from the Alexandrian MS. (Brit. Mus.):—[Job iii.]

Απολοιτο η ημερα εν η εγεννηθην εν αυτῃ
Και η νυξ εν η ειπον ιδου αρσεν
Απενεγκοιτο αυτην σκοτος
Μη ειη εις ημερας ενιαυτου
Μηδε αριθμηθειη εις ημερας μηνων.

Let the day perish wherein I was born,
And the night wherein it was said, There is a man-child conceived.
As for that night, let darkness seize upon it;
Let it not be joined to the days of the year;
Let it not come into the number of the months.

It is not improbable that this division may have come from the original authors, which the nature of the subject, and especially the parallelism of the sentences, seems to require (Jebb's *Sacred Literature*). In the Cod. Alex. are equally divided in this manner the songs of Moses and of Hannah, the prayers of Isaiah, of Jonah, of Habakkuk, Hezekiah, Manasses, and Azarias; the Benedicite; and the songs of Mary (*theotokos*), Simeon, and Zachariah, in the New Testament, to which is added the Morning Hymn, or Gloria in Excelsis.

A similar metrical division is found in the Latin version. Jerome (*Ep. ad Sunn. et Fret.*) applies the term *versiculus* to the words 'grando et carbones ignis' (Ps. xviii. 13), assigning as a reason why the Greeks had not this versicle after the interposition of two verses, that it had been inserted in the Sept. from the Hebrew and Theodotion's version (with an asterisk). He also observes that it was not easy to reply to the question, why St. Paul, in citing the 13th Psalm, added eight verses not found in the Hebrew. Martianay remarks that these eight verses, which form but three divisions in the Latin Psalters, are thus found in an ancient Psalter of the κοινή and the Italic, in the Abbey of St. Germain des Pres:

Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum
Linguis suis dolose agebant [Ps. v. 9].
Venenum aspidum sub labris eorum [Ps. cxl. 3].
Quorum os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est [Ps. x. 7].
Veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem
Contritio et infelicitas in viis eorum
Et viam pacis non cognoverunt [Isa. lix. 7, 8].
Non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum [Ps. xxxvi. 1].

We need scarcely add that these eight stichs, although found in Justin Martyr, in the Vatican MS., and in the Vulgate, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions, are an early interpolation from Rom. iii. 15-18. They are wanting in the Cod. Alex.

Jerome observes (*Pref. to Job*) that the book of Job commences with prose, glides into verse, and again ends with a short *comma* in prose from the verse 'Idcirco me reprehendo, et ago pœnitentiam in cinere et favilla' (the form assumed also by the text of the oldest Hebrew MSS.). He adds that there were 700 or 800 verses wanting in the old Latin version of this book, and makes mention of 'three short verses' in Ezek. xxi. and Isa. lxiii. That a stichometrical arrangement pervaded the whole Latin Bible is further evident from the *Speculum Scripturæ*, attributed to Augustine, which contains extracts from Psalms, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Job, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, Malachi, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the four Evangelists, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Timothy, 1 John, and Hebrews. All these passages will be found extracted in the *Christian Remembrancer* (*ut supra*, vol. iii. pp. 676-683); and although the first editors of the *Speculum* seem to have misunderstood Augustine's meaning (Simon's *Hist. Critique*), it is beyond a doubt that the verses in the *Speculum* (one of which was, 'Populus ejus et oves pascuæ ejus'), were of the character which we are now describing. Jerome has not followed any of the divisions of the present Hebrew text, except in those passages where he could not well have avoided it, viz., the alphabetical division in the book of Lamentations, and the alphabetical Psalms, but even here he differs from the present divisions (Morini *Exerc. Bibl.** pars ii. cap. 2).

Jerome introduced a similar division into the prophetical books and the books of Chronicles. To this division he, in the prophetical books, applies the terms *cola* and *commata* (or 'stanzas' and 'hemistichs'), while in the Chronicles he only employs the colon, or longer period. 'No one,' he observes, 'when he sees the Prophets divided into verses (*versibus*), must suppose that they are bound by metrical lines, or that in this respect they resemble the Psalms and the books of Solomon; but as the works of Demosthenes and Tully are divided into colons and commas, although written in prose and not verse, we have, for the

* Of this learned work the only copy in any public institution in London is that in Mr. Darling's Clerical Library.

convenience of the reader, also distinguished our new version by a new species of writing.' The Chronicles, he says, he divided into members of verses (*per versuum cola*) in order to avoid an 'inextricable forest of names.'

The following specimens of Jerome's divisions are from Martianay :—

[Job iii.]

'Pereat dies in qua natus sum
et nox in qua dictum est : Conceptus est homo.
Dies illa vertatur in tenebras
non requirat eum Deus desuper
et non illustretur lumine.'

[Isaiah xl.]

'Consolamini, Consolamini, populo meus,
dicit Deus vester.
Loquimini ad cor Jerusalem, et advocate eam :
Omnis vallis exaltabitur,
et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur,
Et erunt prava in directa,
et aspera in vias planas.
Et revelabitur gloria Domini,
et videbit, &c.
Vox dicentis : Clama.
Et dixi :
Quid clamabo?
Omnis caro fœnum,
et omnis gloria ejus quasi flos agri.'

[1 Chron. xiv.]

'Misit quoque Hiram rex Tyri nuntios ad David, et ligna cedrina, et artifices parietum, lignorumque, ut ædificarent ei domum.
Cognovitque David quod confirmasset eum Dominus in regem super Israel, et sublevatum esset regnum suum super populum ejus Israel.
Accepit quoque David alias uxores in Jerusalem : genuitque filios, et filias.'

A division of the prophetical books into *cola*, or stichs, has been considered by some to have had its origin before the time of Jerome. Eusebius acquaints us (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 16) that Origen, in his *Hexapla*, divided the Greek and other versions into κῶλα, which, however, Bishop Christopherson (in Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.*) supposes to be the columns containing the different texts into which Origen's *Polyglott* was divided. Hesychius, who died in A.D. 433, also published his στιχηρεῖς of the twelve prophets, which he calls an invention of the Fathers, in imitation of David and Solomon, who had thus divided their rhythmical compositions. He observes that he had found a similar division in the apostolical books. In this case such division must have been anterior to the stichometrical edition of Euthalius, if the date assigned to his publication be correct, viz., A.D. 450 [Holy Scripture]. It is not improbable that the work of Hesychius was but an adaptation of Jerome's *cola* and *commata* to the Greek text. This is also the opinion of Martianay. Epiphanius (*De Orth. Fid.* iv.) adds the two books of Wisdom to the poetical books thus arranged.

We have seen that Jerome imitates the mode of writing the works of Demosthenes and Cicero in his divisions of Chronicles. This custom of writing κατὰ στίχους appears to have been usual among profane writers. Josephus observes that his own Antiquities consisted of sixty thousand στίχοι, although in Ittigius's edition there are only forty thousand broken lines. Diogenes Laertius, in his *Lives of the Philosophers*, recounts the number of stichs which their works contained. There have, however, existed doubts as to what the στίχοι really were; some supposing them to be simply lines, or lines consisting of a certain number of words or letters, as in our printed books, while others have maintained them to be lines of varied length regulated by the sense, like the *cola* and *commata* of Jerome. The fact is that there are MSS. written in both kinds of verses or stichs, with the number of the stichs placed at the end of each book; and this is what is called *stichometry*, or the enumeration of lines. The introduction of lines regulated by the sense into the New Testament is supposed to have been a rude substitute for punctuation. The second mode, resembling our printed books, is also common; it is that adopted in the Charlemagne Bible, at the close of each book of which will be found the number of verses, that is, lines of equal length, but without any regard to the number of words or letters.

We are not aware at what time or by whom stichometry was adapted to the Gospels, but not long after the time of Euthalius we find it in common use. The Cod. Bezæ (C) and the Clermont MS. (D) are thus written. The following is from C :—[John i.]

Εν αρχῃ ην ὁ λογος και ὁ λογος ην προς τον Θεον
Και Θεος ην ὁ λογος. ουτος ην εν αρχῃ προς τον Θεον
Παντα δι αυτου εγενετο και χωρις αυτου
Εγενετο ουδε ἑν ὁ γεγονεν· εν αυτῳ
Ζωη ην και ἡ ζωη ην το φως των Ανθρωπων
Και το φως εν τῃ σκοτια φαινει
Και ἡ σκοτια αυτο ου κατελαβεν
Εγενετο ανθρωπος απεσταλμενος
Παρα θεου, ονομα αυτου Ιωαννης.

The following is from Acts xiii. 16, in Greek and Latin :—(Kipling, p. 747).

Αναστας δε ὁ Παυλος—Cum surrexisset Paulus
Και κατασεισας τῃ χειρι ειπεν—Et silentium manu postulasset, dixit,
Ανδρες Ισταηλιται, και οι φοβουμενοι τον Θεον—Viri Istraheliti, et qui timetis Deum
Ακουσατε—Audite.
Ο Θεος του λαου τουτου, κ. τ. λ.—Deus populi hujus, &c.

Afterwards, in order to save parchment, it became usual to write the stichometrical books continuously, separating the stichs by a point, but still placing their numbers at the end of each book. The following is a specimen from the Cod. Cypr. :—Ο δε εγερθεις. παρελαβε το παιδιον. και την μητερα αυτου. και ηλθεν εις γην Ισραηλ. ακουσας δε. ὁτι Αρχηλαος βασιλευσε επι της Ιουδαιας. αντι Ηρωδου του πατρος αυτου. εφοβηθη εκει απελθειν.

Sometimes, instead of the point, the stichs commenced with a capital, as in the Cod. Boerner., which, however, seems to have been written by an ignorant Irish scribe, unacquainted with the languages in which the MS. was written [Vulgate].

Ut non quasi ex necessitate tem bonum tuum
Ινα. μη ως καταναγκην το αγαθον σου.
sit. Sed voluntarium forsitan enim ideo
η. Αλλα κατεκουσειον. Ταχα γαρ. Δια

t propterea. Ad horam t ad tempus ut
τουτο. Εχωρισθη. προς ωραν Ινα.
æternum illum t eum recipias non jam quasi
αιωνειον αυτον απεχης ουκ ετει ως
servum fratrem dilectum maxime mihi
δουλον. Αδελφον. Αγαπητον. Μαλλιστα εμοι
quanto autem magis tibi et in carne et in dn̄o
Ποσω. δε μαλλον σοι και. εν. σαρκει και εν κ̄ω
si igitur t ergo me habes socium accipe
ει ουν με εχεις κοινωνον Προσλαβου
illum sicut me. 77. Si autem aliquid nocuit t
αυτον ως εμαι. Ει δε .τι. ηδει-
læsit te aut debet hoc mihi imputa ego
κησεν σε η. οφειλειται. Τουτο μοι ελλογα Εγω
paulus scripsi mea manu ego reddam
παυλος. εγραψα τη. εμη χιρει. Εγω αποτεισω.
ut non dicam tibi quod et te ipsum mihi
Ινα μη λεγω σοι. οτι και σε αυτον. μοι.
debes ita t utique frater ego te fruar
προσοφιλεις. Ναι. Ναι αδελφε. Εγω σου. οναιμην.
in dn̄o.
εν. κ̄ω. [Philem. 14—20.]

The stichs were sometimes very short, as in Cod. Laud. (E), in which there is seldom above one word in each. The Clermont MS. (D) contains a list of the stichs in all the Greek books of the Old and New Testaments, and the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus contains a similar enumeration of the Canonical books,—the Antilegomena of the Old and New Testament,—and of the Apocryphal books, as Enoch, the Testaments of the Patriarchs, &c. &c.

Hug (*Introd.*) observes that the Codex Alexandrinus might be easily mistaken for the copy of a stichometrical manuscript, from the resemblance of its divisions to the *στίχοι*, as, *ηκουσα δε φωνης λεγουσης μοι. αναστας Πετρε. θυσον και φαγε.* but these occur only in occasional passages.

Instances occur in other MSS. in which the stanzas are numbered in the margin, as in the Song of Moses, in Greek and Latin in the Psalter of Sedulius of Ireland, who flourished in the ninth century. The song consists of forty-two commas or stichs, comprised in seven colons or stanzas, with a Roman numeral prefixed to each—all in the handwriting of Sedulius. The Latin is Ante-hieronymian (Montfaucon, *Palæogr. Græc.;* also *Christ. Rememb.* ut supra, p. 687).

There is a Greek Stichometrical manuscript of Isaiah, probably of the ninth century, in the Bibliothèque du Roi (1892), in which the stichs do not commence with the line, but there is a Greek numeral letter attached in the margin opposite each stich, the enumeration recommencing at the end of every hundred lines, in this form:—

1. The vision of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, which
   he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in
   the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and
   Hezekiah, kings of
2. Judah. Hear, O heavens, and
3. give ear, O earth: for the Lord hath spoken.
4. I have nourished and brought up children,
   and they
5. have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth
6. his owner, and the ass his master's crib:
7. but Israel doth not know, my people
8. doth not consider. O sinful nation,
9. a people laden with iniquity, a seed
10. of evil-doers, children that are corrupters;
    they have forsa
11. ken the Lord, they have provoked the ho
    ly one of Israel to anger; they are gone away
    backward. Ye will revolt more and more, &c.
12. Why should ye be stricken any more?

Hug is of opinion that the Stichometrical system gave rise to the continuous and regular grammatical punctuation. Attempts at interpunction for the sake of the sense were, however, of much greater antiquity in profane authors than the era of Stichometry. Grammatical points are said to have been first introduced by Aristophanes of Byzantium about two centuries before the Christian era. We have already seen that interpunction was in use in MSS. of the New Testament before Euthalius, as in the Cod. Alex. Isidore of Spain acquaints us that the only note of division in his time was a single point, which, to denote a *comma*, or short pause, was placed at the bottom; to denote a *colon*, or larger pause, in the middle; and to denote a full pause, or period, was placed at the top of the final letter of the sentence. Manuscripts of the New Testament, as the Zürich Cod. Bas. E., have come down to us thus pointed. In others, as the Cod. Alex. and Cod. Ephrem., the point is placed indifferently at the top, bottom, or middle of the letter (Tischendorf, *Cod. Ephrem.*). Others, as L., use a cross for the purpose of marking a period, and Colb. 700 makes use of no other mark. Hupfeld, however, (*Stud. u. Krit.*), doubts whether the points in Cod. Cyprius are notes of the stichs, and denies any distinction between grammatical and other interpunction.

Originally there were no spaces between the words, but in the eighth or ninth century they began to be separated either by spaces* or by points. About the same period the present marks of punctuation began to be gradually and imperceptibly adopted, and had become universal in the tenth century. Michaelis (*Introd.* ch. xiii.) says, 'that Jerome introduced the comma and colon;' but this was not for the purpose of dividing sentences [VULGATE]. Cod. V., however, in Matthæi, of the eighth century, has the comma and the point, and Cod. Vat. 351, the colon. The Greek note of interrogation came into use in the ninth century. After the invention of printing, the Aldine editions fixed the punctuation, which was, however, varied by Robert Stephens in his different editions of the Bible. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the punctuation of the Bible possesses no authority, and that no critic hesitates to dissent from it. The accents, or the writing *κατὰ προσῳδίαν*, which were already in use in the Old Testament, were added by Euthalius to his edition, but were not in general use before the tenth century.

The Hebrew MSS. all contain a versicular division, marked with the accent called *silluk*, and the *soph pasuk* (end of the verse). The word *pasuk*, פסוק, is found in the Talmud, where it denotes some division of this kind; but whether the Talmudical *pesukim* are identical with those in the manuscripts, has been strongly contested.

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* In the Cod. Alex. blank spaces are found at the end of the commas or sections, but nowhere else (Marsh's *Michaelis*).

It is said in tract *Kiddushun* (30, c. 1), 'Our rabbins assert that the law contains 5888 (or, according to Morinus, 8888) *pesukim*,' while, according to the division in our Bibles, there are 5845 verses. 'The Psalms have 8 more.' There are at present 2527. 'The Chronicles 8 less.' This division rather resembles the *στίχοι* in the Sept., of which the Psalms contain 5000. In the Mishna (*Megilla*, iv. 1) it is said, 'He who reads the law must not read less than three *pesukim*. Let not more than one be read by the interpreter, or three in the Prophets.' The passage in Isa. lii. 3-5 is reckoned as three *pesukim*. In *Taen* (iv. 3), a precept is given for reading the history of the creation according to the Parashes and the verses in the law; and in the Bab. Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, xiv. c. 2) the passage in Deut. xxxiv. 5-12 is called 'the last eight verses (*pesukim*) in the law.' It is evident, therefore, that some at least of our present verses correspond with the Talmudical. The term פיסוקים *pisukim* is also applied in the Gemara, as synonymous with טעמים, to reading lessons in general, and sometimes to short passages or half verses. But no marks appear to have existed in the text to distinguish these divisions, which were doubtless preserved by oral teaching. The first notice of such signs is found in *Sopherim* (iii. 7), in these words: 'Liber legis, in quo incisum est, et in quo capita incisorum punctata sunt, ne legas in illo.' No such marks occur in the synagogue rolls. The Sept. and Vulg. differ both from the Hebrew and from each other in divisions of this character. (Ps. xliii. 11, 12; xc. 2; Lam. iii. 5; Jon. ii. 6; Obad. 9; *Vulg.* Cant. v. 5; Eccles. i. 5.). The *pesukim* of the Talmud, which are said there to have descended from Moses, may have been possibly separated by spaces. From a *Targum* on Cant. v. 13, it appears that the decalogue was originally written in ten lines (*tammim*). All the pointed or Masoretic MSS. contain the present verses, divided by the *soph pasuk* (׃). We have already referred to the practice of the Masorites in numbering these verses, which was done at the end of each book. Thus at the end of Genesis: 'Genesis has 1534 verses,' &c.; and at the end of the Pentateuch: 'The number of verses (*pesukim*) in the book of Deuteronomy is 955,' its sign הנין (which represents the same number); the middle verse is, "And thou shalt do according to the sentence" (xvii. 10); the number of parashes is 10, and of *sidarim* 27; and the number of verses in the entire Pentateuch is 5245 [5845?] . . . . . The number of verses in the Psalms is 2527, the sign אאכזך; the middle verse, "Nevertheless they flattered thee with their mouth" [lxxviii. 36]; the number of *sidarim* 19, and the number of Psalms 150.' The Venice edition of Ben Chaijim, from which these divisions are taken, omits them in Chronicles, but they are supplied by two MSS. In the Pentateuch the number of verses in the greater sections, or those marked by פ פ פ and ס ס ס, is also indicated at the end of each section, thus: 'Bereshith has 146 verses, sign אמציה; Noah has 153 verses, &c. The entire number of verses is 23,206.' Before the Concordance of Rabbi Nathan in the fifteenth century [Holy Scriptures], the Jews made their references by citing in the Pentateuch the two first words of the Sabbath lessons, making no use of the shorter *sidarim*, or of the open or shut parashes. Of these, which are confined to the Pentateuch, there are 290 open and 379 shut. Of the larger parashes, or Sabbath lessons, Genesis contains 12, Exodus 11, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy 10 each. Of the lesser *sidarim* Genesis contains 42, &c. These always commence in the Pentateuch with an open or closed section. From the time of Cardinal Hugo's Concordance citations began to be made by chapter and letter [Scripture, Holy]. All MSS. of the Vulgate after this period began to be thus marked, and we find Nicholas de Lyra in the fourteenth century frequently citing them in this manner. The citation of chapter and verse was a Jewish improvement of the succeeding century.*

The ancient Greek MSS. which have descended to our times also contain a division into short sentences, which have been sometimes called *στίχοι* and *verses*. They are regulated by the sense, and each constitutes a full period. They are frequently double or treble the length of the verses in our present New Testament, although sometimes they are identical with them. The Alexandrian, Vatican, Cambridge, Dublin, and other ancient MSS., all contain similar divisions. The following is from the Cod. Ephremi:—[1 Tim. iii. 12-16].

Διακονοι εστωσαν μιας γυναικος ανδρες· τεκνων καλως προϊσταμενοι και των ιδιων οικιων· οἱ γαρ καλως διακονησαντες· βαθμον ἑαυτοις καλον περιποιουνται· και πολλην παρρησιαν εν πιστει τῃ εν Χω. Ιῦ·

Ταυτα σοι γραφω ελπιζων ελθειν προς σε εν ταχει· εαν δε βραδυνω· ἱνα ειδης πως δει εν οικῳ θου αναστρεφεσθαι· ειτις εστιν εκκλησια θου ζωντος· στυλος καὶ ἑδραιωμα της αληθειας·

Καὶ ὁμολογουμενως μεγα εστιν το της ευσεβειας μυστηριον· ος[?]εφανερωθη εν σαρκι· εδικαιωθεν πνι· ωφθη αγγελοις· εκηρυχθη εν εθνεσιν· επιστευθη εν κοσμῳ· ανελημφθη εν δοξῃ·

Versicular divisions in the printed Bibles.—These, together with the numerical notation, are generally attributed to Robert Stephen. or Stephens (*Etienne*). Their origin is, notwithstanding, involved in obscurity. Even those who attribute the invention to Stephens are not agreed as to their date. 'We are assured,' observes Calmet (*Pref. to the Bible*), 'that it is Robert Stephens who, in his edition of 1545, has divided the text by verses, numbered as at present.' This division passed from the Latins to the Greeks and Hebrews. 'Robert Stephens,' says Du Pin (*Proleg.*), 'was the first who followed the Masorites in his edition of the Vulgate in 1545.' 'Verses,' says Simon (*Hist. Critique*), and after him Jahn (*Introd.*), 'were first introduced into the Vulgate and marked with figures by Robert Stephens in 1548. Morinus (*Exercit. Bibl.*), who is followed by Prideaux (*Connection*), attributes the verses to Vatablus, without naming a date, while Chevillier (*Hist. de l'Imprimerie*) and Maittaire (*Historia Stephanorum*) assert that Stephens di-

* Mr. Gresly (*Forest of Arden*, ch. i.) is guilty of an anachronism in making Latimer, in 1537, cite for his text the *twentieth verse* of the tenth chapter of Matthew. The New Testament was not referred to by verses until long after this period.

vided the chapters into verses, placing a figure at each verse, in the New Testament in 1551, and in the Old in 1557. Chevillier adds that James Faber of Estaples had introduced the practice in his edition of the Psalms printed in 1509 by Henry, father of Robert Stephens; and he is followed by Renouard (*Annales des Etienne*, Paris, 1843), in supposing that Stephens took his idea from this very work. But, not to multiply instances, Mr. Horne (*Introd.* vol. ii. p. i. ch. ii. s. iii. § 1) gives the following account of their introduction: 'Rabbi Mordecai Nathan . . . . undertook a similar Concordance [to that of Hugo] for the Hebrew Scriptures [SCRIPTURE, HOLY], but instead of adopting the marginal letters of Hugo, he marked every fifth verse with a Hebrew numeral, thus, א 1, ה 5, &c.; retaining, however, the cardinal's divisions into chapters. . . . The introduction of verses into the Hebrew Bible was made by Athias, a Jew of Amsterdam [1661], . . . with the figures common in use, except those which had been previously marked by Nathan with Hebrew letters in the manner in which they at present appear in the Hebrew Bibles. By rejecting these Hebrew numerals, and substituting for them the corresponding figures, all the copies of the Bible in other languages have since been marked.' 'The verses into which the New Testament is now divided are much more modern [than the *στίχοι*], and are an imitation of those invented for the Old Testament by Rabbi Nathan in the fifteenth century. Robert Stephens was the first inventor.' In another place (§ 2), Mr. Horne has observed that the Masorites were the inventors of verses, but without intimating that they are the same with those now in use. Doubts were entertained on this subject so early as the sixteenth century. 'Who first,' observes Elias Levita, 'divided the books of the Old and New Testament into *στίχοι*? There are even some who entertain doubts respecting a matter but recently come into use, viz., who the person was who introduced the division of verses into the Greek and Latin Bibles.' Serrarius (*Proleg.*) makes the following allusion to the circumstance: 'I strongly suspect that it is far from certain who first restored the intermitted division into verses. Henry Stephens, indeed, having once come to Wurzburg, would fain have persuaded me that his father Robert was the inventor of this distinction in the New Testament; and I afterwards observed this same statement in his preface to his *Greek Concordance*, with the addition that it was on his way from Paris to Lyons that he made the division, a great part of it while riding on horseback' (*inter equitandum*). 'This may, after all, be an empty boast; but supposing it true, as Catholics have used the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, who were apostates or heretics, so may we use this division of Robert Stephens;' and, not able to conceal his mortification that the honour should belong to a Protestant, he significantly observes that Seneca had found the best scribes (*notarii*) among the vilest slaves. Henry Stephens, in the preface to his *Concordance*, thus expatiates on his father's invention: 'As the books of the New Testament had been already divided into the sections (*tmemata*) which we call chapters, he himself subdivided them into those smaller sections, called by an appellation more approved of by others than by himself, *versicles*. He would have preferred calling them by the Greek *tmemata*, or the Latin *sectiunculæ*; for he perceived that the ancient name of these sections was now restricted to another use. He accomplished this division of each chapter on his journey from Paris to Lyons, and the greater part of it *inter equitandum*. A short time before, while he thought on the matter, every one pronounced him mad, for wasting his time and labour on an unprofitable affair which would gain him more derision than honour: but lo! in spite of all their predictions, the invention no sooner saw the light, than it met with universal approbation, and obtained such authority that all other editions of the New Testament in Greek, Latin, German, and other vernacular tongues, which did not adopt it, were rejected as unauthorized.' Henry Stephens had already stated the same fact, in the dedication to Sir Philip Sydney, prefixed to his second edition of the Greek Testament (1576). We now proceed to Stephens's own statements.

Upon leaving the church of Rome, and embracing Calvinism in 1551, in which year he took refuge in Geneva, he published his fourth edition of the Greek Testament, containing also the Vulgate and the Latin version of Erasmus, with the date in the title MDLXI., an evident error for MDLI. The x has been, in consequence, erased in nearly all the copies. In the preface, he observes: 'As to our having numbered this work with certain versicles, as they call them, we have herein followed the most ancient Greek and Latin manuscripts of the New Testament, and have imitated them the more willingly, that each translation may be made the more readily to correspond with the opposite Greek.' Bishop Marsh (notes to *Michaelis*), and after him Mr. Horne (*ut supra*), asserts that 'Beza split the Greek text into the verses invented by Robert Stephens;' but the bishop is evidently mistaken, as Stephens's fourth edition is divided into these breaks as well as Beza's (see fac-simile in *Christ. Remembr.*, ut supra). Each verse commences the line with a capital, the figures being placed between the columns.

The fourth edition of the Greek Testament was followed, in 1555, by the seventh of the Latin Vulgate, in 8vo., containing the whole Bible, having the present verses marked throughout with numerals, and the following address to the reader: 'Here is an edition of the Latin Vulgate, in which each chapter is divided into verses, according to the Hebrew form of verses, with numerals prefixed, corresponding to the number of the verse which has been added in our new and complete Concordance, after the marginal letters A, B, C, D, E, F G, that you may be relieved from the labour of searching for what these figures will point out to you as with the finger.' The title-page bears Stephens's olive; and the name of the printer, Conrad Badius, the son-in-law of Stephens, with the date, 8 *idibus Aprilis*, 1555, shows where and when it was printed. It was the first edition of the entire Bible printed by Stephens since he left the church of Rome. The text is continuous, the verses being separated by a ¶, with the figures in the body of the text.

The next edition of the Bible by Stephens is that of 1556-7, in three vols. fol., containing the

Vulgate, the version of Pagninus, and Beza's Latin version of the New Testament, now first published. The notes are those commonly ascribed to Vatablus, with those of Claude Badwell in the Apocryphal books. The text is broken up into divisions, and there is a notice to the reader, apprising him that this edition contains the text divided into verses, as in the Hebrew copies.

Again, in the preface to Stephens' Latin and French New Testament, published at Geneva in 1552, which is also thus divided, but which we have never seen cited, he observes: 'Et a fin de plus aisement pouoir faire la dicte collation et confrontement, avons distingue tout icelny Nouveau Testament comme par vers, a la façon et manière que tout le Vieil a este escript et distingué, soit par Moyse et les prophetes compositeurs et antheurs, ou par scavans Hebrieux succedans, pour la conservation des dictes Escriptures, suyuans aussi en ce en partie la manière de ceux qui ont escript les premières exemplaires Grecs, et les vienlx escripts de la vielle tralation Latine du dict Testament, qui de chasque sentence, ou chasque moitié de sentence, voire de toutes les parties d'nne sentence en faisoyent comme des versets. Et en la fin de chasque livre mettoyent le nombre d'iceulx versets: possible a fin que par ce moyen on n'en peust rien oster, car on l'eust apperceu en retrouvant le contenu du nombre des dicts versets.' Stephens adds that he has also given references to the verses in indexes and concordances, not omitting the letters (lettrines) by which the chapters had been divided by his predecessors into four or seven parts, according to their length, for the purpose of a concordance. He makes reference to the chapters and verses in his *Harmonia Evangelica*, taken from the work of Leo Judah, and placed at the end of his edition of the New Testament (1551).

Henry Stephens, in his preface to his *Concordance*, states that it was this division which first suggested to his father's fertile mind the idea of a Greek and Latin concordance to the New Testament, in imitation of his Latin concordance, *Concordantiae Bibl., utriusque Testamenti* VII Cal. Feb. 1555, fol.; in the preface to which he says that he has followed the Hebrew mode of numbering the verses. In the title-page he makes an appeal to his brother printers not to 'thrust their sickle into his harvest,' not that he 'feared such plagiary from well-educated printers, but from the common herd of illiterate publishers, whom he considered as no better than highway robbers, no more capable of Christian integrity than so many African pirates.' 'Whether his apprehensions were well founded,' continues his son, 'let the experience of others tell.' Owing to Stephens's death, in 1559, his *Concordance* was published by Henry Stephens, in 1594.

But it is far from being true that Stephens, as has been commonly believed, was the first who either followed the Masorites, or divided the chapters into verses, or attached figures to each verse. This had been done, not only in regard to the Psalms, by James le Fevre, in his *Psalterium Quincuplex* in 1509, but throughout the *whole Bible* by Sanctes Pagninus in 1528. The *Psalterium* was beautifully printed by Henry, father of Robert Stephens, each verse commencing the line with a red letter, and a number prefixed; and we may here observe, that the Book of Psalms was the first portion of the Scriptures to which numbers were attached, by designating each separate Psalm by its number. Some ascribe this numeration to the Seventy; it is, we believe, first referred to by St. Hilary (*Pref.*), and is found in the manuscripts of the Sept. Whether they were so numbered at the Christian era, is somewhat doubtful. In Acts xiii. 33, the *second* Psalm is cited by its number, but in some of the best manuscripts the reading here is the *first* Psalm. In ver. 35 'in another' is said, without reference to its number; and Kuinoel is of opinion that the true reading in ver. 33 is simply ἐν ψαλμῷ,—'in a psalm.'

In the year 1528 the Dominican Sanctes Pagninus of Lucca published at Lyons, in quarto, his accurate translation of the Bible into Latin from the Hebrew and Greek. This edition is divided throughout into verses marked with Arabic numerals in the margin, both in the Old and New Testament. The text runs on continuously, except in the Psalms, where each verse commences the line. There was a second edition, more beautifully executed, but without the figures and divisions, published at Cologne in 1541. The versicular divisions in the Old Testament are precisely the same with those now in use,—viz., the Masoretic. Each verse is separated by a peculiar mark (◖).

Masch (*Biblioth. Sac.*), in reference to Stephens' statement that he had followed the oldest Greek manuscripts, says that this assertion was made by Stephens to conciliate those who were taking all methods of blackening him, for that the ancient divisions were quite different. The reader will judge from Stephens' preface to his French translation above cited, whether this assertion is borne out. Stephens there asserts that the authors of the ancient (stichometrical) division reckoned by whole books, and he only professes to imitate them *in part*, as well as the Hebrew copies; which he did by making a versicular division of each chapter, and prefixing a figure to each verse (as in Nathan's *Concordance*), instead of adding the amount at the end of each book. Hug observes that it is really true that ancient MSS. of the New Testament are sometimes divided into smaller sections, which have some analogy to our verses, instancing the Alexandrine, Vatican, and others. We have already given an example of this in C, to which we shall here add one more instance—viz., V. in Matthæi (Appendix to vol. ix. p. 265), who observes that 'this MS. is stichometrically arranged.' His fac-simile contains eight of the nine first verses of St. Mark's Gospel, each of which commences the line with a capital. All but one are identical with those in Stephens, whose first two verses form but one in the Moscow MS.

It is, however, only in the canonical books of the Old Testament that Stephens follows Pagninus. In St. Matthew's Gospel, Pagninus has 577 verses, and Stephens 1071. The number of verses in each chapter in Stephens is often double, frequently treble that in Pagninus. In John v., for instance, Pagninus has 7 and Stephens 22 verses. In the deutero-canonical books, into which no Masoretic distinction had found its way, Stephens has also a different division; thus, in Tobit he has 292 verses, while Pagninus has but 76; and the same proportion prevails throughout the other books, only Pagninus has not the third and

fourth books of Esdras, the Prayer of Manasses, nor the addenda to Daniel.

There are two editions of the Bible containing this division, stated by Le Long to have been published this year in Lyons, one by John Frellon, the other by Antony Vincent. The former is entitled *Biblia Sacro-Sancta Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, Lugdun., apud Joannem Frellonium, 1556, 8; the colophon of which has 'Lugduni, ex officinâ typographicâ Michaelis Sylvii, MDLV.,' which, doubtless, induced Le Long to assign to it the latter date. We have at present a copy of this rare edition before us, and there was a second, which exactly represented it, published in 1566, of which there is a copy in the Brit. Museum. Masch, the continuator of Le Long, observes of this edition (vol. iii. p. 202), that the publisher did not venture to ascribe the division of verses to Stephens, but refers it to Pagninus. Le Long places Stephens' edition and Vincent's together among the Protestant versions; thus:

'*Biblia Latina.* Charactere minutissimo. R. Stephanus lectori. En tibi Bibliorum Vulgata &c. (ut sup. p. 910).) in 8vo. Olivâ Rob. Stephani, 1555.

'*Biblia Latina.* Minutioribus characteribus, versibus numerorum distinctione notatis, in 8vo., Lugduni, Ant. Vincentii, 1555. 1556. Eadem est prorsus editio. Ex monitione typographi: "Biblia Sacra quum jam non semel variis tum typis tum formis emiserim, sicque passis ulnis accepta, ut ne unum quidem aut alterum nobis superesset exemplar . . . . . id operis minutioribus quam antea unqam excudi placuit characteribus. . . . . Deinde quæ ad sacrarum sensum literarum pertinere visa sunt non omissurus, Hebræorum secutus morem, versos quoslibet notandos curavi . . . . . quo sensa ipsa certis distincta versibus clarius innotescerent, et minori negotio linguæ sanctæ candidati concordantias, commentaria, &c., consulere possent." . . . . . utraque editio prima est his distincta versibus,' &c.

According to this statement of Le Long, it would appear that the edition of Robert Stephens and that of Antony Vincent were the same. Masch, however, who places Stephens' edition of 1555 in its chronological order (p. 209), and does not transfer it to the Protestant editions, notices Vincent's thus:—

'Biblia utriusque Testamenti, Lugduni, in ædibus Antonii Vincentii, MDLV., &c.

Biblia ... MDLVI. versibus distinct. Eadem est prorsus editio . . . . . *utraque est* (ut supra).' Now, whatever the word *utraque* or *eadem* here refers to, the very extract from the preface given by Le Long as Vincent's (whose edition we have never seen), commencing with 'Biblia Sacra quum jam non semel,' forms part of the preface to Frellon's edition, of which Masch had observed that the publisher did not venture to assign the invention of the verses to Stephens, but ascribed them to Pagninus. It was this circumstance which led us to turn to this preface, which also contains the identical assertion: 'Et ne quem sua frustratum a nobis laude quispiam clamitet, aut peculatus arguet, et etiam ut institutum hoc nostrum plus ponderis obtineat, ultro fatemur nos imitatos Santem illum Pagninum Heb. linguæ peritissimum, qui et hoc ipsum ceu necessarium magnopere probans, eo modo sua imprimenda curavit.' Now it seems clear that Frellon, whom, from the evidence before us, we must believe to have been the true author of this preface, wishes to take credit to himself for the introduction of the division of verses into his Bible, and from his declaration that he takes Pagninus for his model, in order that none should complain of being defrauded, we think it by no means improbable that he meant this observation as a sly insinuation against Robert Stephens, who had, in the preface to his *Concordance* just published, not only protested against such frauds on the part of his brother printers, but had himself adopted Pagninus's figures without acknowledgment, while it is equally evident that Frellon adopts not Pagninus' but Stephens' division, both in the New Testament and in the deutero-canonical books of the Old; for we presume from the dates that Stephens' edition was the earliest printed; and his *Concordance*, as we have seen, was published so early as the month of January in the same year. The verses in Frellon's edition are divided into breaks, with the figures on the left margin.

The next edition containing this division into verses is Stephens's eighth and last edition of the Vulgate, 1556-1557, 3 vols. fol. This is one of the editions called Vatablus' Bibles, of which there are three, viz., Stephens' nonpareil (1545), his eighth edition of which we are now treating, and the triglott edition published at Heidelberg in 1599. It is the Bible which Morinus (*Exercit. Bibl.*), Prideaux (*Connect.* vol. i.), and so many others, conceived to have been the first containing the division of verses. Prideaux observes that Vatablus *soon after* published a Latin Bible after this pattern, viz., that of Rabbi Nathan (1450), with the chapters divided into verses. 'Soon' after, however, meant about a century; Vatablus died 16th March, 1547. It is evident also, from Prideaux' note, that he was not aware that Vatablus' Bible was no other than Stephens' eighth edition.

There was a beautiful edition of the *Psalter* published in 1555 by Robert Stephens, containing the Latin of Jerome, with that of Pagninus, the numerals attached to each verse being placed in the centre column between perpendicular rubricated lines. It is entitled *Liber Psalmorum Davidis, Tralatio duplex, vetus et nova. Hæc posterior Santis Pagnini, partim ab ipso Pagnino recognita partim et Francisco Vatablo, in prælectionibus emendata et exposita.* The title bears the date MDLV., but in the colophon is the subscription: 'Imprimebat Rob. Stephanus, in suâ officinâ, Anno MDLVII., Cal. Jan.'

The form of printing the Bible in verses, with numerals, now became established. It appeared in 1556 in Hamelin's French version. It found its way the next year into the Geneva New Testament (English), printed by Conrad Badius, of which a beautiful fac-simile has lately issued from the press of Mr. Bagster. It was adopted, by marking every fifth verse with a Hebrew numeral, into the Hebrew Pentateuch, printed this same year (1557) at Sabionetta [SCRIPTURE, HOLY]. In 1559 Hentenius introduced Stephens's division and figures* into his correct

* 'Biblia, etc., in quibus capita singula ita

Antwerp edition of the Vulgate; which was followed by that of Plantin in 1569-1572, and passed into the Antwerp Polyglott (1569).

The Sixtine edition of the Vulgate (1590) having adopted this division, it was continued in the Clementine (1592), and has been ever since used in all editions and translations in the Roman Catholic Church. Hentenius, however, having printed the text continuously, with the figures in the margin, and a mark (thus, ℣) at the commencement of each verse, this plan was followed in the Clementine * and Sixtine editions, in which the verses are marked with an asterisk, capitals being used only at the commencement of a period, while the Protestant Bibles of Basle and Geneva commence the verse with the line, and with a capital letter. In the Roman editions, the only exceptions are the metrical books of Psalms, Job, and Proverbs, from the tenth chapter.

This division appeared in the Geneva (English) Bible in 1560 and 1562, the Bishops' Bible (1568), and passed into the Authorized Version in 1611. Some of the Protestant editions followed the Roman in adopting a continued text, of which it will be sufficient to name the beautiful Zürich edition of Osiander, in which each verse is distinguished by an obelus in the body of the text; and it is to be regretted that this practice has not been generally continued either in Protestant or Roman Catholic Bibles. We may add that Pagninus, Stephens, Frellon, and the Roman editions, all slightly vary among each other, both in the divisions and the placing of the figures. Nor do the chapters, owing to a diversity in the manuscripts, invariably coincide, as the versicular divisions of the Psalms in the Sept. and Vulgate are not always the same with the Hebrew; Stephens' figures sometimes occur in the middle of a verse in the Roman editions.

The Roman edition of the Sept. (1587 and 1589) was printed without any division or figures; and the present notation first appeared in Plantin's edition of the deutero-canonical books, Antwerp, 1584, from Tobit iv. 21 (the commencement, to ch. iv. 23, being marked by decades). The Frankfort edition of the Sept. (1597) has the present numeration throughout, but without any notice of the fact by the editors. The numbers are placed in the margin, but each verse commences with a capital, while in Plantin they are separated by spaces only.

From what has been said, the reader will, we presume, be satisfied of the great inaccuracies and misconceptions which have hitherto prevailed on this subject. It will no longer be doubtful that the figures were not introduced by Robert Stephens into his edition of 1545, as asserted by Calmet, nor of 1548, as stated by Father Simon and Jahn (in which latter year there was no edition published). It is equally untrue that they first appeared in Stephens' edition of 1556-7, as stated by Chevillier, Maittaire, and Prideaux. Neither is it altogether correct, as stated in Mr. Horne's Introduction, that the verses in the New Testament were an imitation of those invented by Rabbi Nathan, as Rabbi Nathan only referred in his *Concordance* by numerals to the Masoretic verses. Nor was it from the Hebrew Bible of Athias, in 1662, that this notation came into the copies of the Bible in other languages (Horne, *l. c.*), as they had been in use in all editions for above a century before. Equally far from the truth is the statement of Du Pin, that Stephens was the first who followed the distinction of the Masoretes in his Latin Bibles, as this had been done by Pagninus many years before Stephens published any one of his numerous editions.

Having now succeeded in detecting the errors of former writers, we are arrived at the more difficult task of eliciting the truth out of so many contradictory statements. Our limits will not allow us, however, to do more than offer the following view as the result of our inquiries.

Rabbi Nathan having in his *Concordance* (in 1450) commenced the practice of referring to a versicular division of each of the Latin chapters by the number of each masoretic verse in the chapter, Arabic figures were, after the example of Le Fevre's edition of the Psalms, affixed to each verse by Pagninus in his Latin Bible in 1528. Pagninus introduced a somewhat similar division into the New Testament and Apocryphal books. His system was adopted by Robert Stephens in the New Testament in 1551, and in the whole Bible in 1555, with scarcely any alteration except in the deutero-canonical books and the New Testament, wherein he introduced a different division. This division was partly founded on the practice of ancient manuscripts, and was partly his own. But as his object was to adapt his division to his *Concordance*, without any reference to the sense, he unfortunately introduced a much worse division than he found in any of his models. And it is to be lamented that his 'wild and indigested' system of breaking up, the text into what appear to the eyes of the learned and to the minds of the unlearned as so many detached sentences (Michaelis' *Introd.*), has had a deleterious effect on the sense of Scripture, and perhaps given rise to some heresies* (See *Pref. to Bishop Lloyd's Greek Testament*). Michaelis supposes that the phrase 'inter equitandum' does not mean that Stephens accomplished his task whilst actually riding on horseback, but that during the intervals of his journey he amused himself by doing it at his inn. If his division was a mere modification of that of Pagninus (see Bible in Taylor's ed. of Calmet's *Dict.*), it might easily have been done 'inter equitandum:' a phrase which, however we understand it, not inaptly represents the post-haste expedition with which his work was executed. Whether Pagninus himself adopted his division in the New Testament from manuscripts, or what his design was in

versibus distincta sunt ut numeri prefixi lectorem non remorantur, et loca quaesita tanquam digito demonstrant.'

* Maittaire and Chevillier are both mistaken in asserting that the Sixtine and Clementine adopted the division immediately from Stephens' ed. of 1557.

* Tholuck (see Robinson's *Bibl. Sacra*, 1844, vol. i. p. 354) conceives the omission of the verses to be a defect in Lachmann's edition; but Lachmann has inserted Stephens's figures in the body of the text, and has properly discarded the use of capitals, except at the commencement of a period.

introducing it, must be the result of an investigation which we cannot now enter upon. Stephens, it is true, never once refers to Pagninus' system; but we could hardly suppose that he was unacquainted with it, even had we no evidence to this effect. The evidence, however, does exist, for we discovered, after the greater portion of this article was written, that Stephens, in 1556, had in his possession two copies of Pagninus' Bible. The preface to his edition of 1557 contains the following words: 'In exteriori autem parte interpretationem Sanctis Pagnini (quam potissimum, ut maxime fidam, omnes uno ore laudant), crassioribus litteris excusam damus: sed hanc quidem certe multis partibus ea quam in aliis editionibus habes, meliorem. *Nacti enim sumus duo ex primâ illius editione exemplaria*, in quibus non solum typographica errata non pauca, nec levia, manu propria ipse author correxerat, sed multos etiam locos diligentius et accuratius quam antea examinatos, recognoverat.'

Croius (*Observat.*) states that he had seen very ancient Latin MSS. containing Stephens's division, with the first letter of each verse rubricated, but he does not designate his MSS. We believe this was a biassed assertion. We have ourselves seen Latin MSS. with periods so marked; but they are not the same with Stephens' verses. There is in the British Museum also a MS. of part of the Sept. (Harl. 5021), dated in 1647, which is versiculated throughout, and marked with figures; but the verses are much longer than those of Stephens's. Latin MSS. are found divided in the same manner as the Greek, one of which is the Cod. Bezae, which was collated by Stephens for his edition of 1550. Dr. Laurence's book of Enoch is divided into verses, with numbers attached, as well as into chapters called *Kefel*. Dr. Laurence says that these divisions into verses are arbitrary, and vary in the different Ethiopic MSS. of Enoch. The numbers, we presume, were added by the translator. By a letter from Dr. Bandinel, keeper of the Bodleian Library, we learn that that Library possesses an Ethiopic MS. of the New Testament divided into sections and paragraphs entirely different from ours, not numbered, but separated by a peculiar mark. The verses in the Gospel of the Templars [Gospels, Spurious], instead of spaces or figures, are separated by a horizontal line [—] (Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.*).

The MS. of the Syriac New Testament in the British Museum (No. 7157), written at Bethkuko, A.D. 768 (see Wright's *Seiler*, p. 651, note), contains a numerical division in the Gospels, with the numbers in rubric inserted by a coeval hand into the body of the text. Attached to each number is another in green, referring to a canon of parallel passages on the plan of that of Eusebius, but placed at the foot of each page. The sections, which are called *versiculi* in the Catalogue, and have been mistaken for verses, are more numerous than the Ammonian, Mathew containing 426, Mark 290, Luke 402, and John 271. There is a complete capitulation also throughout all the books, the chapters being separated in the text by a peculiar ornament, with the number in the margin: of these chapters Matthew has 22, Mark 13, Luke 22, John 20, Acts 25; of the Catholic Epistles, James 1, and [i.] John 6, and the Pauline have 54. After the first Gospel there is a double number, by which the former are recapitulated, and a treble number from the Acts to the end.

The numerical divisions into chapters and verses were first adapted to liturgical use in the Anglican Church—the chapters in Edward VI.'s first Book of Common Prayer (1549), and the verses in the Scotch Liturgy (1637), from whence they were adopted into the last revision (1662).—W. W.

VERSIONS. In the present article we propose to give some account of such versions as are not noticed in other places of this work. In doing so, it is not deemed necessary to mention all that ought to be adduced, were a *complete* enumeration attempted. We shall first describe *ancient* versions; and, secondly, *modern English* versions of the Bible.

I. *Greek versions.*—1. *Aquila.*—Aquila was a Jew of Pontus, who lived in the reign of Adrian, and undertook a Greek version of the Old Testament about A.D. 160. It appears from Jerome (*in Ezek.* iii.) that there were two editions of this version, the second more literal than the first. It was very highly prized by the Jews, and much preferred to the Septuagint, because the latter was employed as an authorized and genuine document by the early Christians in their disputations with the Hebrew opponents of the new religion. The very circumstance of its being adopted and valued by the Jews would tend to create a prejudice against it among the Fathers, independently of all perversion of Messianic passages. Irenæus, the earliest writer who mentions Aquila, pronounces an unfavourable opinion respecting his translation (*Advers. Hæres.* iii. 24, p. 253, ed. Grabe). So also Eusebius (*Ad Psalm.* xc. 4) and Philastrius. Jerome speaks of him in various parts of his writings, sometimes disparagingly, and again in terms of commendation: the former, in allusion to his doctrinal prepossessions; the latter, in reference to his knowledge of the Hebrew language and exceeding carefulness in rendering one word by another. He was early accused of distorting several passages relating to the Messiah, and Kennicott, in modern times, has re-echoed the censure. There is some ground for the charge, but certainly not so much as Kennicott imagines. A polemic tendency may be detected in the work, but not to a greater degree than in most translations.

The version before us is extremely, and even unintelligibly, literal. It adheres most rigidly to the original. So highly did the Jews esteem it, that they called it the *Hebrew verity*. Its use in *criticism* is considerable, but in *interpretation* it is comparatively worthless.

2. *Symmachus.*—Symmachus appears to have been an Ebionite (Euseb, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 17; *Demonstr. Evang.* vii. 1, Jerome, *Præf. in Ezram*; Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 278; iii. 1, 17). His Greek version of the Old Testament was made after that of Theodotion, as may be inferred from the silence of Irenæus, and the language of Jerome in his commentary on the xxxviii. chapter of Isaiah. The style of the work is good, and the diction perspicuous, pure, and elegant (Thieme, *De puritate Symmachi*; Hody, *De Bibl. text. Original.*). It is of less benefit in *criticism* than that of Aquila, but of greater advantage in *interpretation*. It would seem from Jerome, that there

was a second edition of it (*Comment in Jerem.* xxxii.; *in Nah.* iii.).

3. *Theodotion.*—Theodotion, like Symmachus, was an Ebionite. Irenæus states (*Advers. Hæres.* iii. 21) that he belonged to Ephesus, and was a Jewish proselyte. His Greek version of the Old Testament appeared during the first half of the second century, and is first mentioned by Irenæus. He follows the Septuagint very closely, so that he appears to have intended to make a revision of its text, rather than a new version. He is not so scrupulously literal as Aquila, nor so free as Symmachus. He was certainly not well acquainted with Hebrew, as the numerous errors into which he has fallen demonstrate. It is probable, if credit can be given to Jerome, that there were two editions of the translation (*in Jerem.* xxix. 17). His translation of Daniel was very early adopted by the Christians in place of that belonging to the Septuagint. The Jews do not seem to have had much regard for this castigated edition of the Seventy, although Von Lengerke inclines to the opposite opinion.

4, 5, 6. When Origen travelled into Eastern countries collecting materials for his Polyglott, he discovered three other Greek versions not extending to the entire Old Testament, but only to several books. These are usually designated the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh*. The authors were unknown to Origen himself. As far as we can judge, they appear to have translated the original somewhat freely and paraphrastically. The *fifth* comprehended the Pentateuch, Psalms, Song of Solomon, and the twelve Minor Prophets, besides the books of Kings. Jerome says that the author was a Jew, meaning probably a Jewish Christian. The sixth version contained the same books as the fifth, except those of the Kings. The author appears to have been a Jewish Christian also. This inference has been drawn from his rendering of Habak. iii. 13. The *seventh* embraced the Psalms and minor prophets. Perhaps the author was a Jew. The three translations in question were made subsequently to those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Very few fragments of them remain. (See Epiphanius, *De Pond. et Mens.* cap. 17; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 16; Jerome, *Comment. in Tit.* cap. 3; *Apolog. contra Rufin.* ii. 34; Hody, p. 590, et sq.)

4. *Græco-Veneta.*—In a MS. belonging to St. Mark's Library at Venice, there is a Greek version of several Old Testament books. Its internal character proves that the translation was made directly from the Hebrew. It is more literal than any other ancient version, even that of Aquila, adhering with slavish scrupulosity to the original words. In the Chaldee portions of Daniel, the Attic dialect is changed for the Doric. The style, however, is a singular compound. Attic elegancies occur along with barbarous expressions; high-sounding words used by the best Greek writers, by the side of others contrary to the genius of the Greek language. The origin of the version cannot be placed higher than the ninth century; the MS. itself was written in the fourteenth. It is uncertain whether the author was a Jew or a Christian. Gesenius adduces several particulars in favour of the former supposition (*Geschichte der Heb. Sprache*). It is probable that it was made at Byzantium for private use. The text seldom differs from the Masoretic, and the translator consulted the Septuagint and other Greek versions, besides adhering, as he generally does, to the current exegetical tradition of the Jews. Criticism can never derive much use from this version. Extracts from it are given in Holmes's edition of the Septuagint. The Pentateuch was published by Ammon, in three volumes, at Erlangen, in the years 1790-91. Different parts of the Pentateuch had been previously published, along with Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Lamentations, Daniel, and Canticles, by Villoison, at Strasburg, 1784. (See Eichhorn's *Allgem. Biblioth.* iii. p. 371, et sq.; v. p. 743, et sq.; vii. p. 193, et sq.; Dahler, *Animadverss. in versionem Græcam Proverbb.*, Argentor. 1786; the Introductions of Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, and Hävernick; and Davidson's *Lectures on Bib. Crit.*)

II. *Egyptian versions.*—After the death of Alexander the Great, the Greeks multiplied in Egypt, and obtained important places of trust near the throne of the Ptolemies. The Greek language accordingly began to diffuse itself from the court among the people, so that the proper language of the country was either forced to adapt itself to the Greek, as well in construction as in the adoption of new words, or was entirely supplanted. In this way originated the Coptic, compounded of the old Egyptian and the Greek. There is a version in the dialect of Lower Egypt usually called the *Coptic*, or better the *Memphitic* version; and there is another in the dialect of Upper Egypt, termed the *Sahidic*, and sometimes the *Thebaic*.

1. The *Memphitic* version of the Bible.—The Old Testament in this version has been taken from the Septuagint, and not the original Hebrew. It would appear from Münter (*Specim. verss. Dan. Coptic.* Romæ, 1786), that the original was the *Hesychian recension* of the Seventy, then current in the country. There is little doubt that all the Old Testament books were translated into the Coptic dialect, although many of them have not yet been discovered. The Pentateuch was published by Wilkins (London, 1731, 4to.); the Psalms at Rome (1744 and 1749) by the Propaganda Society. A small part of Jeremiah (ix. 17, to xiii.) was published by Mingarelli at Bologna (1785), and the ninth chapter of Daniel, in Münter's work already quoted. Gregory Bar Hebræus quotes the version in the book of Psalms; and it seems to have been well known to the Syrians. (Wiseman's *Horæ Syriacæ*, pp. 144-5.) The New Testament, made from the original Greek, was published by Wilkins, at Oxford, with a Latin translation, A.D. 1716. Its readings, as may be inferred from the place where it was made, coincide with the Alexandrine family, and deserve the attention of the critic. Unfortunately, however, the version is not yet correctly edited. It belongs to the third century.

2. The *Thebaic.*—This version was also made from the Greek, both in the Old and New Testaments, and probably too in the third century. Only some fragments of the Old Testament part have been printed by Münter, Mingarelli, and Zoega. In the New Testament it agrees generally, though not uniformly, with the Alexandrine family. Not a few readings, however, are peculiar; and some harmonize with the Latin versions.

Fragments of it have been published by Woide and Ford.

3. The *Bashmuric* or *Ammonian.*—Only some fragments of such a version in the Old and New Testaments have been published, and very little is known concerning it. Scholars are not agreed as to the nature of the dialect in which it is written; some thinking that it does not deserve the name of a dialect, while others regard the Bashmuric as a kind of intermediate dialect between those spoken in Upper and Lower Egypt. Hug and De Wette are inclined to believe that it is merely the version of Upper Egypt transferred into the idiom of the particular place where the Bashmuric was spoken. The origin of this version belongs to the third or fourth century.

III. *Æthiopic version.*—The sacred language of the Æthiopians is called the Geez, in which they have a translation of the entire Bible from the Septuagint in the Old Testament, and from the original in the New. The oldest allusion to it of which we have any knowledge is by Chrysostom, in his second homily on John. Its antiquity cannot be referred farther back than the fourth century, during which Christianity was diffused among the people. Nothing certain is known about the author, although there have been various conjectures respecting him. It was made by Christians, although the Æthiopian Jews have also used it. The Old Testament portion is extant in an entire state in various MSS. throughout Europe, of which Ludolf has given a list in his *Commentary on the History of the Æthiopians.* With this work may be compared T. Pell Platt's *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Biblical MSS. in various Libraries,* published at London, A.D. 1823. Some specimens only have been printed, such as the Psalms, Canticles, Ruth, Jonah, Joel, Malachi, and the first four chapters of Genesis.

The different parts of the New Testament are very unequal. The Gospels are the best executed. Hug thinks that various *versions*, rather than Greek MSS., were used in translating the Gospels, though he does not deny that the latter were also consulted. It is certain that it agrees frequently with the *Peshito* and the *Vetus Itala.* Its character is literal. The New Testament has not yet been correctly printed. It was first published at Rome in 1548-9, 2 vols. 4to., and was afterwards inserted in the London Polyglott, but from a faulty MS. If it were edited in a more correct form, it would be of considerable utility in the criticism of the New Testament. It generally agrees with the Alexandrine family and the quotations of Origen.

IV. *Persian versions.*—The Bible seems to have been translated at an early period into the Persian language. Both Chrysostom (*Second Hom. on John*) and Theodoret (*De curand. Græc. Affect.*) speak of a Persian translation; and, according to Maimonides, the Pentateuch was translated many centuries before Mohammed into this language (Zunz's *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 9, note *a*). A Persian version of the Pentateuch was first printed at Constantinople, in Hebrew characters, A.D. 1546, as part of a Polyglott Pentateuch; and afterwards inserted by Walton in the London Polyglott, in the proper Persian character. It was made after the time of the false prophet, and must have been later than the eighth century. The text follows the Hebrew very closely, according to the Masoretic recension, retaining many of the original terms, from the translator's inability to render them into Persian. Both Onkelos's and Saadias's versions appear to have been consulted by the author.

If credit is to be given to the inscriptions, it was made by Jacob, the son of Joseph Tawus, for the use of the Persian Jews. Critics are, however, not agreed about the meaning of Tus or Tawus. Rosenmüller (*De Vers. Pentat. Pers.* Lips. 1813, 4to.) assigns it to the ninth century; Lorsbach (*Jena Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* 1816, No. 58), with less probability, brings it down to the sixteenth. Walton, in his *Prolegomena* (ed. Dathe, p. 694), speaks of two MS. copies of the Psalms which he had, but both were very recent, and taken from the Vulgate, not the Hebrew. Not long since, Hassler discovered an immediate version of Solomon's writings existing in Parisian MSS. (*Studien und Kritiken* for 1829, p. 469, et sq.).

There are two Persian versions of the Gospels, one of which is printed in the London Polyglott, from a MS. belonging to Pocock, written in the year of our Lord 1341. Its source is the *Peshito*, as internal evidence abundantly shows. The other version was made from the original Greek. Wheloc, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, began to print it with a Latin translation. After his death it was edited by Pierson, London, 1652-57. The editors made use of the Syro-Persian MS. of the Gospels from which that in the Polyglott was printed. In consequence of the confusion arising from their procedure, the version is of little use either in the criticism or interpretation of the text.

V. *The Georgian version.*—This translation comprehends the entire Bible, made from the Septuagint in the Old Testament, and from Greek MSS. of the Constantinopolitan family in the New. It belongs to the sixth century. The author or authors are not known. The edition published at Moscow, A.D. 1743, folio, was interpolated by the Georgian princes, Arcil and Wacuset, from the Slavonic version. This circumstance detracts from its authority and value, since it is now impossible to separate the original from the interpolated readings.

VI. *The Slavonic version.*—This translation, embracing the Old and New Testaments, was made by Cyril of Thessalonica and his brother Methodius, who invented the Slavic alphabet. In the Old Testament the Septuagint was followed; and in the New the original Greek, in MSS. belonging to the Constantinopolitan family. According to Alter, the Old Testament portion was originally made from the *Vetus Itala*, and altered in the fourteenth century from Greek MSS. Perhaps the entire text of the version has been revised after the Latin. The translation is very literal, so that the idiom of the Slavonic is often violated for the sake of retaining the Greek construction. Of the readings adopted by Griesbach, this version has at least three-fourths. In consequence of its excellence, it is considered of great value in the criticism of the Greek Testament. The edition of the entire Bible published at Ostrog, 1581, is the basis of all succeeding impressions.

VII. *The Gothic version.*—The Mœso-Goths were a German tribe which settled on the borders of the Greek empire, and their language is essentially a German dialect. Their version of the Bible was made by Ulphilas, in the fourth century, after Greek MSS. in the New Testament, and after the Seventy in the Old. The author is generally regarded as an Arian; but his peculiar doctrinal sentiments do not seem to have influenced his translation. Of the Old Testament portion, nothing but a fragment of Nehemiah has been printed, although parts of other books have been discovered. A great part of the New has been published at different times in fragments. The four Gospels exist in the very celebrated MS. called the *Codex Argenteus*, now preserved in the library of the university at Upsal, and minutely described by Dr. E. D. Clarke and others. This MS., however, has considerable chasms. The Gospels have been several times printed from it, but not very correctly. Knittel discovered fragments of Paul's Epistle to the Romans in a *codex rescriptus* belonging to the Wolfenbüttel library, which he published in 1762, 4to., and which were republished by Zahn in the complete edition of the Gospels issued in 1808, 4to. In 1817, Angelo Mai discovered important parts of the Gothic version among five *codices rescripti* in the Ambrosian library at Milan. They contain for the most part the Pauline Epistles, with the exception of that to the Hebrews; and two fragments of Matthew. Various portions were printed by Mai in conjunction with Castillionæus, in 1819. In 1829 the latter published the fragments of Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians. This version has been altered from the Vulgate.

VIII. *The Armenian version.*—Armenian literature begins with Miesrob, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, at the commencement of the fifth century. Before that time, the Armenians employed the Syriac letters. After making an alphabet, Miesrob, assisted by two of his pupils, undertook a translation of the Bible, which he completed in A.D. 410. The Old Testament part was made from the Greek; in the book of Daniel, from Theodotion; and the text of the Seventy which it follows appears to have been a mixed one, for it agrees with none of the leading recensions. It is said to have been interpolated in the sixth century from the Peshito; but this is doubtful. Gregory Bar Hebræus gives it as a mere conjecture. (Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 142.) La Croze, Michaelis, and Bredenkamp think that it was altered from the Vulgate in the thirteenth century; but Alter and Holmes are opposed to that idea. The probability is on the side of the former. In the New Testament it was made from the original; but here too it is said to have been adapted to the Peshito. It is likely that it has been, at least in this part, conformed to the Vulgate by Haitho or Hethom, who reigned over the lesser Armenia and Cilicia from A.D. 1224 till 1270. This entire version was first published by Bishop Uscan or Osgan, at Amsterdam, in 1776, 4to., who is also accused of interpolating it. The best edition is that of Dr. Zohrab, published at Venice, A.D. 1805, 4to., for which he consulted sixty-nine MSS. This edition was collated for the Greek Testament prepared by Scholz, who thinks that if we possessed the genuine version, we should find its text to be a compound of the Constantinopolitan and Alexandrian families.

(See the various Introductions to the Scriptures, especially those of Eichhorn, Hävernick, and De Wette; and the references there given. Compare also Davidson's *Lectures on Biblical Criticism.*)

We shall now very briefly notice the principal English versions of the Bible. Translations of a portion of the Bible, or of separate books, must be omitted.

1. *Wycliffe's* version of the entire Bible is generally regarded as the first which was made into the English language. This work, which must have occupied him for many years, was finished about the year of our era 1380.

The author of it, although a zealous reformer, as well as an enlightened theologian and a man of learning in his own time, was ignorant of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and therefore not qualified for the task of translation from the originals. Latin, however, was all but universal in the fourteenth century; and the Latin Bible or Vulgate was the only document which constituted *the word of God* in the estimation of men. There are indications of his having had assistance in the work, perhaps from various individuals. The version is remarkable for its fidelity and the propriety of the words selected. Still it is but the translation of a translation, and therefore more important as illustrative of the state of our language in the fourteenth century than as contributing to the criticism or interpretation of the Bible.

The Old Testament has not yet been published, but it is now in course of publication under the editorial care of Sir Frederick Madden and the Rev. J. Forshall, of the British Museum. The general opinion is that the New Testament portion was published so long ago as the year 1731, and it is from this that our idea of Wycliffe as a translator is formed. The subject, however, is involved in considerable obscurity; and he that trusts to the common accounts given of this early reformer as a translator of the Bible may probably be misled in his opinions. According to Baber, another version was made in the fourteenth century, posterior to Wycliffe's, with which it is frequently confounded. The author of it is said to have been the writer of 'Elucidarium Bibliorum, or Prologue to the Bible.' But this is a questionable statement.

It may be doubted whether Wycliffe's version has yet been published even as regards the New Testament, although it is generally supposed that it was first printed by Lewis in 1731, folio, and afterwards by Baber (1810, 4to.) and Bagster. A version of the New Testament is now being published by Mr. Pickering of London from a MS. in the possession of Lea Wilson, Esq., which is apparently the *early* Wycliffite version. That already published is a *later* version, in which Wycliffe could have had no concern, as it was not made till after his death. It thus appears that if the reformer had any concern in either of the two versions of the New Testament ascribed to him, it is to the earlier of them, and not to the later, that this honour must be assigned. Both are now being printed, as the Old Testament has already been, in parallel columns, under the

superintendence of Sir F. Madden, by whom, doubtless, some light will be thrown on their comparative claims. The writer is indebted for the information now communicated to the same eminent antiquarian scholar.

2. *Tyndale's* translation.

William Tyndale, having printed at Hamburg an edition of the Gospel by Matthew and an edition of Mark, committed to the press at Cologne the first edition of his New Testament in 4to., with a prologue and glosses. In consequence, however, of the exertions of Cochlæus, a violent and crafty enemy to the printing of the Scriptures, the edition was interrupted before it was printed off. A precious fragment of it is now in the library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville. (Facsimiles are given by Mr. Anderson, in his 'Annals of the English Bible' (vol. i. p. 64.) At Worms, whither he proceeded on leaving Cologne, he commenced another edition of the New Testament in 8vo. without the prologue and glosses belonging to the 4to. A third edition was printed at Antwerp in 1526, a fourth at the same place in 1527, a fifth in 1529, a sixth in 1534, and three editions in 1535. In 1536, the year in which he was strangled at Vilvorde, there were ten or twelve editions. He also printed at different times the five books of Moses; and in 1531, the book of Jonah, with an admirable prologue respecting the state of his country. In addition to the Pentateuch, he translated other parts of the Old Testament, at least as far as the end of Chronicles. The Old Testament was made from the original, not from Luther's German version; for there is no evidence to show that Tyndale was acquainted with German, or indeed that he ever saw Luther, though there is abundant testimony of his skill in Hebrew. Besides, its internal character proves that it was made from the original Hebrew and Greek.

The excellence of this version, the basis of all subsequent English Bibles, has never been called in question by candid and competent judges, notwithstanding the severe opposition it encountered during the life of the honoured Tyndale, and the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. The language is pure, appropriate, and perspicuous. It is an astonishing monument of the indomitable zeal and great learning of the author. The New Testament part was printed in Bagster's *Hexapla*.

3. *Myles Coverdale.* The English version of the whole Bible made by COVERDALE, is dated 1535, in folio. Where it was printed is matter of conjecture. In the title-page it professes to be faithfully and truly translated out of the 'Douche (German) and Latyn.' This Bible was imported into England in 1536, and various expedients were tried in the way of altering the title-page and the dedication, or of affixing a new title-page, in order to procure it the royal approbation. Another edition, in 4to., was issued in 1550, and again in the same form reissued in 1553. This Bible certainly owed its origin to Lord Cromwell's patronage. Coverdale states, that he had five translations before him 'to help him herein.' Although the author had the benefit of Tyndale's, his work must be reckoned inferior. In addition to the culpable obsequiousness of Coverdale, he was not so well skilled in the original languages of the Scriptures, and had therefore to rely more on the German and Latin (Anderson, vol. i. p. 587). This translation was recently reprinted by Bagster.

4. *Matthew's Bible.* Although this version is the same as Tyndale's previously described, yet it deserves to be separately spoken of. John Rogers, an intimate friend of Tyndale, set about the superintendence of a new edition, soon after the incarceration of the latter at Vilvorde. Where it was printed cannot now be ascertained. Hamburg, Marburg, Paris, Antwerp, and Lubeck, have all been named. When Rogers had proceeded with the printing as far as Isaiah, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, the celebrated printers, undertook to bring out the work as a matter of trade. The New Testament entire, and the Old as far as the end of Chronicles, are Tyndale's; the remainder of the Old Testament was done by Rogers himself, with the assistance perhaps of Coverdale's sheets. The whole was finished in 1537. Why it bears the name of Thomas Matthew is not clear. It has been conjectured, however, that it may have been commenced at the request of a person of that name. Archbishop Cranmer, without any previous connection with the undertaking, was applied to by Grafton to procure it royal patronage, which he happily effected through Lord Cromwell.

In the year 1538, another edition was begun at Paris, edited by Coverdale, which was interrupted by an order of the Inquisition. It was finished in London, in April, 1539. This book was set forth and enforced by the highest authority in England.

5. *Taverner's Bible.* Richard Taverner, the editor of this work, was a learned layman. His Bible was published in London, 1539, folio. Two other editions of it were issued in quarto. It is not a new version, but a correction of Matthew's.

6. *Cranmer's Bible.* The first great Bible, with a prologue, by Cranmer, was published in 1540, folio, printed by Whitchurch. Three subsequent editions had the archbishop's name affixed to the title-page. The New Testament is printed in Bagster's *Hexapla*.

7. *Geneva Bible.* The New Testament, in duodecimo, printed at Geneva by Conrad Badius, in 1557, is properly a revision of Tyndale's from the Greek, by William Whittingham. It was merely preparatory, however, to the revision of the entire Bible by Whittingham and other exiles, which appears to have been begun by January, 1558, and to have been continued till the 10th April, 1560. Whittingham had for his associates in the undertaking Anthony Gibby and Thomas Sampson. Its size is quarto. This was the first Bible printed in Roman letter, and the first in verses. A patent relative to it was issued by Elizabeth in favour of John Bodeleigh. The work is a new translation from the original, not simply a revision of any former version. It is faithful and literal. The New Testament portion was reprinted by Bagster in his *Hexapla*.

8. *Archbishop Parker's*, or *the Bishops' Bible.* This Bible was published in 1568, at London, in one folio volume. It was superintended by Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, the text being carefully revised after the originals, by upwards of fifteen scholars, eight of whom were bishops. Different portions were assigned to different in-

dividuals, the initials of whose names are placed at the end of their several parts. It was not, as is commonly supposed, undertaken at the royal command. The text of this translation is much better than that of any preceding one.

9. *Anglo-Romish version.*—An English translation of the New Testament was published at Rheims in 1582, in a quarto volume. It is made from the Latin Vulgate, not from the original, and is accompanied by annotations. In 1609-10 the Old Testament was translated from the Vulgate, and published at Douay in two quarto volumes, also with notes. These three volumes contain the standard version of Roman Catholics. Many of the original Hebrew and Greek words are retained, so that simplicity and perspicuity are sacrificed. It has been conjectured that this was done to render it as obscure as possible to the common people. The New Testament has been lately reprinted in Bagster's *Hexapla.*

10. *King James's Bible.*—The proposal for this new translation of the Bible originated with Dr. John Rainolds, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Forty-seven persons were engaged upon it, doubtless the most eminent men for learning that could then be procured. They met in companies at different places, having their respective tasks assigned them. According to the ordinary account, fourteen rules were given to the translators for their guidance; but another account states that only seven were finally prescribed. The whole was revised by twelve men together, two having been chosen out of each of the six companies. The ultimate revision was made by Dr. Miles Smith, who wrote the Preface, and Dr. Bilson. It was first published, in a folio volume, in 1611. The whole expense was defrayed by Barker, the patentee. In order to judge of the real character of this work, which has continued to be *the authorized* version down to the present day, it is necessary to consider two of the rules given to the editors or translators, viz. *the first* and *the fourteenth*:—'The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit.' Again:—'These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: viz. 1. Tyndale's; 2. Matthew's; 3. Coverdale's; 4. Whitchurche's (Cranmer's); 5. The Geneva.' From these instructions it may be inferred that the Authorized Version is a revision of the Bishops' Bible, by a careful collation of the originals and a comparison of existing translations. It was not a new and independent work, but a laborious compilation from existing works of the same kind, regulated in every case by the Greek and Hebrew.

It is needless to pronounce a formal encomium on our authorized version. The time, learning, and labour expended on it were well bestowed. It far surpasses every other English version of the entire Bible in the characteristic qualities of simplicity, energy, and purity of style, as also in uniform fidelity to the original.

A revision of it, however, is now wanted, or rather, a new translation from the Hebrew and Greek, based upon it. Since it was made, criticism has brought to light a great mass of materials, and elevated itself in the esteem of the fundamental theologian as an important science. Hermeneutics too have been cultivated, so as to assume a systematic, scientific form. We require, in consequence, a new English version, suited to the present state of sacred literature. It need scarcely be stated that King James's translators have failed to apprehend the true meaning in many passages. Of the merit attaching to their version a considerable share belongs to Tyndale. Parker's Bible was the professed basis, and *that* was a revision of Cranmer's. Cranmer's Bible was chiefly a correction of Matthew's, or, in other words, of Tyndale's, as far as Tyndale had translated. Thus King James's translation resolves itself at last, in no small measure, into Tyndale's; and when we consider the adverse circumstances continually pressing upon that noble-minded man, with the little assistance he could obtain, the work which he produced assumes a pre-eminent position amid the immortal monuments of human learning and skill.

Few men have since attempted an English version of the entire Bible. They have contented themselves with separate books, either of the Old or New Testament. In point of style and diction Lowth's translation of Isaiah is the best. Dr. Campbell translated the Gospels, and Macknight the Epistles; but the former scarcely equals the expectations which a reader of the *Preliminary Dissertations* would form, while the latter has not commended itself to competent judges.

(See Johnson's *Account of the several English translations of the Bible*, Lond. 1730, 8vo., reprinted in Bp. Watson's *Theological Tracts;* Bp. Marsh's *History of the Translations which have been made of the Scriptures, from the earliest to the present age*, Lond. 1812, 8vo.; Lewis's *History of the principal Translations of the Bible*, Lond. 1739, 8vo.; Newcome's *Historical View of the English Biblical translations*, Dublin, 1792, 8vo.; Cotton's *List of Editions of the Bible, from the year* 1505 *to* 1820, Oxford, 1821, 8vo.; Walter's *Letter on the Independence of the Authorized Version of the Bible*, Lond. 1823, 8vo.; Todd's *Vindication of our Authorized Translation*, &c., Lond. 1819, 8vo.; Whittaker's *Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, &c.*, Lond. 1819, 8vo., and Supplement, 1820; Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, Lond. 1821, 3 vols. 8vo.; and especially Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, Lond. 1845, 2 vols. 8vo., which must now be regarded as *the standard work* on the subject. —S. D.

VINE, THE (גֶּפֶן *gephen*), with its fruit, the Grape, עִנָּב *anab*, or יַיִן *yayin*, as well as Wine, is very frequently mentioned in Scripture, as might be expected from its being a native of the East, well known to ancient nations, and highly esteemed for its various natural and artificial products. Homer and Herodotus mention the vine; Theophrastus and Dioscorides treat of it in several chapters. But long before these times it was known to the Egyptians: representations of the careful culture of the vine, of the treading of the grapes and squeezing out its juice, and of the storing of the wine in jars, being all discovered in the paintings within their tombs. Though cultivated at such early periods, the vine was not a native of Egypt, nor probably of Syria;

but both European and Asiatic writers mention it as a native of the hilly region on the southern shores of the Caspian, and in the Persian province of Ghilan. In the districts of the Caucasus, as well as in the elevated valley of Cashmere, the vine climbs to the tops of the loftiest trees, and the grapes are of fine quality and large size in many places of the intermediate country. Every part of the vine was and still continues to be highly valued. The sap was at one time used in medicine. Verjuice expressed from wild grapes is well known for its acidity. The late Sir A. Burnes mentions that in Caubul they use grape powder, obtained by drying and powdering the unripe fruit, as a pleasant acid. When ripe, the fruit is everywhere highly esteemed, both fresh, and in its dried state as raisins. The juice of the ripe fruit, called *must*, is valued as a pleasant beverage. By fermentation, wine, alcohol, and vinegar are obtained; the lees yield tartar; an oil is sometimes expressed from the seeds; and the ashes of the twigs were formerly valued in consequence of yielding a salt, which we now know to be carbonate of potash.



537.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the vine is so frequently mentioned both in the Old and in the New Testament, for it was one of the most valuable products of Palestine, and of particularly fine quality in some of the districts. Those of Eshcol, Sorek, Jibmah, Jazer, and Abel, were particularly distinguished. The men sent from Kadesh-barnea to explore the Promised Land brought back as a sign of its fertility, what would be sure to be appreciated by men who had been sojourning in the desert, a bunch of grapes from Eshcol, near Hebron, which they carried between them on a stick, probably to prevent its being bruised, but no doubt also on account of its great size. Modern travellers, as Dandini, Mariti, and Laborde, have described some of the grapes of Palestine as being of large size. Nau affirms that in Syria he had seen clusters ten or twelve pounds in weight; and Schulz states that he supped under a vine whose stem was about a foot and a half in diameter, its height about thirty feet, while its branches and branchlets, which had to be supported, formed a tent of upwards of thirty feet square. But this will appear nothing extraordinary to those who have seen the vine at Hampton Court, which covers a space of 2200 square feet. And we have it on record that, even in our own country, a bunch of *Syrian* grapes was produced at Welbeck, which weighed nineteen pounds, and measured in length twenty-three inches, and nineteen and a half inches in its greatest diameter. It was sent as a present from the Duke of Portland to the Marquess of Rockingham, and conveyed a distance of twenty miles, on a staff, by four labourers, two of whom bore it in rotation, thus affording a striking illustration of the proceeding of the spies (Kitto, *Physic. Geog. of Palestine*, p. cccxxx.).

A fruitful vine is often adduced as an emblem of the Hebrew nation, and also the vine that was brought out of Egypt. A period of security and repose is figured by every one sitting under his own vine and fig-tree; and prosperity by 'Judah, a lion's whelp, binding his foal to the vine, and his ass's colt to the choice vine:' both indications of Eastern manners, where sitting in the shade is most pleasant, and tying cattle in similar situations a common practice. Of the vine there were no doubt several varieties, as of all cultivated plants, but that of Sorek is especially distinguished (Gen. xlix. 11; Jer. xi. 21). Rosenmüller supposes this to be the variety called *serik* or *sorik*, which is cultivated not only in Syria, but also in Arabia and in the north of Africa. It appears to be the variety called *kishmish*, or the Persian *bedana*, which signifies 'without seed.'

The vine must have been cultivated in very early times, as we are informed in Gen. ix. 20, that Noah planted the vine immediately after the deluge; and bread and wine are mentioned in Gen. xiv. 18. In Egypt also we have early notice of it (Gen. xl. 9, 10), as Pharaoh's chief butler saw in a dream a vine with three branches; and the Israelites complain (Num. xx. 5) that Moses and Aaron had brought them out of Egypt into that dry and barren land, where there were neither figs nor vines. The wines of Syria were in early times also highly esteemed; and though the growth of the vine has much decreased, from the diminished population and the Mohammedan rule, yet travellers still speak with enthusiasm of some of the wines, as of the vino d'oro of Lebanon. As space will not permit us to notice all the passages in which the vine, the grape, and wine are mentioned, we must refer to Celsius, *Hierobot.* vol. i. pp. 400-444; Calmet's *Dictionary;* Rosenmüller's *Biblical Bot.* p. 220; and to Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, p. cccxxiv., in all of which the subject is amply discussed and clearly elucidated.—J. F. R.

VINEGAR. [Wine.]

VIOL. [Musical Instruments.]

VIPER. [Serpent.]

VIRGIN (בְּתוּלָה, עַלְמָה; Vulg. *virgo*). The word בתולה occurs fifty times in the Old Testament, and is translated by *παρθένος* in

the Sept., except in two instances. It is rendered once by *νεᾶνις* (1 Kings i. 2), and once by *νύμφη* (Joel i. 8). See Gen. xxiv. 16; Exod. xxii. 15, 16, 17; Lev. xxi.; Deut. xxii., xxxii.; Judg. xxi., &c. עלמה occurs seven times, in four of which it is rendered *νεᾶνις*, *puella* (Exod. ii. 8; Ps. lxviii. 25; Cant. i. 3; vi. 8); in one (Prov. xxx. 19) *νεότης*, and in two (Gen. xxiv. 43; Isa. vii. 14) *παρθένος*.* The same word is also rendered *virgo* in the Vulgate in these two passages; in Exod. ii. 8, *puella*; in Ps. lxviii. 26, *juvencula*; in Cant. i. 3, and vi. 8, *adolescentula*; and in Prov. xxx. 19, *adolescentia*, after the Sept. The Syriac follows the Seventy in Isa. vii. 14, but in all the other passages agrees with Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, who translate עלמה by *νεᾶνις*, not only in Ps. lxviii. 26; Gen. xxxiv. 43; Exod. ii. 8; Prov. xxx. 19 (in which they agree with the Sept.), but also in Isa. vii. 14. Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.*) complains of the partiality of the Greek translators in rendering עלמה here by *νεᾶνις* (a term which does not necessarily include the idea of virginity), accusing these Jewish writers of wishing to neutralize the application to the Messiah of this passage, which the Jews of his time referred to Hezekiah. Gesenius (*Comm. in Isa.*) maintains, notwithstanding, that *νεᾶνις*, not *παρθένος*, is the correct rendering in Isa. vii. 14, while he at the same time agrees with Justin that the prediction cannot possibly refer to Hezekiah, who was born nine years before its delivery. Fürst (*Concordance*) explains עלמה by puella, virgo, nubilis illa vel nupta, tenera et florens ætate, valens ac vegeta; but Hengstenberg (*Christology*), although admitting that עלמה does not necessarily mean a virgin (which he conceives is plain from Prov. xxx. 19), maintains that it is always applied in Scripture to an *unmarried* woman. St. Matthew (i. 23), who cites from the Seventy, applies the passage (Isa. vii. 14) to the miraculous birth of Jesus from the blessed Virgin. Professor Robinson (*Gr. and Eng. Lexicon*) considers *παρθένος* here to signify a bride, or newly married woman, as in Homer (*Il.* ii. 514):

> Οὓς τέκεν Ἀστυόχη, ... *παρθένος* αἰδοίη·
> ('Them bore Astyoche, a virgin pure'
> COWPER);

and considering it to refer apparently to the youthful spouse of the prophet (see Isa. viii. 3, 4; vii. 3, 10, 21), holds that the sense in Matt. i. 23 would then be: Thus was fulfilled in a strict and literal sense that which the prophet spoke in a wider sense and on a different occasion. Jerome says that the Punic for virgo is *alma*, although the word עלמה is but twice so rendered in the Vulgate.

The early Christians contended also for the *perpetual* virginity of Mary against the Jews, who objected the use of the term ἕως (*until*, Matt. i. 25) as implying the contrary; but the Fathers triumphantly appealed against the Jewish interpretation to Scripture usage, according to which this term frequently included the notion of perpetuity (comp. Ps. cx. 1; Gen. viii. 7; Isa. xlvi. 4; Ps. lxi. 7; Matt. xxviii. 20; and see Suicer's *Thesaurus*, and Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. iii.). Although there is no proof from Scripture that Mary had other children [JAMES; JUDE], the Christian Fathers did not consider that there was any impiety in the supposition that she had (Suicer, *ut supra*). But, although not an article of faith, the perpetual virginity of Mary was a constant tradition of both the Eastern and Western church. The most distinguished Protestant theologians have also adopted this belief, and Dr. Lardner (*Credibility*) considered the evidence in its favour so strong as to deserve that assent which he himself yielded to it.

The word *παρθένος*, *virgin*, occurs in Matt. i.; xxv.; Luke i.; Acts xxi.; 1 Cor. vii.; 2 Cor. xi. 2; and Apoc. xiv. 14. In 1 Cor. and Apoc. it is applied to both sexes, as it frequently is by the Fathers, who use it in the sense of *cœlebs*. It is sometimes metaphorically used in the Old Testament for a country, and in the New to denote a high state of moral purity.—
W. W.

VOW (נֶדֶר) is represented by a Hebrew word which signifies to 'promise,' and may therefore be defined as a religious undertaking, either, 1. Positive, to do or perform; 2. or Negative, to abstain from doing or performing a certain thing. The morality of vows we shall not here discuss, but merely remark that vows were quite in place in a system of religion which so largely consisted of doing or not doing certain outward acts, with a view of pleasing Jehovah and gaining his favour. The Israelite, who had been taught by performances of daily recurrence to consider particular ceremonies as essential to his possessing the divine favour, may easily have been led to the conviction which existed probably in the primitive ages of the world, that voluntary oblations and self-imposed sacrifices had a special value in the sight of God. And when once this conviction had led to corresponding practice, it could not be otherwise than of the highest consequence that these sacred promises, which in sanctity differed little from oaths, should be religiously and scrupulously observed. Before a vow is taken there may be strong reasons why it should not be made; but when it is once assumed, a new obligation is contracted, which has the greater force because of its voluntary nature: a new element is introduced, which strongly requires the observance of the vow, if the bonds of morality are not to be seriously relaxed. The writer may be of opinion that total abstinence is in itself not a virtue nor of general obligation, but he cannot doubt that 'breaking the pledge,' when once taken, is an act of immorality that cannot be repeated without undermining the very foundations of character: whence it obviously appears that caution should be observed, not only in keeping, but also in leading men to make, pledges, vows, and promises.

* In Rose's edition of Parkhurst's *Lexicon of the New Testament* (1839), *παρθένος* is said to 'answer to עלמה in several passages in the Sept.' We can discover but these two instances. There are *four* passages cited in the same edition and in its reprint in 1845 (Gen. xxiv. 14, 16; xxxv. 3; and Isa. vii. 4 [14?]), in not one of which does the word עלמה occur. In the three first it is נערה.

Vows, which rest on a human view of religious obligations, assuming as they do that a kind of recompense is to be made to God for good enjoyed, or consideration offered for good desiderated, or a gratuity presented to buy off an impending or threatened ill, are found in existence in the antiquities of all nations, and present themselves in the earliest Biblical periods (Gen. xxviii. 20; Judg. xi. 30; 1 Sam. i. 11; 2 Sam. xv. 8). With great propriety the performance of these voluntary undertakings was accounted a highly religious duty (Judg. xi. 35; Eccles. v. 4, 5). The words of the last vow are too emphatic, and in the present day too important, not to be cited: 'Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay' (comp. Ps. lxvi. 13, sq.; lxxvi. 11; cxvi. 18). The views which guided the Mosaic legislation were not dissimilar to those just expounded. Like a wise lawgiver, Moses, in this and in other particulars, did not attempt to sunder the line of continuity between the past and the present. He found vows in practice; he aimed to regulate what it would have been folly to try to root out (Deut. xxiii. 21, sq.). The words in the 22nd verse are clearly in agreement with our remarks: 'If thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee.'—J. R. B.

VULGATE (*Vulgata; κοινή*), the name generally given to the Latin translation of the Bible used in the Western Church.

Old Testament Version. There have been Latin translations of the Bible from the first ages of the Christian Church. Of these Augustine observes (*De Doct. Christ.* ii. 11): 'Those who have translated the Bible into Greek can be numbered, but not so the Latin versions. For in the first ages of the Church, whoever could get hold of a Greek codex ventured to translate it into Latin, however slight his knowledge of either language.' Of these he prefers the *Itala*, as the most literal. Bentley (see his *Life* by Monk) supposed that Itala was an error for *illa*, others (as Bishop Potter) for *usitata*. But there seems no sufficient reason for rejecting the common reading (Sabatier's *Preface, ut inf.*). Augustine wrote to Jerome (*Ep.* 88) to acquaint him that he would confer a great benefit by translating the version of the Seventy, inasmuch as the readings of the Latin manuscripts were so various that it was doubted if any thing could be proved by them, observing that 'there are as many texts as there are copies.' Eichhorn is of opinion that all the quotations of writers before Jerome belong to the same text, which he conceives to have been made in the first century, and in Africa. He founds this opinion chiefly on the badness of the Latin, as well as on the fact that Greek was too well understood in Italy to render a Latin version necessary. In this view he has been followed by Dr. Wiseman (*Letters on* 1 *John* v. 7), and by Lachmann (*Preface to his edition of the New Testament*). De Wette, however, is of opinion that there is no proof of the African origin of this version. Some fragments of it still exist, which show it to have been most literal, and made from the *κοινή*, or the text of the Septuagint which existed before Origen's Hexapla, whose defects it preserves, agreeing very closely with the Cod. Vaticanus. It is therefore of the greatest use towards restoring the text of the Seventy. The parts extant are the Psalms, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Tobit, with fragments of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Hosea. These fragments are found in citations from the Fathers, in ancient manuscripts, and in psalters, missals, and breviaries, from which they have been collected with much care by Flaminius Nobilius (*Vet. Text. esc. LXX. Lat. redd.*, 1588), who has endeavoured to supply the omissions; Sabatier (*Bibl. Sac. Lat. verss. antiq.* 1749); Jac. Faber Stapulensis (*Psalterium Quincuplex*, 1509) [VERSE]; Blanchini (*Psalter. Duplex, ex insigni Cod. Græco-Lat. Veron. uncial. ante 7m. sæc.*); and Münter (*Fragm. Antehieron. e cod. rescript. Wirceburg.* Hafn. 1809). In the year 382 Jerome undertook a revision of this text. He first corrected the Psalms, producing what is called the *Roman Psalter*, which is still used in the church of the Vatican, and in St. Mark's at Venice.* Afterwards, finding this work corrupted by transcribers, he undertook a second revision. This is the *Gallican Psalter*, and is that contained in the Vulgate, and used generally in the Church since its introduction by Pope Paul IV. Jerome made this correction with the aid of Origen's Hexapla, adding asterisks, obelisks, commas, and colons [VERSE]. From the obelisk or asterisk to the colon was contained something added from the Hebrew by Theodotion, and the same with the comma denoted that the Septuagint contained here more than Jerome's Version. He afterwards revised in the same way the rest of the Old Testament. 'Rejoice,' he says, 'that you receive the blessed Job safe and sound, who formerly, among the Latins, lay prostrate in filth and worms; and as after his trial and triumph all his possessions were restored to him double, I have, in our own language, restored to him what he had lost.' The book of Chronicles he corrected with the help of a learned Jew of Tiberias. To these he added Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles: the rest of his labours perished by fraud. Of this work the only parts printed are the two Psalters and the book of Job. It acquired Jerome great fame and not a little obloquy, especially on the part of his quondam friend Rufinus.

Jerome next, at the request of his friends, undertook a new version from the Hebrew, between the years 385 and 405. This version was occasioned by the controversies with the Jews, who constantly appealed to the original, which the early Christians did not understand. Jerome commenced with Samuel, then proceeded to the Psalms, the books of Solomon, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Chronicles—together with Tobit and Judith from the Chaldee. He afterwards translated Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah, with their apocryphal additions. It is to be lamented that he used too much haste in some parts of his work, having finished Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles in three days, and Tobit in one. Notwithstanding this, and his own observation that his

* There is a Psalter different from both, used in Milan. Mr. Bagster's *Hexaplar Psalter* contains the Roman and the Gallican Psalters, together with Jerome's version from the Hebrew, that of the Seventy, the original Hebrew, and the two authorized versions of the Anglican Church.

work would have been superfluous but for the corruptions of the Septuagint, he produced the best and noblest work of the kind of which antiquity can boast. He proceeded on the soundest principles, and studied the Hebrew language under some learned Jews. 'From the reading of Quinctilian and Cicero,' he acquaints us, 'I entered upon the irksome task of shutting myself up in the mill of the Hebrew language, and endeavouring to pronounce its panting and creaking sounds; when, at length, like one walking in a dungeon, I discerned a faint light glimmering from above.' His Hebrew copy was procured from the Synagogue. His labours now procured him only the most cutting railleries from his friends. His teacher's name being Barhanina, he was accused of having been taught by Barabbas. He did not translate too literally, lest he should not convey the sense, and occasionally made use of other versions, when they did not materially differ from the Hebrew, lest he should alarm his readers by too much novelty; but he adhered to it in general very closely, lest, contrary to his conscience, he should 'forsake the foundation of truth, and follow the streamlets of opinions.'

His work at first met with no flattering reception. It was by many condemned as heretical, and even his friend Augustine feared to make use of it, lest it might offend by its novelty, introduce variety between the Greek and Latin Churches, and distract the minds of Christians who had received the Septuagint from the Apostles. In one instance, where an African bishop caused the book of Jonah to be read in church in this version, the people were panic-struck at hearing the word *hedera* (Jon. iv. 6, 9) in place of the old reading *cucurbita*. Augustine afterwards entertained a more favourable opinion of it, although he has not cited it in any of his acknowledged works [JOHN, EPISTLES OF].

About two hundred years after Jerome's death his work had acquired an equal degree of respect with the ancient Vulgate, and in the year 604 we have the testimony of Gregory the Great to the fact, that 'the Apostolic see made use of both versions.' It afterwards became by degrees the only received version, and this by its intrinsic merits, for it received no official sanction before the Council of Trent. Baruch, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and Maccabees, were retained from the old version.

Jerome's version soon experienced the fate of its predecessor; it became sadly corrupted by a mixture with the old version, and by the uncritical carelessness of half-learned ecclesiastics, as well as by interpolations from liturgical writings and from glosses. In fact the old and new versions were blended into one, and thus was formed the Vulgate of the middle ages.

In the ninth century an attempt was made, but not on the soundest principles, to correct the Vulgate. This was done by command of Charlemagne, who intrusted the task to Alcuin. The amended Vulgate was now introduced by royal authority into all the churches of France. It is still doubtful whether the correction was made from the Hebrew original, or from ancient copies of the Vulgate.

In the eleventh century a new revision was undertaken by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and another in the succeeding century (at which period Roger Bacon says that it was horribly corrupted), by Cardinal Nicolaus the Deacon, a good Hebrew scholar. About the same period appeared in France the *Epanorthotæ*, or *Correctoria Biblica*, which were attempts to establish the true text on the part of Abbot Stephen, Cardinal Hugo, and others. From these corrections, however, it appears that the corruptions were so numerous as to render it almost vain to expect to recover the true text. 'Every reader and preacher,' says Roger Bacon (*Epist. to Clem. IV.*), 'changes what he does not understand: their correction is the worst of corruptions, and God's word is destroyed.' This was the state of the text at the time of the invention of printing, by which its variations were more clearly brought to light, and critical attempts made to amend it.

The earliest printed editions are without a date. The first which has a date was published at Mayntz in 1462, by Fust and Schoiffher. It was afterwards printed in 1471, 1475, and 1476. Critical editions appeared in 1496, 1497, 1501, 1504, 1506, 1511, and 1517—the last that of the Complutensian Polyglott, done with great care. This was followed by the Antwerp Polyglott, and the critical editions of Colinæus, Rudel, Benoist, Isidore Clarius, and Robert Stephens. The variations of the text now appeared more plainly than ever. Isidore Clarius (1542) corrected more than 8000 errors (which some have exaggerated into 80,000). Stephens' beautifully executed and amended text (1527) was condemned to be burned. This learned printer afterwards collated several manuscripts, and published editions in 1532, 1533, and 1540. This last (the 4th) is called by Father Simon a master-piece. Stephens' edition of 1545 (the nonpareil) contained a new version, that of the Old Testament being made by Leo Judah, Bibliander, and Peter Cholin. This is one of those called Vatable's Bibles. The translator of De Wette's *Einleitung* observes that Stephens's sixth and seventh editions (1546 and 1555) contain no important improvements. The accurate De Wette, however, was aware that the seventh edition contained the division into verses. Benoist (1541) made an unsuccessful attempt to restore Jerome's text. Stephens's eighth and last edition has been already noticed [VERSE].

In the mean time the Council of Trent passed its famous decree (A.D. 1546, Sess. 4, Decret. 2) respecting the Vulgate: 'The most holy Synod, considering that no small advantage will accrue to the church of God, if from all the Latin editions of the sacred books which are in circulation, it should determine which is to be received as authentic, decrees and declares that the ancient Vulgate version, which has been approved in the church by the use of so many ages, should be used in public readings, disputations, sermons, and expositions, as authentic, and that none is to presume to reject it under any pretence whatsoever.' De Wette (*Einleitung*) conceives that this decree shuts the door against any exegetical inquiry into the doctrines of the church. Moehler (*Symbolik*, p. 1, ch. v. § xlii.), however, maintains that there could be no such thing as an exegetical inquiry into the doctrines of the church, which declares her dogmas by her infallible authority independently of Scripture, although she may

apply and even misapply testimonies from Scripture to this purpose, being infallible in the former case, but not in the latter.* The most learned Roman Catholics differ materially as to the sense of the word authentic, some considering, as Morinus (*Exercit. Bibl.*), that the Vulgate is hereby pronounced to be an inspired version, others (as Suarez) that the version is placed above all existing texts of the originals. Many contend that it was only meant to give it a preference to any other Latin version then in use (Bellarmin,† *De Verbo Dei;* Calmet's *Dissert.;* Jahn's and Hug's *Introdd.*). Some of the Roman theologians hold it to be infallible only so far as faith and morals are concerned (Dens, *Theologia*). Hug considers the meaning of the decree to be, that 'as in civil affairs an authentic instrument is valid evidence, so in public religious matters the Vulgate is a document from which valid arguments may be drawn, without prejudice, however, to other documents [viz. the originals]; but this is not a prescription of doctrine, and from its nature it could not be; it is a temporary decree of discipline.' In fact few Roman Catholics have maintained its exemption from error, and the most learned and judicious Protestants (Mill, *Proleg.;* Bengel, *Apparatus;* Lachmann, *Preface*) justly conspire in holding it in a high degree of veneration. Jahn observes that the Oriental Christians in communion with Rome still use their own versions, the Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic.

The Council of Trent not having declared any particular manuscript or edition to contain the true text of the Vulgate, a committee of six was appointed to prepare a new edition, but the pope prevented them from proceeding. The Louvain theologians, seeing the confusion which prevailed in the printed editions, as well as the persecutions to which Robert Stephens was exposed for his laudable undertakings, now undertook to correct the text, and Hentenius was chosen to prepare an edition. For this purpose he collated several of the former ones, including Stephens's of 1540, and about twenty manuscripts, the most modern of which was of the fourteenth century. His edition appeared in 1547, and after his death a still more valuable one was prepared by the same theologians under the care of Lucas Brugensis and others, which was printed by Plantin in 1573. The papal chair now resolved on an edition, and thus the Sixtine and Clementine Bibles, the variations between which amounted to above 2000, gave rise to the well-known attack of James (*Bellum Papale*). Sixtus laboured on his own edition, which was founded on the principle, that wherever the most ancient manuscripts and printed editions agreed, their reading should be preferred. It appeared in 1590. By the decree of Sixtus, whoever approved of any other edition, if of the degree of a bishop, was to be excluded from entering a church; if of inferior rank, was to be excommunicated—with other more dreadful anathemas. Notwithstanding this, Pope Urban VII. found it so inaccurate that he attempted to suppress it. His successor, Gregory XIV., prepared a new revision, with the aid of some eminent scholars, including Bellarmin and Flaminius Nobilius. This was first issued under the papacy of Clement VIII. in 1592, and although more modestly put forth, was founded on much better principles than the former. But there was a great difficulty to be overcome in attempting to reconcile the discrepancies of the two editions with the authority of the papal chair. 'In this dilemma Bellarmin is said to have found a middle course, by proposing that all the blame should be laid upon the printer' (Hug's *Introd.*). In the preface Bellarmin states, that 'Sixtus, having perceived the errors which had crept into the press, ordered the edition to be cancelled,' (an assertion which Van Ess, *Pragmatisch-Geschicht. der Vulgat.*, declares to be false), 'but from the execution of this order both Sixtus and his successors, Urban VII. and Innocent IX. were prevented by death.' It is further stated that 'although in this revision no small labour was employed in collating manuscripts of the Hebrew and Greek, and the writings of the Fathers, some things are nevertheless designedly altered, and others, which seemed to require alteration, designedly left unchanged.' This preface is said to have led to Bellarmin's beatification (Hug, *ut sup.*). The Clementine edition is the basis of all subsequent ones, from those of Plantin, 1599-1650, to that of Leander van Ess, published by authority of Leo XII. in 1826. The present printed Vulgate of the Old Testament is thus a mixed text, consisting partly of the old Latin, partly of Jerome's revision of the same, and partly of his new version from the Hebrew.

Descendants of the Vulgate. There is still extant an Anglo-Saxon version, published by Thwaites (*Heptateuchus*, 1698), of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Job, and a fragment of Judith. This was the work of Ælfric, in the tenth century, and was formerly thought, but on insufficient grounds, to have been done from the Sept. Ælfric also translated Esther, Maccabees, and Kings. There was an earlier translation by Adhelm, in the beginning of the eighth century (Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*). Bede is said to have translated the entire Bible about the same period. At the close of the thirteenth century it was again translated by some one whose name has not reached us. Wickliffe's translation appeared in 1380 [VERSIONS].

The New Testament. The old Latin version was made immediately from the Greek, and its dead literality is such as to render it in some places quite barbarous, as where, for instance, the Greek ὅτι is 'almost uniformly, in defiance of grammar and common sense, rendered quia or quoniam' (*e.g.* magister, scimus quia verax es. Matt. xxii. 16'; see Campbell, *On the Gospels*). Campbell refers to the phrase *panem nostrum supersubstantialem*, in the Lord's Prayer, as an instance of an etymological barbarism. These

* 'Even a Scriptural proof in favour of a decree held to be infallible, is not itself infallible, but only the dogma as defined.'

† Bellarmin defends the use of the Vulgate, from the ignorance of the original languages which prevailed in the Church, instancing the Council of Ariminum, where, out of 400 bishops, not one knew the meaning of ὁμοούσιος, all exclaiming 'not Homoousios, but Christ.' Mr. Scrivener (*ut infra*) agrees with those who maintain that the Council of Trent 'raised the Vulgate to that paramount authority which only belongs to the original text.'

remarks include the Old Testament as well as the New.

Manuscripts and editions of the Italie. There are some very ancient manuscripts of the old Latin version of the New Testament still extant, which are described by Blanchini (*ut supra*); Iricus, Milan, 1749; Dobrowsky (*Fragments of St. Mark's Autograph*, Prag. 1798); Alter (*Gold and silver purple MSS. in the Imperial Library*, containing fragments of Luke and Mark); Fleck (*Wissensch. Reise*); Matthæi (*Nov. Test.*); and Sabatier (*Evang. Quadr.*). The oldest of these is probably the *Cod. Vereellensis*, published by Sabatier, supposed to have been written by the hand of Eusebius. This version is also contained in the Græco-Latin MSS., the most ancient of which is the *Cod. Bezæ* [MANUSCRIPTS]. The *Codex Boernerianus*, (G) published by Matthæi, at Meissen, in 1791 (reprinted 1818), is a Græco-Latin MS. of the ninth century, preserved at Dresden, and was first used by Bengel. It contains St. Paul's Epistles (omitting Hebrews). The interlinear Latin is written in what some have supposed to be the Anglo-Saxon, but is in reality that modification of the Latin called the Irish character. It has been often desired by critics that some Irishman would explain the words at the bottom of fol. 23. We have therefore endeavoured to decipher them (with the assistance of our friend Mr. J. O'Donovan), and here present an attempt at a translation of what appears to be a fragment of a religions poem:—

Téicht do nóim mór raido. beic conbaid.
Nuí chondaigi. ṅ. hiforr. manimbeda lacc
ni fagbai.
Món báir, mor bai'e móu coll ceille móu mine
o laid ain chenn teicht do écaib.
beich fo écoil maic. maine.

Coming to Rome, great wisdom, little profit;
THe King your Saviour you will not find, unless you take him with you.
Great folly, great madness, great breach of sense, great phrenzy,
When you set out to meet death,
To be under the displeasure of the Son of Mary.

From the notes in the margin it appears that this manuscript had been in the possession of Johannes Scotus of Ireland, for whom it was probably written [VERSE]. The *Cod. Sangallensis* of the Gospels, of the same age and character, (Δ) has been also published by Rettig, Turici, 1836.

The *editions* are those by Sabatier (*ut sup.* vol. iii.) and Blanchini (*Evang. Quadr.*). Martianay (*Opp. Hieron.*) gives the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistle of St. James only. The only descendant of this version is the Anglo-Saxon, which is probably older than the translation of the Old Testament.

Jerome's recension. Jerome did not translate the New Testament from the Greek, but at the request of Damasus, bishop of Rome, he amended the old Latin, by comparing its corruptions and various readings with the best Greek manuscripts, making, however, no alteration, unless the sense absolutely required it; but in his Commentary he often departs from this text. The Vulgate of the New Testament generally agrees with the oldest MSS. of the Italic, and is one of the best critical helps towards restoring the true text of the Greek. The text has undergone the same fate, and suffered the same corruption as that of the Old Testament, and the various readings, though numerous (Michaelis speaks of 80,000) are of the same character with those of the Greek, having crept in through the negligence of transcribers, and 'very few of them bearing the marks of having been made to serve a purpose' (*Prefaee to Mr. Bayster's Hexapla*). Dr. Campbell (*On the Gospels*) considers that as the last part of the Vulgate was completed 1400 years ago, and from MSS. older probably than any now extant, and at a time when there was no bias from party zeal, at a time too when the modern controversies were unknown, the Council of Trent acted rightly in giving the preference to this, which he designates 'a good and faithful version, remarkable for purity and perspicuity, and by no means calculated to support Roman views;' but valuable as this text is, it is to be lamented that the ambiguity of the phrase 'authentic' should have furnished an occasion to some Roman polemics of the last century, when criticism was not so well understood as at present, to depreciate the original text. What, however, an accomplished Roman Catholic divine has said respecting Collins (see *Scripture, Holy*) may be equally applied here: 'he took advantage of the differences between Mill and Whitby about some passages, and about the value of various readings in general, to conclude that the entire New Testament was thereby rendered doubtful. He was soon, however, chastised by the heavy lash of Bentley, who thoroughly exposed the fallacy of Collins's assertions, and vindicated the condition of the inspired text. .....Nothing has been discovered, not one single various reading which can throw doubt upon any passage before considered certain, or decisive in favour of any important doctrine.' (Wiseman, *Leetures*, Lect. x.)

A pure text of the Vulgate is a great desideratum. Lucas Brugensis (*Letter to Bellarmin*) pointed out no less than 4000 mistakes in the Clementine edition. An edition of this text, in the New Testament, was published in 1840 by F. F. Fleck, who has added to it the various readings of the Florentine uncial stichometrical MS. of the sixth century, containing the Old and New Testaments. This MS. was used by the Clementine editors, but they differ from it in many instances, one of which is 1 John v. 7, which is not in the Florentine. Lachmann, also, in his recent edition of the New Testament, has furnished the text of the Vulgate from the oldest MSS. written before the tenth century, especially the Fulda MS. But it can serve no critical use to correct the entire of the Greek text by conforming to the Vulgate, as has been recently done, at the request of the Archbishop of Paris, by Tischendorf (*Nov. Test.*, Gr. et Lat., Paris, 1842), wherever a single MS., however worthless or modern, was found to support the reading. (See *The Book of Revelation in Greek*, by Samuel Prideaux, Tregelles, 1844.)

Manuscripts. For an account of the MSS. of the Vulgate, we must refer the reader to Le Long's *Bibliotheca Saera*, as well as to the various editions already named. We shall here only notice the most ancient in the British Islands.

There is a mutilated Latin MS. of the Gospels in Ireland, described by Mr. Petrie in the 19th vol. of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, which that able antiquary assigns to the fifth century. The Kells MS. of the Gospels, preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, the writing and illuminations of which are of incomparable beauty, was written in Ireland in the sixth century. This has been confounded by Dr. O'Conor (*Rerum Hib. Script.*) with the Book of Durrow, preserved in the same College. The beautiful Lindisfarne book of the Gospels (Nero D. 4) is a stichometrical uncial MS. of the seventh century, with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon version by Aldred in the tenth. There are two MSS. of the Gospels (the same to which allusion is made in the *Life of St. Augustine*, by the Rev. F. Oakeley) said to have been brought to England by St. Augustine. One of these is preserved in C. C. College, Cambridge, and the other in the Bodleian Library. To these is to be added St. Cuthbert's MS. of St. John's Gospel, and the gospels of St. Mullin, Dimma, Mac Durnan, Mac Regol, and St. Chad. The *Codex Armachanus*, written by an Irish scribe in the eighth century, now in private hands, contains the entire New Testament, with Pelagius's prefaces. This MS. wants 1 John v. 7. The *Cod. Augiens.* (F), a Græco-Latin MS. containing St. Paul's Epistles (that to the Hebrews in Latin only) now in Trin. Coll. Cambridge, is probably an Irish MS. of the ninth century (see Dr. O'Conor's *Rer. Hib. Script.*; Sir W. Betham's *Antiq. Researches*; Petrie's *Essay on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Ireland*; O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*; and Westwood's *Palæog. Sac. Pictoria*).

Modern versions of the Vulgate. The versions used in the Church of Rome have been all made from the Vulgate, of which the first German translation was printed in 1466, the Spanish in 1478, and the Italian in 1471. Our limits will allow us only to refer to that in use in this country, of which the Old Testament was printed at Douai in 1609, and the New at Rheims in 1582. This is greatly inferior in strength and elegance of expression to the Authorized Version of 1611, but is highly commendable for its scrupulous accuracy and fidelity, which cannot be predicated of all translations from the Vulgate in other languages. It was altered and modernized by Bishop Challoner in 1749, when the text was conformed to that of the Clementine edition. It has since undergone various alterations under the care of the Irish Roman-catholic hierarchy, and has been in some respects conformed to the Authorized Version, even in passages which controversialists of a bygone age had stigmatized as heretical. But this has been done without any departure from the text. The original translators, however, adhered so servilely to this, as to employ such barbarous words and phrases as sindon (Mark xv. 46), zealators (Acts xx. 20), præfinition (Eph. iii. 11), contristate (iv. 30), agnition (Philem. 16), repropitiate (Heb. ii. 17), with such hosts God is promerited (xiii. 16), &c. 'Yet in justice it must be observed, that no case of wilful perversion of Scripture has ever been brought home to the Rhemish translators'* (Scrivener's *Supplement to the Authorized Version*). Mr. Scrivener adds that 'the Rhemish divines [who were evidently men of learning and ability], may occasionally do us good service by furnishing some happy phrase or form of expression which had eluded the diligence of their more reputable predecessors.' (*ib.*)

The translators observe in their preface, that they religiously keep the phrases word for word, 'for fear of missing or restraining the sense of the Holy Ghost to the fantasie;' in proof of which they refer to such phrases as τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ, γύναι (John ii. 4), which they render, 'What to me and thee, woman?' explaining it in the note by the phrase, 'What hast thou to do with me?' But in some of the modern editions of the Rhemish version this rule has been departed from, and the text altered into, 'What is *that* to me or thee?' (Dublin ed. 1791, 1824), or, 'What is *it* to me and thee?' (Dublin, 1820); a reading inconsistent with the translation of the same words in Luke viii. 28. The interpolation has been removed in Dr. Murray's edition of 1825. In the '*New Version of the Four Gospels*, by a Catholic' [Dr. Lingard], the words are rendered, 'What hast thou to do with me?' The whole passage is thus rendered and commented on by Tittmann (*Meletemata Sacra*): '*Missum me fac, o mea*, "Leave that to my care, good mother." It is not the language of reproof or refusal, but rather of consolation and promise. This appears from the words which follow, "mine hour is not yet come." For in these words he promises his mother that at the proper time he will gratify her wish. ..... But our Lord purposely delayed his assistance, that the greatness of the miracle might be the better known to all. The appellation γύναι, which was employed by our Lord on other occasions also (John xix. 26; xx. 15), was very honourable among the Greeks, who were accustomed to call their queens by this title, and may be rendered "my beloved."'

Professor Moses Stuart (*Commentary on the Apocalypse*, vol. i. p. 119) conceives that 'in the translation of μετανοεῖτε by *agite pœnitentiam* (Matt. iii. 2), the same spirit was operating which led one part of the Church in modern times to translate μετανοεῖτε by *do penance*.' But the Latin phrase 'agere pœnitentiam,' which is also found in the old Italic, is evidently synonymous with μετανοεῖν, 'to repent.' 'Agite pœnitentiam,' says Campbell, 'was not originally a mistranslation of the Greek μετανοεῖτε.' Dr. Lingard (*ut supra*) renders it 'repent.'

We shall refer to one passage more, often objected to as proving that the Vulgate was altered to serve a purpose. In Heb. xi. 21, the Vulgate reads, as the translation of προσεκυνησεν επι το ακρον της ραβδου αυτου: adoravit fastigium virgae ejus: 'worshipped the top of his (Joseph's) rod.' If the present pointing of the Hebrew מִטָּה (Gen. xlvii. 31) be correct, the Seventy, who read it מַטֶּה, 'a staff' or 'sceptre,' must have been

* Some grave accusations against the Rhemish version, which appeared in the seventh edition of Mr. Horne's *Introduction* on the authority of an anonymous writer (*Brief Hist.* Dublin, 1830), were shown to be without foundation (see Wright's translation of Seiler's *Hermeneutics*, pp. 404-407); they are omitted in Mr. Horne's eighth edition.

in an error, wherein they were followed by the Syriac. Tholuck (*Comm. on Hebr.*) is of opinion that the Latin translators did not (as some suppose) overlook ἐπί, 'upon,' and he considers that this preposition with the accusative might easily lead to the acceptation in which it is taken by the Vulgate, which is also that adopted by Chrysostom and Theodoret, who explain the passage as if Jacob had foreseen Joseph's sovereignty, and gave a proof of his belief in it by the act of adoration in the direction of his sceptre. This is in Tholuck's opinion further confirmed by the generally spread reading αὐτοῦ (his), not αὑτοῦ (his own), and he doubts if the inspired writer of the epistle did not himself so understand the passage in the Sept., as being the more significant. But should it be admitted, with Tholuck, that 'the Protestant controversialists have very unjustly designated this passage of the Vulgate as one of the most palpable of its errors,' it must be borne in mind that Onkelos, Jonathan, Symmachus, and Aquila, follow the present reading; to which Jerome also gives a decided preference, observing (on Gen. xlvii. 31), 'In this passage some vainly assert that Jacob adored the top of Joseph's sceptre; . . . for in the Hebrew the reading is quite different. Israel adored at the head of the bed (adoravit Israel ad caput lecturi).'

It has been erroneously assumed that the translators of the English Bible followed invariably Beza's third edition. They acted independently, sometimes following Stephens where his text differed from Beza's, and sometimes the Vulgate in opposition to both (Scrivener, *ut supra*). The translators of King James's Bible have been sometimes reproached with having adopted readings in opposition to the authority of all texts, and of the former English translations, as in 1 Cor. xi. 27, where the translation is, 'whosoever shall eat this bread, *and* drink this cup,' &c., while the Greek text reads ἤ, '*or* drink.' But they were here preceded by the Geneva translators, who have '*and*,' and this was supported not only by some copies of the Vulgate, but by the Syriac version (published in 1555), and by the Clermont MS. (E) which has καί, as well as by Clemens Alexandrinus, Cassiodorus, and others. This reading had at a subsequent period the additional testimony of the *Cod. Alexandrinus*. Bengel, also, whom all unite with Dr. Wiseman in considering 'an amiable and profound scholar,' and whom Dr. Wiseman himself calls 'a noble model of the principles in action which he has been striving to inculcate through the course of his Lectures' (Wiseman, *Lectures, ut supra*), was so satisfied of the truth of this reading, that he would have introduced it into the text, but for his canon above referred to [Scripture, Holy]. The reading ἤ, '*or*,' however, being supported by the best authority, has been retained by all other editors, including Beza, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Schott, while the last named writer, with many others, still considers 'and' to be the true rendering.—W. W.

VULTURE (דָּאָה, *daah*). Notwithstanding the assignation of the Hebrew *daah* to 'glede' and 'black kite,' it is clear that in various texts דאה, ראה, איה, and ריה, also translated 'merlin,' all indicate raptorial birds of inferior powers, that have been mixed up with notions strictly belonging to the vulture; while the *vulturidæ* in Egypt alone amount at least to three species, exclusive of *peres* (the bearded vulture), and *racham* (the white carrion vulture, or *neophron*); and in other passages, again, we find *neser* (eagle) under circumstances leading to a belief that vultures are meant, or, at least, are not excluded. This intermixture of the distinctive attributes of genera, which by scientific classification can now be readily discriminated, was far from being understood by the ancients, and is still incomprehensible to Oriental writers, who, as well as the ancient Greeks, were so unacquainted with these characters, that they notice as 'a terrible species of eagle' a bird which is now believed to be nothing more than *tetrao urogallus*, 'the cock of the woods,' or *caperkalsie*. Late Western commentators, anxious to distinguish eagles from vultures, have assumed that the first mentioned never feed on carcasses; and judging the whole family of vultures by the group of carrion-eaters alone, have insinuated that the latter do not attack a living prey. In both cases they are in error: with some exceptions, eagles follow armies, though not so abundantly as vultures; and vultures attack living prey provided with small means of defence or of little weight; but their talons having no means of grasping with energy, or of seriously wounding with the claws, they devour their prey on the spot, while the eagle carries it aloft, and thence is more liable to be stung by a serpent not entirely disabled, than the vulture, who crushes the head of all reptiles it preys upon.

The species of vulture, properly so called, have the head naked or downy, the crop external, and very long wings; they have all an offensive smell, and we know of none that even the scavenger-ants will eat. When dead they lie on the ground untouched till the sun has dried them into mummies. Those found in and about the Egyptian territory are *Vultur fulvus*, *V. gyps* (Savigny), *V. Ægyptius* (Savigny), *V. monachus* (Arabian vulture), *V. cinereus*, *V. Nubicus*, and a black species, which is often figured on Egyptian monuments as the bird of victory, hovering over the head of a national hero in battle, and sometimes with a banner in each talon. It is perhaps the *gypactus barbatus (peres)*, or *lammer geyer*, by the Arabs called *nesr;* for though neither a vulture nor an eagle, it is the largest bird of prey of the old continent, and is armed like the eagle with formidable claws. The head is wholly feathered; its courage is equal to its powers, and it has a strength of wing probably superior to all raptorians, excepting the condor; it is consequently found with little or no difference from Norway to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Pyrenees to Japan. Most of the above-named species are occasionally seen in the north of Europe. The voice varies in different species, but those of Egypt, frequenting the Pyramids, are known to bark in the night like dogs. Excepting the *percnopterine* or carrion vultures, all the other species are of large size; some superior in bulk to the swan, and others a little less. The Nubian species has been figured in Kitto's *Palestine;* the *fulvus* in Harris's *Dict. of the Nat. Hist. of the Bible*.

W.

WAGES. The word rendered in the English Version by this term, signifies primarily 'to purchase,' to obtain by some consideration on the part of the purchaser; thence to obtain on the part of the seller some consideration for something given or done, and hence to hire, to pay, or receive wages. Wages, then, according to the earliest usages of mankind, are a return made by a purchaser for something of value—specifically for work performed. And thus labour is recognised as property; and wages as the price paid or obtained in exchange for such property. In this relation there is obviously nothing improper or humiliating on the side either of the buyer or the seller. They have each a certain thing which the other wants, and in the exchange which they in consequence make, both parties are alike served. In these few words lies the theory, and also the justification of all service. The entire commerce of life is barter. In hire, then, there is nothing improper or discreditable. It is only a hireling, that is, a mercenary, a mean sordid spirit, that is wrong. So long as a human being has anything to give which another human being wants, so long has he something of value in the great market of life; and whatever that something may be, provided it does not contribute to evil passions or evil deeds, he is a truly respectable capitalist, and a useful member of the social community. The Scriptural usage in applying the term translated 'wages' to sacred subjects—thus the Almighty himself says to Abraham (Gen. xv. 1), 'I am thy exceeding great reward'—tends to confirm these views, and to suggest the observance of caution in the employment of the words 'hire' and 'hireling,' which have acquired an offensive meaning by no means originally inherent in themselves, or in the Hebrew words for which they stand (Gen. xxx. 18, 32, 33).

Property, in all ages, has in practice disowned the truth, that it has its duties as well as its rights. This Jacob found in his dealings with Laban. But in the iron age of the Jewish state, injustice towards those who had no property but such as their labour supplied, became very common, and conduced, with other crimes, to call down the divine wrath—'I will be a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages' (Mal. iii. 5).—J. R. B.

WAGGON. [Cart.]

WAIL. [Mourning.]

WALLS. [Fortifications; Towns.]

WANDERING. In our office of tracing the steps of the Israelites from Goshen to Palestine, we have conducted them across the Red Sea to their first great station on its eastern bank, and thence onward along the shore and over the cliffs of that sea till, following them up Wady Hebron, we placed and left them before Mount Horeb, in the capacious plain Rahah, which, having its widest part in the immediate front of that immense mass of rock, extends as if with two arms, one towards the north-west, the other towards the north-east. The review of the plain by so competent a person as Robinson, is of great consequence for the interests of scientific geography and the yet more important interests of religious truth; the rather because a belief prevailed, even among the best informed, that there was no spot in the Sinaitic district which answered to the demands of the Scriptural narrative. Even the accurate Winer (*Real-Wört.* in art. 'Sinai,' not 'Horeb' as referred to by Robinson, i. 17; ii. 550) says, 'Whichever mountain may be considered as the place for the promulgation of the law, the common representation still remains false—that at the foot of the hill there spreads out a great plain, on which the people of Israel might assemble' (comp. Rosenmüller, *Alterth.* iii. 129). We shall therefore transcribe Robinson's words in extenso: 'We came to Sinai with some incredulity, wishing to investigate the point, whether there was any probable ground, beyond monkish tradition, for fixing upon the present supposed site. We were led to the conviction that the plain er Râhah is the probable spot where the congregation of Israel were assembled; and that the mountain impending over it, the present Horeb, was the scene of the awful phenomena in which the law was given. We were surprised as well as gratified to find here in the inmost recesses of these dark granite cliffs, this fine plain spread out before the mountain, and I know not where I have felt a thrill of stronger emotion than when, in first crossing the plain, the dark precipices of Horeb rising in solemn grandeur before us, we became aware of the entire adaptedness of the scene to the purposes for which it was chosen by the great Hebrew legislator. Moses, doubtless, during the forty years in which he kept the flocks of Jethro, had often wandered over these mountains, and was well acquainted with their valleys and deep recesses, like the Arabs of the present day. At any rate, he knew and had visited the spot to which he was to conduct his people—this *adytum* in the midst of the great circular granite region; a secret holy place, shut out from the world amid lone and desolate mountains' (i. 175, sq.). We subjoin what Robinson reports of the climate: 'The weather, during our residence at the convent (of Sinai), as, indeed, during all our journey through the peninsula (March and April), was very fine. At the convent the thermometer ranged only between 47° and 67° F. But the winter nights are said here to be cold; water freezes as late as February; and snow often falls upon the mountains. But the air is exceedingly pure, and the climate healthy, as is testified by the great age and vigour of many of the monks. And if in general few of the Arabs attain to so great an age, the cause is doubtless to be sought in the scantiness of their fare, and their exposure to privations, and not to any injurious influence of the climate' (p. 175).

After having been about a year in the midst of this mountainous region, the Israelites broke up their encampment and began their journey in the order of their tribes, Judah leading the way with the ark of the covenant, under the guidance of the directing cloud (Num. ix. 15, sq.; x. 11, sq.). They proceeded down Wady Seikh, having

the wilderness of Paran before them, in a north-westerly direction; but having come to a gorge in the mountains they struck in a north-north-easterly direction across a sandy plain, and then over the Jebel et-Tih, and came down Wady Zulakah, to the station Taberah. It took the army three days to reach this station. Whatever name the place bore before, it now received that of Taberah (fire), from a supernatural fire with which murmurers, in the extreme parts of the camp, were destroyed as a punishment for their guilt. Here, too, the mixed multitude that was among the Israelites not only fell a-lusting themselves, but also excited the Hebrews to remember Egyptian fish and vegetables with strong desire, and to complain of the divinely supplied manna. The discontent was intense and widely spread. Moses became aware of it, and forthwith felt his spirit misgive him. He brings the matter before Jehovah, and receives divine aid by the appointment of seventy elders to assist him in the important and perilous office of governing the gross, sensuous, and self-willed myriads whom he had to lead to Canaan. Moreover, an abundance of flesh meat was given in a most profuse supply of quails. It appears that there were now 600,000 footmen in the congregation.

The next station was Kibroth-hattaavah, near which there are fine springs and excellent pasturage. This spot, the name of which signifies 'graves of lust,' was so denominated from a plague inflicted on the people in punishment of their rebellious disposition (Num. xi. 33; 1 Cor. x. 6). Thence they journeyed to Hazeroth, which Robinson, after Burckhardt, finds in el-Hudhera, where is a fountain, together with palm-trees. 'The determination of this point,' says Robinson, 'is perhaps of more importance in Biblical history than would at first appear; for if this position be adopted for Hazeroth, it settles at once the question as to the whole route of the Israelites between Sinai and Kadesh. It shows that they must have followed the route upon which we now were to the sea, and so along the coast to Akabah (at the head of the eastern arm of the Red Sea), and thence, probably, through the great Wady el-'Arabah to Kadesh. Indeed, such is the nature of the country, that having once arrived at this fountain, they could not well have varied their course so as to have kept aloof from the sea, and continued along the high plateau of the western desert' (i. 223). At Hazeroth, where the people seem to have remained a short time, there arose a family dissension to increase the difficulties of Moses. Aaron, apparently led on by his sister Miriam, who may have been actuated by some feminine pique or jealousy, complained of Moses on the ground that he had married a Cushite, that is, an Arab wife, and the malcontents went so far as to set up their own claims to authority as not less valid than those of Moses. An appeal is made to Jehovah, who vindicates Moses, rebukes Aaron, and punishes Miriam (Num. xii.).

'And afterward the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran,' at Kadesh (Num. xii. 16; xiii. 26). In Deut. i. 19-21, we read, 'And when we departed from Horeb we went through all that great and terrible wilderness which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites, as the Lord our God commanded us; and we came to Kadesh-barnea. And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the mountain of the Amorites, which the Lord our God doth give unto us. Behold, the Lord thy God hath set the land before thee: go up and possess it; fear not, neither be discouraged.' Accordingly, here it was that twelve men (spies) were sent into Canaan to survey the country, who went up from the wilderness of Zin (Num. xiii. 21) to Hebron; and returning after forty days brought back a very alarming account of what they had seen. Let it, however, be remarked that the Scriptures here supply several local data to this effect: Kadesh-barnea lay not far from Canaan, near the mountain of the Amorites, in the wilderness of Zin, in the wilderness of Paran. It is evident that there is here a great *lacuna*, which some have attempted to fill up by turning the route a little to the west to Rithmah, on the borders of Idumæa, and then conducting it with a sudden bend to the west and the south, into what is considered the wilderness of Paran (*Relievo Map of Arabia Petræa*, published by Dobbs, London). In this view, however, we cannot concur. Both Robinson and Raumer are of a different opinion. At the same time it must be admitted that so great a gap in the itinerary is extraordinary. If, however, we find ourselves in regard to the journey from Horeb to Kadesh possessed of fewer and less definite materials of information, we have also the satisfaction of feeling that no great Scriptural fact or doctrine is concerned. It is certain that the narrative in the early part of Numbers goes at once from Hazeroth to Kadesh; and although the second account (in Num. xxxiii.) supplies other places, these seem to belong properly to a second route and a second visit to Kadesh. The history in the book of Numbers is not, indeed, a consecutive narrative; for after the defeat of the Israelites in their foolish attempt to force an entrance into Canaan contrary to the will of God (Num. xiv. 45), it breaks suddenly off, and leaving the journeyings and the doings of the camp, proceeds to recite certain laws. Yet it offers, as we think, a clear intimation of a second visit to the wilderness of Zin and to Kadesh. Without having said a word as to the removal of the Israelites southward, and therefore leaving them in the wilderness of Zin, at Kadesh, it records in the twentieth chapter (ver. 1), 'Then *came* the children of Israel, the whole congregation, into the desert of Zin, in the first month, and the people abode in Kadesh.' And this view appears confirmed by the fact that the writer immediately proceeds to narrate the passage of the Israelites hence on by Mount Hor southward to Gilgal and Canaan. Robinson's remarks (ii. 611) on this point have much force: 'I have thus far assumed that the Israelites were twice at Kadesh; and this appears from a comparison of the various accounts. They broke up from Sinai on the twentieth day of the second month in the second year of their departure out of Egypt, corresponding to the early part of May; they came into the desert of Paran, whence spies were sent up the mountain into Palestine, "in the time of the first ripe grapes;" and these returned after forty days to the camp at Kadesh. As grapes begin to ripen on the mountains of Judah in July, the return of the spies is to be placed in August or September. The people now murmured at the report of the spies, and received the sentence from Jehovah

that their carcasses should fall in the wilderness, and their children wander in the desert forty years. They were ordered to turn back into the desert "by the way of the Red Sea," although it appears that they abode "many" days in Kadesh. The next notice of the Israelites is, that in the first month they came into the desert of Zin and abode again at Kadesh; here Miriam dies; Moses and Aaron bring water from the rock; a passage is demanded through the land of Edom, and refused; and they then journeyed from Kadesh to Mount Hor, where Aaron dies in the fortieth year of the departure from Egypt, in the first day of the fifth month, corresponding to a part of August and September. Here, then, between August of the *second* year and August of the *fortieth* year, we have an interval of thirty-eight years of wandering in the desert. With this coincides another account. From Mount Hor they proceeded to Elath on the Red Sea, and so around the land of Edom to the brook Zered, on the border of Moab; and from the time of their departure from Kadesh (meaning, of course, their first departure) until they thus came to the brook Zered, there is said to have been an interval of thirty-eight years.

In this way the Scriptural account of the journeyings of the Israelites becomes perfectly harmonious and intelligible. The eighteen stations mentioned only in the general list in the book of Numbers as preceding the arrival at Kadesh, are then apparently to be referred to this eight and thirty years of wandering, during which the people at last approached Ezion-geber, and afterwards returned northwards a second time to Kadesh, in the hope of passing directly through the land of Edom. Their wanderings extended, doubtless, over the western desert; although the stations named are probably only those head-quarters where the tabernacle was pitched, and where Moses and the elders and priests encamped; while the main body of the people was scattered in various directions.

Where, then, was Kadesh? Clearly, on the borders of Palestine. We agree with Robinson and Raumer in placing it nearly at the top of the Wady Arabah, where, indeed, it is fixed by Scripture, for in Numbers xii. 16 we read, 'Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy (Edom) border.' The precise spot it may be difficult to ascertain, but here, in the wilderness of Zin, which lay in the more comprehensive district of Paran, is Kadesh to be placed. Raumer, however, has attempted to fix the locality, and in his views Robinson and Schubert generally concur. Raumer places it south from the Dead Sea, in the low lands between the mountain of the Edomites and that of the Amorites. The country gradually descends from the mountains of Judah southward, and where the descent terminates Raumer sets Kadesh. With this view the words of Moses entirely correspond, when, at Kadesh, he said to the spies, '*Get you* UP *southward*, and *go up* into the mountain' (Num. xiii. 17). The ascent may have been made up the pass es-Sufah; up this the self-willed Hebrews went, and were driven back by the Canaanites as far as to Hermah, then called Zephath (Num. xiii. 17; xiv. 40-45; Judg. i. 17). The spot where Kadesh lay Robinson finds in the present Ain el-Weibeh. But Raumer prefers a spot to the north of this place—that where the road mounts by Wady el-Khurar to the pass Sufah. It ought, he thinks, to be fixed on a spot where the Israelites would be near the pass, and where the pass would lie before their eyes. This is not the case, according to Schubert, at Ain el-Weibeh. Raumer, therefore, inclines to fix on Ain Hasb, which lies near Ain el Khurar. This is probably Kadesh. The distance from the pass Sufah to Ain Hasb is little more than half the length of that from the same pass to Ain el-Weibeh. According to the Arabs, there is at Ain Hasb a copious fountain of sweet water, surrounded by verdure and traces of ruins, which must be of considerable magnitude, as they were seen by Robinson at a distance of some miles. These may be the ruins of Kadesh; but at Ain el-Weibeh there are no ruins.

By what route, then, did the Israelites come from Hazeroth to Kadesh? We are here supplied with scarcely any information. The entire distance, which is considerable, is passed by the historian in silence. Nothing more remains than the direction of the two places, the general features of the country, and one or two allusions.

The option seems to lie between two routes. From Hazeroth, pursuing a direction to the north-east, they would come upon the sea-coast, along which they might go till they came to the top of the Bahr Akabar, and thence up Wady Arabah to Kadesh, nearly at its extremity. Or they might have taken a north-western course and crossed the mountain Jebel et-Tih. If so, they must still have avoided the western side of Mount Araif, otherwise they would have been carried to Beer-sheba, which lay far to the west of Kadesh. Robinson prefers the first route; Raumer, the second. 'I,' says the latter, 'am of opinion that Israel went through the desert et-Tih, then down Jebel Araif, but not along Wady Arabah.' This view is supported by the words found in Deut. i. 19, 'When we departed from Horeb we went *through all that great and terrible wilderness* which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites, and we came to Kadesh-barnea.' This journey from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea took the Hebrews eleven days (Deut. i. 2).

At the direct command of Jehovah the Hebrews left Kadesh, came down the Wady Arabah, and entered the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea (Num. xiv. 25). In this wilderness they wandered eight and thirty years, but little can be set forth respecting the course of their march. It may in general be observed that their route would not resemble that of a regular modern army. They were a disciplined horde of nomades, and would follow nomade customs. It is also clear that their stations as well as their course would necessarily be determined by the nature of the country, and its natural supplies of the necessaries of life. Hence regularity of movement is not to be expected. How, except by a constant miracle, two millions of people were supported for forty years in the peninsula of Sinai, must, under the actual circumstances of the case, ever remain inexplicable; nor do we conceive that such scanty supplies as an occasional well or a chance oasis do much to relieve the difficulty. In the absence of detailed information, any attempt to lay down the path pursued by the Israelites after their emerging from Arabah can be little better than conjectural. Some authorities carry them quite over to the eastern bank of the Red Sea; but the

expression 'by the way of the Red Sea' denotes nothing more than the western wilderness, or the wilderness in the direction of the Red Sea.

The stations over which the Israelites passed are set down in Num. xxxiii. 18, sq. (comp. Deut. x. 6, 7), and little beyond the bare record can be given. Only it seems extraordinary, and is much to be regretted, that for so long a period as eight and thirty years our information should be so exceedingly small. Raumer, indeed, makes an effort (*Beiträge*, p. 11) to fix the direction in which some of the stations lay to each other, but we cannot find satisfaction in his efforts, and do not, therefore, bring them before the reader. It may be of more service to them to subjoin the following table of the stations of the Israelites, from the time of their leaving Egypt, which we take from Robinson's *Researches in Palestine* (ii. 678, 679).

1. *From Egypt to Sinai.*

Exodus xii.-xix.	Numbers xxxiii.
From Rameses, xii. 37.	From Rameses, ver. 3.
1. Succoth, xii. 37	Succoth, ver. 5
2. Etham, xiii. 20	Etham, ver. 6
3. Pi-hahiroth, xiv. 2	Pi-hahiroth, ver. 7
4. Passage through the Red Sea, xiv. 22; and three days' march into the desert of Shur, xv. 22	Passage through the Red Sea, and three days' march in the desert of Etham, ver. 8
5. Marah, xv. 23	Marah, ver. 8
6. Elim, xv. 27	Elim, ver. 9.
7.	Encampment by the Red Sea, ver. 10
8. Desert of Sin, xvi. 1	Desert of Sin, ver. 11
9.	Dophkah, ver. 12
10.	Alush, ver. 13
11. Rephidim, xvii. 1	Rephidim, ver. 14
12. Desert of Sinai, xix. 1	Desert of Sinai, ver. 15

2. *From Sinai to Kadesh the second time.*

Numbers x.-xx.	Numbers xxxiii.
From the Desert of Sinai, x. 12.	From the Desert of Sinai, ver. 16.
13. Taberah, xi. 3; Deut. ix. 22	
14. Kibroth-hattaavah, xi. 34	Kibroth-hattaavah, ver. 16
15. Hazeroth, xi. 35	Hazeroth, ver. 17
16. Kadesh, in the desert of Paran, xii. 16; xiii. 26; Deut. i. 2, 19. Hence they turn back and wander for 38 years. Num. xiv. 25, seq.	
17.	Rithmah, ver. 18
18.	Rimmon-parez, ver. 19
19.	Libnah, ver. 20
20.	Rissah, ver. 21
21.	Kehelathah, ver. 22
22.	Mount Shapher, ver. 23
23.	Haradah, ver. 24
24.	Makheloth, ver. 25
25.	Tahath, ver. 26
26.	Tarah, ver. 27
27.	Mithcah, ver. 28
28.	Hashmonah, ver. 29
29.	Moseroth, ver. 30
30.	Bene-jaakan, ver. 31
31.	Hor-hagidgad, ver. 32
32.	Jotbathah, ver. 33
33.	Ebronah, ver. 34
34.	Ezion-gaber, ver. 35
35. Return to Kadesh, Num. xx. 1	Kadesh, ver. 36

3. *From Kadesh to the Jordan.*

Num. xx., xxi. Deut. i. ii. x.	Numbers xxxiii.
From Kadesh, Num. xx. 22.	From Kadesh, ver. 37.
36. Beeroth Bene-jaakan, Deut. x. 6	
37. Mount Hor, Num. xx. 22; or Mosera, Deut. x. 6, where Aaron died	Mount Hor, ver. 37
38. Gudgodah, Deut. x. 7	
39. Jotbath, Deut. x. 7	
40. Way of the Red Sea, Num. xxi. 4; by Elath and Ezion-gaber, Deut. ii. 8	
41.	Zalmonah, ver. 41
42.	Punon, ver. 42
43. Oboth, Num. xxi. 10	Oboth, ver. 43
44. Ije abarim, Num. xxi. 11	Ije-abarim, or Jim, ver. 44, 45
45. The brook Zered, Num. xxi. 12; Deut. ii. 13, 14	
46. The brook Arnon, Num. xxi. 13; Deut. ii. 24	
47.	Dibon-gad, ver. 45, now Dhîbân
48.	Almon-diblathaim, ver. 46
49. Beer (well) in the desert, Num. xxi. 16, 18	
50. Mattanah, xxi. 18	
51. Nahaliel, xxi. 19	
52. Bamoth, xxi. 19	
53. Pisgah, put for the range of Abarim, of which Pisgah was part, xxi. 20	Mountains of Abarim, near to Nebo, ver. 47
54. By the way of Bashan to the plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho, Num. xxi. 33; xxii. 1	Plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho, ver. 48

There are a few events which must be recorded in order to preserve, in a measure, the uniformity of the narrative designed to trace the passage of the Hebrews from the land of bondage to the Promised Land.

When we begin to take up the thread of the story at the second visit to Kadesh, we find time had, in the interval, been busy at its destructive work, and we thus gain confirmation of the view which has been taken of such second visit. No sooner has the sacred historian told us of the return of the Israelites to Kadesh, than he records the death and burial of Miriam, and has, at no

great distance of time, to narrate that of Aaron and Moses. While still at Kadesh a rising against these leaders takes place, on the alleged ground of a want of water. Water is produced from the rock at a spot called hence Meribah (strife). But Moses and Aaron displeased God in this proceeding, probably because they distrusted God's general providence and applied for extraordinary resources. On account of this displeasure it was announced to them that they should not enter Canaan. A similar transaction has been already spoken of as taking place in Rephidim (Exod. xvii. 1). The same name, Meribah, was occasioned in that as in this matter. Hence it has been thought that we have here two versions of the same story. But there is nothing surprising, under the circumstances, in the outbreak of discontent for want of water, which may well have happened even more than twice. The places are different, very wide apart; the time is different; and there is also the great variation arising out of the conduct and punishment of Moses and Aaron. On the whole, therefore, we judge the two records to speak of different transactions.

Relying on the ties of blood (Gen. xxxii. 8) Moses sent to ask of the Edomites a passage through their territory into Canaan. The answer was a refusal, accompanied by a display of force. The Israelites, therefore, were compelled to turn their face southward, and making a turn round the end of the Elanitic gulf reached Mount Hor, near Petra, on the top of which Aaron died. Finding the country bad for travelling, and their food unpleasant, Israel again broke out into rebellious discontent, and was punished by fiery serpents which bit the people, and much people died, when a remedy was provided in a serpent of brass set on a pole (Num. xxi. 4, sq.). Still going northward, and probably pursuing the caravan route from Damascus, they at length reached the valley of Zared (the brook), which may be the present Wady Kerek, that runs from the east into the Dead Sea. Hence they 'removed and pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites' (Num. xxi. 13). Beer (the well) was the next station, where, finding a plentiful supply of water, and being rejoiced at the prospect of the speedy termination of their journey, the people indulged in music and song, singing 'the song of the well' (Num. xxi. 17, 18). The Amorites being requested, refused to give Israel a passage through their borders, and so the nation was again compelled to proceed still in a northerly course. At length having beaten the Amorites, and Og, king of Bashan, they reached the Jordan, and pitched their tents at a spot which lay opposite Jericho. Here Balak, king of the Moabites, alarmed at their numbers and their successful prowess, invited Balaam to curse Israel, in the hope of being thus aided to overcome them and drive them out. The intended curse proved a blessing in the prophet's mouth. While here the people gave way to the idolatrous practices of the Moabites, when a terrible punishment was inflicted, partly by a plague which took off 24,000, and partly by the avenging sword. Moses, being commanded to take the sum of the children of Israel, from twenty years upwards, found they amounted to 600,730, among whom there was not a man of them whom Moses and Aaron numbered in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. xxvi. 47, 64). Moses is now directed to ascend Abarim, to Mount Nebo, in the land of Moab, over against Jericho, in order that he might survey the land which he was not to enter on account of his having rebelled against God's commandment in the desert of Zin (Num. xxvii. 12; Deut. xxxii. 49). Conformably with the divine command, Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, and there he died, at the age of 120 years: 'His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated' (Deut. xxxiv.). Under his successor, Joshua, the Hebrews were forthwith led across the Jordan, and established in the Land of Promise.

Thus a journey, which they might have performed in a few months, they spent forty years in accomplishing, bringing on themselves unspeakable toil and trouble, and in the end, death, as a punishment for their gross and sensual appetites, and their unbending indocility to the divine will (Num. xiv. 23; xxvi. 65). Joshua, however, gained thereby a great advantage; inasmuch as it was with an entirely new generation that he laid the foundations of the civil and religious institutions of the Mosaic polity in Palestine. This advantage assigns the reason why so long a period of years was spent in the wilderness.

The following works are valuable: *Palästina und die Südlich angrenzenden Länder;* German edition of Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine; Reise in das Morgenland in* 1836-7, von Schubert; *Commentaire Géographique sur l'Exode*, par L. de Laborde, Paris, 1841; *Maps Palästina*, von J. L. Grimm, Berlin, 1830; *Karten zu Robinson's Palästina*, von Kiepert, 1840; *Karte von Palästina*, von K. Ritter, 1842; *Wandkarte von Palästina*, von Völter, 1843; Louis Erbe, *Relief Karte von Palästina*, 1842; *Plan von Jerusalem*, von Helmuth, 1843. — J. R. B.

WAR. The Hebrew nation, so long as it continued in Egyptian bondage, might be regarded as unacquainted with military affairs, since a jealous government would scarcely permit so numerous and dense a population as the pastoral families of Israel, which retained their seat in Goshen, certainly were, to be in possession of the means of resistance to authority; but placed as this portion of the people was, with the wanderers of the wilderness to the south, and the mountain robbers of Edom to the east, some kind of defence must have been provided to protect its cattle, and in a measure to cover lower Egypt itself from foreign inroads. Probably the labouring population, scattered as bondsmen through the Delta, were alone destitute of weapons, while the shepherds had the same kind of defensive arms which are still in use, and allowed to all classes in eastern countries, whatever be their condition. This mixed state of their social position appears to be countenanced by the fact that, when suddenly permitted to depart, the whole organization required for the movement of such a multitude was clearly in force; yet not a word is said about physical means to resist the pursuing Egyptians, although at a subsequent period it does not appear that they were wanting to invade Palestine, but that special causes prevented them from being immediately resorted to. The Israelites were, therefore, partly armed; they had their bows and

arrows, clubs and darts, wicker or ox-hide shields, and helmets (caps) of skins, or of woven rushes, made somewhat like our bee-hives.

These inferences are borne out by the fact, that the Egyptian offensive weapons were but little better, and that the materials, being readily accessible and in constant use, could be manufactured by the cattle-herds and dwellers in tents themselves. From their familiar knowledge of the Egyptian institutions, the Israelites doubtless copied their military organization, as soon as they were free from bondage, and became inured to a warlike life during their forty years' wandering in the desert; but with this remarkable difference, that while Egypt reckoned her hundred thousands of regulars, either drawn from the provinces or nomes by a kind of conscription, such as is to be seen on the monuments, or from a military caste of hereditary soldiers, the Hebrew people, having preserved the patriarchal institution of nomades, were embodied by families and tribes, as is plainly proved by the order of march which was preserved during their pilgrimage to the Land of Promise. That order likewise reveals a military circumstance which seems to attest that the distribution of the greatest and most warlike masses was not on the left of the order of movement, that is, towards their immediate enemies, but always to the front and right, as if even then the most serious opposition might be expected from the east and north-east—possibly from a reminiscence of past invasions of the giant races, and of the first conquerors, furnished with cavalry and chariots, having come from those directions.

At the time of the departure of Israel, horses were not yet abundant in Egypt, for the pursuing army had only 600 chariots, and the shepherd people were even prohibited from breeding or possessing them. The Hebrews were enjoined to trust, under Divine protection, to the energies of infantry alone, their future country being chiefly within the basin of high mountains, and the march thither over a district of Arabia where to this day horses are not in use. We may infer that the inspired lawgiver rejected horses because they were already known to be less fit for defence at home than for distant expeditions of conquest, in which it was not intended that the chosen people should engage.

Where such exact order and instruction existed, it may not be doubted that in military affairs, upon which in the first years of emancipation so much of future power and success was to depend, measures no less appropriate were taken, and that, with the Egyptian model universally known, similar institutions or others equally efficient were adopted by the Israelites. Great tribal ensigns they had, and thence we may infer the existence of others for subordinate divisions. Like the Egyptians, they could move in columns and form well ordered ranks in deep fronts of battle, and they acted upon the best suggestions of human ingenuity united with physical daring, except when expressly ordered to trust to Divine interposition. The force of circumstances caused in time modifications of importance to be made, where doctrine had interfered with what was felt to hinge on political necessities; but even then they were long and urgently wanted before they took place, although the people in religion were constantly disregarding the most important points, and forsaking that God who, they all knew and believed, had taken them out of bondage to make them a great nation. Thus, although from the time the tribes of Reuben and Manasseh received their allotment east of the Jordan, the possession of horses became in some measure necessary to defend their frontier, still the people persisted for ages in abstaining from them, and even in the time of David would not use them when they were actually captured; but when the policy of Solomon had made extensive conquests, the injunction was set aside, because horses became all-important; and from the captivity till after the destruction of Jerusalem, the remnant of the eastern tribes were in part warlike equestrian nomades, who struck terror into the heart of the formidable Persian cavalry, won great battles, and even captured Parthian kings. When both the kingdoms of Judah and Israel were again confined to the mountains, they reduced their cavalry to a small body; because, it may be, the nature of the soil within the basin of the Libanus was, as it still is, unfavourable to breeding horses. Another instance of unwillingness to violate ancient institutions is found in the Hebrews abstaining from active war on the Sabbath until the time of the Maccabees.

There are, however, indications in their military transactions, from the time Assyrian and Persian conquerors pressed upon the Israelite states, and still more after the captivity, which show the influence of Asiatic military ideas, according to which the masses do not act with ordered unity, but trust to the more adventurous in the van to decide the fate of battle. Later still, under the Maccabees, the systematic discipline of Macedonian importation can be observed, even though in Asia the Greek method of training, founded on mathematical principles, had never been fully complied with, or had been modified by the existence of new circumstances and new elements of destruction; such, for example, as the use of great bodies of light cavalry, showering millions of arrows upon their enemies, and fighting elephants introduced by the Ptolemies.

But all these practices became again modified in Western Asia when Roman dominion had superseded the Greek kingdoms. Even the Jews, as is evident from Josephus, modelled their military force on the Imperial plan; their infantry became armed, and was manœuvred in accordance with that system which every where gave victory by means of the firmness and mobility which it imparted. The masses were composed of cohorts or their equivalents, consisting of centuriæ and deceniæ, or subdivisions into hundreds, fifties, and tens, similar to modern battalions, companies, and squads; and the commanders were of like grades and numbers. Thus the people of Israel, and the nations around them, cannot be accurately considered, in a military view, without taking into account the successive changes here noticed; for they had the same influence which military innovations had in Europe between the eras of Charlemagne and the Emperor Charles V., including the use of cannon—that invention for a long time making no greater alteration in the constitution of armies, than the perfection of war machines produced upon the military institutions of antiquity.

The army of Israel was chiefly composed of

infantry, as before remarked, formed into a trained body of spearmen, and, in greater numbers, of slingers and archers, with horses and chariots in small proportion, excepting during the periods when the kingdom extended over the desert to the Red Sea. The irregulars were drawn from the families and tribes, particularly Ephraim and Benjamin, but the heavy armed derived their chief strength from Judah, and were, it appears, collected by a kind of conscription, by tribes, like the earlier Roman armies; not through the instrumentality of selected officers, but by genealogists of each tribe, under the superintendence of the princes. Of those returned on the rolls, a proportion greater or less was selected, according to the exigency of the time; and the whole male population might be called out on extraordinary occasions. When kings had rendered the system of government better organised, there was an officer denominated השׁוטר *hashoter*, a sort of muster-master, who had returns of the effective force, or number of soldiers ready for service, but who was subordinate to the הסופר *hasopher*, or scribe, a kind of secretary of state. These officers, or the שׁטרים *shoterim*, struck out, or excused from service:—1st, those who had built a house without having yet inhabited it; 2nd, those who had planted an olive or vineyard, and had not tasted the fruit—which gave leave of absence for five years; 3rd, those who were betrothed, or had been married less than one year; 4th, the *faint-hearted*, which may mean the constitutionally delicate, rather than the cowardly, as that quality is seldom owned without personal inconvenience, and where it is no longer a shame, the rule would destroy every levy.

The levies were drilled to march in ranks (1 Chron. xii. 38), and in column by fives (חמשׁים, *chamushim**) abreast (Exod. xiii. 18); hence it may be inferred that they borrowed from the Egyptian system a decimal formation, two fifties in each division making a solid square, equal in rank and file: for twice ten in rank and five in file being told off by right hand and left hand files, a command to the left hand files to face about and march six or eight paces to the rear, then to front and take one step to the right would make the hundred a solid square, with only the additional distance between the right hand or unmoved files necessary to use the shield and spear without hindrance; while the depth being again reduced to five files, they could face to the right or left, and march firmly in column, passing every kind of ground without breaking or lengthening their order. The Pentastichous† system, or arrangement of five men in depth, was effected by the simple evolution just mentioned, to its own condensation to double number, and at the same time afforded the necessary space between the standing files of spearmen or light infantry for handling their weapons without obstacle, always a primary object in every ancient system of training. Between the fifth and sixth rank there was thus space made for the ensign bearer, who, as he then stood precisely between the companies of fifty each, had probably some additional width to enable his ensign being stationed between the four middlemost men in the square, having five men in file and five in rank before, behind, and on each side; there he was the regulator of their order, coming to the front in advancing, and to the rear in retreating; and this may explain why *στίχος*, a file, and the Hebrew *deghel* and *nes*, an ensign, are in many cases regarded as synonymous. Although neither the Egyptian depth of formation, if we may judge from their pictured monuments, nor the Greek phalanx, nor the Roman legion, was constructed upon decimal principles, yet the former was no doubt so in its origin, since it was the model of the Israelites, and the tetrastichal system, which afterwards succeeded, shows that it was not the original, since even in the phalanx, where the files formed, broke, and doubled by fours, eights, sixteens, and thirty-twos, there remained names of sections which indicated the first-mentioned division: such was the pentacontarchy, denoting some arrangement of fifty, while in reality it consisted of sixty-four, and the decany and decurio, though derived from a decimal order, signified an entire file or a compact line in the phalanx, without reference to number.

With centuries thus arranged in masses, both moveable and solid, a front of battle could be formed in simple decimal progression to a thousand, ten thousand, and to an army at all times formidable by its depth, and by the facility it afforded for the light troops, chariots of war, and cavalry, to rally behind and to issue from thence to the front. Archers and slingers could ply their missiles from the rear, which would be more certain to reach an enemy in close conflict, than was to be found the case with the Greek phalanx, because from the great depth of that body missiles from behind were liable to fall among its own front ranks. These divisions were commanded, it seems, by קצינים *ketsinim*, officers in charge of one thousand, who, in the first ages, may have been the heads of houses, but in the time of the kings were appointed by the crown, and had a seat in the councils of war; but the commander of the host שׂר על הצבא *sar hat-tzaba*, such as Joab, Abner, Benaiah, &c., was either the judge, or under the judge or king, the supreme head of the army, and one of the highest officers in the state. He, as well as the king, had an armour-bearer, whose duty was not only to bear his shield, spear, or bow, and to carry orders, but above all, to be at the chief's side in the hour of battle (Judg. ix. 54; 1 Sam. xiv. 6; xxxi. 4, 5). Beside the royal guards, there was, as early at least as the time of David, a select troop of heroes, who appear to have had an institution very similar in principle to our modern orders of knighthood, and may have originated the distinctive marks already pointed out as used by the Romans; for it seems they strewed their hair with gold dust [Arms.].

In military operations, such as marches in

* If this term could be satisfactorily shown to mean fifty, it would still contain the decimal system, and equally necessitate the above formation; but no army, except for a short manœuvre before battle, could march in column with a front of fifty, though the companies were of fifty men; they must always have been doubled for simplifying every efficient manœuvre. There was thus also an officer to command the front, and another the rear.

† Taking *στίχος* in its confined sense of a file or row of men arranged behind each other.

quest of, or in the presence of, an enemy, and in order of battle, the forces were formed into three divisions, each commanded by a chief captain or commander of a corps, or third part, שְׁלִישִׁי or שְׁלִשִׁי *shelish*, as was also the case with other armies of the east; these constituted the centre, and right and left wing, and during a march formed the van, centre, and rear. The great camp in the wilderness was composed of four of these triple bodies disposed in a quadrangle, each front having a tribal great central standard, and another tribal one in each wing.

The war cry of the Hebrews was not intonated by the ensign bearers, as in the West, but by a Levite; for priests had likewise charge of the trumpets, and the sounding of signals; and one of them, called 'the anointed for war,' who is said to have had the charge of animating the army to action by an oration, may have been appointed to utter the cry of battle (Deut. xx. 2). It was a mere shout (1 Sam. xvii. 20), or, as in later ages, *Halelujah!* while the so-called mottoes of the central banners of the four great sides of the square of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan, were more likely the battle-songs which each of the fronts of the mighty army had sung on commencing the march or advancing to do battle (Num. x. 34, 35, 36; Deut. vi. 4). These verses may have been sung even before the two books wherein they are now found were written, and indeed the sense of the text indicates a past tense. It was to these we think Jehoshaphat addressed himself when about to engage the Moabites: he ordered 'the singers before the Lord' to chant the response (2 Chron. xx. 21), 'Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever.' With regard to the pass-word, the sign of mutual recognition occurs in Judg. vii. 18, when, after the men had blown their trumpets and shown light, they cried 'The sword of the Lord and of Gideon'—a repetition of the very words overheard by that chief while watching the hostile army.

Before an engagement the Hebrew soldiers were spared fatigue as much as possible, and food was distributed to them; their arms were enjoined to be in the best order, and they formed a line, as before described, of solid squares of hundreds, each square being ten deep, and as many in breadth, with sufficient intervals between the files to allow of facility in the movements, the management of the arms, and the passage to the front or rear of slingers and archers. These last occupied posts according to circumstances, on the flanks, or in advance, but in the heat of battle were sheltered behind the squares of spearmen; the slingers were always stationed in the rear, until they were ordered forward to cover the front, impede an hostile approach, or commence an engagement, somewhat in the manner of modern skirmishers. Meantime, the king, or his representative, appeared clad in holy ornaments, הֲדְרֵי קֹדֶשׁ, *hadri kodesh* (in our version rendered 'the beauties of holiness,' Ps. cx. 3; 2 Chron. xx. 21), and proceeded to make the final dispositions for battle, in the middle of his chosen braves, and attended by priests, who, by their exhortations, animated the ranks within hearing, while the trumpets waited to sound the signal. It was now, with the enemy at hand, we may suppose, that the slingers would be ordered to pass forward between the intervals of the line, and, opening their order, would let fly their stone or leaden missiles, until, by the gradual approach of the opposing fronts, they would be hemmed in and recalled to the rear, or ordered to take an appropriate position. Then was the time when the trumpet-bearing priests received command to sound the charge, and when the shout of battle burst forth from the ranks. The signal being given, the heavy infantry would press forward under cover of their shields, with the רֹמַח *romach* protruded direct upon the front of the enemy: the rear ranks might then, when so armed, cast their darts, and the archers, behind them all, shoot high, so as to pitch their arrows over the lines before them, into the dense masses of the enemy beyond. If the opposing forces broke through the line, we may imagine a body of charioteers reserve, rushing from their post, and charging in among the disjointed ranks of the enemy, before they could reconstruct their order; or wheeling round a flank, fall upon the rear; or being encountered by a similar manœuvre, and perhaps repulsed, or rescued by Hebrew cavalry. The king, meanwhile, surrounded by his princes, posted close to the rear of his line of battle, and in the middle of showered missiles, would watch the enemy and strive to remedy every disorder. Thus it was that several of the sovereigns of Judah were slain (2 Chron. xviii. 33; xxxv. 23), and that such an enormous waste of human life took place; for two hostile lines of masses, at least ten in depth, advancing under the confidence of breastplate and shield, when once engaged hand to hand, had difficulties of no ordinary nature to retreat; because the hindermost ranks not being exposed personally to the first slaughter, would not, and the foremost could not, fall back; neither could the commanders disengage the line without a certainty of being routed. The fate of the day was therefore no longer within the control of the chief, and nothing but obstinate valour was left to decide the victory. Hence, with the stubborn character of the Jews, battles fought among themselves were particularly sanguinary; such, for example, as that in which Jeroboam king of Israel was defeated by Abijah of Judah (2 Chron. xiii. 3-17), wherein, if there be no error of copyists, there was a greater slaughter than in ten such battles as that of Leipsic, although on that occasion three hundred and fifty thousand combatants were engaged for three successive days, provided with all the implements of modern destruction in full activity. Under such circumstances defeat led to irretrievable confusion, and where either party possessed superiority in cavalry and chariots of war it would be materially increased; but where the infantry alone had principally to pursue a broken enemy, that force, loaded with shields and preserving order, could overtake very few who chose to abandon their defensive armour, unless they were hemmed in by the locality. Sometimes a part of the army was posted in ambush, but this manœuvre was most commonly practised against the garrisons of cities (Josh. viii. 12; Judg. xx. 38). In the case of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 15), when he led a small body of his own people, suddenly collected, and falling upon the guard of the captives, released them, and recovered

the booty, it was a surprise, not an ambush; nor is it necessary to suppose that he fell in with the main army of the enemy. At a later period there is no doubt the Hebrews formed their armies, in imitation of the Romans, into more than one line of masses, and modelled their military institutions as near as possible upon the same system.

Such were the instruments and the institutions of war, which the Hebrew people, as well as the nations which surrounded them, appear to have adopted; but in the conquest of the promised land, as regarded their enemies, the laws of war prescribed to them were, for purposes which we cannot now fully appreciate, more severe than in other cases. All the nations of antiquity were cruel to the vanquished, perhaps the Romans most of all: even the Egyptians, in the sculptures of their monuments, attest the same disposition—the males being very generally slaughtered, and the women and children sold for slaves. With regard to the spoil, except in the special case just referred to, the Hebrews divided it in part with those who remained at home, and with the Levites, and a portion was set apart as an oblation to the Lord (Num. xxxi. 50). This right of spoil and prey was a necessary consequence of military institutions where the army received no pay. שלל *shalal*, that is, the armour, clothes, money, and furniture, and מלקוח *malkoch*, prey, consisting of the captives and live stock, were collected into one general mass, and then distributed as stated above; or, in the time of the kings, were shared in great part by the crown, which then, no doubt, took care to subsist the army and grant military rewards. [Arms; Armour; Encampment; Engines; Fortifications; Standards.]—C. H. S.

WARS OF THE LORD. [Scripture.]

WASHING. [Ablution.]

WASHING OF FEET. The custom of washing the feet held, in ancient times, a place among the duties of hospitality, being regarded as a mark of respect to the guest, and a token of humble and affectionate attention on the part of the entertainer. It had its origin in circumstances for the most part peculiar to the East.

In general, in warm Oriental climes, cleanliness is of the highest consequence, particularly as a safeguard against the leprosy. The East knows nothing of the factitious distinctions which prevail in these countries between sanatory regulations and religious duties; but the one, as much as the other, is considered a part of that great system of obligations under which man lies towards God. What, therefore, the health demands, religion is at hand to sanction. Cleanliness is in consequence not next to godliness, but a part of godliness itself.

As in this Oriental view may be found the origin and reason of much of what the Mosaic law lays down touching clean and unclean, so the practice of feet-washing in particular, which considerations of purity and personal propriety recommended, hospitality adopted and religion sanctioned.

In temperate climes bathing is far too much neglected; but in the East the heat of the atmosphere and the dryness of the soil would render the ablution of the body peculiarly desirable, and make feet-washing no less grateful than salutary to the weary traveller. The foot, too, was less protected than with us. In the earliest ages it probably had no covering; and the sandal worn in later times was little else than the sole of our shoe bound under the foot. Even this defence, however, was ordinarily laid aside on entering a house, in which the inmates were either barefoot or wore nothing but slippers.

The washing of the feet is among the most ancient, as well as the most obligatory, of the rites of Eastern hospitality. From Gen. xviii. 4, xix. 2, it appears to have existed as early as the days of the patriarch Abraham. In Gen. xxiv. 32, also, 'Abraham's servant' is provided with water to wash his feet, and the men's feet that were with him. The same custom is mentioned in Judg. xix. 21. From 1 Sam. xxv. 41, it appears that the rite was sometimes performed by servants and sons, as their appropriate duty, regarded as of a humble character. Hence, in addition to its being a token of affectionate regard, it was a sign of humility.

The most remarkable instance is found in the 13th chapter of John's Gospel, where our Saviour is represented as washing the feet of his disciples, with whom he had taken supper. Minute particulars are given in the sacred narrative, which should be carefully studied, as presenting a true Oriental picture. From ver. 12, sq., it is clear that the act was of a symbolical nature; designed to teach, *à fortiori*, brotherly humility and goodwill. If the master had performed for his scholars an act at once so lowly yet so needful, how much more were the disciples themselves bound to consider any Christian service whatever as a duty which each was to perform for the other. The principle involved in the particular act is, that love dignifies any service; that all high and proud thoughts are no less unchristian than selfish; and that the sole ground of honour in the church of Christ is meek, gentle, and self-forgetting benevolence.

It was specially customary in the days of our Lord to wash before eating (Matt. xv. 2; Luke xi. 38). This was also the practice with the ancient Greeks, as may be seen in *Iliad*, x. 577. From Martial (*Epig.* iii. 50, 3, Deposui soleas), we see it was usual to lay aside the shoes, lest they should soil the linen. The usage is still found among the Orientals (Niebuhr, b. 54; Shaw, p. 202). But Jesus did not pay a scrupulous regard to the practice, and hence drew blame upon himself from the Pharisees (Luke xi. 38). In this our Lord was probably influenced by the superstitious abuses and foolish misinterpretations connected with washing *before* meat. For the same reason he may purposely have postponed the act of washing his disciples' feet till *after* supper, lest, while he was teaching a new lesson of humility, he might add a sanction to current and baneful errors [Ablution].

Vessels of no great value appear to have been ordinarily kept and appropriated to the purpose. These vessels would gain nothing in estimation from the lowly, if not mean, office for which they were employed. Hence, probably, the explanation of Ps. lx. 8, 'Moab is my wash-pot.' Slaves, moreover, were commonly employed in washing the feet of guests. The passage, then, in effect declares the Moabites to be the meanest of God's instruments.

The union of affectionate attention and lowly service is found indicated by feet-washing in 1 Tim. v. 10, where, among the signs of the widows that were to be honoured—supported, that is, at the expense of the church—this is given, if any one 'have washed the saints' feet.'

Feet-washing (pedilavium) became, as might be expected, a part of the observances practised in the early Christian church. The real signification, however, was soon forgotten, or overloaded by superstitious feelings and mere outward practices. Traces of the practice abound in ecclesiastical history, and remnants of the abuse are still to be found, at least in the Romish church. The reader, who wishes to see an outline of these, may consult Siegel, *Handbuch der ch. Alterthümer*, ii. 156, sq.—J. R. B.

WATCH, in Hebrew שָׁמַר, denoting 'to cut into,' thence 'to impress on the mind,' 'to observe,' 'to watch;' or צָפָה, the original meaning of which is 'to look out,' thence 'to watch;' as in English, 'to keep a look out,' is a nautical phrase for 'to watch.' Watching must have been coeval with danger, and danger arose as soon as man became the enemy of man, or had to guard against the attacks of wild animals. Accordingly we find traces of the practice of watching in early portions of the Hebrew annals. Watching must have been carried to some degree of completeness in Egypt, for we learn from Exod. xiv. 24, that the practice had, at the time of the Exodus, caused the night to be divided into different watches or portions, mention being made of the 'morning watch.' Compare 1 Sam. xi. 11. In the days of the Judges (vii. 19) we find 'the middle watch' mentioned. See Luke xii. 38. At a later period Isaiah plainly intimates (xxi. 5, 6), that there was a watch-tower in Jerusalem, and that it was customary on extraordinary occasions to set a watchman. Watchmen were, however, even at an earlier day, customarily employed in the metropolis, and their post was at the gates (2 Sam. xviii. 24, sq.; 2 Kings ix. 17, sq.; Ps. cxxvii. 1; Prov. viii. 34), where they gave signals and information, either by their voice or with the aid of a trumpet (Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. xxxiii. 6). At night watchmen were accustomed to perambulate the city (Cant. iii. 3; v. 7). In the New Testament we find mention made of the second, the third, and the fourth watch (Luke xii. 38; Matt. xiv. 25). The space of the natural night, from the setting to the rising of the sun, the ancient Jews divided into three equal parts of four hours each. But the Romans, imitating the Greeks, divided the night into four watches (*vigiliæ*), and the Jews, from the time they came under subjection to the Romans, following this Roman custom, also divided the night into four watches, each of which consisted of three hours: these four periods Mark (xiii. 35) has distinguished by the terms ὀψέ, μεσονύκτιον, ἀλεκτροφωνία, πρωΐ (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud*; Fischerus, *Prolus. de Vittis Lex. N. Test.*). The terms by which the old Hebrew division of the night was characterized are, 1. the first watch, אַשְׁמֹרֹת רֹאשׁ, beginning of the watches (Lam. ii. 19); 2. 'the middle watch,' אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַתִּיכוֹנָה (Judg. vii. 19); 3. 'the morning watch,' אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר (Deut. xiv. 24; 1 Sam. xi. 11). The first extended from sun-set to our ten o'clock, the second from ten at night till two in the morning, and the third from that hour till sun-rise (Ideler, *Chronol.* i. 486).—J. R. B.

WATER. No one can read far in the sacred Scriptures without being reminded of the vast importance of water to the Hebrews in Palestine, and indeed in every country to which their history introduces us; and more particularly in the deserts in which they wandered on leaving Egypt, as well as those into which they before or afterwards sent their flocks for pasture. A subject of such importance necessarily, therefore, claims considerable attention in a Biblical Cyclopædia. The natural waters have already been disposed of in the articles Palestine and River; and in Cistern and Jerusalem notice has been taken of some artificial collections. It now remains to complete the subject, under the present head, by the addition of such details as may not have been comprehended under the articles referred to.

It has been shown that the absence of small rivers, through the want of rain in summer, renders the people of the settled country, as well as of the deserts, entirely dependent upon the water derived from wells, and that preserved in cisterns and reservoirs, during the summer and autumn; and gives an importance unknown in our humid climate to the limited supply thus secured.

With respect to reservoirs, the articles to which reference has been made, will supply all the information necessary, except that we may avail ourselves of this opportunity of noticing the so-called Pools of Solomon, near Bethlehem, which being supplied from fountains, furnish some characteristics which distinguish them from cisterns, and deserve attention as ancient works of probably Hebrew art. The tradition which ascribes them to Solomon seems to be founded on the passage in which the writer of Ecclesiastes (usually supposed to be Solomon) speaks of his undertakings: 'I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted in them trees of all kinds of fruits; I made me *pools of water*, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees' (Eccles. ii. 5, 6). To these allusion is also supposed to be made in Canticles (iv. 12): 'A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed.' In short we have here a small secluded valley, obviously the site of an ancient garden, with reservoirs of water supplied by a 'shut up' fountain. Hence the valley itself goes among old travellers by the name of Hortus Conclusus. It is also conceived to be the spot mentioned by Josephus, who says: 'There was about fifty furlongs from Jerusalem a certain place called Etham, very pleasant in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water, whither Solomon was wont to go forth in the morning, sitting on high in his chariot' (*Antiq.* 8. 7). Maundrell (p. 86) thinks that the pools were very probably made by Solomon; but 'for the gardens,' he says, 'one may safely affirm that if Solomon made them in the rocky ground which is now assigned for them, he demonstrated greater power and wealth in finishing his design, than he did wisdom in choosing the place for it.' But Hasselquist (p. 145), a better judge, says: 'The place will well admit that Solomon might have formed a garden here, though it is not by nature an agreeable situation, being in a bottom; but perhaps this great

prince might choose to improve nature by art, as many other potentates have done.' The fact is, that a valley kept always verdant by the singular abundance of water, afforded peculiar advantages in this country for a pleasure-ground. Mariti remarks (*Voyage*, ii. 388): 'Nature has still preserved its original fertility to the valley of *Hortus Conclusus*. Although but little cultivated, the soil still produces a tolerable quantity of cotton and various kinds of grain. There are also seen fine plantations of fruit-trees, affording the most juicy fruits of the country. Various flowers and many fragrant plants grow there naturally at all seasons, among which are thyme, rosemary, marjorum, sage, absinthium, persil, rue, ranunculuses, and anemones.' De Breves (*Voyage*, p. 180) long bore similar testimony, though he was there in the very unfavourable month of July; he describes the valley as 'always green,' and, besides the plants just named, cultivated by nature's own kindly hand, he adds oranges, citrons, and pomegranates to the fruits which grow there. Zuallart (*Voyage*, iv. 3) says that several species of rare plants were found in the valley, and seems to insinuate the probability that they had been propagated from exotic plants which Solomon introduced into his gardens.

Of the pools a very good description is given by Dr. Wilde (*Narrative*, ii. 420): 'At the extremity of the valley we arrived at three enormous tanks, sunk in the side of a sloping ground, and which from time immemorial have been considered to be the workmanship of Solomon; and certainly they are well worthy the man to whom tradition has assigned their construction. These reservoirs are each upon a distinct level, one above the other, and are capable of holding an immense body of water. They are so constructed, both by conduits leading directly from one another, and by what may be termed anastamosing branches, that when the water in the upper one has reached to a certain height, the surplus flows off into the one below it, and so on into the third. These passages were obstructed and the whole of the cisterns were out of repair when we visited them, so that there was hardly any water in the lowest, while the upper one was nearly full of good pure water. Small aqueducts lead from each of these cisterns to a main one that conducts the water to Jerusalem. They are all lined with a thick layer of hard whitish cement, and a flight of steps leads to the bottom of each, similar to some of those in the holy city. Where the lowest cistern joins the valley of Etham it is formed by an embankment of earth, and has a sluice to draw off the water occasionally. A short distance from the upper pool I descended into a narrow stone chamber, through which the water passes from the neighbouring spring on its course to the cisterns. This likewise has a traditionary tale to tell; it is said to be the sealed fountain to which allusion is made in the 4th and 5th chapters of the Canticles. From an examination of this place, it appeared to me that several springs empty themselves into these reservoirs, which are partly cut out of the solid rock, and partly built with masonry.

'Nigh to the upper part there is a large square castle, apparently of an order of architecture belonging to the Christian era; and in all probability so placed to guard these waterworks during the period of the holy war, for we know to what extremities some of the early crusaders were reduced from the different wells being poisoned by the enemy upon their approach to Jerusalem.

'These fountains having been already described by Maundrell, Pococke, and others, I shall not dwell longer upon them, except to mention two circumstances, that it appears extraordinary they have not been adverted to by former travellers; the first is, their great similarity to the fountains assigned to Solomon at Ras-el-Ain, near Tyre; and the fact of both being natural springs, that were pent up so as to raise the water they contained to the level of its final destination. The second is, that these springs were originally collected into one stream, which must then have formed a considerable rivulet, and running through this valley, finally discharged its waters into the Asphaltine lake.

'On our return to the city we followed the track of the aqueduct as far as Bethlehem, and afterwards crossed it in several places on the road. It is very small, but the water runs in it with considerable rapidity, as we could perceive by the open places left in it here and there. From the very tortuous course that this conduit takes in following the different sinuosities of the ground, being sometimes above and sometimes beneath the surface, it is difficult to persuade oneself that it does not run up hill, as many have supposed. Finally, it crosses over the valley of Rephaim, on a series of arches, to the north of the lower pool of Gihon, and winding round the southern horn of Zion, is lost to view in the ruins of the city. It very probably supplied the pool of Bethesda, after having traversed a course of certainly not less than from thirteen to fifteen miles.'

To this very clear description we have only to add the measurements of Dr. Robinson (*Bibl. Researches*, ii. 165):—

Lower Pool.—Length, 582 feet; breadth at the east end, 207 feet; at the west end, 148 feet; depth at the east end, 50 feet, of which 6 feet water (in the month of May).

Middle Pool.—Distance above lower pool, 248 feet; length, 423 feet; breadth at the east end, 250 feet; at the west end, 160 feet; depth at the east end, 39 feet, of which 14 feet water.

Upper Pool.—Distance above middle pool, 160 feet; length, 380 feet; breadth at the east end, 236 feet; at the west end, 229 feet; depth at east end, 25 feet, of which 15 feet water.

Lord Nugent (*Lands Classical and Sacred*, ii. 11) makes the pools a few feet larger each way, but admits that Robinson's measurement may probably have been more exact than his own.

With respect to wells, their importance is very great, especially in the desert, where the means of forming them are deficient, as well as the supply of labour necessary for such undertakings, which, after all, are not always rewarded by the discovery of a supply of water. Hence in such situations, and indeed in the settled countries also, the wells are of the utmost value, and the water in most cases is very frugally used (Num. xx. 17-19; Deut. ii. 6, 28; Job xxii. 7). It is, however, not merely the value of the well itself, but certain other considerations that explain the contests about wells which we find in the histories of Abraham and Isaac (Gen. xxi. 25-31; xxvi. 15-22). Here we see that the people of the country

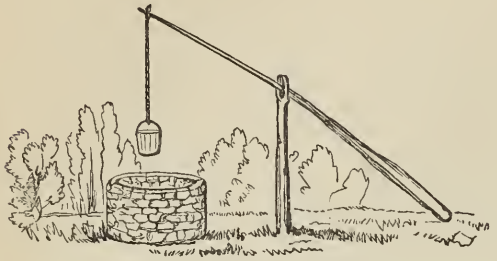
strenuously contested the right of the patriarchs to the wells which they digged, and even went so far as to fill up again (instead of leaving open for their own use) the wells which Abraham had opened. The fact is, however, that, at the present day, to dig a well at a station remote from a supply of water, is the most difficult and arduous operation which the chief of a tribe or clan undertakes; and the benefits of such a work are so highly appreciated, that the property in the well becomes vested in him and in his heirs for ever. While his clan is encamped near it, no persons not belonging to it can draw water from the well without his leave. This right exists, however, only on the understanding that the well is maintained in good condition; for if it gets out of repair, or is choked up, and remains in this state for any length of time, the property in it lapses to the person or tribe by whom it is restored to a serviceable condition. This is the law of the desert; but as its application to the Scriptural questions respecting the property of wells is important, we may be allowed to introduce from the *Pictorial History of Palestine* (p. 61) a passage bearing strongly on the subject: 'Abraham had digged a well near his encampment, and of the use of this the "servants" (probably the herdsmen) of Abimelech had violently deprived him. As men seldom act without some reason, or show of reason, which is deemed satisfactory to themselves, it may seem likely that Abimelech's people doubted the right of Abraham to apply the law of the desert to the common-lands of an appropriated territory, and to claim the exclusive possession of the well he had dug in such a land. If their view had been just, however, it could only have entitled them to a share of the water, and not have justified them in assuming that exclusive possession which they



538. [Solomon's Pools.]

denied to the party at whose expense the benefit had been secured. But taking into account some transactions of rather later date, we incline to think that the cause of all the differences about wells which we read of in the history of Abraham and of Isaac, lay deeper than this account supposes, and must be sought in a country more similarly circumstanced, than the open deserts, to that in which the patriarch was at this time sojourning. The best analogy is offered in Persia. There all waste lands—that is, all lands which are uncultivable from wanting the means of irrigation—are called 'God's lands;' and although the king is regarded as the general proprietor of the soil, such lands are free for any uses to which they can be applied; and whoever procures the means of irrigation becomes the proprietor of the land which he thus renders cultivable. Now, as among the immemorially ancient usages of the East, none are more ancient than those which relate to the occupation of land, it is not too much to suppose that a similar usage to this existed in the time of Abraham; and, if so, it is easy to conclude that the anxiety of the Philistines about the wells dug by Abraham arose from the apprehension that by the formation of such wells he would be understood to create a lien on the lands in which they lay, and would acquire an indefeasible right of occupation, or rather of possession; and it might seem to them inconvenient that so powerful a clan should acquire such a right in the soil of so small a territory as that which belonged to them. Hence their care, when Abraham afterwards left their part of the country, to fill up the wells which he had digged; and hence, also, the renewed and more bitter strife with Isaac when he, on arriving there, proceeded to clear out those wells and to dig new ones himself. That Isaac also pursued cultiva-

tion to some extent in the lands for which he had thus secured the means of irrigation, is a remarkable corroboration of the view we now take, as he certainly might, in this way, but we know not how he could otherwise acquire such a proprietary right as could alone entitle him to cultivate the soil.



539. [Well and Bucket at Jaffa.]

'Abimelech, in reply to the complaint of Abraham respecting the well, declared that the conduct of his servants had not been sanctioned by him, and that, indeed, this was the first time he had heard anything of the matter; and he made no objection to the proposal of Abraham, that the recognition of his (the patriarch's) right to the well should form a part of the proposed covenant. This proposal, thus represented as the sole matter for which Abraham himself took care to provide in a solemn engagement with the king of the Philistines, is, perhaps, as striking an indication of the supreme importance of water in those Eastern countries as can anywhere be found. Both parties then swore to the covenant, the terms of which have thus been stated; and as a memorial of the transaction, and in particular of his acknowledged right to the well, the patriarch gave it the name of Beer-sheba, *the well of the oath*. This imposition of commemorative names upon places was the principal of various methods which were resorted to in these earliest ages to perpetuate the memory of events and contracts, in the absence of those written documents which were afterwards found more suitable for such purposes.'

It appears in Scripture that the wells were sometimes owned by a number of persons in common, and that flocks were brought to them for watering on appointed days, in an order previously arranged. A well was often covered with a great stone, which being removed, the person descended some steps to the surface of the water, and on his return poured into a trough that which he had brought up (Gen. xxiv. 11-15; xxix. 3-10; Exod. ii. 16; Judg. v. 11). There is, in fact, no intimation of any other way of drawing water from wells in Scripture. But as this could only be applicable in cases where the well was not deep, we must assume that they had the use of those contrivances which are still employed in the East, and some of which are known from the Egyptian monuments to have been very ancient. This conclusion is the more probable as the wells in Palestine are mostly deep (Prov. xx. 5; John iv. 11). Jacob's well near Shechem is said to be 120 feet deep, with only fifteen feet of water in it (Maundrell, *Journey*, March 24); and the labour of drawing from so deep a well probably originated the first reluctance of the woman of Samaria to draw water for Jesus: 'Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep.' From this deeper kind of well the water is drawn by hand in a leathern bucket not too heavy, sometimes by a windlass, but oftener, when the water is only of moderate depth, by the *shadoof*, which is the most common and simple of all the machines used in the East for raising water, whether from wells, reservoirs, or rivers. This consists of a tapering lever unequally balanced upon an upright body variously constructed, and from the smaller end of which is suspended the bucket by a rope. This when lowered into the well, is raised full of water by the weight of the heavier end. By this contrivance the manual power is applied in lowering the bucket into the well, for it rises easily, and it is only necessary to regulate the ascent. This machine is in use under slight modifications from the Baltic to the Yellow Sea, and was so from the most remote ages to the present day. The specimen in the annexed woodcut occurs in the neighbourhood of Jaffa. The water of wells, as well as of fountains, was by the Hebrews called 'living water,' translated 'running water,' and was highly esteemed (Lev. xiv. 5; Num. xix. 17). It was thus distinguished from water preserved in cisterns and reservoirs.

WEAPONS. [Arms.]

WEASEL (חֹלֶד *choled*). Although, under the head Mole, we have given *choled* as its Hebrew synonyme, yet such is the vagueness of Oriental denominations, and the necessity of noticing certain species which, from their importance, cannot well be supposed to have been altogether disregarded in the Bible, that in this place a few words descriptive of the species of *Viverridæ* and *Mustelidæ*, known to reside in and near Palestine, and supposed to be collectively designated by the term *tzigim*, may not be irrelevant. They appear, both anciently and among ourselves, collected into a kind of group, under an impression that they belong to the feline family; hence we, like the ancients, still use the words civet-cat, tree-cat, pole-cat, &c.; and, in reality, a considerable number of the species have partially retractile claws, the pupils of the eyes being contractile like those of cats, of which they even bear the spotted and streaked liveries. All such naturally have arboreal habits, and from their low lengthy forms are no less disposed to burrow; but many of them, chiefly in other hemispheres, are excellent swimmers. One of these species, allied to, if not the same as, *genetta barbara*, is the *Thela Ælan*, by Bochart described as having 'various colours, and as being spotted like a pard. In Syria it is called *sephka*, in Arabia *zebzeb*, and lives by hunting birds and shaphans. There are besides, in the same region, the *nimse*, ferret or polecat (*putorius vulgaris*), for these two are not specifically distinct; *fert-el-heile*, the weasel (*mustela vulgaris Africana*), differing from ours chiefly in its superior size and darker colours. A *paradoxurus*, identical with or nearly allied to *P. typus*, occurs in Arabia; for it seems these animals are found wherever there are *palmiferæ*, the date-palm in particular being a favourite residence of the species. Two or three varieties, or perhaps species, of *nems* occur in Egypt solely; for the name is again generical in the Arabian dialects, and denotes the *ichneumon*. Arabia Proper has several other animals, not clearly distinguished, though belonging to the families here noticed; but which of these are the *sungiab* and the *simur*, or the *alphanex* of Ibn

Omar-ben-Abdulbar, quoted by Bochart, is undetermined; albeit they evidently belong to the



540. [Paradoxurus Typus—the Palm-Martin.]

tribes of vermin mammals of that region, excepting as regards the last mentioned, now known to be a kind of miniature fox (*megalotis zerda*, Ham. Smith), or *fennec* of Bruce, who nevertheless confounded it with *paradoxurus typus*, or an allied species which equally frequents palm-trees; but the *fennec* does not climb. It is equally impossible to point out the cats, tree-cats, and civet-cats noticed by the poet Nemesianus, who was of African birth; or by the Arabian Damir, who makes no further distinctive mention of them [Cat].—C. H. S.

WEAVING is too necessary an art not to have existed in the early periods of the world. It appears, indeed, to have in all nations come into existence with the first dawnings of civilization. The Egyptians had, as might be expected, already made considerable progress therein when the Israelites tarried amongst them; and in this, as well as in many other of the arts of life, they became the instructors of that people. Textures of cotton and of flax were woven by them; whence we read of the 'vestures of fine linen' with which Pharaoh arrayed Joseph (Gen. xli. 42); terms which show that the art of fabricating cloth had been successfully cultivated. Indeed Egypt was celebrated among the Hebrews for its manufacturing skill. Thus Isaiah (xix. 9) speaks of 'them that work in fine flax, and them that weave net-works.' That these fabrics displayed taste as well as skill, may be inferred from Ezekiel xxvii. 7, 'Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt.' So in Prov. vii. 16, 'I have decked my couch with coverings of tapestry, with fine linen of Egypt.' If, however, the Hebrews learnt the art of weaving in Egypt, they appear to have made progress therein from their own resources, even before they entered Palestine; for having before them the prospect of a national establishment in that land, they would naturally turn their attention to the arts of life, and had leisure, as well as occasion, during their sojourn of forty years in the wilderness, for practising those arts; and certainly we cannot but understand the words of Moses to imply that the skill spoken of in Exod. xxxv. 30, sq., came from a Hebrew, and not a foreign impulse. Among the Israelites, weaving, together with spinning, was for the most part in the hands of females (Prov. xxxi. 13, 19); nor did persons of rank and distinction consider the occupation mean (Exod. xxxv. 25; 2 Kings xxiii. 7). But as in Egypt males exclusively, so in Palestine men conjointly with women, wove (Exod. xxxv. 35). From 1 Chron. iv. 21, it may be inferred, that there were in Israel a class of master-manufacturers. The loom, as was generally the case in the ancient world, was high, requiring the weaver to stand at his employment.

Connected with the loom, are 1. ארג, the shuttle (Job vii. 6); 2. מנזר ארגים, the weaver's beam (1 Sam. xvii. 7; 2 Sam. xxi. 19); 3. יתד הארג, a weaver's pin (Judg. xvi. 14). The degree of skill to which the Hebrews attained, it is difficult to measure; probably, as Egypt and Babylon already supplied the finer specimens of workmanship, the Hebrews would content themselves with a secondary degree of excellence; but many passages conduce to prove that art presided over their weaving, as well as that the employment was very common (Lev. xiii. 48); Judg. xvi. 13; Isa. xxxviii. 12). The stuffs which they wove were of linen, flax, and wool. Among the latter must be reckoned those of camels' and goats' hair, which were used by the poor for clothing, and for mourning (Exod. xxvi. 7; xxxv. 6; Matt. iii. 4). Garments woven in one piece throughout so as to need no making, were held in high repute: whence the Jews have a tradition, that no needle was employed on the clothing of the high-priest, each piece of which was of one continued texture. This notion throws light on the language used by John xix. 23—'the coat was without seam,'—words that are explained by those which follow, and which Wetstein regards as a gloss—'woven from the top throughout.' This seamless coat, χιτὼν ἄρραφος, which has lately given occasion to the great religious reformatory movement begun by the priest Ronge, would seem to indicate that our Lord, knowing that his time was now come, had arrayed himself in vestments suitable to the dignity of his Messianic office.—J. R. B.

WEDDING. [Marriage.]

WEEK. [Sabbath.]

WEEKS, FEAST OF. [Pentecost.]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. This is a subject on which our knowledge is by no means complete and satisfactory. The notices respecting it which the Bible supplies are fragmentary and scattered; and though the Jewish authorities and Josephus afford us useful aids, and though the topic has received full and very careful investigation, still difficulties remain, and there are points on which we must be content either with probable conjecture, or an approximation to the truth.

So long, indeed, as the subject was insulated from its natural connections, and Hebrew weights and measures were studied apart from those of other ancient nations, the difficulty and uncertainty might well be considerable. Of late, however, a juster method of treatment has been originated in Germany. The Roman measures came from Greece, the Grecian from Phœnicia, the Phœnician from Babylon. Accordingly each system will throw light on the other, and all may be made to contribute something to the elucidation of the Hebrew weights and measures. This method of viewing the subject, and the satisfactory lessons which have been hence deduced, are to be ascribed to Böckh (*Metrologischen Untersuchun-*

gen, Berlin, 1838), who, availing himself of the results ascertained by English, French, and German scholars, and of the peculiar facilities afforded by a residence in the midst of the profound and varied erudition of the Prussian capital, has succeeded, by the application of his unwearied industry and superior endowments, in showing that the system of weights and measures of Babylon, Egypt, Palestine, Phœnicia, Greece, Sicily, and Italy, formed one great whole, with the most intimate relationships and connections. Our limited space permits only a very brief notice of the results which the inquiries of Böckh and his school seem to have ascertained. We will first advert to the names of the Hebrew weights or coins. 1. כִּכָּר is derived from a root signifying 'round,' so that the word denotes a circular-shaped mass of metal. Thus, etymologically, it may be rendered 'the circle.' In 2 Kings v. 22 it is translated 'talent;' the more exact determination of its import is fixed by the addition of another noun, as 'talent of silver' (2 Kings v. 22, 23), and 'talent of gold' (1 Kings ix. 14). 2. מָנֶה is a word of Shemitic origin, the Greek μνᾶ. It occurs in the Coptic New Testament in the forms *amna* and *emna*. In 1 Kings (x. 17) it is rendered 'pound.' 3. שֶׁקֶל, weight in the abstract, the usual weight among not only the Hebrews, but the Persians also—σίκλος. It varies in its import, and is rendered *shekel* by our translators, who have thus merely preserved the original word. 4. בֶּקַע, 'a *bekah*' (Exod. xxxviii. 26), is from a root which signifies 'to divide;' hence a moiety or half, 'half a shekel' (Gen. xxiv. 22). The word in this application is found only in the Pentateuch. 5. גֵּרָה, properly a grain, or, in particular, the bean, or St. John's bread, *carob;* hence, the smallest weight. The word is retained in the English translation; thus in Exod. xxx. 12, 'a shekel is twenty gerahs.' It is obvious that no determinate and satisfactory unit in a system of weights can be gained from a changeable object like a grain. This difficulty, however, is not peculiar to the Hebrews. We have our *grains*, and the Greeks had their *oboli*.

In order to determine the relations which the כִּכָּר, talent, bore to the smaller weights and coins, we may have recourse to those passages which speak of the formation of the sanctuary. According to Exod. xxx. 13, every Israelite above twenty years of age had to pay the poll-tax of half a shekel as a contribution to the sanctuary. Exod. xxxviii. 26, tells us that this tax had to be paid by 603,550 men. The sum amounted to 100 talents and 1775 sacred shekels (Exod. xxxviii. 25), which are equal to 603,550 half, or 301,775 sacred shekels. Accordingly the talent contained 3000 sacred shekels; for by deducting

from	301.775 shekels
	1,775 shekels
we get	300,000 shekels

to be divided among 100 talents, making each talent equal to 3000 sacred shekels.

The value of the sacred shekel in regard to the *gerah* is determined by Exod. xxx. 13; Lev. xxvii. 25; Num. iii. 47; Ezek. xlv. 20, to be twenty gerahs; the half-shekel, *bekah*, is equal to ten gerahs.

The determination of the relative value of the *maneh* is not easy, for it depends on a passage which in the Hebrew cannot be understood (Ezek. xlv. 12), 'Twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels shall be your maneh,' but which in the Septuagint (*Cod. Alex.*) seems to state that a maneh was equal to fifty sacred shekels. Thus there ensues this table:—

Kikkar	1				
Maneh	60	1			
Shekel	3000	50	1		
Bekah	6000	100	2	1	
Gerah	60,000	1000	20	10	1

The use of the precious metals as a medium of exchange in commerce, dates back at a very early period of history. A common, recognised, and invariable standard of value, by means of which goods, instead of being exchanged in barter, might be bought and sold, is indispensable in any but a primitive state of trade. Accordingly Abraham buys a field by the intervention of silver. But this silver or gold must have an acknowledged value, else it cannot answer its purposes; there must also be a means of ascertaining easily that the professed and ostensible is the real value of any particular portion. Hence coins which bear 'the image and superscription of Cæsar,' or some token to assure traders that the piece of money is right both in quality and in quantity. In early periods these tokens would obviously be imperfect. The quantity was ascertained by weight, the quality by inspection. If now we inquire how soon the Hebrews possessed money of a fixed value, we find Abraham himself buying a field for 'four hundred shekels of silver current with the merchant,' which value was ascertained by weight. Here the shekel is a recognised ordinary unit. This, at least, is clear. The passage may also imply that the purchase-money was paid, not in silver bars, but in silver pieces, shekels; the weighing being intended to ascertain that the shekels were of the proper value, which was not guaranteed by the fixed and invariable characters of a coin. If we pass on to the time of Moses, we find pieces of money of a fixed and recognised value in circulation among the Israelites, and are led to see that the amount of the circulating medium must have been very considerable. In the historical and prophetic writings of a later period mention is made of the shekel and of other pieces of money, so that their use in commerce before the Babylonish captivity is placed beyond a doubt. To term these pieces of money coin might be to mislead, since the word coin refers the mind to the operations of a government mint; but it is clear that as pieces of money of a fixed and recognised value they must have been of a certain size, and borne some distinctive marks. Hence the only difference between those pieces of money and coin lies in the quarter whence they came—private or public,—and in the sanction and authority which they accordingly carried with them. The Talmud refers coin, strictly so called, to the ante-exilian period. What the circulating medium among the Hebrews was made up of, may be inferred from what has gone before: there was the shekel; also the sacred shekel, if this latter is to be distinguished from the former; then the half-shekel, or bekah, which may be a name for the ordinary shekel; there was also a quarter-shekel, 'the fourth part of a shekel of

silver' (1 Sam. ix. 8); and, finally, the smallest silver coin, namely the gerah. From the passage in Samuel just cited it appears clear that those pieces of money were used in the ordinary commerce of life, and we have previously seen that money was demanded in the service of religion. In 1 Sam. ii. 36, a word occurs (אגורה) disguised in the English Version, under the phrase 'a piece of silver,' which may have been the current name for the coin that, from its weight, was called a gerah. It is thus evident that there prevailed among the Hebrews at an early period, a very considerable and much employed metallic circulating medium.

Of these coins the shekel is worth twenty gerahs; but there are three shekels mentioned in the Old Testament—the ordinary shekel, the shekel of the sanctuary (Exod. xxx. 13), and the shekel after the king's weight (2 Sam. xiv. 26). Are these three different kinds? or are they different descriptions for the same coin?—thus, is the first, shekel, the common name? the second, sacred shekel, the coin according to the ecclesiastical standard? the third, king's shekel, the same according to the regal standard, the function having passed from the priests to the monarch? No satisfactory answer to these questions presents itself, and our space forbids more discussion.

But how are we to gain a unit for estimating the worth of the ante-exilian coins, of which not one has come down to us? Let us notice one or two facts connected with the Jewish post-exilian coins. During the exile the Israelites became intimately acquainted with the money-system which prevailed in Babylon. After their return home, and during the Persian dominion, we find mention made of a Persian coin, דרכמון, the *darick* (Ezra ii. 69; viii. 27; Neh. vii. 70), which is Englished by 'drachm,' in the Greek δραχμή. The coin was so named after Darius, son of Hystaspes. These coins were made according to a foot, which was nearly the same as the Attic, and the standard weight of each was 1644 Parisian grains. In the Greek period, under the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, the Jews used the coins of these princes (1 Macc. xv. 5, 6); but when they gained a short national independence under the Maccabees, they coined many of their own, as, for instance, in the first year of Simon Maccabæus. Coins of Simon and his followers are in existence, and have been carefully studied. Confining our remarks to the coins of Simon Maccabæus, we mention the following ascertained facts: they bear the old Hebrew or Samaritan characters, and not the square letter of the modern Hebrew, which is derived from the former under the influence of tachygraphy and calligraphy. These coins are exclusively of silver. The shekels and half-shekels belong to the first and second years of Simon's reign. Doubts prevail as to the genuineness of the coins bearing date the third and fourth years of his rule, but the shekels of his third year are admitted to be genuine. The coins of the first year bear the inscription ירושלם קדשה, 'Holy Jerusalem.' The weight of the shekel varies somewhat. The heaviest weighs 271¾ Parisian grains; the greater part from 266 to 268 Parisian grains. The standard may approximatively be taken at 274 Parisian grains, to which Böckh is led by comparison with other systems. Here, then, we have the weight of the shekel; though we cannot say with certainty that it remained the same in every period of the earlier history, yet this becomes very probable when the retentiveness of customs which characterizes the East is taken into account. Besides, the change introduced by the Maccabees was a restoration of the old constitution under influences which would cause the past to be rigidly reproduced. The shekel in the Pentateuch and Ezekiel is found equal to twenty gerahs. What shekel? The inscription 'Holy Jerusalem' makes it likely that it was the sacred shekel. We thus, then, arrive at these conclusions:—

Gerah	=	13·7	Par. grains.
Bekah, or common shekel	,,	137	,,
Sacred shekel	,,	274	,,
Maneh	,,	13,700	,,
Talent	,,	822,000	,,

These conclusions find corroboration by being compared with the weights of other Eastern nations, and the whole inquiry authorizes the inference that one general system prevailed in the more civilized nations, being propagated from the East, from an early period of history.

In the New Testament (Matt. xvii. 24) the Temple-tax is a didrachm; from other sources we know that this 'tribute' was half a shekel; and in verse 27 the stater is payment of this tax for two persons. Now the stater—a very common silver Attic coin, the tetradrachm—weighed 328·8 Parisian grains: thus not considerably surpassing the sacred shekel (274 Parisian grains). Are we, then, to hold the stater of the New Testament for an Attic tetradrachm? If so, its agreement with the sacred shekel is striking. There is reason in the passage of Matthew and in early writers for regarding the two as the same. And the Attic tetradrachm sank from its original weight of 328·8 to 308 and 301. This approximation must have gone on increasing, for under the empire a drachm was equal to a Roman denarius, which in the time of Tiberius weighed 69·8 Parisian grains. Four denarii were equal to 279 Parisian grains; so that, if the denarius is regarded as an Attic drachm, the sacred shekel may be correctly termed a tetradrachm. With this Josephus agrees (*Antiq.* iii. 8. 2), who says that the shekel (σίκλος), a Hebrew coin, contains four Attic drachms.

Names of measures of length are for the most part taken from members of the human body, which offered themselves, so to say, naturally for the purpose, and have generally been used in all times and places in instances where minute accuracy was not demanded. And though, within certain limits, these measures have approached to sameness—for the human foot, to take it as an example, may have been slightly over or somewhat under twelve inches, while it never in any generation extended to twenty-four inches—yet was there scope also for considerable latitude and diversity, and nothing like a system of normal measures can hence be gained, unless means are found for determining the average length of any one of these measures, or for fixing the length which it was intended to represent.

At the basis of the Hebrew system of measures of length lies אמה, cubit, the fore arm, or the distance from the point of the elbow to the tip of the third finger. This is a word supplied by no

Hebrew root, but derived from the Egyptian Mahe, signifying 'cubit,' which, with the same meaning, is found in the Coptic in the form Mahi, and with the prefix, Ammahi.

A longer measure, applied in measuring buildings, was the קנה (Ezek. xli. 8; Apoc. xxi. 15), rendered in the common version 'reed,' more properly 'rod.' In Judg. iii. 16, Ehud's sword (not 'dagger') is said to have been in length גמד. As he wore this weapon under his mantle, the length of this measure may be approximatively conjectured.

Smaller measures of length were, 1. זרת, from a root meaning to expand (the hand), hence a 'span.' This word is found in the Egyptian, which seems to have borrowed it from the Shemitic. 2. טפח, the breadth of the hand (1 Kings vii. 26; Exod. xxv. 25). 3. אצבע, the finger (Jerem. lii. 21), the denomination of the smallest measure of length. Thus we have the breadth of the finger, of the hand, of the span—the length from the tip of the little finger to the point of the thumb,—and the cubit.

In order to ascertain the length of these, we take the cubit as our standard. The longer measure, reed or rod, consists, in Ezek. xli. 8, of six great cubits, that is, of six such cubits as were a hand's breadth longer than the common cubit (Ezek. xl. 5; xliii. 13). The relation of zereth, span; tepach, hand's breadth: and ezba, finger, is not given in the Old Testament. By comparing together Exod. xxv. 10, with Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 6. 5), we find the span equal to half a cubit, for the length, which Moses terms two cubits and a half, Josephus designates five spans. The relation of tepach (hand's breadth) and ezba (finger) to ammah (cubit) appears from their several names and their import in other systems. The hand's breadth is four fingers; the span contains three times the breadth of the hand, or twelve fingers. This is the view which the Rabbins uniformly take. We find a similar system among the Greeks, who reckoned in the cubit twenty-four fingers, six hands' breadths, and two spans. The same was the case with the Egyptians.

But the ammah itself is not a fixed unit, for in Ezekiel we have found a cubit which was a hand's breadth longer than the common cubit. The subject has been amply discussed, and opinions are various [Cubit]. We may conclude that there were two cubits, the sacred of seven, the common of six hands' breadth; and thus these two cubits were to each other as seven to six, that is, the sacred cubit held seven hands' breadths of the ordinary cubit of six hands' breadth. There is no reason, however, to think that the sacred cubit was divided into seven parts. It was the older, and would be divided according to the duodecimal method which prevails in this matter, and accordingly would contain six palms and twenty-four fingers, only that its fingers and palms were greater than those of the ordinary cubit. This is proved by the express statements of the Talmud, according to which the sacred, as well as the common cubit, contained six hands' breadths.

As we have no unit of measure given us in the Scriptures, nor preserved to us in the remains of any Hebrew building, and as neither the Rabbins nor Josephus afford the information we want, we have no resource but to apply for information to the measures of length used in other countries. We go to the Egyptians. The longer Egyptian cubit contained about 234·333 Parisian lines, the shorter about 204·8. According to this, the Hebrew measures of length were these:—

Sacred cubit	234·333	Parisian lines.
The span	117·166	,,
The palm	39·055	,,
The finger	9·7637	,,
Common cubit	204·8	,,
The span	102·4	,,
The palm	34·133	,,
The finger	8·533	,,

The two sets of measures, one for dry, another for liquid things, rest on the same system, as appears from the equality of the standard for dry goods, namely the ephah, with that for liquids, namely bath. The difference in the names is merely accidental. חמר (homer), denoting a heap, is the name for the largest measure of dry goods (Lev. xxvii. 16; Num. xi. 32; Ezek. xlv. 11). In later times the homer was replaced by the cor (Ezek. xlv. 14), which is found among the Hellenists in the form *κόρος*. In Hosea iii. 2, the לתך, 'half homer,' is mentioned, which the Seventy render by *ἡμιόκορος*, and the Vulgate by 'corus dimidius.' Another measure is איפה, which comes from an Egyptian root denoting 'to measure.' סאה, found in the Septuagint, the New Testament, and Josephus, under the form *σάτον*, is of uncertain origin. The Seventy translate it sometimes by simply *μέτρον*, 'measure' (Gen. xviii. 6), and the dual form by *δίμετρον* (2 Kings vii. 1). עמר, in its derivation and meaning resembles חמר, but denotes a much smaller mass. קב (cab), the hollow, the bowl, was adopted by the Greeks as *κάβος*. These are measures for dry goods. We now pass on to liquid measures. 1. בת, is from a root which denotes 'to determine,' 'to measure.' It is put in relation to the homer in Ezek. xlv. 11, 14; whence we learn that the bath was applied to fluids. 2. הין, is retained by the Seventy in the forms *εἶν*, *ἴν*, *ὖν*. The word is of Egyptian origin. 3. לג (log), is a word found only in the Mosaic law regarding the cleansing of the leper (Lev. xv. 12, 'the log of oil'). It is referable to an Arabic root which denotes 'to press into.' The feminine form is found in the Syriac, with the meaning of bowl. Log had the same import as cab.

In order to determine the relations between these measures, we take the ephah and bath, which, in Ezek. xlv. 11, are declared to be of one measure. They each contained the tenth part of a homer (Ezek. xlv. 11, 14); thus the relation of the homer to the bath and the ephah belongs to a decimal division (Exod. xvi. 36).

The Seah, *μέτρον*: the translation given by the Septuagint of the Hebrew in Exod. xvi. 36, is as follows:—*τὸ δὲ γομὸρ τὸ δέκατον τῶν τριῶν μέτρων ἦν*,—'the homer is the tenth part of three *measures*' ($\frac{3}{10}$). With the Septuagint and the Targum the ephah was equal to three seahs (comp. Matt. xiii. 33, *σάτα τρία*, with Gen. xviii. 6, and Jerome on the former place). The same relation is derived from a passage in Josephus (*Antiq.* ix. 4. 5), where the contents of the seah are

given as one Italian modius and a half, for the modius held sixteen sextarii, and the ephah, according to Josephus, twenty-two sextarii; a modius and a half is, therefore, the third part of the ephah. The Rabbins entirely concur in these views. The cab, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* ix. 4. 4; comp. 2 Kings vi. 25), is equal to four xestæ, for one-fourth of a cab he translates by ξέστης, seventy-two of which make a μετρητής, a measure; eighteen cabs then make an ephah, and six a seah. In the same way the Rabbins determine the proportion of the cab to the seah (comp. the passage in Leusden, *Phil. Mixtus*, p. 205). There remain the hin and the log. The hin, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 9. 4), is an old Hebrew mass, which contained two Attic χόες, of which twelve went to the Attic metretes; therefore the hin is the sixth part of the bath. The log, according to the Rabbins, is the twenty-fourth part of the seah, consequently the seventy-second part of the bath, and the twelfth part of the hin (comp. Leusden, *Phil. Mixtus*, p. 207).

There are two divisional systems found in these measures: 1. A decimal; and 2. A duodecimal, thus:—

Homer . .	1		
Bath and ephah	10	1	
Gomer . .	100	10	1

By putting together the measures for dry and those for liquid articles, we obtain the duodecimal division:—

Ephah or Bath	1				
Seah . .	3	1			
Hin . . .	6	2	1		
Cab . . .	18	6	3	1	
Log . . .	72	24	12	4	1

Here all the numbers are divisible either by twelve or by multiples of twelve. Such a duodecimal arrangement is found in the cubic measures of the Greeks and Romans. Hence the three systems give and receive support.

We will now exhibit all these measures in relation to the greatest, the homer:—

Homer . . .	1					
Bath and Ephah	10	1				
Seah . . .	30	3	1			
Hin . . .	60	6	2	1		
Gomer . . .	100	10	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	1	
Cab . . .	180	18	6	3	$1\frac{1}{3}$	1
Log . . .	720	72	24	12	$7\frac{1}{3}$	4	1

The duodecimal is the original principle, the decimal system being introduced only to bring the two methods into harmony. The homer did not at first form a part of the Hebrew system (Ezek. xlv. 11).

For the actual size of these measures we must refer to Josephus, of whom Theodoret (*In Exod.* xxix.) says: πιστευτέον δὲ ἐν τούτοις τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ ἔθνους τὰ μέτρα ἐπισταμένῳ,—'follow in these things Josephus, who well understood the measures of the nation' (comp. *Antiq.* viii. 3. 8). To the homer or cor Josephus ascribes (*Antiq.* xv. 9. 2) twelve Attic medimni, where the reading should be metretæ. Bath and Ephah are the same. Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 2. 9) determines each at seventy-two xestæ, and makes them equal to an Attic metretes. The saton is twenty-four sextarii; the hin is twelve sextarii; the gomer, the tenth part of the ephah, must hold seven and one-fifth sextarii; the cab is equal to four xestæ. On the log Josephus gives no information; as the fourth part of the cab, it held a xestes. The Attic metretes, which corresponded with the Hebrew bath and ephah, contains 739,800 Parisian grains of rain-water, which would fill a space of about 1985 Parisian cubic inches. Thus we come to the following table:—

	Size.	Weight in Water.
	Par. cub. in.	Par. gr.
Homer	19857·7	7398000
Ephah	1985·77	739800
Seah	661·92	246600
Hin	330·96	123300
Gomer	198·577	73980
Cab	110·32	41100
Log	27·58	10275

Böckh has proved that it is in Babylon we are to look for the foundations of the metrological systems of the ancient world; for the entire system of measures, both eastern and western, must be referred to the Babylonish foot as to its basis. Here is the root of the original system, and of the individual systems which sprang from the original one. This important fact, ascertained and established by Böckh, has been investigated and confirmed by an independent inquirer of the highest authority, namely, K. O. Müller. Not only the metrological system, but with it other knowledge went westward from Babylon. This metrological system bears traces of having proceeded from the hands of Babylonian astronomers. The ancient world was dependent for its astronomy on Babylon. Herodotus (ii. 101) says that the Greeks borrowed the division of the day into twelve parts from the Babylonians, calling to mind the duodecimal division which we have spoken of. The Zodiac too is of Asiatic, Ideler holds of Babylonian origin; but recent investigations have shown a striking agreement between the astronomy of the Babylonians and the Chinese, to say nothing of other nations in the farther east (Ideler, *Ueber die Zeitrechnung der Chinesen*, &c., Berlin, 1839; Biot, *Journal des Savans*, Dec. 1839, Jan. and May, 1840; *Göttingen Gel. Anzeigen*, 1840, p. 201, sq.). Of this common knowledge several considerations concur in referring the origin, not to the Chinese, but to the Babylonians. Hence Babylon appears as the land which was the teacher of the east and the west in astronomical and mathematical knowledge, standing as it were in the middle of the ancient world, and sending forth rays of light from her two extended hands. Palestine could not be closed against these illuminations, which in their progress westward must have enlightened its inhabitants, who appear to have owed their highest earthly culture to the Babylonians and the Egyptians.

The following works may be consulted:—J. D. Michaelis, *Supplem. ad Lex. Hebr.*, p. 1521; Hussey, *Essay on the Ancient Weights, Money*, &c., Oxford, 1836; F. P. Bayer, *De Nummis Hebræo-Samaritanis*, Valentiæ Edetanorum, 1781, written in reply to *Die Unächtheit der Jud. Münzen*, Bützow, 1779; Hupfeld, *Betrachtung dunkler Stellung der A. T. Textgeschichte*, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830,

2nd heft, pp. 247-301 ; G. Seyffarth, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Literatur, Kunst, Mythol. und Gesch. des alten Aegypten;* see especially Bertheau, *Zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, Göttingen, 1842; Cumberland, *Essay on Weights and Measures ;* Arbuthnot, *Tables of Ancient Coins*, &c. Hussey's work, referred to above, labours under the disadvantage of having been compiled apart from any acquaintance with the best German writers ; and though it is a meritorious survey of much that has been written in English and Latin on the subject, yet for want of comprising the views of Böckh—as glanced over in this article—it has little scholarlike value. A thorough work on the subject in the English language, embracing what has been recently accomplished on the Continent, is a desideratum.—

J. R. B.

WELL. [Water.]

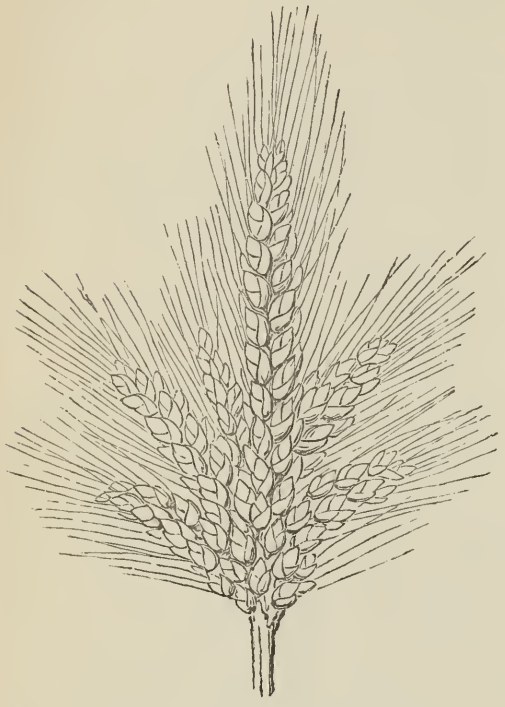
WEST (מַעֲרָב, בּוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, יָם, אָחוֹר). The Shemite, in speaking of the quarters of the heavens, &c., supposes his face turned towards the east; so that the east is before him, קֶדֶם, strictly what is before, or in front; the south on his right hand, תֵּימָן, strictly what lies to the right ; the north on his left hand, שְׂמֹאל, the left side ; and the west behind him, אָחוֹר, literally the hinder side. The latter Hebrew word, though never translated 'west' in our version, means so: as in Isa. ix. 12, 'the Philistines behind,' opposed to the Syrians, קֶדֶם ; Sept. ἀφ' ἡλίου δυσμῶν ; Vulg. ab occidente ; and in Job xxiii. 8. The words (Deut. xi. 24), 'the uttermost sea,' הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן, are rendered in Sept. ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ; Vulg. ad mare occidentale (comp. xxxiv. 2 ; Joel ii. 20). The more general use of the word אחור for the west, was doubtless superseded among the inhabitants of Palestine by יָם, literally 'the sea,' that is, the Mediterranean Sea, which lay to the west, and which, as a more palpable object, became to them the representative of the west generally, and chiefly associated with their ideas of it. Accordingly this word יָם, and its derivatives יָמָּה, &c., are thirty-two times rendered by θάλασσα, in the Sept., and only once by δυσμαί: in the Vulgate, by occidens and mare. It is used to signify a quarter of the heavens, or of the earth (Gen. xxviii. 14 ; Deut. xxxiii. 23 ; 1 Kings vii. 25 ; 1 Chron. ix. 24 ; 2 Chron. iv. 4 ; Isa. xi. 14; xlix. 12; Ezek. xlviii. 1 ; Hos. xi. 10 ; Zech. xiv. 4). It is used adjectively in the same sense ; as, west border (Num. xxxiv. 6 ; Josh. xv. 12; Ezek. xlv. 7); western (Num. xxxiv. 6) ; west quarter (Josh. xviii. 14) ; west side (Exod. xxvii. 12; xxxviii. 12 ; Num. ii. 18 ; xxxv. 5; Ezek. xlviii. 3-8, 23, 24) ; westward (Gen. xiii. 14; Num. iii. 23; Deut. iii. 27; Ezek. xlviii. 18 ; Dan. viii. 4) ; west wind (Exod. x. 19). Those words of Moses, ' Naphtali, possess thou the west and the south' (Deut. xxxiii. 23), seem to contradict the statement of Josephus, that this tribe possessed the east and the north in Upper Galilee (*Antiq.* v. 1. 22); but Bochart interprets 'the south,' not with regard to the whole land of Canaan, but to the Danites, mentioned in ver. 22; and by 'the west' he understands the lake of Tiberias, otherwise called the *sea* of Tiberias, or Galilee, or Gennesaret ; for the portion of Naphtali extended from the south of the city called Dan or Laish, to the Sea of Tiberias, which was in this tribe. So all the Chaldee paraphrasts expound the word יָם, here translated *west;* Sept. θάλασσαν καὶ Λίβα ; Vulg. mare et meridiem. (*Hierozoic.* pt. i. lib. iii. c. 18). In some passages the word signifies the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and 'the islands of the sea' denotes the western parts of the world, or European nations. Thus, in regard to the future restoration of the Jews to their own land, it is said (Hosea xi. 10), 'when the Lord shall roar, then the children shall tremble (that is, hasten ; an allusion to the motion of a bird's wings in flying) from the west' (see ver. 11, and comp. Isa. xxiv. 14, 15, with Isa. xi. 11 ; xxiv. 14). In the account given of the removal of the plague of locusts from Egypt, we are told (Exod. x. 19), 'the Lord turned a mighty strong west wind,' רוּחַ־יָם, ἄνεμον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. Supposing that these were the very words of Moses, or a literal rendering of his words, it follows that the Egyptians made a similar reference to the Mediterranean, since Moses, an Egyptian, would no doubt use the language of his country in describing an event which occurred in it. If his words do not refer to the Mediterranean, they must refer to the far distant Atlantic, which, however, according to Herodotus, was not known to the Egyptians till many ages afterwards. Moses also represents God as saying to *Abram, in the land*, ' Lift up thine eyes and look northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward,' יָמָּה (Gen. xiii. 14). The allusion to the sea in the latter passage may be accounted for, upon the supposition that the very words of God to Abram had been preserved, and were inserted by Moses in his history. In two passages (Ps. cvii. 3; Isa. xlix. 12) מִיָּם stands opposed to מִצָּפוֹן, but ought still to be rendered 'the west :' comp. Amos viii. 12 ; Deut. xxxiii. 23. The west is also indicated by the phrase אֶרֶץ מְבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, ἀπὸ γῆς δυσμῶν, de terra occasus solis. These words are translated 'the west country' in Zech. viii. 7, literally, the country of the going down of the sun, and are fully translated in Ps. l. 1 ; cxiii. 3 ; Mal. i. 11 ; comp. Deut. xi. 30 ; Josh. i. 4 ; xxiii. 4. Another word by which the west is denoted, is מַעֲרָב, from עָרַב, to remove, pass away, disappear as the sun does ; hence the quarter of the heavens, &c., where the sun sets, the west. The same idea is conveyed in the Greek word δυσμαί, from δύω. It occurs in 1 Chron. xii. 15 ; Ps. lxxv. 6 ; ciii. 12 ; cvii. 3 ; Isa. xliii. 5 ; xlv. 6 ; lix. 19 : Sept. δυσμαί ; Vulg. occidens. In Dan. viii. 5, Λίψ, occidens. It is used to denote the west quarter of the heavens or earth. In the Apocrypha and New Testament the word translated 'west' invariably corresponds to δυσμαί (Judith ii. 19 ; Matt. viii. 11 ; xxiv. 27 ; Luke xii. 54; xiii. 29 ; Rev. xxi. 13 ; Vulg. occidens, occasus. Our Lord's memorable words, 'They shall come from the east and the west,' &c. (Matt. viii. 11), to which Luke adds ' and from the north and the south' (xiii. 29), signify all the regions of the world ; as in classical writers also (Xen. *Cyr.* i. 1. 3). Grotius thinks that this passage refers to the promise to Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 14). In our Lord's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (Matt. xxiv. 27)—' For as the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so also shall the coming of the son of man be'—he is supposed to have intimated the precise direction in

which the Roman army conducted the invasion. His reference to *the* cloud, *τὴν νεφέλην*, rising out of the west, as the precursor of a shower (comp. 1 Kings xviii. 43-46), still corresponds to the weather in Palestine. Volney says, *L'ouest* et le *soud-ouest*, qui règnent (*en Syrie et Palestine*) de Novembre en Février, sont, pour me servir de l'expression des Arabes, les pères des pluies :— 'The west and south-west winds, which in Syria and Palestine prevail from November to February, are, to borrow an expression of the Arabs, "*the fathers of showers.*"' (*Voyage en Syrie*, tom. i. p. 297; Shaw's *Travels*, p. 329.)—J. F. D.

WHALE (תַּן *than*, and תַּנִּין *thannin;* Sept. and Matt. xii. 40, *κῆτος*), occurs in several places of the Old Testament, and once in the New Testament. In the passages where scales and feet are mentioned as belonging to *than*, commentators have shown that the crocodile is intended, which then is synonymous with the leviathan; and they have endeavoured also to demonstrate, where *thannin* draw the dugs to suckle their young, that seals are meant, although cetacea nourish theirs in a similar manner. It may be doubted whether, in most of the cases, the poetical diction points absolutely to any specific animal, particularly as there is more force and grandeur in a generalized and collective image of the huge monsters of the deep, not inappropriately so called, than in the restriction to any one species, since all are in Gen. i. 26 made collectively subservient to the supremacy of man. But criticism is still more inappropriate when, not contented with pointing to some assumed species, it attempts to rationalise miraculous events by such arguments; as in the case of Jonah, where the fact of whales having a small gullet, and not being found in the Mediterranean, is adduced to prove that the huge fish דָּג *dag* was not a cetacean, but a shark! Now, if the text be literally taken, the transaction is plainly miraculous, and no longer within the sphere of zoological discussion; and if it be allegorical, as some, we think, erroneously assume, then, whether the prophet was saved by means of a kind of boat called *dagh*, or it be a mystical account of initiation where the neophite was detained three days in an ark or boat, figuratively denominated a fish, or Celtic *avanc*, the transaction is equally indeterminate; and it assuredly would be derogating from the high dignity of the prophet's mission, to convert the event into a mere escape, by boat, or into a pagan legend such as Hercules, Bacchus, Jemsheed, and other deified heroes of the remotest antiquity, are fabled to have undergone, and which all the ancient mysteries, including the Druidical, symbolized. It may be observed, besides, of cetaceous animals, that though less frequent in the Mediterranean than in the ocean, they are far from being unknown there. Joppa, now Jaffa, the very place whence Jonah set sail, displayed for ages in one of its pagan temples huge bones of a species of whale, which the legends of the place pretended were those of the dragon monster slain by Perseus, as represented in the Arkite mythus of that hero and Andromeda; and which remained in that spot till the conquering Romans carried them in triumph to the great city. Procopius mentions a huge sea-monster in the Propontis, taken during his præfecture of Constantinople, in the 36th year of Justinian, (A.D. 562), after having destroyed vessels at certain intervals for more than fifty years. Rondoletius enumerates several whales stranded or taken on the coasts of the Mediterranean: these were most likely all *orcas*, *physeters*, or *campedolios*, i. e. toothed whales, as large and more fierce than the *mysticetes*, which have balein in the mouth, and at present very rarely make their way farther south than the Bay of Biscay; though in early times it is probable they visited the Mediterranean, since the present writer has seen them within the tropics. In the Syrian seas, the Belgian pilgrim Lavaers, on his passage from Malta to Palestine, incidentally mentions a 'Tonynvisch,' which he further denominates an 'oil-fish,' longer than the vessel, leisurely swimming along, and which the seamen said prognosticated bad weather. On the island of Zerbi, close to the African coast, the late Commander Davies, R.N., found the bones of a cachalot on the beach. Shaw mentions an orca more than sixty feet in length, stranded at Algiers; and the late Admiral Ross Donelly saw one in the Mediterranean near the island of Albaran. There are, besides, numerous sharks of the largest species in the seas of the Levant, and also in the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea, as well as cetacea, of which *balæna bitan* is the largest in those seas, and two species of *halicore* or *dugong*, which are herbivorous animals, intermediate between whales and seals.—C. H. S.

WHEAT (חִטָּה *chittah*) occurs in various passages of Scripture, as enumerated by Celsius: Gen. xxx. 14; Exod. ix. 32; xxix. 2; xxxiv. 22; Deut. viii. 8; xxxii. 14; Judg. vi. 11; xv. 1; Ruth ii. 23; 1 Sam. vi. 13; xii. 17; 2 Sam. iv. 6; xvii. 28; 1 Kings v. 11; 1 Chron. xxi. 20, 23; 2 Chron. ii. 15; xxvii. 5; Job xxxi. 40; Ps. lxxxi. 16; cxlvii. 14; Cant. vii. 2; Isa. xxviii. 25; Jer. xii. 13; xli. 8; Ezek. iv. 9; xxvii. 17; xlv. 13; and Joel i. 11. There can be no doubt that *chittah*, by some written *chittha*, *chetteth*, *cheteh*, &c., is correctly translated 'wheat,' from its close resemblance to the Arabic, as well to the names of wheat in other languages. Celsius says, 'חִטָּה, *chittha*, occultato נ in puncto dagesch, pro חִנְטָה *chintha* dicitur ex usu Ebræorum.' This brings it still nearer to the Arabic name of wheat, حنطة, which in Roman characters is variously written, *hinteh*, *hinthe*, *henta*, and by Pemplius in his translation of Avicenna, *hhinttha;* and under this name it is described by the Arabic authors on Materia Medica. As the Arabic ح *ha*, is in many words converted into خ *kha*, it is evident that the Hebrew and Arabic names of wheat are the same, especially as the Hebrew ח has the guttural sound of ح. Different derivations have been given of the word *chittah:* by Celsius it is derived from 'חָנַט *chanath*, protulit, produxit, *fructum*, ex Cant. ii. 13;' or the Arabic 'حنط, rubuit, quod triticum rubello sit colore' (*Hierobot.* ii. 113). The translator of the *Biblical Botany* of Rosenmüller justly observes that 'the similarity in sound between the Hebrew word *chittah* and the English *wheat* is obvious. Be it remembered that the *ch* here is identical in sound with the Gaelic

guttural, or the Spanish x. It is further remarkable, that the Hebrew term is etymologically cognate with the words for *wheat* used by every one of the Teutonic and Scandinavian nations (thus we have in Islandic *hveiti*, Danish *hvede*, Swedish *hvete*, Mæsogoth. *hwaite*, German *weizen*); and that, in this instance, there is no resemblance between the Scandinavian and Teutonic terms, and the Greek, Latin, and Slavonic (for the Greek word is πυρος, the Latin *frumentum* or *triticum*, the Russian *psienitsa*, Polish *pszenica*); and yet the general resemblance between the Slavonic, the Thracian, and the Gothic languages is so strong, that no philologist now doubts their identity of origin' (*l. c.* p. 75).



541. [Triticum compositum—Egyptian Wheat.]

Rosenmüller further remarks that in Egypt and in Barbary قمح *kamich* is the usual name for wheat (quoting *Descrip. de l'Egypte*, t. xix. p. 45; Höst's *Account of Maroko and Fez*, p. 309); and also, that in Hebrew, קֶמַח *kemach* denotes the flour of wheat (Gen. xviii. 6; Num. v. 15). This, it is curious to observe, is not very unlike the Indian name of wheat, *kunuk*. All these names indicate communication between the nations of antiquity, as well as point to a common origin of wheat. Thus in his *Himalayan Botany*, the author of this article has stated: 'Wheat having been one of the earliest cultivated grains, is most probably of Asiatic origin, as no doubt Asia was the earliest civilized, as well as the first peopled, country. It is known to the Arabs under the name of *hinteh*, to the Persians as *gundoom*, Hindu *gehoon* and *kunuk*. The species of barley cultivated in the plains of India and known by the Hindu and Persian name *juo*, Arabic *shaeer*, is *houmd hexaerstichum*. As both wheat and barley are cultivated in the plains of India in the winter months, where none of the species of these genera are indigenous, it is probable that both have been introduced into India from the north, that is, from the Persian, and perhaps from the Tartarian region, where these and other species of barley are most successfully and abundantly cultivated' (p. 419). Different species of wheat were no doubt cultivated by the ancients, as *tritieum compositum* in Egypt. *T. æstivum*, *T. hibernum* in Syria &c.; but both barley and wheat are too well known to require further illustration in this place.—J. F. R.

WHIRLWIND. [Winds.]
WIDOW. [Woman.]
WIFE. [Marriage; Woman.]
WILDERNESS. [Deserts.]
WIMPLE. [Veil.]

WIND, &c. (רוּחַ; Sept. πνεῦμα, ἄνεμος; Vulg. *spiritus*, *ventus*). The Hebrew word signifies *air in motion* generally, as breath, wind, &c. Both the Septuagint words occur in the following definition of wind by Aristotle (*De Mundo*, c. 4): Ἄνεμος οὐδὲν ἐστι πλὴν ἀὴρ πόλυς ῥέων, ὅστις ἅμα καὶ πνεῦμα λέγεται.—'Wind is nothing else but a large quantity of air flowing, which is called πνεῦμα.' So also Plato has μεγάλῳ τινί πνεύματι for a high wind (*Phædon*, § 24, edit. Forster). Josephus also uses πνεῦμα βιαῖον for a violent wind (*Antiq.* xiv. 2. 2), as Lucian also does, βιαίῳ πνεάματι (*Ver. Hist.* lib. i. tom. i. p. 714). The Vulgate word *spiritus*, from *spiro*, 'to breathe,' 'blow,' is applied in like manner in Latin, as by Virgil (*Æn.* xii. 365): 'Boreæ cum spiritus alto Insonat Ægæo,'—'When the northern blast roars in the Ægean.' The Hebrew word is used, 1. for the wind as *a natural phenomenon* (Gen. iii. 8; Job xxi. 18; xxx. 15, 22; xxxvii. 21; Ps. i. 4; ciii. 16; Prov. xxx. 4; Eccles. i. 6; xi. 4; Isa. vii. 2; xvii. 13; xl. 7; Jer. x. 13; li. 16; Amos xiv. 13.) It is poetically ascribed to the immediate agency of God (Ps. cxxxv. 7; cxlvii. 18; comp. Baruch vi. 61). In the New Testament it occurs in Matt. xi. 7; xiv. 24; Mark iv. 39; John iii. 8; Acts xxvii. 4; Eph. iv. 14; James i. 6; Rev. vi. 13; vii. 1). Throughout the New Testament the word is ἄνεμος, except in our Lord's illustration. John iii. 8. In the Apocrypha ἄνεμος occurs in Wisdom v. 14; xiii. 2, &c.; but πνεῦμα in xvii. 18; Ecclus. v. 9; xxii. 18; Song of the Children xxvi. 42). We might perhaps attribute the exclusion of the word πνεῦμα, for 'the wind,' from the New Testament, to its having become almost entirely appropriated to 'heavenly things.' In Acts ii. 2, we have πνοή, translated 'wind;' Vulg. *spiritus*. It means the same in Homer (*Il.* v. 697), πνοιή for πνοή βορέαο, 'the breath or blast of Boreas;' comp. Job xxxvii. 10, Sept. In Gen. iii. 8, 'the cool of the day,' or rather '*wind* of the day,' indicates the evening, since in the East a refreshing breeze arises some hours before sunset; Vulg. *ad auram post meridiem*. Comp. Cant. ii. 17; iv. 6; where the words 'until the day break and the shadows flee away' should be rendered 'until the day *breathe* or *blow*' (*i.e.* till evening); Heb. שִׁיפוּחַ; Sept. διαπνεύσῃ; Vulg. *aspiret*. The evening breeze is still called, among the Persians, 'the breeze of the day' (Chardin, *Voyage*, t. iv. p. 48). In Amos iv. 13, God is said to 'create the wind.' Although this idea is very conformable to the Hebrew theory of causation, which does not recognise second causes, but attributes every natural

phenomenon immediately to the divine agency, yet the passage may perhaps be directed against the *worship* of the winds, which was common among ancient nations. Comp. Wisdom xiii. 2. Herodotus relates it of the Persians (i. 131). The words of our Saviour, 'a reed shaken with the wind' (Matt. xi. 7), are taken by some in the natural, and by others in a metaphorical sense. The former view is adopted by Grotius, Beza, Campbell, Rosenm., Schleusner, and Wetstein; and is confirmed, as Rosenmuller observes, by the antithesis of the rich man, whose magnificence all gladly survey. The comparison is adopted to reprove the fickleness of the multitude (comp. ver. 15, and Eph. iv. 14). 2. The wind occurs as the *medium of the divine interposition*, or *agency* (Gen. i. 2; viii. 1; Ex. xv. 10; Num. xi. 31; 1 Kings xviii. 45; xix. 11; Job i. 19; Isa. xi. 5; Jonah i. 4). In the New Testament, the wind was supernaturally employed at the day of Pentecost, like the 'sound' and 'fire' (Acts ii. 3). Indeed our Lord's illustration (John iii. 8), and the identity of the Hebrew and Greek words signifying breath, wind, and spirit, lead to the inference, that the air in motion bears the nearest resemblance of any created object to divine influence, and is therefore the most appropriate medium of it. The idea is finely embodied by Thomson:

> 'To Him, ye vocal gales,
> Breathe soft, whose spirit in your freshness breathes.'

[Spirit.] To this class of instances we refer Gen. i. 2, 'and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' Along with Patrick and Rosenmüller, we construe the phrase, 'a wind of God,' a wind employed as the medium of divine agency. Rosenmüller compares Ps. civ. 30; cxlvii. 8; Isa. xl. 7. Dr. Lee refers to 1 Kings xviii. 12; 2 Kings ii. 16; and Ps. xxxiii. 6; Isa. xi. 4. In the two latter passages, he observes that the word is equivalent to *power*, &c. The commotions of the elements, &c., through means of which the petulance of Elijah was reproved (1 Kings xix. 11), are best understood as having occurred in vision (comp. Dan. ii. 35; Zech. v. 9). 3. The wind is used *metaphorically* in the following instances: 'The wings of the wind' denote the most rapid motion (2 Sam. xxii. 11), where the phrase may be a poetical representation also of the incident recorded (2 Sam. v. 24; Ps. civ. 3). The onomatopœia in the two former passages, in Hebrew, is remarkable. Anything light or trifling is called wind (Job vii. 7; Isa. xli. 29; Ps. lxxviii. 39; comp. Eph. iv. 14; Ecclus. v. 9). Violent yet empty speech is called 'a strong wind,' or a mere tempest of words (Job viii. 2). 'Vain knowledge' is called דעת־רוח, knowledge of wind (Job xv. 2); 'vain words,' words of wind (xvi. 3). Many expressive *phrases* are formed with this word. 'To inherit the wind,' denotes extreme disappointment (Prov. xi. 29); 'to hide the wind,' impossibility (xxvii. 16); to 'labour for the wind,' to labour in vain (Ecc. v. 16); 'to bring forth wind,' great patience and pains for no purpose (Isa. xxvi. 18; comp. Hos. viii. 7; xii. 1); 'to become wind,' to result in nothingness (Jer. v. 13). 'The four winds' denote the four quarters of the globe (Ezek. xxxvii. 9); 'to scatter to all winds,' to disperse completely (Ezek. v. 10; xii. 14; xvii. 21); 'to cause to come from all winds,' to restore completely (xxxvii. 9). 'The wind hath bound her upon her wings,' means deportation into a far country (Hos. iv. 19); 'to sow the wind and reap the whirlwind,' unwise labour and a fruitless result (viii. 7); 'to feed on the wind,' to pursue delusory schemes (xii. 1); 'to walk in wind,' to live and act in vain (Micah ii. 11); 'to observe the wind,' to be over cautious (Eccles. xi. 4); to 'winnow with every wind,' to be credulous, apt to receive impressions (Eccles. v. 9). *Comparisons.*—Disappointment, after high promise or pretension, is 'as wind without rain' (Prov. xxv. 14); the desperate speeches of an afflicted person, are compared to wind (Job vi. 26). *Symbolically.*—Empires are represented as having wings, and 'the wind in their wings,' denotes the rapidity of their conquests (Zech. v. 9). The wind is often used as the symbol or emblem of calamities (Isa. xxxii. 2; xli. 16; lvii. 13; lxiv. 6); destruction by the Chaldæan army (Jer. iv. 11, 12; comp. Wisd. iv. 4; v. 23; xi. 20). 'The windy storm' (Ps. lv. 8) denotes Absalom and his party. The wind is the frequent emblem of the divine chastisements (Isa. xxvii. 8; Jer. xxii. 22; li. 1, &c.). *Beautiful expressions* occur, as in Isa. xxvii. 2, 'He stayeth his rough wind in the day of the east wind;' that is, God doth not aggravate the misfortunes of mankind by his chastisements; to 'make a weight for the winds' (Job xxviii. 25). *Mistranslations.* — In Ps. lxxviii. 39, 'He remembered that they were but flesh, a wind that passeth away and cometh not again,' should probably be rendered, 'a *spirit* going away and not returning.' All the versions make the words relate to the soul of man. Homer has a very similar description of death (*Il.* ix. 408). In Eccles. i. 5, 6, the translation is faulty, and the sense further obscured by a wrong division of verses. The passage should be read: 'The sun also ariseth and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he ariseth, going to the south and circulating to the north. The wind is continually whirling about, and the wind returneth upon its whirlings.' All the versions give this rendering; our version alone mistakes the meaning. The phrase 'brought forth wind,' is understood by Michaelis as an allusion to the female disorder called empneumatosis, or windy inflation of the womb (*Syntagma, Comment.* vol. ii. p. 165). The Syriac translator also understood the passage in this way: 'enixi sumus ut illæ quæ ventos pariunt.' 4. The east wind רוח־קדים, ἄνεμος νότος, ἄνεμος καύσων, νότος, ventus ureus, spiritus vehemens, ventus auster. קדים, καύσων, ardor, æstus, ventus ureus. Both terms denote the natural phenomenon (Gen. xli. 6, 23; Job xxxviii. 24; Ps. xlviii 7; lxxviii. 26; Jonah iv. 8). Considerable indefiniteness attends the use of these words. Dr. Shaw remarks, that every wind is called by the Orientals קדים, an east wind, which blows from any point of the compass between the east and north, and between the east and south (*Travels*, p. 285). Accordingly the Sept. often understands this word to mean the south, as in Exod. x. 13; xiv. 21 (see Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pt. ii. lib. i. cap. 15). If the east wind happens to blow a few days in Palestine during the months of May, June, July, and August, it occasions great destruction to the vines and harvests on the land, and also to the vessels at sea on the Mediterranean (Hos. xiii. 15; Jonah iv. 8;

Job xiv. 2; xv. 2; Is. xl. 7; Gen. xli. 6, 23; Ezek. xvii. 10, xix. 12; xxvii. 26; Ps. xlviii. 7; ciii. 5). In Jonah iv. 8, the phrase occurs, קדים חרישית רוח, a still or sultry east wind. For testimonies to the destructiveness of this wind in Egypt and Arabia, see Niebuhr (*Beschreib. von Arabien*, p. 8); Thevenot (*Voyages*, pt. i. liv. ii. c. 34). It is accordingly often used to denote *any* pernicious wind, as in Ps. xlviii. 7, where it is rendered by Sept. *πνεῦμα βίαιον*, Vulg. spiritus vehemens. It is used *metaphorically* for pernicious speech, a storm of words (Job xv. 2); calamities, especially by war (Isa. xxvii. 8; Jer. xviii. 17; Ezek. xvii. 10; xix. 12; xxvii. 26; Hos. xiii. 15). In this latter passage the east wind denotes Shalmaneser king of Assyria; in Ezek. xxvii. 26, it denotes the Chaldæans. Tyre is there represented under the beautiful allegory of a ship towed into deep waters, and then destroyed by an east wind. A very similar representation is given by Horace (*Carm.* i. 14). The east wind denotes divine judgment (Job xxvii. 21). *Phrases.*—'To follow the east wind,' is to pursue a delusory and fatal course (Hos. xii. 1). 5. West wind, רוח ים, *ἄνεμος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης*, ventus ab occidente [West]. 6. North wind, רוח צפון (Prov. xxv. 23), *ἄνεμος βορέας*, ventus Aquilo [North]. 7. South wind, דרום (Job xxxvii. 17), תימן (Ps. lxxviii. 26), *λίψ*, ventus Africus (Luke xii. 55), *νότος* (Sirocco), Acts xxvii. 13) [South]. 8. The *four winds*, ארבע רוחות, *τὰ τέσσαρα πνεύματα*, *οἱ τέσσαρες ἄνεμοι*, quatuor venti. The Hebrews speak only of four winds; and so Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 5). This phrase is equivalent to the four quarters of the world (Ezek. xxxvii. 9; 2 Esdras xiii. 5), the several points of the compass, as we should say (Dan. viii. 8). *Phrases.*—'Striving of the four winds,' is great political commotions (Dan. vii. 2; comp. Jer. iv. 11, 12; li. 1); to 'hold the four winds,' is by contrary to secure peace (Rev. vii. 1); 'to be divided to the four winds,' implies utter dispersion (Dan. xi. 4; Jer. xlix. 32; Ezek. v. 10, 12; xvii. 2). So also the phrase, *ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων* (Matt. xxiv. 31) means from all parts of the world (Mark xiii. 27). 9. The Hebrews, like other ancient nations, had but few *names of winds*. Homer mentions only *βορέας*, *νότος*, *ζέφυρος*, and *εὖρος*. Aul. Gellius, indeed, complains of the infrequency of names of winds in ancient writers (*Noct. Att.* ii. 22). The same indefiniteness appears in Herodotus (see Larcher's notes on i. 188). In the course of time the Greeks and Romans added eight other winds to the original four, but that appearing too minute a division, they reduced the additional ones to four, thus making only eight in all. The names of these may be seen in Larcher (*ut supra*), or Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xviii. 34). Further information may be found in Coray's *Translation of Hippocrates, De Aeribus, Aquis et Locis*, Paris, 1800; *Discours Préliminaire;* and see index. For a comparative table of the English, Latin, and Greek divisions of the winds, and their names, amounting to more than thirty, see Beloe's Herodotus (*Polymnia*, notes, vol. iii. p. 293, Lond. 1791). One Greek name of a wind occurs in Acts xxvii. 14, *Εὐροκλύδων*, *Euroclydon*, a tempestuous wind in the Mediterranean, now called a *Levanter*. The Alexandrian M.S has *Εὐρακύλων*; Vulg. *Euroaquilo*; Syriac אורקידון. The common reading, *Εὐροκλύδων*, seems derived from *Εὖρος*, *Eurus*, 'east wind,' and *κλύδων*, 'a wave,' quasi an eastern tempest. Other MSS. read *Εὐρυκλύδων*, *Euryclydon*, from *εὐρύς*, 'broad,' and *κλύδων*, 'a wave,' or rough wavy sea; and then the word would mean the wind which peculiarly excites the waves. Shaw defends the common reading, and describes the wind as blowing in all directions from the N.E. round by the N. to the S.E. (*Travels*, p. 330, &c. 4to.; see Bowyer's conjectures, and Doddridge, *in loc.*). The Hebrews had no single terms indicating the relative velocity of the air in motion, like our words breeze, gale, &c. Such gradations they expressed by some additional word, as 'great,' רוח־גדולה, 'a great wind' (Jonah i. 4), 'rough,' קשה, &c. Nor have we any single word indicating the destructive effects of the wind, like their verbs סער and שׁעה, as ואסערם (Zech. vii. 14, &c.), and answering to the Greek word *ἀνεμόφθορος* (see Sept. of Gen. xli. 6, 23). Our *metaphorical* use of the word *storm* comes nearest. The phrase רוח סערה, 'stormy wind,' *πνεῦμα καταιγίδος*, *spiritus procellæ*, occurs in Ps. cvii. 25; cxlviii. 8. It is metaphorically used for the divine judgments (Ezek. xiii. 11, 13). The word סערה is usually translated 'whirlwind;' it means, however, more properly a storm (2 Kings ii. 1, 11; Job xxxviii. 1; xl. 6; Zech. ix. 14; Sept. *συσσεισμός*, *λαῖλαψ*, *νέφος*; Vulg. *turbo;* Ecclus. xliii. 17; *συστροφὴ πνεύματος*, xlviii. 9; *λαίλαπι πυρός*. The Hebrew word is used metaphorically for the divine judgments (Isa. xl. 24; xli. 16); and to describe them as sudden and irresistible (Jer. xxiii. 19; xxv. 32; xxx. 23). 'A whirlwind out of the north' (Ezek. i. 4) denotes the invasion from Babylon. Another word, סופה, is also translated 'whirlwind,' and properly so. It occurs in Job xxxvii. 9; Isa. xxi. 1. It is used as a simile for complete and sudden destruction (Prov. i. 27); and for the most rapid motion, 'wheels of war-chariots like a whirlwind' (Isa. v. 28; Jer. iv. 13). Total defeat is often compared to 'chaff scattered by a whirlwind' (Isa. xvii. 13). It denotes the rapidity and irresistibleness of the divine judgments (Isa. lxvi. 5). The *phrase* 'to reap the whirlwind' denotes useless labour (Hos. viii. 7); 'the day of the whirlwind,' destruction by war (Amos i. 14). 'The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind,' is probably an allusion to Sinai (Nahum i. 3). A beautiful comparison occurs in Prov. x. 25: 'As the whirlwind passeth, so is the wicked no more: but the righteous is an everlasting foundation.'—J. F. D.

WINDOW. [House.]

WINE. The Bible furnishes the earliest authentic account concerning wine (Gen. ix. 21; xix. 32). The instances of its use by the patriarchs Noah and Lot, with its deplorable effects, have given rise to numerous conjectures from the earliest periods; and both the Rabbins and the Christian Fathers indulge in much apologetic criticism on these points. Theodoret alleged that the drunkenness of Noah came from *inexperience*, for, being the first who *pressed grapes*, he was ignorant of its properties, having been used for 600 years to drink water only (*Quæst.* § 65). This seems to be the most probable opinion, and is adopted and elucidated by the contributor of the article Noah, p. 426 of this volume. The

difficulty presented in the case of Lot is well stated by an old writer. 'Whilst the daughters sinned in giving him wine unto drunkenness, what is to be thought of him for drinking so liberally thereof? Some conjecture that it was mingled with something apt to make him drunken, although he took but a little, and so excuse him' (Dr. Mayer's *Comment.* Lond. 1653, vol. i. p. 246). This conjecture is well illustrated by a narrative of adulterous intercourse, recorded by Linschoten (1584), and effected by means of drugged wine administered to the husband:—'They had caused him to drinke of a certaine wine that was mingled with the hearbe *deutroa* [datura], thereby to bereave poore Francis of his wittes, and so to effect their accursed device' (*Voyages*, b. i. p. 158). That the incest of Lot was performed in an unconscious state, such as is induced by many species of drugged drinks, may be inferred from the repetition of the act. In another part, again referring to such as had drunk of this drugged wine, Linschoten says, that 'when the time cometh that he reviveth out of his trance, he knoweth nothing what was done, but thinketh that hee had slept' (p. 109).

On no point is the remark of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* concerning the Authorized Version of the Bible more just than in reference to wine:—'One of its greatest faults is, that the translation of the same original word is often improperly varied at the expense of perspicuity; while, on the other hand, ambiguity is sometimes occasioned by the rendering of two original words in the same sentence by only one English word, which, however, is used in different meanings' (vol. iv. p. 619). Not only two, but thirteen distinct Hebrew and Greek terms, are translated by the word 'wine,' either with or without the adjectives 'new,' 'sweet,' 'mixed,' and 'strong.' If the first rule for a translation, as laid down by Dr. George Campbell, be correct—that 'the translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original'—the common version must, on this point, be deemed exceedingly defective. We propose, therefore, in the present article, to attempt an elucidation of the various Biblical terms translated 'wine,' and to indicate what we regard as their most probable meanings and distinctions.

1. יַיִן *yayin*, *οἶνος*, wine, occurs in 141 instances; 21 times in connection with שֵׁכָר *shechar* [Drink, Strong]. Its root was probably יָן *yavan*, or *yanah*, the primary idea of both being that of turbidness, or boiling up, so characteristic of the appearance of the grape-juice as it rushes foaming into the wine-vat. The able writer of the article 'Wine' in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, observes, that 'the juice of grapes, or vegetable juices in general, become turbid when in contact with air, before fermentation commences, and this turbidity is owing to the formation of an insoluble precipitate of the same nature as ferment' (vol. xxvii. p. 455). *Yayin*, in Bible use, is a very general term, including every species of wine made from grapes (*οἶνος ἀμπέλινος*), though in later ages it became extended in its application to wine made from other substances. (*a.*) It is frequently used in the same comprehensive sense as the *vinum* of the Latins. Cato (*De Re Rustica*, cxlvii.) speaks of the hanging wine (*vinum pendens*). So in Num. vi. 4, *yayin* stands for *vine*—the grape-vine. In Deut. xxviii. 39, it is ranked amongst things to be sucked, gathered, or eaten. In Isa. xvi. 10, it is used for the *grapes* to be trodden. In Isa. lv. 1, it probably signifies thick grape-syrup, or honey (see Isa. vii. 22). The word *syrup*, it may be here remarked, is derived from an Oriental term for wine; hence, in Turkey, *shirab*-jee signifies '*wine*-seller' (see *Turkey and the Turks*, p. 197). This species of wine is still called 'honey' in the East, and it is by the prophet appropriately connected with milk, as a thing to be eaten. *Yayin* is also used for 'grapes,' or for 'wine in the cluster,' in Jer. xl. 10, 12; xlviii. 33; and probably also in Deut. xiv. 26. In this sense Josephus (*De Bell. Jud.* vii.) employs the Greek equivalent, when he enumerates amongst the stores in the fortress of Massada, *σῖτος*, *οἶνος*, and *ἔλαιον*, and adds, that the Romans found the remains of *these fruits* (*τὸν καρπόν*) uncorrupted. (*b.*) *Yayin* signifies also 'the blood of the grape' freshly expressed, as in Gen. xlix. 2 (comp. with Isa. lxiii. 1-3), reference being there had to the juice of the claret grape—'His eyes shall be more beautiful than wine, and his teeth whiter than milk.' In this sense *yayin* denoted what the Greeks specifically called *γλεῦκος* (sweet wine), the term used by Josephus in speaking of the grape-juice expressed into Pharaoh's cup (Gen. xl. 11). In Cant. v. 1 (compared with vii. 9), it seems to refer to a sweet innocent wine of this sort, which might be drunk abundantly. In Ps. civ. 15, as illustrated by Judg. ix. 13; Exod. xxii. 29 (28), *yayin* probably designates the first 'droppings' or tears of the gathered grapes, which were to be offered fresh—without 'delay.' (*c.*) In Prov. ix. 2, 5, *yayin* refers to a *boiled* wine, or syrup, the thickness of which rendered it necessary to mingle water with it previously to drinking. Wine preserved in this way was sometimes introduced into the offerings for the use of the priests (Num. xviii. 11), as appears from this passage in the Mishna:—'Wine of the heave-offering must not be boiled, because it *lessens* it' (Tr. *Teroomah*, perek xi.). Bartenora, in a note, says, 'because people *drink less* of boiled wine'—which is true of it when drunk unmingled, since boiling renders the wine more rich and cloying. But the Mishna adds—'Rabbi Yehuda permits it, because it *improves* it.' Such a wine Wisdom is aptly represented as mingling for her feast, because such was esteemed the richest and the best wine. (*d.*) *Yayin* also comprehends a mixed wine of a very different character; a wine made strong and inebriating by the addition of drugs, such as myrrh, mandragora, and opiates. 'Such,' observes Bishop Lowth, 'were the exhilarating, or rather, stupefying ingredients which Helen mixed in the bowl together with the wine for her guests oppressed with grief, to raise their spirits; the composition of which she had learned in Egypt.' (Hom. *Odyss.* iv. 220.) And how much the Eastern people to this day deal in artificial liquors of prodigious strength, may be seen in a curious chapter of Kempfer upon that subject (*Amæn. Exot.* Fasc. iii. obs. 15). Thus the drunkard is properly described (Prov. xxiii. 30) as one 'that seeketh *mixed* wine,' and is 'mighty to *mingle* strong drink' (Isa. v. 22). And hence the Psalmist took that highly poetical and sublime image of the cup of God's wrath, called by Isaiah

(li. 17) 'the cup of trembling,' causing intoxication and stupefaction (see Chappelow's note on *Hariri*, p. 33); containing, as St. John (Rev. xiv. 10) expresses in Greek this Hebrew idea with the utmost precision, though with a seeming contradiction in terms, κεκερασμένον ἄκρατον, *merum mixtum*' (*Comment.* on Isa. i. 22). (*e.*) *Yayin* also includes every species of fermented grape-wine. The characteristics of fermentation are well marked in Prov. xxiii. 31, where the wine is first described as appearing turbid, in consequence of the subsidence of the gluten; that, absorbing air, becomes ferment, or yeast, communicating its own decay to the sugar of the grape, and which is then converted into carbonic acid gas and alcohol, the former rising up as a bubble or 'eye,' and thus producing an upward movement of the liquid.

'Look not thou upon the wine when it is turbid,
When it giveth its bubble in the cup, moving itself upward:
At the last it biteth like a serpent,
And stingeth like a basilisk.'

Yayin, then, is a general term for 'all sorts of wine' (Neh. v. 18).

2. עָסִיס *ausis*, occurs only in five texts; Cant. viii. 2; Isa. xlix. 26; Joel i. 5; iii. (iv.) 18; Amos ix. 13. The name is derived from עָסַס *asas*, 'to tread down,' and denotes the expressed juice of the grape or other fruit. By the Greeks it is called γλεῦκος, by the Latins *mustum*, from the Hebrew מָצִיץ, 'fresh,' 'sweet,' 'pure,' by transposition of letters, as *stum* from *must*.

3. סֹבֶא *sobhe* or *saba*, from סָבָא *sabho*, 'to drink freely,' because the inspissated wine which it denoted was enticing, and might be freely drunk when mingled with water. The term occurs but thrice, probably because this sort of wine is often expressed by the general term '*yayin*,' or by '*debhash*' [Honey]. It is the Latin *sapa*, and the French *sabe*, '*vin cuit*,' baked or boiled wine. *Syreon*, *hepsema*, and *defrutum*, according to Pliny, were species of it (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 9): indeed, *syreon*, σίρινος οἶνος, and *seria*, 'a wine-jar,' most likely derived their name from the *syr* or caldron of the Jews (Nahum i. 10), in which the *sobhe* was prepared. As boiling would confer an additional sweetness on the juices of fruits, the *syr* has probably some connection with the Oriental term *shir* or *sir*, expressing 'sweet juice,' and from which the words *sherab*, *sirob*, and *syrup* are derived. The process of boiling appears to have been employed for the preservation of vegetable juices, from the earliest times, and is founded on a correct chemical principle. 'The property of organic substances,' says Liebig, 'to pass into a state of decay, is annihilated in all cases by heating to the boiling point' (*Lett. on Chemistry*, ii. lett. xi.). We have shown above, that it was understood by the ancient Jews, and it is yet very extensively practised in the East in the preparation of *sherob*, or '*rob* of grapes.' Baron Tavernier, speaking of Shiraz, says—'Of the wine there are many vessels full, which are *burnt* for the benefit of the poor travellers and carriers, who find it a great refreshment to drink it with water' (*Persian Travels*, b. v. c. xxi. p. 248, Lond. 1684). The same traveller, speaking of the Christians of St. John around Basrah, affirms, that 'in the Eucharist they make use of meal kneaded up with wine and oil. To make this wine they take grapes dried in the sun, which they call in their language *zebibes* [*zaba* or *saba*], and casting water upon them let them steep for so long a time' (b. ii. c. viii. p. 91). This raisin-wine was the *passum* of the Romans.*

The three texts in which *sobhe* occurs, answer to the preceding description of it. In Isa. i. 22, we read—'Thy silver is become dross, thy *sobhe* (or boiled wine, is become) a thin wine mingled with water.' Professor Stuart justly observes, that *mahool*, 'here rendered mixed, means cut, cut round, circumcised.' Varro uses a phrase exactly parallel, applying to wine of the second pressing the term '*circumcised wine*,' which, being mixed with water, yields *lora*, the drink of the labourer in winter (*De Re Rust.* i. 54). Hence the force of the text is this:—'Thy silver is become like dross; thy *sobhe* (the rich drink of thy nobles) is become like *mahool*, even as circumcised wine mixt with water, common *lora*, the drink of a peasant.' Rabbi D. Kimchi has this comment—'The current coin was adulterated with brass, tin, and other metals, and yet circulated as good money. The wine also was adulterated with water in the taverns, and sold, notwithstanding, for pure wine.'

In Hosea iv. 18, it is said, 'Their *sobhe* is sour.' As this wine was valued for its sweetness, it was of course spoilt by acquiring acidity. But inspissated wines are peculiarly liable to this degeneracy. '*Defrutum*,' says Columella, 'however carefully made, is liable to grow acid' (xii. 20).

Nahum i. 10, referring to the enemies of Jehovah, we should read as follows:—'Like thorns they are woven together, and like their boiled wine the drunkard shall be devoured, (even) as stubble fully dry,'—the first metaphor referring to thorns heaped up together for fuel, the second to the burning of the *sobhe* in the *syr* or caldron from neglect, and the third to the combustion of stubble (comp. Ezek. xxiv. 6-14).

4. חֶמֶר *chemer*, occurs twice as a descriptive; but in Isa. xxvii. 2, where it is applied to the vineyard, some copies read חמד, 'fruitful.' *Chemer* and *chamar* are derived from the verb חמר *chamar*, 'to foam,' 'boil up,' 'froth,' or 'ferment' (the latter term signifying no more originally than the former), and are used in reference to waters and to the waves, as well as to leaven, wine, &c. In Deut. xxxii. 14, *chemer* is applied to 'the blood of the grape,'—as expressive of the juice fresh and foaming from the vat, in its *pure* but *turbid* state; and we perceive no reason for resorting to the very secondary sense of 'red wine.'

חָמַר *chamar*, the verb, in Ps. lxxv. 8 (9), is applied to *pure* wine, unmixed wine filled with

* '*Nebeedh*, prepared from raisins,' says E. W. Lane, 'is commonly sold in Arab towns, under the name *zebeeb*, which signifies raisins. This I have often drunk in Cairo, but never could perceive that it was in the slightest degree fermented. Other beverages, to which the name of *nebeedh has been* applied—though, like *zebeeb*, no longer called by that name—are also sold in Arab towns' (*Notes to Arabian Nights*, vol. i. ch. iii. p. 215, 1841).

mixture, which exactly answers to the phrase of St. John, 'the mixed unmixed' (Rev. xiv. 10).

5. חַמְרָא *chamra*, used by Daniel (v. 1, 2, 4, 23), and חמר *chemar*, by Ezra (vi. 9; vii. 22), are Chaldee terms. *Chemar* we regard as used for *pure* wine, in its fresh, foaming condition; but *chamra* may have denoted some rich and royal drink, made strong by the addition of drugs. Tavernier refers to a drink of this sort, used by the luxurious Grand Seignior on visiting the seraglio, which seems to illustrate Daniel v. 23. He says it is 'a sort purposely prepared for the Grand Seignior himself, called *Muscavy*,' but that 'the principal persons about the court send for it secretly to the halvagi-bachi (*Rel. of the G. S. Seraglio*, vol. iii. p. 26, Lond. 1684). Such, probably, was the wine which Belshazzar, with his lords, wives, and concubines, drank in the holy vessels, and which Daniel would not touch. —The compilers of the Talmud considered *khamra* as a 'sweet wine.' It is a question, 'What is *Caræna*m?' Rabbi Abhoo explains that *khamroa* (vinum dulce) is so called, which is brought hither from Asia.'

6. מֶסֶךְ *mesech*, once translated 'mixture' (Ps. lxxv. 8 (9)), once 'mixed wine' (Prov. xxiii. 30), and once 'the drink-offering' (Isa. lxv. 11), is derived from *masach*, 'to mingle;' whence *miscere* and *mix*. In the first text four terms occur which are elsewhere all rendered 'wine'—viz. *yayin*, *khamar*, *mesech*, *shemârim*. It should be read—'There is a cup in the hand of Jehovah, and the unmixed (or *pure*) *wine* is full of *mixture;* and he poureth out this, but all the wicked of the earth shall wring and suck out *the dregs* of it.' An inebriating and disgusting mixture seems to be denoted here.

The second text refers to drugged wine; either pure wine made inebriating, or fermented wine made stronger by the addition of spices and drugs. This custom has prevailed from the earliest ages, and is still extant in the East. Bishop Southgate states 'the reason why the Persians adulterate their wines; because, in their natural state they are too weak to produce the desired effect' (*Narrative of a Tour*, &c. vol. ii. p. 326, Lond. 1840). 'Hence,' says he, 'it has been the custom in Persia to fortify the wines by an infusion of *nux vomica* and lime, in order to increase that inebriating power which a hard-drinking Persian is apt to esteem' (p. 325).

In the third text the idol-worshippers are really said to 'fill out *a mixture* to Meni;' the heathenish custom of pouring out *mixed wine* to their gods being contrasted with the worshippers of Jehovah on his 'holy mountain,' who were enjoined not to delay the presentation of their first-fruits and liquors, but to pour out 'the *pure* blood of the grape' as their drink-offering. When designed for the use of the priests, however, boiled wine, as we have seen, was *sometimes* presented.

Though, in the three texts we have examined, *mesech* refers to some reprobated or offensive mixture, we must not therefore conclude that all mixed wine was pernicious or improper. We have already seen that there were two very opposite purposes sought by the mixture of drinks; one mixture was for the purpose of sensuality, the other for that of sobriety or use. While the wicked sought out a drugged mixture (Prov. xxiii. 30), and was 'mighty to mingle sweet drink' (Isa. v. 22), Wisdom, on the contrary, 'mingled her wine' with water, or with milk (Prov. ix. 2, 5), merely to dilute it and make it properly drinkable. Of the latter mixture Wisdom invites the people to drink freely; but on the use of the former an emphatic woe is pronounced.

7. שֵׁכָר *shechar*, 'sweet drink,' once translated 'strong wine' (Num. xxviii. 7). It seems to have formed an independent subject of offering. *Shechar* is a generic term, including palm-wine and other *saccharine* beverages, except those prepared from the vine. That *shechar* was made inebriating by being mingled with potent drugs we have just seen: but, it may be asked, how shall we explain Prov. xxxi. 6, 7?—'Give *shechar* unto him who is ready to perish.' The Rabbins have generally referred this apparent command to the stupefying cup administered to criminals with the merciful intent of allaying their pains and fears. But can we associate so barbarous a custom with Divine inspiration? The example of the Redeemer is at least opposed to such a notion, and the Spirit of Christ was the Spirit of Prophecy also, and they ought therefore to harmonize. Nevertheless, when 'they gave *him* to drink wine mingled with myrrh' (Mark xv. 23), 'he received it not.' Besides, this supposition does not account for the language of the seventh verse. The writer of a series of elaborate articles on 'the Wines of Scripture,' in an English periodical, contends that the advice is given *ironically*. Lemuel's mother warns her royal son against the deceitful influences of inebriating beverages, and represents them as being especially injurious in their operation on the personal and official character of kings; and then, in a strain of evident irony, points to the wretch who vainly dreams the Lethean draught will rid him of the burden of anxiety and sorrow which his own profligacy and intemperance have imposed (*Truth-Seeker*, 1845-6). A third view of this difficult passage is given in the present work, in the article Drink, Strong, to which the reader is referred for a full discussion of the whole subject.

8. תִּירוֹשׁ *tirosh*, 'vintage fruit.' The usual definition of this term is absurd, viz. that because it is derived from יָרַשׁ *yarash*, 'to possess,' 'to inherit,' it signifies 'a strong wine which is able to get possession of a man, and drive him out of himself!' With Bythner, in his *Lyra Prophetica*, we would adopt the simple derivation of *tirosh* from its passive quality of being possessed, but apply it rather to 'vintage-fruit,' than to any liquid whatever. Consult article Fruit.

9. שְׁמָרִים *shemarim*, 'preserves,' or 'jellies,' derived from the verb *shamar*, 'to preserve.' It is translated 'wines on the lees,' in Isa. xxv. 6; but in the three other passages in which it occurs, by 'dregs' or 'lees' alone. Dregs of wine, however, can form no part of a delicious feast; while in the East various species of 'preserves' are highly esteemed. Mr. Buckingham records that at Adjeloon he was treated with *wine-cakes* (*Trav. among the Arab Tribes*, p. 137). Our older translators so understood the word. Coverdale renders the passage 'sweet and most pure things;' the Bishops' Bible (1568), 'delicate things,' and 'most pleasant dishes' [Shemarim].

A passage from Tavernier's curious *Relation*

of the Grand Seignior's Seraglio serves to show what an important place in Eastern entertainments preserves and confections occupy: 'The offices where the conserves and sweetmeats are made (there being six or seven of them) are above the kitchens, and served by four hundred Helvagis. They are perpetually at work in those seven offices, and there they prepare all sorts of conserves, *dry* and *liquid*, and several sorts of *syrups*.' 'In the same offices they also prepare the ordinary drink of the Turks, which they call *sherbet*, and it is made several ways.' 'They make also another sort of drink which they call *magion* [*el-majoon*], composed of several drugs, whereby it is made hot' (Lond. 1684, chap. iii. p. 26).

10. אֲשִׁישָׁה *eshishah*, once translated 'flagon' only; in three passages 'flagon of *wine*;' and once 'flagon' with grapes joined to it in the original, as noticed in the margin (Hosea iii. 1). The Sept. renders it in four different ways, viz. λάγανον ἀπὸ τηγάνου, 'a cake from the frying-pan' (2 Sam. vi. 19); in another part, which narrates the same fact, ἀμορίτην ἄρτον, 'a sweet cake of fine flour and honey' (1 Chron. xvi. 3); πέμματα μετὰ σταφίδος, 'a cake made with raisins' (Hos. iii. 1), 'raisins' here corresponding to 'grapes' in the Hebrew; and by one copy ἀμύροις, 'sweet cakes' (Cant. ii. 5); but in others μύροις, 'unguents.' In the Targum to the Hebrew צְפִיחִית *tzappikhith*, in Exod. xvi. 31, the Chaldee term is אֶשִׁישִׁין *eshishan*, 'a cake,' rendered in our version by 'wafers.' *Eshishah* has been supposed to be connected with אֵשׁ *ash*, 'fire,' and to denote some sort of 'sweet cake' prepared with fire; but the second part of the word has not been hitherto explained.

Perhaps the following extract from Olearius (1637) may throw light on the kind of preparations denoted by *shemarim* and *eshishah*: 'The Persians are permitted to make a sirrup of sweet wine, which they boyl till it be reduc'd to a sixth part, and be grown as thick as oyl. They call this drug *duschab* [*debhash*], and when they would take of it, they dissolve it with water.' 'Sometimes they boyl the *duschab* so long that they reduce it into a paste, for the convenience of travellers, who cut it with a knife, and dissolve it in water. At Tabris they make a certain conserve of it, which they call *helwa* [*el-magin*], mixing therewith beaten almonds, flour, &c. They put this mixture into a long and narrow bag, and having set it under the press, they make of it a paste, which grows so hard that a man must have a hatchet to cut it. They make also a kind of conserve of it, much like a pudding, which they call *zutzuch*, thrusting through the middle of it a small cotton thread to keep the paste together' (*Ambassador's Travels*, b. vi. p. 311). The Tartars consumed a similar preparation: 'They have certain cakes made of meal, rice, and millet, fry'd in oil or honey' (b. iv. p. 173). Amongst the presents received by the ambassadors there is enumerated 'a bottle of *scherab* [syrup] or Persian wine' (p. 175). This *zutzuch* is but a harsh corruption of the Hebrew *eshishah*, and is by others called *hashish* and *achicha*. Even this substance, in course of time, was converted into a medium of intoxication by means of drugs. 'Hemp is cultivated and used as a narcotic over all Arabia. The flowers, when mixed with tobacco, are called *hashish*. The higher classes eat it (hemp) in a jelly or paste called *maajoun* [*el-magin*], mixed with honey, or other sweet drugs' (Crichton's *Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 413). Lempriere says—'Instead of the indulgence of opium by the Moors, they substitute the *achicha*, a species of flax' (*Tour to Morocco*, 1794, p. 300). The leaves of the garden hemp (*shahdánaj*), says El-Kazweenee, are the benj (bange), which, when eaten, disorders the reason. De Sacy and Lane derive the name of the Eastern sect of 'Assassins' (*Hashsháseen*), 'hemp-eaters,' from their practice of using shahdánaj to fit them for their dreadful work. El-Idreesee, indeed, applies the term *Hasheesheeyeh* to the 'Assassins.'

11. חֹמֶץ *chometz*, ὄξος [Leaven], rendered 'vinegar' (*i. e.* sick or sour wine) in the common version. The modern Jews still employ this phrase to denote wine spoiled by acidity. It seems, however, in its general use, to have signified anciently a thin acidulated beverage, as well as to comprehend 'vinegar,' in the modern sense of the word. In Ruth ii. 14, it is named as the drink of the reapers of Boaz, and probably corresponded to the *posca* (from *post-escam*) given to the Roman legions. A very small wine, called *pesca* and *sera* (from *seor*, 'sour'), is still used by the harvesters in Italy and the Peninsula. This term is employed by the Psalmist in lxix. 21, 'They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink,'—a prediction actually fulfilled at the Crucifixion of the Messiah. Thus the ὄξος mingled with gall (Matt. xxvii. 34) is the same as the οἶνος mingled with myrrh (Mark xv. 23), a bitter substance [Rosh].

12. Οἶνος, the Greek generic term for *wine*, from the Hebrew *yayin*. It comprehended new wine (οἶνος νέος), luscious wine (γλεῦκος), pure or unmingled wine (ἄκρατον), and a thin sour wine (ὄξος). The adjective νέος distinguished οἶνος from παλαιός, old wine (Matt. ix. 17; Mark ii. 22; Luke v. 37). Florentinus, in the *Geoponica*, counsels the husbandman often to taste both his new and his old wine, so that the slightest sign of acidity might be detected at its commencement (lib. vii. cap. 7). In Luke v. 37-8, 'No man putteth νέος οἶνος into old bottles, else the νέος οἶνος will burst the bottles and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish: but νέος οἶνος must be put into new bottles, and both are preserved,'—the allusion is to the large *skin bottles* of the East, into which the fresh grape-juice (*mustum* or γλεῦκος) was frequently put for preservation. Job affectingly refers to this custom, when he says, 'I am as wine which hath no vent—*ready to burst*, like new bottles:' his heart was full to bursting, so that the bodily frame could hardly resist the internal workings of the afflicted spirit. If, however, the bottle happened to be old, the wine would commence fermentation, and the bottle would actually burst, and both would perish. 'The force of fermenting wine is very great; being able, if closely stopped up, to burst through the strongest cask' (Chambers' *Cyclopædia*, vol. ii. art. 'Wine,' 1750). The phenomena referred to have been fully explained by the chemical researches of Liebig. Fermentation depends upon the access of air

to the grape-juice, the gluten of which absorbs oxygen and becomes *ferment* or yeast, communicating its own decomposition to the saccharine matter of the grape, which becomes transformed into alcohol and carbonic acid gas. It is the expansion of the gas thus liberated which bursts the bottles, when the fermentation has once fairly started. Old bottles would have portions of the sediment of former wine adhering to their sides, which must have absorbed oxygen, and thus have become converted into fermenting matter. From age and exposure to the heat, old bottles would become dry and full of cracks and minute crevices, which would give admission to the air. Thus, as Burckhardt informs us, speaking of the Beyrouk honey of the Syrians, 'They use it in rubbing their water-skins, in order to exclude the air' (*Travels in Syria*, p. 129). Hence our Lord, adverting to the difficulty of young disciples bearing all at once his new doctrines and commandments, intimates that the earthly or fleshly vessel was not yet fitted for their full reception; that their minds must be first cleansed from the remnants and leaven of the old doctrine, and gradually renewed by the power of the truth.

13. Γλεῦκος, *must*, in common usage, 'sweet' or 'new wine.' It only occurs once in the New Testament (Acts ii. 13). Josephus applies the term to the wine represented as being pressed out of the bunch of grapes, by the Archi-oino-choos, into the cup of the royal Pharaoh. It seems to have been applied to wine in its *sweetest state*. Its derivation, indeed, denotes 'lusciousness:' hence Homer (*Odyss.* xx. 68) applies a word of kindred origin, γλυκερός, 'luscious,' to honey, but, in the same line, ἡδύς, 'sweet,' to wine. The writers of the *Geoponica* constantly use γλεῦκος in the sense of *must*. Diophanes, who was a good Latinist, puts *mustum* into a Grecian dress, in order the better to express his meaning. See *Geoponica* (ix. 20), where he says, γλεύκους, τουτεστὶ τοῦ καλουμένου μούστου,—'of *gleukos*, that is, what is called *mouston*.' In the same way the Romans distinguished *must* as *dulce*, 'luscious,' but the wine made from it only as *suave*, 'sweet.' Pliny says, 'Medium inter *dulcia* vinum est, quod Græci *aigleucos* vocant, hoc est, *semper mustum*. Id evenit cura, quoniam fervere prohibetur: sic enim appellant musti in vina transitum' (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 9):—'That which holds the middle place among the sweet wines is what the Greeks call *aigleucos*, that is, *always must*. That comes out with care [being the first pressure of the ripe grapes], by which it is forbidden to ferment: for so they call the passing of *must* into [intoxicating] wine.' Γλεῦκος was often preserved by being put into jars closely stopped up, which were placed in cool cellars, and sometimes it was buried in vessels beneath the earth, a custom still followed in the East. Formerly in France a similar plan of keeping sweet wine obtained. The *Nouveaux Secrets concernans les Arts et Métiers* gives this receipt: 'To preserve the wine in the *must* one year. Take the first wine which runs from the grapes, before they have been pressed; put it in the barrel, and having stopt the mouth well and pitched it over, so that the water cannot penetrate, then put the barrel in a cistern sufficiently full of water to cover it entirely; at the end of forty days withdraw it, and the wine will preserve its liquor all the year' (vol. ii. p. 371, Nancy, 1721). This would resemble the celebrated Hungarian wine called *Tokay Essenz*, and be little liable to the alcoholic fermentation, since, from the gentle pressure of the grapes themselves, the albumen of the grape, contained in the central division of the fruit, would not be pressed out, and upon this the fermentation partly depends. The ancients preserved some of their wines by depurating them. 'The *must* or new wine,' says Mr. T. S. Carr, 'was refined with the yolks of pigeons' eggs' (*Rom. Antiq.* p. 323), which occasioned the subsidence of the albumen or ferment. But on the new wine being allowed to stand, this principle would subside by natural gravity: hence the ancients poured off the upper and luscious portion of the wine into another vessel, repeating the process as often as necessary, until they procured a clear sweet wine which would keep.* If the precautions we have referred to were neglected, as was probably the case sometimes with γλεῦκος, intended for speedy consumption, the wine would of course ferment. Perhaps such a species might be referred to in Acts ii. 13.

The Latin translator of *Galen*, with others, has confounded γλεῦκος with γλυκῦ, or γλύκος, a very different sort of wine, corresponding to the Roman *passum*. It was a sort of natural *sapa* concocted with the heat of the sun. Didymus, one of the Geoponic authors, thus describes the mode of making it in Bithynia: 'Thirty days before the vintage they twist the twigs which bear the clusters, and strip off the foliage, so that the sun, striking down, may dry up the moisture, and make the wine sweet, just as we do by boiling.' 'Some persons, after they have bared the bunches from the leaves, and the grapes begin to wrinkle, gather them together in the clusters, and expose them to the sun until they have all become *uvæ passæ*. Lastly, they take them up when the sun is at the hottest point, carry them to the upper press, and leave them there the rest of the day and the following night, and about daylight they tread them' (*Geop.* lib. vii. c. 18, p. 503, Leipsic ed. 1781). Hesychius identifies the γλυκύ with *hepsema* and *siraion*:—ἕψημα, ὅπερ ἔνιοι Σίραιον καλοῦσιν, ἄλλοι Γλυκύ.

Besides the various kinds we have considered, two other wines are mentioned in Scripture, which derive their name from the locality of their growth.

The Wine of Helbon.—We have no intimation of the character of this wine; but as the pleasant smell of the grapes is noticed in Cant. ii. 13, we may infer that the wine also had a fragrant scent. It has been generally regarded

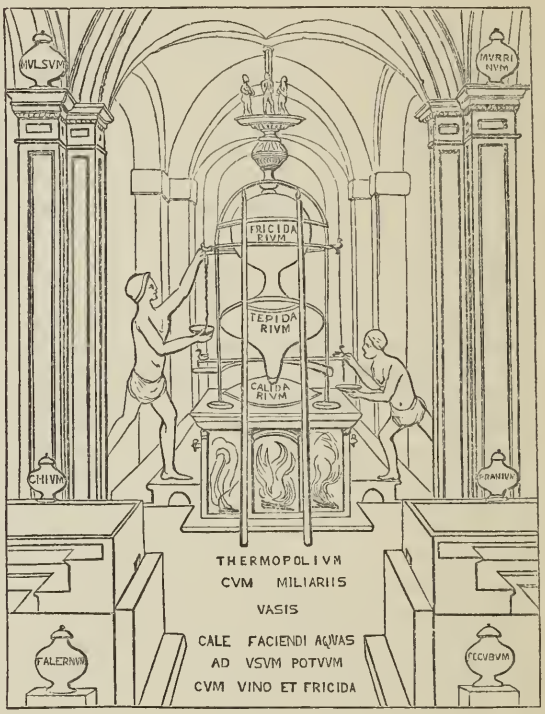
* Chardin observes that 'they frequently pour wine from vessel to vessel in the East; for when they begin one, they are obliged immediately to empty it into smaller vessels, or into bottles, or it would grow *sour*' (Harmer's *Observ.* vol. ii. p. 155). Reference is made to this custom in Jer. xlviii. 11—'Moab hath not been emptied from vessel to vessel; his taste remaineth in him, and his scent is not changed.' Fermentation, excited by the lees, completely changes the character of the wine; the luscious saccharine fruit of the vine becomes transformed into other substances (alcohol, œnanthic ether, essential oils, &c.), of a pungent taste and powerful odour.

as the *Chalybonium vinum* of the ancients, and was sold at the marts of Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 18). As Judah and Israel supplied this celebrated mart with 'wheat of Minnith and Pannag, and *debhash*, and oil, and balm,' so the Syrian wine of Helbon, as the choicest of the country, being carried to Damascus, would find its way hence to Tyre, and, through the Tyrians, become known to the Greeks and Romans. As the land carriage to Damascus, and thence over the shoulder of Mount Lebanon, to Tyre, must have considerably enhanced the price, it seems natural to suppose that this wine was of the concentrated or inspissated sort. Such the *Chalybonium vinum* was in fact. In truth, as Mr. Carr observes, 'the application of the *fumarium* * to the mellowing of wines, was borrowed from the Asiatics; and thus exhalation would go on until the wine was reduced to the state of a syrup' (*Rom. Antiq.* p. 323). 'Such preparations,' says Sir Edward Barry, 'are made by the modern Turks, which they frequently carry with them on long journeys, and occasionally take as a strengthening and reviving cordial' (*Obs. on Ancient Wines*, ch. v. Lond. 1775). Dr. Bowring, in his *Report on the Commerce of Syria*, says that 'the habit of boiling wine is almost universal, and destroys its character' (p. 17). Dr. A. Russell, in his *Natural History of Aleppo* (the ancient *Helbon*), considers its wine to have been a species of *sapa*. 'The inspissated juice of the grape, *sapa vini*, called here *dibbs*, is brought to the city in skins, and sold in the public markets; it has much the appearance of coarse honey, is of a sweet taste, and in great use among the people of all sorts' (p. 20).

The Wine of Lebanon is remarked as famous for its fragrant scent (Hos. xiv. 7). We understand 'grapes' to be meant here, but some of the wine made from them might also be odoriferous. The 20,000 bottles of wine which Solomon supplied to Hiram for the labourers in Lebanon (2 Chron. ii. 10), was probably a thin weak drink, a species of ὄξος or *khomets*, a common drink in Syria and Southern Europe at this day. Rauwolf, D'Arvieux, La Roque, Le Bruyn, Buckingham, and Bowring, all speak of the modern wines of Lebanon as excellent. There are two species of the sweet fermented wines: one red, and so unctous that it adheres to the glass; the other of the colour of muscadine, called *vino d'oro*. Cyrus Redding states that 'on Mount Libanus, at Kesroan, good wines are made, but they are for the most part *vins cuits*. The wine is preserved in jars' (*Hist. of Modern Wines*, p. 282). Paxton, who witnessed the vintage in Libanon, says, 'The juice that was extracted when I visited the press, was not made into [what is now called] wine, but into what is called *dibs*' (p. 215).

Much light may be obtained concerning ancient wines, by consulting the Greek and Roman writers on this subject; and a most able summary of the information they contain will be found in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the article 'Vinum,' by Professor Ramsay; *vide* also *Tirosh lo Yayin*, Lond. 1841; *Athenæum* for 1836; and a series of elaborate articles in the *Truth-Seeker*, 1845.

The annexed engraving of the Thermapolium is copied from the scarce work of Andreas Baccius (*De Nat. Vinorum Hist.* Romæ, 1597, lib. iv. p. 178). The plan was obtained by himself, assisted by two antiquaries, from the ruins of the Diocletian Baths. Nothing can more clearly exhibit the contrast between the ancient wines and those of modern Europe, than the widely different modes of treating them. 'The hot water,' observes Sir Edward Barry, 'was often *necessary* to dissolve their more inspissated and old wines.'



542.

Oil and Wine (ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, Luke x. 33, 34). Ἐπιχέων, in this passage, signifies 'pouring upon.' Galen mentions an article called οἰνέλαιον, 'oil-wine,' or wine compounded with oil; and Africanus, in the *Geoponica*, directs the young branches of the fig-trees, after pruning, to be anointed with it. In the Latin translation appended, the single compound word of the original is translated *vino et oleo*. Pliny, in the chapter relating to medicated oils, gives to one the title of *oleum gleucinum*, made by incorporating 'must' and 'oil' (*Hist. Nat.* xv. 7; Columella, xii. 51).

—F. R. L.

WINNOWING. [Agriculture.]

WINTER. [Palestine.]

WISDOM OF SOLOMON (Σοφία Σολομόντος [Apocrypha], is the name of one of the deuterocanonical books, and one of those to which, with Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach, the term *libri sapientiales* has been generally applied. As in the book of Ecclesiastes, of which this is an imitation, the anonymous author personates King Solomon, whom he introduces as speaking. From the citations (according to the Septuagint) of the pro-

* When the Mishna forbids *smoked wines* from being used in offerings (*Menachoth*, viii. 6, et comment.), it has chiefly reference to the Roman practice of fumigating them with sulphur, the vapour of which absorbed the oxygen, and thus arrested the fermentation. The Jews carefully eschewed the wines and vinegar of the Gentiles.

phets Isaiah and Jeremiah, it may be inferred that the writer had no intention of giving it to be understood that it was written by Solomon; but that he only followed a common custom of Greek and other writers, in employing the name of this distinguished royal penman. Athanasius, or the author of the *Synopsis*, and Epiphanius (*De Ponder.*) give it the name of *Panaretos*, or 'the treasure of virtue.' It is divided into two, or, according to some, into three parts. The first six chapters contain encomiums on Wisdom, which all, and especially kings, are admonished to acquire, as the true security against present evils, and as leading to future glory and immortality, while a contrary course tends to misery here, and still greater misery hereafter. This, observes Jahn (*Introd.*), is the first express mention of a future state of rewards and punishments. In chaps. vii. and viii. Solomon is introduced, teaching how wisdom is to be acquired; and in chap. x. is given his prayer for this inestimable gift. Chaps. x.-xix. contain historical examples, drawn from the Old Testament, showing the happiness which had resulted from the pursuit of wisdom, and the fatal consequences of sin, especially the sin of idolatry. The book concludes with divers pious and philosophical observations. De Wette (*Einleitung*, § 312) observes that this book embodies the ethico-religious notions of the Alexandrian Jews, in which the philosophy of the Greeks and further Asiatics was engrafted on Mosaism. From the author's invectives against unbelieving and oppressive rulers, as well as his strongly-marked nationality, it has been inferred that some special object may have given occasion to the work. Jahn (*l. c.*) and De Wette (*l. c.*) both defend the unity of the book against some who have endeavoured to show, from the variety in the style and subjects, that it was the composition of more than one author.

The *Book of Wisdom* has been always 'admired for the sublime ideas which it contains of the perfections of God, and for the excellent moral tendency of its precepts' (Horne's *Introd.*). Its style, observes Bishop Lowth, after Calmet, 'is unequal, often pompous and turgid, as well as tedious and diffuse, and abounds in epithets directly contrary to the practice of the Hebrews: it is, however, sometimes temperate, poetical, and sublime.' Calmet supposes that the author had read the works of the Greek poets and philosophers.

Language of Wisdom.—Although there have not been wanting individuals who have contended for a Hebrew, Syriac, or Chaldee original, at least of some parts of the book, these hypotheses are now considered to be entirely without foundation. The Hebraisms admit of an easy explanation. The assonances and verbal allusions, and the Greek colouring throughout, bespeak a Greek original (De Wette, *l. c.*). That the book never existed in Hebrew we have also the testimony of Jerome, who observes that 'the style savours of the Greek eloquence' (*Præf. in Lib. Salom.*).

Author and Age.—The book was ascribed to Jesus Sirach by Augustine (*De Doct. Christ.*), who afterwards withdrew this opinion (*Retract.*); to Zerubbabel by J. Faber, and to Solomon himself by Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Lactantius, and others of the fathers; but their conjectures were without a shadow of foundation. Jerome (*Præf. in Lib. Salom.*) calls it a pseudepigraphal book, commonly ascribed to Solomon. He adds that some of the ancients assigned it to Philo, an opinion favoured by Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*) and adopted by Nicholas de Lyra and Luther (*Pref. to Wisdom*). But both the style and the philosophical views are altogether repugnant to this hypothesis (De Wette, *ut sup.*). Others have ascribed it to an elder Philo, mentioned by Josephus, who flourished under the second temple, and wrote a book *De Animâ*; but this Philo was a heathen. All that can be concluded with any degree of probability is, that the author was an Alexandrian Jew, who lived after the transplanting of the Greek philosophy into Egypt, and who seems to refer to the oppressions of the later Ptolemies. Jahn (*Introd.*) conceives that the book was written at the close of the first, or beginning of the second, century before the Christian era, and that the persecution of the 'son of God' points to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. From the striking resemblance to the history of the persecution of Jesus, it has been erroneously supposed to have been written, or, at least, interpolated, after the Christian era.

Church Authority of Wisdom.—It is cited with the highest degree of respect by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*), Tertullian (*De Præscript.*), Rufinus, and others. It is declared canonical by the third council of Carthage, and included among the five books of Solomon. Jerome (*ut sup.*), however, says that he refrained from correcting the old Latin version of it, as he only desired to amend the canonical Scriptures. Augustine observes that, from long prescription, it had deserved to be heard with veneration in the church of Christ (*De Prædest. Sanct.* i. 14), and that it was therefore read from the step of the readers, &c. Bishop Cosin (*Scholast. Hist. of the Canon*) deduces from this an implied inferiority to the universally received books, inasmuch as the reader was an inferior officer; and supposes that the Scriptures of the higher class were read by the priests and bishops from the *ambo*. But we conceive that Augustine only meant to show that this, with the other books of the same class, was honoured by being read in the church at the same place and by the same functionary as the canonical Scriptures. Some have supposed that Wisdom is cited in the New Testament. Comp. iii. 7, with Matt. xiii. 43; ii. 18, Matt. xxvii. 43; xiii. 1, Rom. i. 20; ix. 13, v. 18, 19, vii. 26, Rom. xi. 34, Eph. vi. 13, 14, 17, Heb. i. 3.

Versions.—There are three ancient versions extant—the Syriac, Arabic, and Latin. Jerome did not revise the Latin [VULGATE].—W. W.

WISDOM OF JESUS, SON OF SIRACH (Gr. Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ, Lat. *Ecclesiasticus*) [APOCRYPHA], one of the books of the second canon [DEUTEROCANONICAL], consists of a collection of moral sentences after the manner of the Proverbs of Solomon (i.—ix. xxiv. comp. with Prov. i.—ix.) The work is arranged upon no systematic plan, but abounds in directions relating to religion and human conduct. Wisdom is represented here, as in Proverbs, as the source of human happiness, and the same views of human life, founded on the belief of a recompense, pervade the instructions of this book also, wherein, however, a more matured reflection is perceptible (De Wette's *Einleitung*). It is in fact the com-

position of a philosopher who had deeply studied the fortunes and manners of mankind, and did not hesitate to avail himself of the philosophy of older moralists; xii. 8—xiii. 23; xv. 11—20; xvi. 26—xvii. 20; xix. 6—17; xxiii. 16—27; xxvi. 1—18; xxx. 1—13; xxxvii. 27; xxxviii. 15, 24—xxxix. 11, &c. (*Ib.*). It abounds in grace, wisdom, and spirit, although sometimes more particular in inculcating principles of politeness than those of virtue (Cellerier, *Introd. à la Lecture des Liv. Saints*). It is not unfrequently marked by considerable beauty and elegance of expression, occasionally rising to the sublimest heights of human eloquence (*Christ. Remembrancer*, vol. ix.). It has been observed of it by Addison (see Horne's *Introd.*, vol. iv.) that 'it would be regarded by our modern wits as one of the most shining tracts of morality that are extant, if it appeared under the name of a Confucius or of any celebrated Grecian philosopher.'

Language.—The original of the book was Hebrew. This is attested by the Greek translator in his preface, as well as by the idiomatic character of the version, the author of which (as has been shown by Drusius and Eichhorn) has sometimes even misunderstood his original. Jerome (*Præf. in Lib. Salom.*) asserts that he had seen it in Hebrew: 'There is also carried about the *Panaretos* of Jesus, son of Sirach, and another pseudepigraphal book, which is inscribed *The Wisdom of Solomon*. The first of these I have seen in Hebrew, styled, not Ecclesiasticus, as in Latin, but the Parables (משלים *mishlim*); to which were united Ecclesiastes and Canticles, that it might resemble Solomon not only in the number, but the character of the subjects.' It has been, however, questioned whether the work which Jerome saw was not an Aramaic version.

Author and Age.—The author calls himself Jesus, son of Sirach, of Jerusalem, but we know nothing further of him. George Syncellus (*Chronogr.*) calls him high priest of the Jews; but there appears to be no sufficient authority for this and other conjectures respecting him.

The age of the book is not easily determined. The author eulogizes the high priest Simon, son of Onias, in terms which seem to indicate a contemporary; and the author's grandson, who translated it, states in his preface that he had arrived in Egypt in the *thirty-eighth year*, in the reign of King Euergetes. But there were two high priests of the same name, Simon the Just, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus (about B.C. 290), and another, the contemporary of Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 221). There were also two sovereigns called *Euergetes*, the first of whom was the son and successor of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 247), and Euergetes II. or Ptolemy Physcon (B.C. 169). Prideaux (*Connection*) and Eichhorn maintain that Simon the Second is the priest referred to, that the oppressions presupposed by the prayer in chap. l. correspond with the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, and that the translator came to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Euergetes II. (Physcon). Jahn, on the other hand, observes, that the first Euergetes reigned only twenty-four, and the second twenty-nine years, and that the thirty-eighth year refers to the age of the translator. Jahn further observes, that the eulogies on Simon do not correspond with the character of Simon II., but that they are in every respect applicable to Simon the Just. He therefore infers that the author composed this work about the year B.C. 300, and that his grandson translated it about B.C. 280. Winer (*De utr. Sirac. ætate*, and *Real-Wörterbuch*) maintains that Simon the Just is the person referred to, but that it is not necessary to conclude that the author was his contemporary. He still thinks that, although the grammatical construction rather requires ἔτει τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου to refer to the age of the monarch's reign, Euergetes the Second was the king in whose reign the translation was made, as the canon could not have been yet closed under the reign of the first Euergetes, as implied in the preface,—'the law, the prophets, and the other books.' The 'thirty-eighth year of his reign,' although not applicable to the first Euergetes, may refer to the second, if his regency be included. According to this, which De Wette conceives the most probable hypothesis, the translator lived B.C. 130, and the author B.C. 180.

Church Authority of Ecclesiasticus.—Rufinus (*in Symb.*) observes that 'The Wisdom of the Son of Sirach is called in Latin *Ecclesiasticus*, which signifies not the name of the author, but the quality of the writing,' and that it, with the other ecclesiastical books, including the Shepherd of Hermas, was read in the Church, but not employed to confirm the authority of the faith.' Calmet (*Preface*) concludes that it was called Ecclesiasticus from its supposed resemblance to Ecclesiastes, as well as to denote its inferior authority before it was finally received into the canon. Jerome, although rejecting it from the canon, cites it as divine Scripture: 'Divina Scriptura loquitur: musica in luctu in tempestiva narratio' (Ecclus. xxii. 6). It is cited in the Epistle of Barnabas: 'Let not thine hand be stretched out to receive,' &c. (Ecclus. iv. 31), in the first Epistle of Clement, and by Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian, and most of the fathers. Augustine (*De Doct. Christ.* c. 8) says that several of the fathers cite it under the name of Solomon, not because it was his, but from a certain resemblance to his writings. Allusions to this book have been supposed to be not unfrequently discernible in the New Testament. Compare, especially, Ecclus. xxxiii. 13; Rom. ix. 21; xi. 19; Luke xii. 19, 20; v. 11; James i. 19, &c.; xxiv. 17, 18; Matt. xi. 28-9; John iv. 13, 14; vi. 35, &c.

We may observe, in conclusion, that all which applies to the authority of this book is equally applicable to the other books of the second canon. In the early ages of the Church, the protocanonical books, or those received by the Jews, and preserved in Hebrew, were alone considered as canonical, at least until the time of Augustine, when the term 'canonical' seems to have acquired a new meaning. But some of the most distinguished teachers of the same period considered all the books in the Alexandrian version, if not canonical, as inspired, and cite them as authorities. At the period of the Reformation the Protestants reverted to the Jewish canon. Learned Roman Catholics, even since the decision of the Council of Trent, have considered themselves at liberty to make a distinction between the books of the first and second canon, and to

hold the latter as of inferior authority; whilst in recent times there have not been wanting voices raised in the Reformed Church in favour even of their inspiration (Cellerier, *ut sup.*). Mr. Robinson, the translator of Moehler's *Symbolik*, is mistaken in his statement (§ xlii., note) that the Anglican Church agrees in the canon of Scripture with the French Protestants. The Church of England, as has been already seen [DEUTERO-CANONICAL], has adhered, in respect to the Old Testament, to the only canon which was known to the Church before the Council of Hippo; and while she excludes the Greek books from the canon, has passed no definitive judgment respecting their authority or inspiration.

In the *Libri Symboliei Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, Jena, 1843, there are two canons given, one in the Confession of Faith of Cyril Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, 1631, comprehending only the twenty-two books of the Old Testament from the canon of Laodicea, and rejecting the 'Apocryphal,' so called, because they have not received the same authority and approbation from the Holy Spirit with those properly and beyond controversy accounted canonical;' the other, that of Dositheus, patriarch of Jerusalem, who presided at the synod held in that city in 1672, which charges Cyril with applying the term apocryphal foolishly and ignorantly, or rather maliciously, to the Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Tobit, the history of the Dragon, and of Susanna, the Maccabees, and the Wisdom of Sirach, which, although they do not perhaps seem to be included by all, the Council of Jerusalem holds, notwithstanding, to be genuine and integral parts of the same Scriptures.

Versions of Ecclesiasticus.—We have already seen that Jerome did not translate this book. The old Latin version frequently differs from the Greek, and has several additions, besides sometimes reversing the order of the text. Athanasius, or the author of the *Synopsis Scripturæ*, considers, but without sufficient grounds, the fifty-first chapter to have proceeded from the Greek translator. The Greek MSS. differ considerably from each other. The Authorized English version is taken from the same text with that in the London Polyglott, which is not so pure as the Vatican text. The Syriac version, contained in the same Polyglott, differs also in many places from the Greek; and Bendsen (*Exercit. Crit.*) maintains that it is derived immediately from the Hebrew. The Arabic in the same work seems to be a descendant from the Syriac. The *Sentences of Ben Sirach*, cited in the Talmud (*Sanhed. Gem.* xi. 42; *Bereschith Rabba*, viii. f. 10; *Baba Kama*, f. 92, c. 2), and published in Latin by Paul Fagius (1542), and in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Latin, by Drusius (1597), though sometimes similar to those in Ecclesiasticus, are upon the whole a different work (Eichhorn's and Bertholdt's *Introductions*).—W. W.

WITCH. The fem. מְכַשֵּׁפָה (a sorceress), is found in Exod. xxii. 18; Sept. *φαρμακός*; Vulg. *maleficа*; the mas. מכשף (a sorcerer or magician), in Exod. vii. 11; Deut. xviii. 10; Dan. ii. 2; Mal. iii. 5; Sept. *φαρμακός*; Vulg. *maleficus*; and כִּשֵּׁף in Jer. xxvii. 9. In the New Testament 'sorcerer;' *φαρμακός*; Vulg. *maleficus*, occurs in Rev. xxi. 8; xxii. 15.

WITCHCRAFTS (כְּשָׁפִים) occurs in 2 Kings ix. 22; Isa. xlvii. 9, 12; Mic. v. 12; Nah. iii. 4; Sept. *φαρμακεία*, *φάρμακα*; Vulg. *veneficium*, *maleficium*. In the Apocrypha 'witchcraft,' 'sorcery;' *φαρμακεία*; *venefieium*, Wisd. xii. 4; xviii. 13; and in the New Testament, Gal. v. 20; Rev. ix. 21; xviii. 23. As a verb כִּשֵּׁף, 'he used witchcraft,' occurs in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6; *ἐφαρμακεύετο*, *maleficis artibus inserviebat.* This verb, in Arabic, signifies 'to reveal' or 'discover;' in Syriac *ethpaal*, according to Gesenius, 'to pray;' but this word, he observes, like many other sacred terms of the Syrians, as בעל כמרים, &c., is restricted by the Hebrews to idolatrous services: hence כשף means 'to practise magic,' literally 'to pronounce or mutter spells.' The word *φαρμακός* is derived from *φαρμακεύω*, to administer or apply medicines as remedies or poisons; to use magical herbs, drugs, or substances, supposed to derive their efficacy from magical spells; and thence to use spells, conjurations, or enchantments; hence *φαρμακός* means, in the classical writers, a preparer of drugs, but generally of poisons, or drugs that operate by the force of magical charms; and thence a magician, an enchanter *of either sex.* It occurs in the latter sense in Josephus (*Antiq.* xvii. 4. 1), and is applied by him to a *female*, *τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ φαρμακὸν καὶ πόρνην ἀποκαλέσαι.* (*Antiq.* ix. 6. 3). This word also answers in the Sept. to חרטמים, 'magicians' (Exod. ix. 11), *φαρμακοὶ*, *malefici.* The received text of Rev. xxi. 8, reads *φαρμακεύς*; but the Alexandrian, and sixteen later MSS., with several printed editions, have *φαρμακός*, a reading embraced by Wetstein, and by Griesbach received into the text. *Φαρμακεύς* occurs in the same sense as *φαρμακός*, in Lucian (*Dial. Deor.* xiii. 1; Joseph. *Vita*, § 31). The word *φαρμακεία* is used of *Circe* by Aristophanes (*Plut.* 302), and in the same sense of enchantment, &c., by Polybius (vi. 13. 4; xl. 3. 7). It corresponds in the Sept. to להטים, לטים. 'enchantments' (Exod. vii. 11, 22). The verb *φαρμακεύω* is employed in the sense of using enchantments by Herodotus (vii. 114), where, after saying that when Xerxes came to the river Strymon, the magi sacrificed white horses to it, he adds, *φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοισι,*—'and having used these enchantments and many others to the river,' &c. The precise idea, if any, now associated with the word 'witch,' but, however, devoutly entertained by nearly the whole nation in the time of our translators, is that of a female, who, by the agency of Satan, or rather, of a familiar spirit or gnome appointed by Satan to attend on her, performs operations beyond the powers of humanity, in consequence of her compact with Satan, written in her own blood, by which she resigns herself to him for ever. Among other advantages resulting to her from this engagement, is the power of transforming herself into any shape she pleases; which was, however, generally that of a hare; transporting herself through the air on a broomstick, sailing 'on the sea in a sieve,' gliding through a keyhole, inflicting diseases, &c., upon mankind or cattle. The belief in the existence of such persons cannot be traced higher than the middle ages, and was probably derived from the wild and gloomy mythology of the northern na-

tions, amongst whom the Fatal Sisters, and other impersonations of destructive agency in a female form, were prominent articles of the popular creed. This comparatively modern delusion was strengthened and confirmed by the translators of the Bible into the Western languages; a *popular* version of the original text having led people to suppose that there was positive evidence for the existence of such beings in Scripture. Bishop Hutchinson declares that our translators accommodated their version to the terminology of King James's *Treatise on Demonologie* (*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, art. 'Witch,' &c.). For an account of the appalling atrocities perpetrated against supposed witches in Germany, England, and Scotland, see *Quarterly Review* (vol. xi.), or Combe's *Constitution of Man* (2nd ed., Edin. 1835, p. 390). A very different idea was conveyed by the Hebrew word, which probably denotes a sorceress or magician, who pretended to discover, and even to direct the effects ascribed to the operation of the elements, conjunctions of the stars, the influence of lucky and unlucky days, the power of invisible spirits, and of the inferior deities (Graves's *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, pp. 109, 110, Dublin, 1829). Sir Walter Scott well observes, that 'the sorcery or witchcraft of the Old Testament resolves itself into a trafficking with idols and asking counsel of false deities, or, in other words, into idolatry' (*Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, London, 1830, Let. 2). Accordingly, sorcery is in Scripture uniformly associated with idolatry (Deut. xviii. 9-14; 2 Kings ix. 22; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5, 6, &c.; Gal. v. 20; Rev. xxi. 8). The modern idea of witchcraft, as involving the assistance of Satan, is inconsistent with Scripture, where, as in the instance of Job, Satan is represented as powerless till God gave him a limited commission; and when 'Satan desired to sift Peter as wheat,' no reference is made to the intervention of a witch. Nor do the actual references to magic in Scripture involve its reality. The mischiefs resulting from the *pretension*, under the theocracy, to an art which involved idolatry, justified the statute which denounced it with death; though instead of the unexampled phrase לא תחיה, 'thou shalt not suffer to live,' Michaelis conjectures לא תהיה, 'shall not be' (Exod. xxii. 18), which also better suits the parallel, 'There shall not be found among you, &c., a witch' (Deut. xviii. 10). Indeed, as 'we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other gods but one' (1 Cor. viii. 4), we must believe all pretensions to traffic with the one, or ask counsel of the other, to be equally vain. Upon the same principle of suppressing idolatry, however, the prophets of Baal also were destroyed, and not because Baal had any real existence, or because they could avail anything by their invocations. It is highly probable that the more intelligent portion of the Jewish community, especially in later times, understood the emptiness of pretensions to magic (see Isa. xliv. 25; xlvii. 11-15; Jer. xiv. 14; Jonah ii. 8). Plato evidently considered the mischief of magic to consist in the tendency of the pretension to it, and not in the reality (*De Leg.* lib. 11). Divination of all kinds had fallen into contempt in the time of Cicero: 'Dubium non est quin hæc disciplina et ars augurum evanuerit jam et vetustate et *negligentia*' (*De Legibus*, ii. 13). Josephus declares that he laughed at the very idea of witchcraft (*Vit.* § 31). For the very early writers who maintained that the wonders of the magicians were not supernatural, see *Universal Hist.* (vol. iii. p. 374, 8vo. ed.). It seems safe to conclude from the Septuagint renderings, and their identity with the terms used by classical writers, that the pretended exercise of this art in ancient times was accompanied with the use of drugs, or fumigations made of them. No doubt the skilful use of certain chemicals, if restricted to the knowledge of a few persons, might, in ages unenlightened by science, along with other resources of natural magic, be made the means of extensive imposture. The natural gases, exhalations, &c., would contribute their share, as appears from the ancient account of the origin of the oracle at Delphi. The real mischiefs ever effected by the professors of magic on mankind, &c., may be safely ascribed to the actual administration of poison. Josephus states a case of poisoning under the form of a philtre or love-potion, and says that the Arabian women were reported to be skilful in making such potions (*Antiq.* xvii. 4. 1). Such means doubtless constitute the real perniciousness of the African species of witchcraft called Obi, the similarity of which word to the Hebrew אוב, *inflation*, is remarkable. Among the Sandwich Islanders, some, who had professed witchcraft, confessed, after their conversion to Christianity, that they had poisoned their victims. The death of Sir Thomas Overbury is cited as an instance in this country, by Sir Walter Scott, (*ut supra*). There was, indeed, a wide scope for the production of very fantastic effects, short of death, by such means. The story of 'the witch of Endor,' as she is commonly but improperly called, is, under the article SAUL, referred to witchcraft. She indeed belongs to another class of pretenders to supernatural powers [DIVINATION]. She was a necromancer, or one of those persons who pretended to call up the spirits of the dead to converse with the living (see Isa. viii. 19; xxix. 4; lxv. 3). A full account is given of such persons by Lucan (vi. 591, &c.), and by Tibullus (i. 2. v. 45), where the pretensions of the sorceress are thus described—

> Hæc cantu finditque solum, Manesque sepulchris
> Elicit, et tepido devocat ossa rogo.

Of much the same character is the Sibyl in the 6th book of Virgil's *Æneid*. It is related as the last and crowning act of Saul's rebellion against God, that he consulted 'a woman who had a familiar spirit' (1 Sam. xxviii. 7), literally 'a mistress of the *Ob*,'—an act forbidden by the divine law (Lev. xx. 6), which sentenced the pretenders to such a power to death (ver. 27), and which law Saul himself had recently enforced (1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 9), because, it is supposed, they had freely predicted his approaching ruin; although after the well-known prophecies of Samuel to that effect, the disasters Saul had already encountered, and the growing influence of David, there 'needed no ghost to come from the grave to tell them this.' Various explanations of this story have been offered. It has been attempted to resolve the whole into *imposture and collusion*. Saul, who was naturally a weak and excitable

man, had become, through a long series of vexations and anxieties, absolutely 'delirious,' as Patrick observes: 'he was afraid and his heart greatly trembled,' says the sacred writer. In this state of mind, and upon the very eve of his last battle, he commissions his *own servants* to seek him a woman that had a familiar spirit, and, attended by two of them, he comes to her 'by night,' the most favourable time for imposition. He converses with her alone, his two attendants, whether his secret enemies or real friends, being absent, *somewhere*, yet, however, close at hand. Might not one of these, or some one else, have agreed with the woman to personate Samuel in another room?—for it appears that Saul, though he spoke with, did not *see* the ghost (ver. 13, 14): who, it should be observed, told him nothing but what his own attendants could have told him, with the exception of those words, 'to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me' (ver. 19); to which, however, it is replied, that Saul's death did not occur upon the morrow, and that the word so translated is sufficiently ambiguous, for though מחר means 'to-morrow' in some passages, it means the future, indefinitely, in others (Exod. xiii. 14, and see the margin; Josh. iv. 6. 21; comp. Matt. vi. 34). It is further urged, that her 'crying with a loud voice,' and her telling Saul, at the same time, that she knew him, were the well-timed arts of the sorceress, intended to magnify her pretended skill. It is, however, objected against this, or any other hypothesis of collusion, that the sacred writer not only represents the Pythoness as affirming, but also himself affirms, that she saw Samuel, and that Samuel spoke to Saul, nor does he drop the least hint that it was not the real Samuel of whom he was speaking. The same objections apply equally to the theory of ventriloquism, which has been grounded upon the word used by the Sept., ἐγγαστρίμυθος. Others have given a *literal interpretation* of the story, and have maintained that Samuel actually appeared to Saul. Justin Martyr maintains this theory, and in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, urges this incident in proof of the immortality of the soul (p. 333). The same view is taken in the additions to the Sept. in 1 Chron. x. 13, καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ Σαμουὴλ ὁ προφήτης; and in Ecclus. xlvi. 9, 20, it is said, 'and after his death Samuel prophesied, and showed the king his end,' &c. Such also is the view Josephus takes (*Antiq.* vi. 14. 3. 4), where he bestows a laboured eulogium upon the woman. It is, however, objected, that the actual appearance of Samuel is inconsistent with all we are taught by revelation concerning the state of the dead; involves the possibility of a spirit or soul assuming a corporeal shape, conversing audibly, &c.; and further, that it is incredible that God would submit the departed souls of his servants to be summoned back to earth, by rites either utterly futile, or else deriving their efficacy from the co-operation of Satan. So Tertullian argues (*De Animâ*, cap. lvii.), and many other of the ancients. Others have supposed that the woman induced Satan or some evil spirit to personate Samuel. But this theory, beside other difficulties, attributes nothing less than miraculous power to the devil; for it supposes the apparition of a spiritual and incorporeal being, and that Satan can assume the appearance of any one he pleases. Again, the historian (ver. 14) calls this appearance to Saul, שמואל הוא, 'Samuel *himself*' (the latter word is entirely omitted by our translators); which he could not with truth have done if it was no other than the devil; who, besides, is here represented as the severe reprover of Saul's impiety and wickedness. The admission that Satan or an evil spirit could thus personate an individual at pleasure, would endanger the strongest evidences of Christianity. Others have maintained another interpretation, which appears to us at once tenable, and countenanced by similar narratives in Scripture; namely, that the whole account is the narrative of a miracle, *a divine representation or impression*, partly upon the senses of Saul, and partly upon those of the woman, and intended for the rebuke and punishment of Saul. It is urged, from the air of the narrative in ver. 11, 12, that Samuel appeared before the woman had any time for jugglery, fumigations, &c.; for although the word 'when' (ver. 12) is speciously printed in Roman characters, it has nothing to answer to it in the original, which reads simply thus, beginning at ver. 11: 'Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. And the woman saw Samuel, and cried with a loud voice.' No sooner then had Saul said, 'Bring me up Samuel,' than Samuel himself was presented to her mind—an event so contrary to her expectation, that she cried out with terror. At the same time, and by the same miraculous means, she was made aware of the royal dignity of her visitant. The vision then continues in the mind of Saul, who thereby receives his last reproof from heaven, and hears the sentence of his approaching doom. Thus God interposed with a miracle previously to the use of any magical formulæ, as he did when the king of Moab had recourse to sorceries to overrule the mind of Balaam, so that he was compelled to bless those whom Balak wanted him to curse (Num. xxiii.); and as God also interposed when Ahaziah sent to consult Baal-zebub his god, about his recovery, when by his prophet Elijah he stopt the messengers, reproved their master, and denounced his death (2 Kings i. 2, 16). It may also be observed that Saul was on this occasion simply sentenced to the death he had justly incurred by having recourse to those means which he knew to be unlawful. Of the same nature of divine representation or vision, we think, was the reproof administered to Elijah, at Mount Horeb, when 'a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord,' and was succeeded by 'an earthquake,' &c. (1 Kings xix. 11, &c.). Of the same nature, also, was the Temptation of our Lord (see the article, and other instances of divine vision not expressly specified as such, in Bishop Law's *Theory of Religion*, pp. 85, 86, London, 1820). Farmer is of opinion that the suppression of the word 'himself' (ver. 14), and the introduction of the word 'when' (ver. 12), are to be ascribed to the prejudices of our translators. If they do not betray a bias on their minds, these instances support the general remark of Bishop Lowth, upon the English translation, 'that in respect of the sense, and accuracy of interpretation, the improvements of which it is capable are great and numberless' (*Preliminary*

Dissertation to Isaiah, ad finem). Some other *mis-translations* occur in reference to this subject. In 1 Sam. xv. 23, 'rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft,' should be of 'divination.' In Deut. xviii. 10, the word מכשף does not mean 'witch,' but, being masculine, 'a sorcerer.' In Acts viii. 9, the translation is exceedingly apt to mislead the mere English reader: 'Simon used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria'—*Σίμων προϋπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγεύων καὶ ἐξιστῶν τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας—i. e.* 'Simon had been pursuing magic, and perplexing (or astonishing) the people,' &c. See also ver. 11, and comp. the use of the word *ἐξίστημι*, Matt. xii. 23. In Gal. iii. 1, 'Foolish Galatians,' *τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανε*, 'who hath *fascinated* you?' (For the use of the words *βασκανία* and *φαρμακεία* in magic, among the Greeks, see Potter's *Archæologia Græca*, vol. i. ch. xviii. p. 356, &c., Lond., 1775.) It is considered by some, that the word 'witchcraft' is used metaphorically, for the allurements of pleasure, Nah. iii. 4; Rev. xviii. 23, and that the 'sorcerers' mentioned in ch. xxi. 8, may mean sophisticators of the truth. The kindred word *φαρμάσσω* is used by metonymy, as signifying 'to charm,' 'to persuade by flattery,' &c. (Plato, *Sympos.* § 17), 'to give a temper to metals' (*Odyss.* ix. 393). The last named theory concerning the narrative of Samuel's appearance to Saul is maintained with much learning and ingenuity by Hugh Farmer (*Dissertation on Miracles*, p. 472, &c. Lond. 1771). It is adopted by Dr. Waterland (*Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 267), and Dr. Delaney in his *Life of David;* but is combated by Dr. Chandler with objections, which are, however, answered or obviated by Farmer. On the general subject see Michaelis's *Laws of Moses*, by Dr. A. Smith, London, 1814, vol. iv. pp. 83-93; Banier's *History of Mythology*, lib. iv.; Winer's *Biblisches Real-Wörterbuch*, art. 'Zauberei.'—J. F. D.

WITNESS. It is intended in the present article to notice some of the leading and peculiar senses of this voluminous word. It occurs, 1st, in the sense of *a person* who deposes to the occurrence of any fact, a witness of any event, עד, Sept. *μάρτυς* or *μάρτυρ*; Vulg. *testis*. The Hebrew word is derived from עוד, to repeat. The Greek is usually derived from *μείρω*, to 'divide,' 'decide,' &c., because a witness decides controversies (Heb. vi. 16); but Damm (*Lex. Hom.* col. 1495) derives it from the old word *μάρη*, 'the hand,' because witnesses anciently held up their hands in giving evidence. This custom among the ancient Hebrews, is referred to in Gen. xiv. 22; among the heathens, by Homer (*Il.* x. 321), and by Virgil (*Æn.* xii. 196). God himself is represented as swearing in this manner (Deut. xxxii. 40; Ezek. xx. 5, 6, 15; comp. Num. xiv. 30). So also the heathen gods (Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 119, 120). These Hebrew and Greek words, with their various derivations, pervade the entire subject. They are applied to *a judicial witness* in Exod. xxiii. 1; Lev. v. 1; Num. v. 13; xxxv. 30 (comp. Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16; 2 Cor. xiii. 1); Prov. xiv. 5; xxiv. 28; Matt. xxvi. 65; Acts vi. 13; 1 Tim. v. 19; Heb. x. 28. They are applied, *generally*, to a person who certifies, or is able to certify, to any fact which has come under his cognizance (Josh. xxiv. 22; Isa. viii. 2; Luke xxiv. 48; Acts i. 8, 22; 1 Thess. ii. 10; 1 Tim. vi. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 2; 1 Pet. i. 5). So in allusion to those who witness the public games (Heb. xii. 1). They are also applied to any one who testifies to the world what God reveals through him (Rev. xi. 3). In the latter sense the Greek word is applied to our Lord (Rev. i. 5; iii. 14). It is further used in the ecclesiastical sense of *martyr* [MARTYR]. Both the Hebrew and Greek words are also applied to *God* (Gen. xxxi. 50; 1 Sam. xii. 5; Jer. xlii. 5; Rom. i. 9; Phil. i. 8; 1 Thess. ii. 5); to *inanimate things* (Gen. xxxi. 52; Ps. lxxxix. 37). The supernatural means whereby the deficiency of witnesses was compensated under the theocracy, have been already considered under the articles ADULTERY, TRIAL OF; URIM AND THUMMIM. For the punishment of false witness and the suppression of evidence, see PUNISHMENT. For the forms of adjuration (2 Chron. xviii. 15), see ADJURATION. Opinions differ as to what is meant by 'the faithful witness in heaven' (Ps. lxxxix. 37). Some suppose it to mean the moon (comp. Ps. lxxii. 5, 7; Jer. xxxi. 35, 36; xxxiii. 20, 21; Ecclus. xliii. 6); others, the rainbow (Gen. ix. 12-17).—2. The witness or *testimony itself* borne to any fact is expressed by עד; *μαρτυρία*; testimonium. They are used of *judicial* testimony (Prov. xxv. 18; Mark xiv. 56, 59). In ver. 55, Schleusner takes the word *μαρτυρία* for *μάρτυρ*, the abstract for the concrete (Luke xxii. 71; John viii. 17; Joseph. *Antiq.* iv. 8. 15). It denotes the testimony to the truth of anything *generally* (John i. 7, 19; xix. 35); that of a poet (Tit. i. 13). It occurs in Josephus (*Cont. Apion.* 1. 21). In John iii. 11, 32, Schleusner understands the *doctrine*, the thing professed; in v. 32, 36, the *proofs* given by God of our Saviour's mission; comp. v. 9. In viii. 13, 14, both he and Bretschneider assign to the word the sense of *praise*. In Acts xxii. 18, the former translates it *teaching* or *instruction*. In Rev. i. 9, it denotes *the constant profession* of Christianity, or testimony to the truth of the Gospel (comp. i. 2; vi. 9). In 1 Tim. iii. 7, *μαρτυρίαν καλὴν* means a *good character* (comp. 3 Ep. John 12; Ecclus. xxxi. 34; Joseph. *Antiq.* vi. 10. 1). In Ps. xix. 7, 'The testimony of the Lord is sure' probably signifies the *ordinances, institutions*, &c. (comp. cxix. 22, 24, &c.) Those ambiguous words, 'He that believeth in the Son of God hath the witness in himself' (1 John v. 10), which have given rise to a variety of fanatical meanings, are easily understood, by explaining the word *ἔχει*, 'receives,' 'retains,' &c., *i. e.* the foregoing testimony which God hath given of his Son, whereas the unbeliever rejects it. The whole passage is obscured in the English translation by neglecting the uniformity of the Greek, and introducing the word 'record,' contrary to the profession of our translators in their *Preface to the Reader* (ad finem). The Hebrew word, with *μαρτύριον*, occurs in the sense of *monument, evidence*, &c. (Gen. xxi. 30; xxxi. 44; Deut. iv. 45; xxxi. 26; Josh. xxii. 27; Ruth iv. 7; Matt. viii. 4; Mark vi. 11; Luke xxi. 13; James v. 3). In 2 Cor. i. 12, Schleusner explains *μαρτύριον*, *commendation*. In Prov. xxix. 14 and Amos i. 11, לעד is pointed to mean *perpetually, for ever*, but the Septuagint gives *εἰς μαρτύριον*; Aquila *εἰς ἔτι*; Symmachus *εἰς ἀεί*; Vulg. *in*

æternum. In Acts vii. 44 and Rev. xv. 5, we find *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, and this is the Sept. rendering for אהל מועד (which really means 'the tabernacle of the *congregation*') in Exod. xxix. 42, 44; xl. 22, 24—deriving מועד from עוד, 'to testify,' instead of from יעד, 'to assemble.' On 1 Tim. ii. 6, see Bowyer's *Conjectures*. In Heb. iii. 5, Schleusner interprets *εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν λαληθησομένων*, 'the *promulgation* of those things about to be delivered to the Jews.'—3. *To be* or *become a witness*, by testifying the truth of what one knows. Thus the Sept. translates העיד (Gen. xliii. 3), *μαρτυρέω*, *to bear witness*, and Amos iii. 13: see also 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13. In John i. 7; xv. 26; xviii. 23, Schleusner gives as its meaning, *to teach* or *explain;* in John iv. 44; vii. 7; 1 Tim. vi. 13, *to declare;* in Acts x. 43; Rom. iii. 21, *to declare prophetically*. With a dative case following, the word sometimes means *to approve* (Luke iv. 22). So Schleusner understands Luke xi. 48, 'ye *approve* the deeds of your fathers,' and he gives this sense also to Rom. x. 2. In like manner the passive *μαρτυρέομαι*, 'to be approved,' 'beloved,' 'have a good character,' &c. (Acts vi. 3; 1 Tim. v. 10; comp. 3 John 6, 12.) 'The witness of the Spirit,' alluded to by St. Paul (Rom. viii. 16), is explained by Macknight and all the best commentators, as the extraordinary operations of the Holy Spirit concurring with the filial dispositions of converted Gentiles, to prove that they are 'the children of God,' as well as the Jews.—4. 'To call or take to witness,' 'to invoke as witness,' *μαρτύρομαι* (Acts xx. 26; Gal. v. 3; Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 8. 3). A still stronger word is *διαμαρτύρομαι*, which corresponds to העיד (Deut. iv. 26). It means 'to admonish solemnly,' 'to charge earnestly,' 'to urge upon' (Ps. lxxxi. 8; Neh. ix. 26; Luke xvi. 28; Acts ii. 40). In other passages the same words mean to '*teach* earnestly.' In Job xxix. 11, a beautiful phrase occurs, 'When the eye saw me it gave witness to me.' The admiring expression of the eye upon beholding a man of eminent virtue and benevolence, is here admirably illustrated. The description of the mischief occasioned by a false witness, in Prov. xxv. 18, deserves notice; 'a man that beareth false witness against his neighbour, is a maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow.' Few words afford more exercise to discrimination, in consequence of the various shades of meaning in which the context requires they should be understood. —J. F. D.

WIZARD. [Divination.]

WOLF (זְאֵב *zeeb;* Arab. *zeeb;* Coptic, *ounch;* Gen. xlix. 27; Isa. xi. 6; lxv. 25; Jer. v. 6, &c.; *λύκος*, Matt. vii. 15; x. 16; Luke x. 3; John x. 12; Acts xx. 29; Ecclus. viii. 17), a fierce carnivorous animal, very nearly allied to the dog, and so well known in Europe as to require no particular description, excepting as regards the identity of the species in Palestine, which although often asserted, is by no means established; for no professed zoologist has obtained the animal in Syria, while other travellers only pretend to have seen it. Unquestionably a true wolf, or a wild canine with very similar manners, was not infrequent in that country during the earlier ages of the world, and even down to the commencement of our era. The prophets, as well as the Messiah, allude to it in explicit language. At this day the true wolf is



543. [Egyptian Wolf.]

still abundant in Asia Minor, as well as in the gorges of Cilicia, and from the travelling disposition of the species, wolves may be expected to reside in the forests of Libanus; yet, except we rely on mere rumours, wild and contradictory assertions, or decided mistakes as to the species, none are at present found in the Holy Land. Hemprich and Ehrenberg, the most explicit of the naturalists who have visited that region, notice the *dib* or *zeb* ذيب, under the denomination of *canis lupaster*, and also, it seems, of *lupus Syriacus:* they describe it as resembling the wolf, but smaller, with a white tip on the tail, &c.; and give for its synonyme *canis anthus*, and the wolf of Egypt, that is, the *λύκος* of Aristotle, and *thoes anthus* of Ham. Smith. This species, found in the mummy state at Lycopolis, though high in proportion to its bulk, measures only eighteen inches at the shoulder, and in weight is scarcely more than one-third of that of a true wolf, whose stature rises to thirty and thirty-two inches. It is not gregarious, does not howl, cannot carry off a lamb or sheep, nor kill men, nor make the shepherd flee; in short, it is not the true wolf of Europe or Asia Minor, and is not possessed of the qualities ascribed to the species in the Bible. The next in Hemprich and Ehrenberg's description bears the same Arabic name; it is scientifically called *canis sacer*, and is the *pisconch* of the Copts. This species is, however, still smaller, and thus cannot be the wolf in question. It may be, as there are no forests to the south of Libanus, that these ravenous beasts, who never willingly range at a distance from cover, have forsaken the more open country; or else, that the *derbonn*, now only indistinctly known as a species of black wolf in Arabia and southern Syria, is the species or variety which anciently represented the wolf in Syria: an appellation fully deserved, if it be the same as the black species of the Pyrenees, which, though surnised to be a wild dog, is even more fierce than the common wolf, and is equally powerful. The Arabs are said to eat the *derbonn* as game, though it must be rare, since no European traveller has described a specimen from personal observation. Therefore, either the true wolf, or the *derbonn*, was anciently more abundant in Palestine, or the ravenous powers of those animals, equally belonging to the hyæna and to a great wild dog, caused several species to be included in the name [Dog].—C. H. S.

WOMAN, in Hebrew אִשָּׁה, which is the feminine form of אִישׁ, as among the ancient Romans *vira* (found still in *virago*) from *vir;* and in Greek *ἀνδρίς* from *ἀνήρ*: like our own term woman, the Hebrew is used of married and unmarried females. The derivation of the word thus shows that according to the conception of the ancient Israelites woman was man in a modified form—one of the same race, the same genus, as man; a kind of female man. How slightly modified that form is, how little in original structure woman differs from man, physiology has made abundantly clear. Different in make as man and woman are, they differ still more in character; and yet the great features of their hearts and minds so closely resemble each other, that it requires no depth of vision to see that these twain are one! This most important fact is characteristically set forth in the Bible in the account given of the formation of woman out of one of Adam's ribs: a representation to which currency may have the more easily been given, from the apparent space there is between the lowest rib and the bones on which the trunk is supported. 'And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man.' An immediate and natural inference is forthwith made touching the intimacy of the marriage-bond: 'Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh' (Gen. ii. 21-24). Those who have been pleased to make free with this simple narrative, may well be required to show how a rude age could more effectually have been taught the essential unity of man and woman—a unity of nature which demands, and is perfected only in, a unity of soul. The conception of the Biblical writer goes beyond even this, but does not extend farther than science and experience unite to justify. There was solid reason why it was not good for Adam 'to be alone.' Without an help meet he would have been an imperfect being. The genus homo consists of man and woman. Both are necessary to the idea of man. The one supplements the qualities of the other. They are not two, but one flesh, and as one body so one soul.

The entire aim, then, of the narrative in Genesis was, by setting forth certain great physical facts, to show the essential unity of man and woman, yet the dependance of the latter on the former; and so to encourage and foster the tenderest and most considerate love between the two, founded on the peculiar qualities of each—pre-eminence, strength, intellectual power, and wisdom on the one side; reliance, softness, grace, and beauty on the other,—at the same time that the one set of excellences lose all their worth unless as existing in the possession of the other.

It will at once be seen that under the influence of a religion, at the bottom of which lay those ideas concerning the relations of the sexes one to another, slavery on the part of the woman was impossible. This fact is the more noticeable, and it speaks the more loudly in favour of the divine origin of the religion of the Bible, because the East has in all times, down to the present day, kept woman everywhere, save in those places in which Judaism and Christianity have prevailed, in a state of low, even if in some cases gilded, bondage, making her the mere toy, plaything, and instrument of man. Nothing can be more painful to contemplate than the humiliating condition in which Islamism still holds its so-called free women—a condition of perpetual childhood—childhood of mind, while the passions receive constant incense; leaving the fine endowments of woman's soul undeveloped and inert, or crushing them when in any case they may happen to germinate; and converting man into a self-willed haughty idol, for whose will and pleasure the other sex lives and suffers.

It will assist the reader in forming a just conception of Hebrew women in the Biblical periods, if we add a few details respecting the actual condition of women in Syria. Mr. Bartlett (*Walks about Jerusalem*, p. 291, sq.) visited the house of a rich Jew in the metropolis of the holy land. We give the substance of his observations: 'On entering his dwelling we found him seated on the low divan, fondling his youngest child; and on our expressing a wish to draw the costume of the female members of his family, he commanded their attendance, but it was some time before they would come forward; when however they did present themselves, it was with no sort of reserve whatever. Their costume is chastely elegant. The prominent figure in the room was the married daughter, whose little husband, a boy of fourteen or fifteen as he seemed, wanted nearly a head of the stature of his wife, but was already chargeable with the onerous duties of a father. An oval head dress of peculiar shape, from which was slung a long veil of embroidered muslin, admirably set off the brow and eyes; the neck was ornamented with bracelets, and the bosom with a profusion of gold coins, partly concealed by folds of muslin; a graceful robe of striped silk, with long open sleeves, half-laced under the bosom, invested the whole person, over which is worn a jacket of green silk with short sleeves, leaving the white arm and braceleted hand at liberty. An elderly person sat on the sofa, the mother, whose dress was more grave, her turban less oval, and of blue shawl, and the breast covered entirely to the neck, with a kind of ornamented gold tissue; and over all was seen a jacket of fur: she was engaged in knitting, while her younger daughter bent over her in conversation; her dress was similar to that of her sister, but with no gold coins, or light muslin folds, and instead of large ear-rings, the vermilion blossom of the pomegranate formed an exquisite pendant, reflecting its glow upon the dazzling whiteness of her skin. We were surprised at the fairness and delicacy of their complexion, and the vivacity of their manner. Unlike the wives of Oriental Christians, who respectfully attend at a distance till invited to approach, these pretty Jewesses seemed on a perfect footing of equality, and chatted and laughed away without intermission. Many of the daughters of Judah, here and at Hebron, are remarkable for their attractions. Mr. Wolff describes one of them with enthusiasm, and no small unconscious poetry—"the beautiful Sarah," whom his lady met at a "wedding-feast." 'She was scarcely seated when she felt a hand upon hers, and heard a kind greeting. She turned to the voice and saw a most beautiful Jewess, whom I also afterwards saw, and I never beheld a more beautiful and well behaved lady

in my life, except the beautiful girl in the valley of Cashmere; she looked like a queen in Israel. A lovely lady she was; tall, of a fair complexion and blue eyes, and around her forehead and cheeks she wore several roses. No queen had a finer deportment than that Jewess had.'



544. [Syro-Arabian costume. Indoor dress.]

Mr. Bartlett was also admitted into the abode of a Christian family in Jerusalem, of whom he thus speaks (pp. 205-6):—'The interior of their houses is similar to those of the Jews. In our intercourse with them we were received with more ceremony than among the former. The mistress of the family is in attendance with her children and servants, and besides pipes and coffee, the guest is presented with saucers of sweetmeats and small glasses of aniseed; which, when done with, are taken from him by his fair hostess or her servant, who kiss his hand as they receive them. They are more reserved, often standing during the visit. Their dress is more gorgeous than that of the Jewish women, but not so chastely elegant; it suits well with the langnor of their air, their dusky complexion, and large black eyes. The head-dress has a fantastic air,



545. [Garden dress.]

like that of a May-day queen in England, and the bust is a little in the style of

"Beauties by Sir Peter Lely,
Whose drapery hints we may admire freely."

A heavy shawl is gracefully wreathed round the figure, and the dress, when open, displays long loose trowsers of muslin and small slippers. The ensemble, it must be admitted, is very fascinating, when its wearer is young and lovely.'

We now pass to the peasantry, and take from Lamartine a sketch of the Syrian women as seen by him at the foot of Lebanon, on a Sunday, after having with their families attended divine service, when the families 'return to their houses to enjoy a repast somewhat more sumptuous than on ordinary days: the women and girls, adorned in their richest clothes, their hair plaited, and all strewed with orange-flowers, scarlet wall-flowers, and carnations, seat themselves on mats before the doors of their dwellings, with their friends and neighbours. It is impossible to describe with the pen the groups so redolent of the picturesque, from the richness of their costume and their beauty, which these females then compose in the landscape. I see amongst them daily such countenances as Raphael had not beheld, even in his dreams as an artist. It is more than the Italian or Greek beauty; there is the nicety of shape, the delicacy of outline, in a word, all that Greek and Roman art has left us as the most finished model; but it is rendered more bewitching still, by a primitive artlessness of expression, by a serene and voluptuous languor, by a heavenly clearness, which the glances from the blue eyes, fringed with black eyelids, cast over the features, and by a smiling archness, a harmony of proportions, a rich whiteness of skin, an indescribable transparency of tint, a metallic gloss upon the hair, a gracefulness of movement, a novelty in the attitudes, and a vibrating silvery tone of voice, which render the young Syrian girl the very houri of the visual paradise. Such admirable and varied beauty is also very common; I never go into the country for an hour without meeting several such females going to the fountains or returning, with their Etruscan urns upon their shoulders, and their naked legs clasped with rings of silver.'

The ordinary dress of the women of Palestine is not perhaps much fitted to enhance their natural charms, and yet it admits of ease and dignity in the carriage. Dr. Olin thus describes the customary appearance of both male and female: 'The people wear neither hats, bonnets, nor stockings; both sexes appear in loose flowing dresses, and red or yellow slippers; the men wear red caps with or without turbans, the women are concealed by white veils, with the exception of the eyes' (vol. ii. p. 437).

The singular beauty of the Hebrew women, and the natural warmth of their affections, have conspired to throw gems of domestic loveliness over the pages of the Bible. In no history can there be found an equal number of charming female portraits. From Hagar down to Mary and Martha, the Bible presents pictures of womanly beauty, that are unsurpassed and rarely paralleled. But we should very imperfectly represent in these general remarks the formative influence of the female character as seen in the Bible, did not we refer those amiable traits of character to the original conceptions of which we have spoken, and to the pure and lofty religious ideas which the Biblical books in general present. If woman there appears as the companion and friend of man, if she rises above the

condition of being a bearer of children to that noble position which is held by the mother of a family, she owes her elevation in the main to the religion of Moses and to that of Jesus. The first system—as a preparatory one—did not and could not complete the emancipation of woman.



546. [Young lady in full dress.]

The Oriental influence modified the religious so materially, as to keep women generally in some considerable subjection. Yet the placing of the fondest desires and the glowing hopes of the nation on some child that was to be born, some son that was to be given, as it made every matron's heart beat high with expectation, raised the tone of self-respect among the women of Israel, and caused them to be regarded by the other sex with lively interest, deep regard, and a sentiment which was akin to reverence. There was, however, needed the finishing touch which the Great Teacher put to the Mosaic view of the relations between the sexes. Recognising the fundamental truths which were as old as the creation of man, Jesus proceeded to restrain the much-abused facility of divorce, leaving only one cause why the marriage-bond should be broken, and at the same time teaching that as the origin of wedlock was divine, so its severance ought not to be the work of man. Still further—bringing to bear on the domestic ties his own doctrine of immortality, he made the bond co-existent with the undying soul, only teaching that the connection would be refined with the refinement of our affections and our liberation from these tenements of clay in which we now dwell (Matt. v. 32; xix. 3, sq.; xxii. 23, sq.). With views so elevated as these, and with affections of the tenderest benignity, the Saviour may well have won the warm and gentle hearts of Jewish women. Accordingly, the purest and richest human light that lies on the pages of the New Testament, comes from the band of high-minded, faithful, and affectionate women, who are found in connection with Christ from his cradle to his cross, his tomb, and his resurrection. These ennobling influences have operated on society with equal benefit and power. Woman, in the better portions of society, is now a new being. And yet her angelic career is only just begun. She sees what she may, and what under the Gospel she ought to be; and ere very long, we trust, a way will be found to employ in purposes of good, energies of the finest nature which now waste away from want of scope, in the ease and refinements of affluence, if not in the degradations of luxury—a most precious offering made to the Moloch of fashion, but which ought to be consecrated to the service of that God who gave these endowments, and of that Saviour who has brought to light the rich capabilities, and exhibited the high and holy vocation, of the female sex.—J. R. B.

Women appear to have enjoyed considerably more freedom among the Jews than is now allowed them in western Asia, although in other respects their condition and employments seem to have been not dissimilar. At present, women of all ranks are much confined to their own houses, and never see the men who visit their husbands or fathers; and in towns they never go abroad without their persons and faces being completely shrouded: they also take their meals apart from the males, even of their own family. But in the rural districts they enjoy more freedom, and often go about unveiled. Among the Jews, women were somewhat less restrained in their intercourse with men, and did not generally conceal their faces when they went abroad. Only one instance occurs in Scripture of women eating with men (Ruth ii. 14); but that was at a simple refection, and only illustrates the greater freedom of rural manners.

The employments of the women were very various, and sufficiently engrossing. In the earlier, or patriarchal state of society, the daughters of men of substance tended their fathers' flocks (Gen. xxix. 9; Exod. ii. 16). In ordinary circumstances, the first labour of the day was to grind corn and bake bread, as already noticed. The other cares of the family occupied the rest of the day. The women of the peasantry and of the poor consumed much time in collecting fuel, and in going to the wells for water. The wells were usually outside the towns, and the labour of drawing water from them was by no means confined to poor women. This was usually, but not always, the labour of the evening; and the water was carried in earthen vessels borne upon the shoulder (Gen. xxiv. 15-20; John iv. 7, 28). Working with the needle also occupied much of their time, as it would seem that not only their own clothes but those of the men were made by the women. Some of the needlework was very fine, and much valued (Exod. xxvi. 36; xxviii. 39; Judg. v. 30; Ps. xlv. 14). The women appear to have spun the yarn for all the cloth that was in use (Exod. xxxv. 25; Prov. xxxi. 19); and much of the weaving seems also to have been executed by them (Judg. xvi. 13, 14; Prov. xxxi. 22). The tapestries for bed-coverings, mentioned in the last-cited text, were probably produced in the loom, and appear to have been much valued (Prov. vii. 16).

We have no certain information regarding the dress of the women among the poorer classes; but it was probably coarse and simple, and not materially different from that which we now see among the Bedouin women, and the female peasantry of Syria. This consists of drawers, and a long and loose gown of coarse blue linen, with some ornamental bordering wrought with the

needle, in another colour, about the neck and bosom. The head is covered with a kind of



547. [Matron in full dress.]

turban, connected with which, behind, is a veil, which covers the neck, back, and bosom [Veil]. We may presume, with still greater certainty, that women of superior condition wore over their inner dress a frock or tunic like that of the men, but more closely fitting the person, with a girdle formed by an unfolded kerchief. Their head-dress was a kind of turban, with different sorts of veils and wrappers used under various circumstances. The hair was worn long, and, as now, was braided into numerous tresses, with trinkets and ribands (1 Cor. xi. 15; 1 Tim. ii. 9; 1 Pet. iii. 3). With the head-dress the principal ornaments appear to have been connected, such as a jewel for the forehead, and rows of pearls (Sol. Song i. 10; Ezek. xvi. 12). Ear-rings were also



548. [Nose-jewel.]

worn (Isa. iii. 20; Ezek. xvi. 12), as well as a nose-jewel, consisting, no doubt, as now, either of a ring inserted in the cartilage of the nose, or an ornament like a button attached to it. The nose-jewel was of gold or silver, and sometimes set with jewels (Gen. xxiv. 47; Isa. iii. 21). Bracelets were also generally worn (Isa. iii. 19; Ezek. xvi. 11), and anklets, which, as now, were probably more like fetters than ornaments (Isa. iii. 16, 20). The Jewish women possessed the art of staining their eye-lids black, for effect and expression (2 Kings ix. 30; Jer. iv. 30; Ezek. xxiii. 40); and it is more than probable that they had the present practice of staining the nails, and the palms of their hands and soles of their feet, of an iron-rust colour, by means of a paste made from the plant called *henna* (*Lawsonia inermis*). This plant appears to be mentioned in Sol. Song i. 14, and its present use is probably referred to in Deut. xxi. 12; 2 Sam. xix. 24.

The customs concerning marriage, and the circumstances which the relation of wife and mother involved, have been described in the article Marriage.

The Israelites eagerly desired children, and especially sons. Hence the messenger who first brought to the father the news that a son was born, was well rewarded (Job iii. 3; Jer. xx. 15). The event was celebrated with music; and the father, when the child was presented to him, pressed it to his bosom, by which act he was understood to acknowledge it as his own (Gen. l. 23; Job iii. 12; Ps. xxii. 10). On the eighth day from the birth the child was circumcised (Gen. xvii. 10); at which time also a name was given to it (Luke i. 59). The first-born son was highly esteemed, and had many distinguishing privileges. He had a double portion of the estate (Deut. xxi. 17); he exercised a sort of parental authority over his younger brothers (Gen. xxv. 23, &c.; xxvii. 29; Exod. xii. 29; 2 Chron. xxi. 3); and before the institution of the Levitical priesthood he acted as the priest of the family (Num. iii. 12, 13; viii. 18). The patriarchs exercised the power of taking these privileges from the first-born, and giving them to any other son, or of distributing them among different sons; but this practice was overruled by the Mosaical law (Deut. xxi. 15-17).

The child continued about three years at the breast of the mother, and a great festival was given at the weaning (Gen. xxi. 8; 1 Sam. i. 22-24; 2 Chron. xxxi. 6; Matt. xxi. 16). He remained two years longer in charge of the women; after which he was taken under the especial care of the father, with a view to his proper training (Deut. vi. 20-25; xi. 19). It appears that those who wished for their sons' better instruction than they were themselves able or willing to give, employed a private teacher, or else sent them to a priest or Levite, who had perhaps several others under his care. The principal object was, that they should be well acquainted with the law of Moses; and reading and writing were taught in subservience to this leading object.

The authority of a father was very great among the Israelites, and extended not only to his sons, but to his grandsons—indeed to all who were descended from him. His power had no recognised limit, and even if he put his son or grandson to death, there was, at first, no law by which he could be brought to account (Gen. xxi. 14; xxxviii. 24). But Moses circumscribed this

power, by ordering that when a father judged his son worthy of death, he should bring him before the public tribunals. If, however, he had struck or cursed his father or mother, or was refractory or disobedient, he was still liable to capital punishment (Exod. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9; Deut. xxi. 18-21).—Ed.

WOOL. [Sheep.]

WORD OF GOD. The mystical dogma of emanations is at once the most universal and most venerable of traditions; so ancient that its source is hidden in the grey mists of extreme antiquity; so universal that traces of it may be found throughout the whole world. Under every form, Persian or Egyptian, Greek or Roman, whether half hidden in the mythological folds of ancient fables, or more clearly expressed in the speculations of philosophers, whether blended with the law of Moses in the *Cabbala* and by Philo, or with the Gospel of Christ by the Gnostics and the Manichæans, in all forms and languages the mystic dogma of emanations intimates the same great truth—that the many proceeded from the one, or, in plainer language, that everything good and fair, the universal frame of things and all that it contains, material and corporal, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, *all* proceed from One Divine Mind, and are a manifestation of His power, wisdom, and goodness. This venerable dogma teaches us further, that of the Divine Essence we can know nothing (for how can the finite comprehend the infinite?); but that of the power, wisdom, and goodness, and also of the will of God, sufficiently plain indications are made to us in the works and plan of creation. Such is the meaning of the dogma of emanation in every form. But this venerable tradition has unhappily been blended with contradictory attempts to account for the origin of evil. Our extracts from Professor Burton's *Lectures on the Heresies of the Apostolic Age* (in our articles on Gnosticism and Logos) have exhibited but a small part of the mass of presumption, superstition, and error, which have arisen from this source, pouring a muddy and unwholesome stream, not only into mythology and mysticism, but into the language of philosophy. Let us add, that Professor Burton has treated the mystical dogma of emanations (its meaning, origin, progress, and developments, together with its bearings on the more mysterious doctrines of Christianity) with a learning, moderation, and fairness, which must make his work a storehouse both of valuable information and judicious criticism, equally deserving the attention of the scholar, philosopher, and divine.

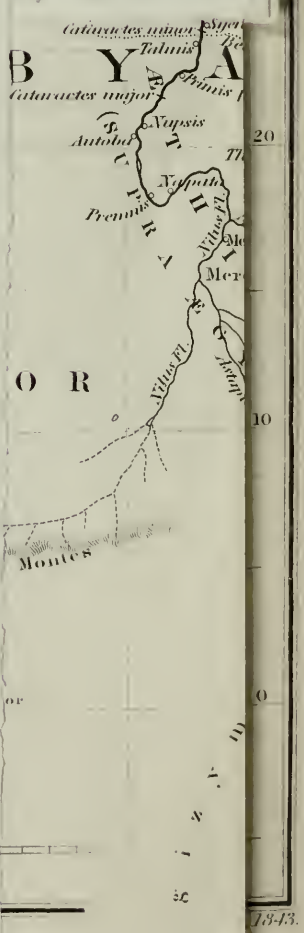
From this whole body of evidence it appears that a constant tradition had come down from the most remote antiquity; that long before the time of the Gnostics, of Plato, or even of the Egyptians, this venerable tradition had its origin, and that a term expressive of this tradition was applied to Christ by the earliest converts to Christianity, and was afterwards adopted by St. John. In what sense and for what object the term logos was admitted by the apostle into Christianity, may be made matter of inquiry; but the fact of its having been so derived and so applied is established by the text, the notes, and the scriptural quotations in Professor Burton's work, beyond the possibility of doubt.

Both the fact itself and the object of the apostle are briefly stated by Professor Burton in the following words:—'St. John was as far as possible from being the first to apply the term logos to Christ. I suppose him to have found it so universally applied (that is, both by Gnostics and Christians) that he did not attempt to stop the current of popular language, but only kept it in its proper channel, and guarded it from extraneous corruptions' (see *Inquiries*, p. 220).

What those corruptions were may be seen in our article on Gnosticism, and in the works of Cudworth, Mosheim, Brucker, Beausobre, Matter, and Professor Burton, and in the remarks of Michaelis on the Gospel of St. John. Professor Burton's facts and inferences respecting the logos in St. John's Gospel are summed up in his seventh lecture, and in a series of valuable notes, and, we may add, that the conclusion at which the learned author arrives respecting the logos of St. John is borne out by the following passage in Bishop Burnet's work upon the articles of our church.

'There are indeed points of a very ancient tradition in the world, of three in the Deity, called the Word or the *Wisdom*, and the Spirit or the *Love*, besides the fountain of both these, God: this was believed by those from whom the most ancient philosophers had their doctrines. The author of the Book of Wisdom, Philo, and the Chaldee Paraphrasts, have many things that show that they had received these traditions from the former ages; but it is not easy to determine what gave the first rise to them' (see Burnet, *On the Articles*, p. 47).

If these views are correct, the term logos, as applied to Christ, represents one of the most ancient, universal, and venerable of traditions. Professor Burton argues that if St. Paul, when he saw at Athens 'altars to the unknown God,' might fairly take occasion to reprove the Athenians as too much given to superstition, and immediately added, 'Him whom ye ignorantly worship declare I unto you,' there seems no reason why a similar course might not be taken by St. John with the Gnostic, as if he had in effect said, that Word or Wisdom of God whom you ignorantly seek declare I unto you. Thus also the Christian missionary in India might take as his text the opening verses of St. John's Gospel, and might preach to them 'Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.' Now can there be a doubt, were the word of God preached thus to the Indian, with a zeal according to knowledge, that he would in deed and in truth find the words of the Apostle verified, 'As many as receive him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe in his name.' And if it is thus with the Indian convert to Christianity in our own day, so also was it in the case of converts from the 'endless genealogies' of Gnostic mysticism to 'the only begotten Son of God.' And when we ourselves view the more mysterious articles of our faith in relation to the primary objects, the primary means, and the primary effects of Christianity, many doubts and difficulties which have been raised respecting the character, history, and doctrines of Christ, will be obviated or removed, so that having obtained a more perfect understanding of the meaning and spirit of the Scriptures, we shall be less


Cataractes majores
Vapsis
Autobat
Premnis
Montes

likely to find objections to the expression and the letter, when we read, 'And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us (and we beheld his glory the glory as of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth.'

The conclusion to which we are brought by the series of remarks which are embodied in our articles GNOSTICISM, LOGOS, and GREEK PHILOSOPHY, is, that an inquiry into the primary objects and effects of Christianity not only establishes a large body of evidence respecting the benefits wrought out by Christianity, to wit, the removal of the three great evils, heathen sensualism, Gnostic mysticism, and Jewish ceremonialism, throwing much light on the means by which this was effected, that is, upon the character, history, and doctrines of Christ, but that such knowledge tends to draw attention to the yet only in part accomplished objects of Christianity, and to the means by which they are still to be carried out. Such inquiries tend also to prevent our mistaking means for ends, and warn us against that greatest of errors, which would introduce the very evils Christianity was intended to cure (sensualism, mysticism, and ceremonialism) under the disguise of remedies. Lastly, an inquiry into the primary objects, primary means, and primary effects of Christianity, draws our attention to whatever was in its nature peculiar to those times, and which requires to be so treated whenever its application to our own times is considered. It is, we repeat, by inquiring, in the first place, what *were* the evils for which Christianity was primarily and immediately intended to be the cure, that we shall best discover what *are* the evils for which Christianity is still the remedy; and it is by inquiring what *were* the means by which Christianity overcame those evils, that we may hope to understand more clearly what *are* the means which Christianity possesses for resisting and overcoming like evils in the present times; and it will be found that by adopting this mode of treatment, division, and order, we are most likely to remove from our own minds, and from the minds of others, difficulties and doubts respecting the character, the history, and the doctrines of Christ.

To refer once more to the work of the learned theologian to whose labours we have been so much indebted. Assuredly there is nothing in Dr. Burton's theory respecting the application of the term logos to Christ to astonish the scholar, or to perplex the divine, or to alarm the Christian. Doubtless, to repeat a remark which cannot be too often insisted on, there is an *absolute* meaning in each of the texts of Scripture quoted by Dr. Burton, which is as true now as it was true then; but in order to get at this absolute meaning we must attend to the *relative* meaning of each text, as it applied to the opinions, practices, and persons to whom and to which it primarily related. If this is confessedly true respecting the texts of Scripture which are connected with Judaism, why should it not be true in the case of texts which relate to Gnosticism? And why should not a knowledge of the history, philosophy, and language of the gentile converts to Christianity be useful to the scholar, divine, and Christian, in explaining all the texts of Scripture which Dr. Burton has illustrated with equal learning, moderation, and respect for the articles of our creed? It is thus that we may hope to obtain a better understanding of the meaning, and a fuller conviction of the truth, of the text which has so often been misunderstood and misapplied: 'After that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God; it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.'—J. P. P.

WORLD is the English term by which our translators have rendered four Hebrew words: 1. חדל, which is erroneously supposed by some to have arisen by transposition of letters from חלד, comes from a root which signifies 'to rest,' to 'discontinue,' and hence 'to cease from life,' 'to be at rest;' and as a noun, 'the place of rest,' 'the grave.' The word occurs in the complaint uttered by Hezekiah when in prospect of dissolution, and when he contemplates his state among the inhabitants, not of the upper, but the lower world (Isa. xxxviii. 11); thus combining with many other passages to show that the Hebrews, probably borrowing the idea from the Egyptian tombs, had a vague conception of some shadowy state where the manes of their departed friends lay at rest in their ashes, retaining only an indefinable personality in a land of darkness and 'the shadow of death' (Job x. 21, 22). 2. חלד means 'to conceal,' and derivatively 'any hidden thing,' hence 'age,' 'antiquity,' 'remote and hidden ages;' also 'the world,' as the hidden or unknown thing (Ps. xlix. 1); in a similar manner, 3. עולם (in the New Testament, *αἰών*), the root-signification of which is 'to hide,' denotes a very remote, indefinite, and therefore unknown period in time past or time to come, which metaphysicians call eternity à parte ante, and eternity à parte post. In Ps. lxxiii. 12, it is rendered 'world;' but in this and in the previous instance, it may be questioned whether the natural creation is really meant, and not rather 'the world' in our metaphorical use of the term, as denoting the intelligent world, the rational inhabitants of the earth, and still more specifically that portion of them with which we are immediately concerned. 4. תבל comes from a radix that signifies 'to flow,' and as water is the unfailing cause of fertility in the East, it denotes 'to be productive,' 'to bear fruit;' and as a noun, 'the fruit-bearer,' that is, the earth. This word is frequently rendered 'world' in the common version, but if more was intended than the earth on which we dwell, it may be doubted if the passages in which it occurs will justify the translators.

In truth, the Hebrews had no word which comprised the entire visible universe. When they wanted to speak comprehensively of God's creation, they joined two words together and used the phrase 'heaven and earth' (Gen. i. 1). We have already seen that they had an idea of an under world; the meaning of their ordinary term for earth, ארץ, which signifies the 'lower,' shows that they also regarded the earth as beneath the sun; while the term for heaven, שמים, denoting 'what is elevated,' indicates that their view was that the heavens, or the heights, were above. Above, below, and under—these three relations of space comprehend their conception of the world.

WORM (רִמָּה, תּוֹלָע; Sept. σκώληξ, σαπρία, σῆψις; Vulg. *vermis, putredo, tinea.* No distinction is observed in the use of the Hebrew words. For instance, רמה is applied to the creature bred in the manna (Exod. xvi. 24); to that which preys on human flesh (Job vii. 5; xvii. 14; xxi. 26; xxiv. 20; Isa. xiv. 11); and תולע, to the creature bred in the manna (Exod. xvi. 20); to that which preys on human flesh (Isa. xiv. 11; lxvi. 24); on vegetables, as on the gourd of Jonah (iv. 7); and on vines (Deut. xxviii. 39). The ancient Hebrews applied these words as indeterminately as the common people now do the words 'worm,' 'fly,' &c. The only distinction occurring in the Bible is שני תולעת, the insect which furnished the crimson dye [Purple]. Similar indeterminateness attends the Septuagint and Vulgate renderings. Aristotle also applies the word σκώληξ to the larva of any insect—τίκτει δὲ πάντα σκώληκα, 'all insects produce a worm' (*Hist. Nat.* v. 19). The insect which the manna is said to have 'bred, when kept till the morning;' רמה, תולע, σκώληξ, *vermis* (Exod. xvi. 20, 24), whatever it was, must be considered as miraculously produced as a punishment for disobedience, since the substance now understood to be the same, keeps good for weeks and months, nor did the specimen laid up in the ark breed worms [Manna]. An insect is alluded to as injuring vines and grapes (Deut. xxviii. 39); תולע, σκώληξ, *vermis.* The Greeks had a distinct name for this insect, and probably as early as the Septuagint translation of Exodus was made, ver. ἴψ and ἶξ (Theophrastus, *De Causis*, iii. 27). It was called by the Latins involvolus, convolvulus, and volvox (Plautus, *Cistell.* Act iv. Sc. 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvii. 28). Rosenmüller thinks it to have been the *scarabæus hirtellus*, or the *scarabæus muticus hirtus testaceo-nigricans* of Linnæus (*Syst. Nat.* tom. i., pt. iv. p. 1577). Forskal calls it the *pyralis vitana*, or *pyralis fasciana.* A species of beetle, *lethrus cephalotes*, is injurious to the vines of Hungary; other species of beetles do similar mischief (*rynchites, bacchus, cumolpus*). Vine-leaves in France are frequently destroyed by the larva of a moth, *tortrix vitana.* In Germany another species does great injury to the young branches, preventing their expansion by the webs in which it involves them; and a third species, *tortrix fasciana*, makes the grapes themselves its food (Kirby and Spence, *Introduction to Entomology*, vol. i. p. 205, London, 1828). It may serve as an illustration of the looseness of popular diction respecting insects, to remark, that what the farmers call 'the fly' in the turnip, is in reality a small species of jumping beetle, for which *turnip-flea* would be a more appropriate name. In Job vii. 5, the patriarch complains that his 'flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust,' רמה, σαπρίᾳ σκώληκων; and in 2 Macc. ix. 9, it is stated to be the fate of Antiochus, that while he lived 'worms' (σκώληκας) 'rose up out of his body;' and St. Luke records this disorder to have been inflicted on Herod (Acts xii. 23, σκωληκόβρωτος: comp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 8. 2; xvii. 6. 5; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 5). It has been attempted to explain all these instances as cases of phthiriasis, or the *lousy* disease: but the conjecture is inconsistent with the words employed in the several narratives; and since they are instances of persons being devoured by *worms* while *alive*, contrary to the order of nature, we are compelled to ascribe the phenomenon to divine agency. For the account of insects infesting the human frame, from disease, see Kirby and Spence (*Introduction to Entomology*, vol. i. p. 84). Allusion is made in various passages to 'worms' preying upon the dead. Thus Job, in the anticipation of death, says, 'I have said to the worm, Thou art my mother, and my sister' (Job xvii. 14; comp. xxi. 26; xxiv. 20; Isa. xiv. 11; lxvi. 24; Ecclus. x. 11; xix. 3; 1 Mac. ii. 62). In one apparent instance of this nature (Job xix. 26), 'though after my skin worms destroy this body,' the word 'worms' is supplied by our translators. These passages, and especially the latter, have contributed to the popular impression in this country, that the human body, when buried in the grave, is consumed by worms. The Oriental method of burial in wrappers, and of depositing the corpse in caves, &c., would no doubt often afford the spectacle of the human body devoured by the larvæ of different insects; but the allusions in Scripture to such sights do not apply to burial in this country, except where the body, as was the case in London till lately, is buried in a wooden coffin only, in vaults which have communications with the external air, when even in the centre of the metropolis, the writer has found swarms of a species of fly, of a cimex aspect, which insinuates itself between the lid and lower part of the coffin, and whose larvæ battened in the corpse within, while the adult insect sported in the lurid atmosphere of the vault. The 'gourd' of Jonah is said to have been destroyed by 'a worm' (Jon. iv. 7); תולעת, σκώληξ, *vermis.* The identity of the gourd with the *ricinus communis* seems to be well established [Kikayon]; and Rumphius (*Herbar. Amboinens.*, tom. iv. p. 95) testifies to the ravages of a species of black caterpillar upon it. These are produced, he says, in great quantities in the summer time, during a gentle rain, and eat up the leaves of the Palma Christi, and gnaw its branches to the pith in a single night (Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lexic. Hebraic.*, p. 2187). Allusions to the *worm in wood* occur in the Septuagint of Prov. xii. 4, and xxv. 20; ἐν ξύλῳ σκώληξ; Vulg. *vermis ligno;* which words have nothing corresponding to them in the present Hebrew text (see Vulgate of 2 Kings xxiii. 8). The word 'worm' occurs metaphorically (Job xxv. 6), 'how much less man that is a worm' (רמה, σαπρία, *putredo*), 'and the son of man which is a worm;' תולעה, σκώληξ, *vermis* (Ps. xxii. 6; Isa. xli. 14). Homer also compares a man of inferior consequence to a worm, ὥστε σκώληξ ἐπὶ γαίῃ κεῖτο ταθείς (*Il.* xiii. 654). It is possible that the word תולע was also given as a proper name; thus 'Tola' occurs among the descendants of Issachar (Gen. xlvi. 13), and was also the name of a person of the same tribe (Judg. x. 1). Bochart conjectures that the name was given to these children by their parents because the tribe of Issachar was one of the meanest, and they were themselves in needy circumstances, or that these were very sickly children when born. He remarks, however, that the first Tola became a great man,

the head of the Tolaites (Num. xxvi. 23), who, in the days of David, amounted to 22,600 (1 Chron. vii. 2); and that the latter judged Israel twenty years (Judg. x. 1, 2). 'Worm' occurs in the New Testament in a figurative sense only (Mark ix. 44, 46, 48), 'Their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;' words borrowed from Isa. lxvi. 24, which originally relate to a *temporal* state of things, but which had also become, in our Lord's time, the popular representation of future punishment (Judith xvi. 17; Ecclus. vii. 17) [Soul; Tophet]. Origen here understands 'worm' in a metaphorical sense, as denoting the accusation of conscience; but Austin, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theophylact, &c., contend that the word should be understood literally. Several mistranslations occur. In Isa. li. 8, 'and the worm shall eat them like wool,' the word סס, means a species of moth [Moth]. In Mic. vii. 17, the words, 'like worms of the earth, כזחלי ארץ, literally, 'creepers in the dust,' 'serpents;' Vulg. reptilia terræ (comp. Deut. xxxii. 24). In 1 Macc. ii. 62, 'Fear not the words of a sinful man, for his glory shall be dung and worms;' instead of *κοπρία*, 'dung,' should be read *σαπρία*, 'rottenness,' as in the Sept. of Job vii. 5; xxv. 6. So also in Ecclus. xix. 3, 'Moths and worms shall have him that cleaveth to harlots,' instead of *σῆτες*, 'moths,' read *σήπη*, 'rottenness.' Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, ed. Rosenmuller, Lips. 1793-1796, vol. iii.; *De Vermibus*).—J. F. D.

WORMWOOD, STAR OF (Rev. viii. 10, 11), the Apocalyptic appellation for the national demon of Egypt, set forth in the vision of Patmos as a luminous *idol* presiding over 'the third part of the waters.' The vocation of this star was to destroy by *poison*, not by fire, sword, or famine; hence the Talmudic phrase 'poison in Egypt' is put in opposition to food or 'corn in Ephraim' as the symbol of blasphemy and idolatry (*Bab. Talmud in Menacoth*, fol. 85. 1). Philo also, speaking of Helicon, 'the scorpion-like slave,' represents him as having cast up *τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν ἰὸν*, 'the Egyptian venom,' against the dwellers in Palestine (*De Legat.* p. 102, ed. Turneb.). Daniel gives a clear intimation of his acquaintance with the prevalent belief that, like Persia, Greece, and Judæa, every nation had a celestial prince or patron, שר *sar*, or *sere* (Dan. x. 21). This *sar lamé-ala*, 'prince on high,' of the Rabbins had also a representative image in the material firmament (Rabbi Salomon on Dan. xi. 1), some (הילל *hêlel*) glittering son of the morning (Isa. xiv. 12), or 'light of lights' (*morè reo*) among the splendid stars or intercessors above (*Mlitzim*; Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8), who were 'darkened' when Pharaoh was extinguished. Eusebius (*Demonstr. Evangelic.* iv. 8. 10) and Iamblichus (*De Ægyptiorum Mysteriis*, § v. c. 25) both mention 'the angels who preside over the nations;' and Rabbi Solomon, the chief of the Gallican synagogue in his day, affirms that 'before God wreaks his vengeance on a people he punishes their *prince*, because it is written, "The Lord shall punish *the host of the high ones* on high," and then follows "*and* the kings of the earth upon the earth;" and, moreover, it is written, "How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" ' (*Comment. on Isa.* xiii. 13). Hence, as the literal fulfilment of Isa xxiv. 21, the Jews yet anticipate 'the extirpation of all the Gentiles, with their princes on high and their [pretended] Gods' (*Nizzchon*, p. 255, in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea*).

St. John seems to employ this symbol of Egyptian poison and bitterness, as the prototype of a great Anti-Christian Power, which would poison and embitter the pure waters of Christian life and doctrine, converting them into 'wormwood,' *mitzraim* being a figure of apostasy and rebellion.—F. R. L.

WRESTLING. [Games.]

WRITING is an art by which facts or ideas are communicated from one person to another by means of given signs, such as symbols or letters. It has been a generally received and popular opinion that writing was first used and imparted to mankind when God wrote the Ten Commandments on the tables of stone; but the silence of Scripture upon the subject would rather suggest that so necessary an art had been known long before that time, or otherwise the sacred historian would probably have added this extraordinary and divine revelation to the other parts of his information respecting the transactions on Mount Sinai.

After the gift of language (which was indispensable to rational creatures), it would seem that *writing* was the most highly beneficial and important boon which could be conferred on men possessed of intellect and understanding, who from their circumstances must divide and spread over the whole earth, and yet be forced from various necessities to maintain intercourse with each other.

In the earliest times families must have separated: the pastoral life required much room for flocks and herds; and as the wealth of each household increased, the space between them must have become greater, and every year would compel more distant migrations from these unfailing causes (Gen. xiii.).

But even in the first ages of the world it would be requisite not only to preserve unimpaired the knowledge of God, but it would be desirable to have some method of transmitting and receiving intelligence from the scattered communities, of a more certain nature than verbal messages ever can be; nor is it probable that events which were destined to act upon all time should be left to float upon the uncertain stream of tradition, when by the art of writing they might be accurately conveyed without addition or diminution to the latest posterity. It is scarcely possible that the wondrous gift of writing was withheld until the world had been twice repeopled, and 2513 years had rolled by.

The working in iron and the construction of musical instruments are recorded in Gen. iv. 21, 22; whilst neither before nor after that period is the origin or discovery of *writing* any more alluded to than is the origin of language itself. Is it then too much to believe that God by revelation immediately imparted to mankind the power of writing? For it does not appear that any person ever invented an alphabet who had not previously heard of or seen one; and every nation which possessed the art always professed to have derived its knowledge from a God. Without writing, no information could have been conveyed to remote nations with accuracy. Few persons repeat a thing in the precise words in which a detail was given to them,

and the most trifling change in an expression may throw the whole into error and confusion, or entirely destroy the sense. But such cannot be the case if writing be the means of communication, for whatever is thus definitely stated may be equally well understood by those to whom it is addressed as by those who write it. God never works unnecessary miracles; but that must have been the case if, for upwards of two thousand years, the memory and speech of various men were *alone* the depositaries of His dealings with mankind.

It was a matter of the utmost consequence that the most exact accounts should have been preserved of the creation, the fall of man, and many prophecies of deepest interest to unborn generations. The ages and genealogies of the patriarchs; the measures of the ark; the first kingly government in Assyria; the history of Abraham and his descendants for 430 years, including minute circumstances, changes, and conversations, in many different countries; could scarcely have been perfectly preserved by *oral* descent for twenty centuries, unless the antediluvians and their immediate posterity did not partake of the failings of Christians in the defects of forgetfulness and exaggeration; but allowing the art of *writing* to have been *given with language*, there is no difficulty, and it becomes obvious that each transaction would be recorded and kept exactly as it was either revealed or happened.

It is not a vain thing to suppose that the history of creation, and all following events, as briefly related by Moses, were taken from ancient documents in the possession of the Israelites: this opinion is maintained by Calmet (*Commentaire Littéral*, vol. i. part i. p. 13). The gifts of inspiration, like those of nature, are never superfluous. When God had once revealed to the Patriarchs what was 'in the beginning,' there was no further need for a new revelation; and the Hebrew historian might compile from previous records, what was sufficient for mankind to know respecting the origin of 'things which are seen.'

In the fifth chapter of Genesis it is said, 'This is the *book* of the generations.' If there had been merely a traditionary recollection of 'the generations of Adam,' preserved only by transmission from one memory to another for more than a thousand years, the term *book* would have been most inapplicable, and could not have been used; and to suppose that a written document had been referred to, cannot be deemed as forcing the construction of the word in this instance, more than when it is also believed that 'the *book* of the generation of Jesus Christ' (Matt. i. 1) was likewise copied from a national register, and not given by a new revelation or old tradition, for the genealogies in the New Testament were not of less importance than those of the sons of Shem (Gen. xi.), and yet the former were taken from public records. Why, then, should a miracle have been wrought to preserve the latter?

The book of Job is considered to be the most ancient written document extant, and is deemed an authentic narrative and not an imaginative poem (James v. 11). By some persons it is thought to be the work of Moses (see Mason Good's *Diss. to Translation of Job*); but this is denied by Bishop Lowth (*Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*). Lightfoot and others think Elihu was the author. This is the more credible opinion; for it is scarcely possible to believe that long conversations between several persons in the land of Uz should have been orally preserved for perhaps several centuries, and then recorded with minute accuracy by an individual who spoke a different language, and who received it from the lips of strangers and foreigners.

Hales asserts that Job lived at most two hundred years before the Exode. Our version of the Scriptures fixes the time of Job at B.C. 1520, which allows but twenty-nine years between his era and that of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. Be that as it may, the declarations of Job prove that *letters* and books were known to him and his countrymen, who were a people quite distinct from the Hebrews.

In the nineteenth chapter of Job (ver. 23, 24) it is said, 'Oh, that my words were now written! Oh, that they were printed in a *book!* that they were graven with an iron *pen!*' Also Job xxxi. 35, 'mine adversary had *written* a book.' Such expressions could not have been used, and would have had no meaning, if the art of writing had been unknown; nor could there have been such terms as *book* and *pen*, if the things themselves had not existed.

If, then, it be granted that the Book of Job was *written*, and such expressions were current before the Exode, it becomes evident from sacred history, that writing was not only in use before the law was given on Mount Sinai, but that it was also known amongst other patriarchal tribes than the children of Israel. The supposed writer, Elihu, the son of Barachel the Buzite (Job xxxii. 2), was a descendant of Nahor, the brother of Abraham (Gen. xxii. 20, 21), and might thus be possessed of whatever arts the family of Terah had inherited from Noah. Another singular phrase is found in Job: 'My days are swifter than a post' (ix. 25). This would imply the regular transmission of intelligence by appointed messengers from place to place; and although it does not follow as a necessary consequence that such a person on all occasions carried *letters*, it is more than probable that such a mode of conveying important communications was established in civilized countries, where *books*, *pens*, and *writing* were known.

Before the law was given by God to Moses, he had been commanded to write the important transactions which occurred during the progress of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan; for in Exod. xvii. 14, it is recorded, 'And the Lord said unto Moses, write this for a memorial in a book.' An account of the discomfiture of the Amalekites is the first thing said to have been written by Moses. This battle was fought ere the people left Rephidim (Exod. xvii. 13), from whence they departed into the wilderness of Sinai (Exod. xix. 2); and, therefore, that writing was drawn up before the events on the mount took place. The law was 'written by the finger of God' (Exod. xxxi. 18), B.C. 1491, and since that time there is no question as to the existence of the art of writing. The commandments were written on two tables of stone (Exod. xxxiv. 1); but immediately afterwards, when Moses was interceding with God for the sinning idolaters, he says, 'Blot me out of thy book which thou has written' (Exod. xxxii. 32). If writing in alphabetical characters had been

seen by Moses for the first time on the 'tables of stone,' he could not from these have had the faintest conception of a *book*, which is a thing composed of leaves or rolls, and of which the stones or slates could have given him no idea.

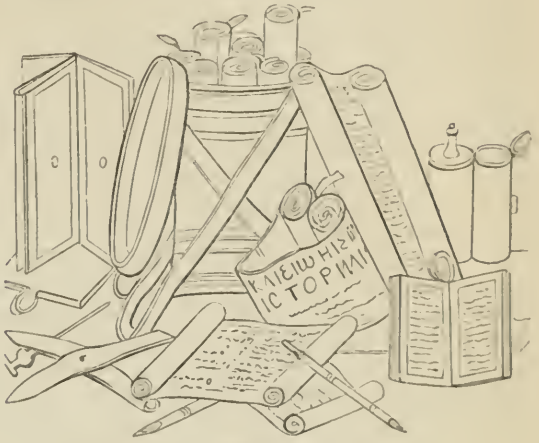
Forty years after the law was written, the Israelites took possession of the land of Canaan, where the 'cities were walled and very great' (Num. xiii. 28). Amongst other places which were conquered was one called by them Debir, but whose original name was Kirjath-sepher, or the City of Books, or Kirjath-sannah, the City of Letters (Jos. xv. 49; Judges i. 11). The Canaanites could not have gained their knowledge of letters or of books from the Hebrews, with whom they were entirely unacquainted or at war, and must, therefore, have derived them from other sources. The Canaanites being the descendants of Canaan, a son of Ham, had probably preserved and cultivated the same arts and sciences which Misraim, another son of Ham, carried into Egypt (Gen. x. 6).

'The Book of Jasher' (Josh. x. 13), is mentioned by Joshua, but whether as a chronicle of the past or present is uncertain.

Books and writing must have been familiar to Moses, 'who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts vii. 22), for at the time of his birth that people had arrived at a high pitch of civilization. Since the penetration of Dr. Young discovered the key by which the hitherto mysterious hieroglyphics can be deciphered, it has been found that from the earliest era Egypt possessed a knowledge of writing. Without crediting the very distant period given by some chronologists, which fixes the beginning of the first regal dynasty there 5867 years B.C., or as M. Prisse, the learned hieroglyphist, says, in his private accounts, 'unnumbered ages before the erection of the pyramids,' it is not presuming too much to think that the chronology adopted by Usher is too short to include many Scriptural transactions. Chronology is a matter of *opinion*, founded on data supplied by various sources of information, and not an article of *faith*: it may therefore be altered and improved in conformity with well-ascertained facts and legitimate evidence.

Hales, agreeing with Josephus, says that Menes, the first king of the first Egyptian dynasty, began his reign B.C. 2412 years (*Chronology*); but previous to his assuming the royal dignity, Egypt had been long ruled by a succession of priests, and in their theocracy Thoth or Hermes, *a god*, was considered by them to be the inventor of letters (the Egyptians never acknowledged *demi*-gods); and in no instance is the discovery of the art of writing ever attributed to men (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. 2).

There were three kinds of writing practised in Egypt:—1st. The hieroglyphical, or sacred sculptured characters; 2d. The hieratic, or sacerdotal, which was abbreviated; 3rd. The demotic, or enchorial, which became the hand in general use. Leipsius, in *The Annals of Archæological Correspondence*, Rome, 1837, maintains that the Egyptians had two colloquial dialects in use, which were very distinct; the classical or sacerdotal, and the popular. The sacred, or hieroglyphic writing, as well as the hieratic of all ages, presents the former, whilst the demotic presents the common dialect. Wilkinson thinks the hieroglyphical was the sole mode of writing in the more ancient times, yet allows the hieratic to have been employed in remote ages; but if M. Prisse's discovery be true, of a papyrus said to be written in the reign of an hitherto unknown king in the first Memphite dynasty, and in the hieratic character, its extreme antiquity will be found coeval with the hieroglyphical.



549. [Ancient Writing materials.]

If there be no enchorial writing found (for monuments or tombs which were sacred could not have common characters upon them) until about B.C. 600, that circumstance does not prove that such a mode of writing was unknown in the earliest times; for from the account of the burial of Jacob (Gen. l. 9), and from the *Song of Moses* (Exod. xv. 1, and xiv. 26), it is clear that horsemen were a part of the Egyptian army, and yet there is but one solitary specimen of a man on horseback amongst the infinite variety of sculptured representations of their manners and customs (Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 289). The priestly rulers of Egypt had continued, like the framers of caste in India, to bind down by certain definite and established laws (even to the meagre delineation of the human body in painting) every mode of action, and from that circumstance it may be inferred that the manner in which trials before the judges were carried on, was not an innovation of later times. There were royal and priestly scribes, but there must have been a different grade, employed by other classes, as in their law-courts the complainant always stated his case in writing, and the defendant also replied in writing; from which circumstance (were there none other) it may be inferred that there was some common popular writing for such purposes, besides that of the sacred hieroglyphics, or sacerdotal mode. In the paintings which represent the judgment after death, Thoth, who is called the 'Secretary of Justice,' is always portrayed with his tablet and style, just beginning to write.

The Memnonium is said to have been built about the time of Moses (B.C. 1571); over the entrance gateway to the library was inscribed, 'Remedy, or Balsam for Souls.' Over the mouldering door which led to the bibliothetical repository, Champollion read, written over the heads of Thoth and Safkh (who were the male and female deities of arts, sciences, and literature), the remarkably appropriate titles of 'President of the Library,' and 'Lady of Letters.' In the Sanctuary at Luxor, erected 200 years before the birth

of Moses, there is an inscription over Thoth, which begins, 'Discourse of the Lord of the Divine Writings.' The number of works ascribed to Thoth is stated to have been 36,525.

The great Pyramid is supposed to have been erected at least 2123 years. B.C.; in A.D. 1837, Col. Howard Vyse found in the low chamber the name of Suphis (Cheops) scored in red ochre on the rough stones behind the front facing of the room (see *Ancient Egypt*, by G. R. Gliddon, Vice-consul at Cairo; Boston, U. S. 1844).

'In Egypt nothing was done without writing. Scribes were employed on all occasions, whether to settle public or private questions, and no bargain of any consequence was made without the voucher of a written document' (Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 183). On a tomb said to have been built about the time the Pyramids were erected, is seen the representation of a steward giving an account of the number of his master's flocks and herds (vol. iv. p. 131). The scribes and stewards, who were employed in domestic suits, conveyancing, and farming, could not have used the *sacred* characters for their affairs, nor could they have been understood by the people generally if they had; it may therefore be concluded that the enchorial writing was that in popular practice.

Pliny is in error in saying that papyrus was not used for paper before the time of Alexander the Great, for papyri of the most remote Pharaonic period are found with the same mode of writing as that of the age of Cheops (Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 150). A papyrus now in Europe, of the date of Cheops, establishes the early use of written documents, and the antiquity of paper made of the byblus, long before the time of Abraham (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 13). As papyrus was expensive, few documents of that material are found, and these are generally rituals, sales of estates, and official papers (papyrus was used until about the seventh century of our era). A soldier's leave of absence has been discovered written upon a piece of broken earthenware.

No one can dispute the extreme antiquity of Egypt as a nation, nor that, at the time of Moses, its inhabitants were in a state of advanced civilization. From the researches of travellers and hieroglyphists in late years, it is proved beyond doubt that many of the hieroglyphical inscriptions were written before the Exodus of the Hebrews, and that writing must therefore have been in use at or before that period; but it yet remains to be said from whence the art was derived.

'The earliest and surest data' (respecting alphabetical language) 'are found in the genuine palæographical monuments of the Phœnicians.' 'Amongst the most ancient coins yet known is one supposed to be B.C. 394' [ALPHABET]; but these ancient specimens of engraving or writing prove nothing as to the *origin* of the thing itself. It is possible that written characters can be traced no higher than from a Phœnician stock, for they were the immediate posterity of Noah's family. The argument here stated, as to the credible supposition that writing was given with language, is not at all invalidated by gems or coins which exhibit the oldest or most primitive form of written characters known.

The Hindoos and Chinese profess to have had amongst them the art of writing from time immemorial; but although they cannot establish the truth of their endless chronologies, yet it is highly probable that they have been acquainted with that mode of communicating and transmitting ideas from remote ages. Eight Chinese bottles have been found in different tombs at Thebes; on five of them is written the same inscription, 'The flower opens, and lo! another year.' In China writing is still symbolical, there being 80,000 characters, to which there are 214 radical keys.

Letters are generally allowed to have been introduced into Europe from Phœnicia, and to have been brought from thence by Cadmus into Greece, about fifteen centuries before Christ, which time coincides with the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty; but whilst none may deny such to have been the origin of European alphabetical characters, it does not prove the Phœnicians to have been the inventors of writing. That people occupied Phœnicia in very early times after the Deluge, and if the patriarch and his sons possessed the knowledge of letters, their posterity would doubtless preserve the remembrance and practice of such an invaluable bequest, which would be conveyed by their colonists into Greece and Africa. In the New World it was found that the Peruvians had no system of writing, whilst the Mexicans had made great advances in hieroglyphical paintings.

The Aztecs, who preceded the Mexicans, had attained much proficiency in the art, such as was adequate to the wants of a people in an imperfect state of civilization. 'By means of it were recorded all their laws, and even their regulations for domestic economy; their tribute rolls, specifying the imposts of the various towns; their mythology, rituals, and calendars, and their political annals carried back to a period long before the foundation of the city. They digested a complete system of chronology, and could specify with accuracy the dates of the most important events in their history, the year being inscribed on the margin against the particular circumstances recorded' (Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, i. 88).

A Mexican MS. usually looks like a collection of pictures, each forming a separate study. Their materials for writing were various. Cotton cloth, or prepared skins, were used, but generally a fine fabric made from the leaves of the aloe (*Agave Americana*), from which a sort of paper was prepared, somewhat resembling Egyptian papyrus, which could be made more soft and beautiful than parchment. When written, the documents were either made up into rolls or else into volumes, in which the paper was shut up like a folding screen, which gave the appearance of a book. When the Spaniards arrived in Mexico, great quantities of these MSS. were in the country; but the first Christian archbishop, Zurmarraga, caused them to be collected from every part of the country, and had the whole burnt! (Prescott).

In later times there have been two instances in which persons in semi-barbarous countries have constructed an alphabet, from having heard that by such means ideas were communicated in many lands. A man of the Greybo tribe, on the African coast, and a Cherokee, are said to have formed a series of letters adapted to their respective languages; but in neither case was it the result of *intuitive* genius (Gliddon, p. 17).

Various have been the materials and implements used for writing. As was before observed, paper made from the papyrus is now in existence which was fabricated 2000 years B.C. Moses hewed out of the rock two tables of *stone* on which the Commandments were written (Exod. xxxiv. 1). After that time the Jews used rolls of *skins* for their sacred writings. They also engraved writing upon gems or gold plates (Exod. xxxix. 30).

Before the discovery of paper the Chinese wrote upon thin boards with a sharp tool. Reeds and canes are still used as writing implements amongst the Tartars; and the Persians and other Orientals write for temporary purposes on leaves, or smooth sand, or the bark of trees. The Arabs in ancient times wrote their poetry upon the shoulder-blades of sheep.

The Greeks occasionally engraved their laws on tables of brass. Even before the days of Homer table-books were used, made of wood, cut in thin slices, which were painted and polished, and the pen was an iron instrument called a style. In later times these surfaces were waxed over, that the writing might be obliterated for further use. Table-books were not discontinued till the fourteenth century of the Christian era.

At length the superior preparations of paper, parchment, and vellum, became general, and superseded other materials in many, and all entirely civilized, nations.

The European mode of writing, with its perfect and complete apparatus of pen, ink, and paper, is too well known to need description in these pages, and would be irrelevant in an article like the present.—S. P.

Y.

YANSHUPH (יַנְשׁוּף; Lev. ii. 17; Deut. xiv. 16; Isa. xxxiv. 11). In the Septuagint and Vulgate it is translated 'Ibis,' but in our version 'Owl;' which last Bochart supports, deriving the name from נֵשֶׁף *nesheph*, 'twilight' [Owl.]. It may be remarked that 'Ibis' in Europe, and even in mediæval and modern Egypt, was a very indefinite name, until Bruce first pointed out, and Cuvier afterwards proved, what we are to understand by that denomination. All reasoning therefore upon the question by interpreters of the Hebrew anterior to the establishment of this fact must of necessity be inconclusive; and though Parkhurst asserts that in Coptic Yansuph was rendered by ⲙⲓⲣ and ⲓⲣ, his inference remains without force so long as he and the Copts are ignorant what bird these names really indicate. It is not, as the older commentators believed, a great bird of the heron or stork tribes (*Ardea* of Linn. and Hasselquist); nor, as was subsequently the opinion, a *Tantalus*, though correct in its former definition. The real bird is not the *Tantalus Ibis* of Linnæus, or Abu-ba-Rara, but one of smaller dimensions, probably the Abou-hannes of Bruce, and certainly the *Ibis religiosa* of Cuvier, who discovered specimens in the mummy state, such as are now not uncommon in museums, and, by comparison, proved them to be identical with his sacred ibis. This species is in size somewhat less than a fowl, has the head and neck bare, and a curved bill resembling that of a curlew, all black; the feet and quill-feathers the same; and from the rump there are projected over the tail a number of black, delicate, unbarbed feathers, giving a marked character to the bird, which in all the rest of its plumage is white. The species is nowhere abundant; it occurs, in the season, on the Upper Nile, a few in company, seldom coming down into Lower Egypt, but extending over central Africa to the Senegal. A bird so rare about Memphis, and totally unknown in Palestine, could not be the Yanshuph of the Pentateuch, nor could the black ibis which appears about Damietta, nor any species, strictly tenants of hot and watery regions, be well taken for it. Bochart and others, who refer the name to a species of owl, appear to disregard two other names ascribed to owls in the 16th verse of the same chapter of Leviticus. If, therefore, an owl was here again intended, it would have been placed in the former verse, or near to it. In this difficulty, considering that the Seventy were not entirely without some grounds for referring the Hebrew Yanshuph to a wader; that the older commentators took it for a species of ardea; and that the root of the name may refer to twilight, indicating a crepuscular bird; we are inclined to select the night heron, as the only one that unites these several qualities. It is a bird smaller than the common heron, distinguished by two or three white plumes hanging out of the black-capped nape of the male. In habit it is partially nocturnal. The Arabian Abou-onk ?, if not the identical, is a close congener of the species, found in every portion of the temperate and warmer climates of the earth: it is an inhabitant of Syria, and altogether is free from the principal objections made to the ibis and the owl. The Linnæan single *Ardea nycticorax* is now typical of a genus of that name, and includes several species of night herons. They fly abroad at dusk, frequent the sea shore, marshes, and rivers, feeding on mollusca, crustacea, and worms, and have a cry of a most disagreeable nature. This bird has been confounded with the night hawk, which is a goat-sucker (caprimulgus), not a hawk.—C. H. S.



550. [Night Heron of Arabia.]

YEAR (שָׁנָה). The Hebrew year consisted of twelve unequal months, which, previously to the exile, were lunar, as may be seen from the names of the moon, חדשׁ and ירח, which signify respectively a month (so with us moon from month, German *mond*); though Credner, relying too much on hypothesis, especially on the assumption of the late origin of the Pentateuch, has endeavoured to show that, until the eighth century before Christ, the Israelites reckoned by solar years. The twelve solar months made up only 354 days, constituting a year too short by no fewer than eleven days. This deficiency would have soon inverted the year, and could not have existed even for a short period of time without occasioning derangements and serious inconvenience to the Hebrews, whose year was so full of festivals. At an early day then we may well believe a remedy was provided for this evil. The course which the ancients pursued is unknown, but Ideler (*Chronol.* i. 490) may be consulted for an ingenious conjecture on the subject. The later Jews intercalated a month every two, or every three years, taking care, however, to avoid making the seventh an intercalated year. The supplementary month was added at the termination of the sacred year, the twelfth month (February and March), and as this month bore the name of Adar, so the interposed month was called Veadar (ואדר), or Adar the Second. The year, as appears from the ordinary reckoning of the months (Lev. xxiii. 34; xxv. 9; Num. ix. 11; 2 Kings xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 2; comp. 1 Macc. iv. 52; x. 21), began with the month Nisan (Esth. iii. 7), agreeably to an express direction given by Moses (Exod. xii. 2; Num. ix. 1). This commencement is generally thought to be that of merely the ecclesiastical year; and most Jewish, and many Christian authorities, hold that the civil year originally began, as now, with the month Tisri; the Rabbins conjecturally assigning as the reason that this was the month in which the creation took place. Josephus' statement is as follows: 'Moses appointed that Nisan should be the first month for their festivals, because he brought them (the Israelites) out of Egypt in that month; so that this month began the year, as to all the solemnities they observed to the honour of God, although he preserved the original order of the months as to selling and buying and other ordinary affairs (*Antiq.* i. 3. 3). Winer, however, is of opinion that the commencement of the year with Tisri, together with the beginning of the sacred year in Nisan, is probably a post-exilian arrangement, designed to commemorate the first step of the return to the native soil of Palestine (Esth. iii. 1; Neh. vii. 73; viii. 1, sq.); an idea, however, to which they only can give assent who hold that the changes introduced on the return from Babylon were of a constructive rather than a restoratory nature—a class of authorities with which the writer has few bonds of connection. The reader should consult Exod. xxiii. 16; xxxiv. 22. But the commencement of the civil year with Tisri, at whatever period it originated, had after the exile this advantage,—that it accorded with the era of the Seleucidæ, which began in October. The ancient Hebrews possessed no such thing as a formal and recognised era. Their year and their months were determined and regulated, not by any systematic rules of astronomy, but by the first view or appearance of the moon. In a similar manner they dated from great national events, as the departure from Egypt (Exod. xix. 1; Num. xxxiii. 38; 1 Kings vi. 1); from the ascension of monarchs, as in the books of Kings and Chronicles; or from the erection of Solomon's temple (1 Kings viii. 1; ix. 10); and at a later period, from the commencement of the Babylonish captivity (Ezek. xxxiii. 21; xl. 1). When they became subjects of the Græco-Syrian empire they adopted the Seleucid era, which began with the year B.C. 312, when Seleucus conquered Babylon.—J. R. B.

YSOP OR HYSSOP. Reference was from Hyssop to the German form of the name, as the author was engaged in a course of investigation, which he hoped would lead to some satisfactory information. The result he communicated in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, and published in their Journal for November, 1844. From the passages in which *esobh* and *hyssop* are mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, and which are enumerated in the article Hyssop, the author inferred that any plant answering to all that was required should, in the first place, be found in every one of the places and situations where it is mentioned as existing in Scripture. Thus it should be found in Lower Egypt (Exod. xii. 22); in the desert of Sinai (Lev. xiv. 4, 6, and 52; Num. xix. 6, 18); in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (John xix. 29); secondly, that it should be a plant growing on walls or rocky situations (1 Kings iv. 33); and, finally, that it should be possessed of some cleansing properties (Ps. li. 7); though it is probable that in this passage it is used in a figurative sense. It should also be large enough to yield a stick, and it ought, moreover, to have a name in the Arabic or cognate languages, similar to the Hebrew name. This, we have before seen, is written *Esob* and *Esobh*, also *Esof;* and in the Chaldee version it is *Esofa*. The author stated that his attention had been drawn to the subject when collating the list of drugs in his MS. catalogue, mentioned vol. i. p. 6, with that in the great work, entitled *Continns*, of Rhages, by finding that the Arab author described two kinds of hyssop, one of them growing on the mountain of the temple, that is, of Jerusalem. Celsius, indeed (*Hierobot.* i. 407), mentions the same plant—*Hyssopus in montibus Hierosolymorum*, or in Arabic *Zoofa bu jebal al kuds*. Jerusalem is now called by the Arabs *El Kuds*, 'the Holy,' and by Arabian writers *Beit-el-Mukdis*, or *Beit-al-Mukuddus*, 'the Sanctuary.' In connection with this the author observed, that Burckhardt had described a plant, called *alsef*, which he had met with in several wadeys about Mount Sinai, creeping up the mountain side like a parasitic plant, its branches covered with small thorns. From the name and description the author inferred that this must be the *caper plant* (*capparis spinosa* of botanists), or some closely allied species. For he found on investigation, that though *kabir* is the ordinary Arabic name of the *caper*, it is also called *asaf*, as may be seen in the *Alfag. Udwich*, translated by Mr. Gladwin. So in the *Kamus*, *asub* is *al kubbus;* in Freytag's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, *asaf* is translated *capparis*, &c. The similarity in name being sufficiently great, the author pro-

ceeds to show that the caper bush corresponds in nearly every thing that is required.

Thus the caper plant is well known to be indigenous in Lower Egypt, as mentioned by De Lile, Forskal, and Prosper Alpinus, &c. Bové says, 'Le Mont Sainte Catherine est au sud-sud-ouest du Mont Sinai. Dans les déserts qui environnent ces montagnes j'ai trouvé *capparis spinosa*.' He also found it among the ruins near Jerusalem, as Belon and Rauwolf had done previously. That it grows upon walls is sufficiently well known. De Candolle says it is found 'in muris et rupestribus Europæ Australis et Orientis.' That it possessed, or was supposed to possess, cleansing or detergent properties, may be seen in the various accounts of it from the time of Hippocrates. Pliny remarks especially, that it is useful in a skin disease nearly allied to leprosy. It is not a little remarkable, that it was in the ceremonies of purification from this disease that *esof* was employed by the Israelites. It remains only to see whether the caper plant would yield a stick long enough for a man with his outstretched arm to be able to raise the sponge dipped in vinegar to the lips of our Saviour. The cross, to be sufficiently strong, could not have been very lofty, to admit being borne along; and therefore an ordinary sized stick would be long enough for the purpose. Such a stick a shrub like the caper plant, growing in a congenial climate, would supply. Pliny describes the *capparis* as a shrub of a hard and woody substance. The term calamus was, however, used in a much more general sense than is generally supposed [KANEH], and Pliny employs the phrase 'imprimere calamum,' to signify grafting; as 'kalm lngana' is used in the present day in India. Besides this, every part of the caper plant was preserved in vinegar in ancient times (Pliny); which may explain the presence of the vessel full of vinegar; and a reed may have been employed in collecting the flower buds, or fruit of the caper bush, growing on walls or the sides of rocks. If such a stick were employed, it would naturally be called the *caper*, or *hyssop* stick.

Hence the author concludes, that as the caper plant has an Arabic name, *asuf*, similar to the Hebrew *esob* or *esof*, as it is found in Lower Egypt, in the deserts of Sinai, and in New Jerusalem; as it grows upon rocks and walls, was always supposed to be possessed of cleansing qualities, is large enough to yield a stick; and as its different parts used to be preserved in vinegar, as its buds now are; he is warranted, from the union of all these properties in this plant, corresponding so closely to those of the original *esof*, in considering it as proved that the *caper plant* is the *hyssop* of Scripture.—J. F. R.

Z.

1. ZABAD (זָבָד, *God-given*; Sept. Ζαβέδ), a person of the tribe of Judah, mentioned in 1 Chron. ii. 36, among the descendants of Sheshan, by the marriage of his daughter with an Egyptian servant [JARHA; SHESHAN].

2. ZABAD, a grandson of Ephraim, who, with others of the family, was killed during the life-time of Ephraim, by the men of Gath, in an attempt which the Hebrews seem to have made to drive off their cattle (1 Chron. vii. 21). [See EPHRAIM.]

3. ZABAD, son of an Ammonitess named Shimeath, who, in conjunction with Jehozabad, the son of a Moabitess, slew King Joash, to whom they were both household officers, in his bed (2 Kings xii. 21; 2 Chron. xxiv. 25, 26). In the first of these texts he is called Jozachar. The sacred historian does not appear to record the mongrel parentage of these men as suggesting a reason for their being more easily led to this act, but as indicating the sense which was entertained of the enormity of Joash's conduct, that even they, though servants to the king, and though only half Jews by birth, were led to conspire against him 'for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest.' It would seem that their murderous act was not abhorred by the people; for Amaziah, the son of Joash, did not venture to call them to account till he felt himself well established on the throne, when they were both put to death (2 Kings xiv. 5, 6; 2 Chron. xxv. 3, 4).

4. ZABAD, one of the persons who, at the instance of Ezra, put away the foreign wives they had taken after the return from captivity (Ezra x. 27).

ZABUD (זָבוּד, *bestowed*; Sept. Ζαβούθ), a son of Nathan the prophet, who held under Solomon the important place of 'king's friend,' or favourite (1 Kings iv. 5), which Hushai had held under David (1 Chron. xxvii. 33), and which a person named Elkanah held under Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 7). Azariah, another son of Nathan, was 'over all the (household) officers' of king Solomon; and their advancement may doubtless be ascribed not only to the young king's respect for the venerable prophet, who had been his instructor, but to the friendship he had contracted with his sons during the course of education. The office, or rather honour, of 'friend of the king,' we find in all the despotic governments of the East. It gives high power, without the public responsibility which the holding of a regular office in the state necessarily imposes. It implies the possession of the utmost confidence of, and familiar intercourse with, the monarch, to whose person 'the friend' at all times has access, and whose influence is therefore often far greater, even in matters of state, than that of the recognised ministers of government.

ZABULUN. [ZEBULUN.]

ZACCHEUS (זַכַּאי; Ζακχαῖος, *justus?*), a superintendent of taxes at Jericho. Having heard of the Redeemer, he felt a great desire to see him as he drew near that place; for which purpose he climbed up into a sycamore-tree, because he was little of stature. Jesus, pleased with this manifestation of his eagerness, and knowing that it proceeded from a heart not far from the kingdom of God, saw fit to honour Zaccheus by becoming his guest. This offended the self-righteous Jews, who objected that 'he was gone to be a guest with a man that is a sinner.' This offensive imputation was met by Zaccheus in the spirit of the Mosaic conception of goodness—'The half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold.' He that knew the heart of

man knew, not only the truth of this statement, but that the good works of Zaccheus emanated from right motives, and therefore terminated the conversation with the words, 'This day is salvation come to this house, forsomuch as he also is a son of Abraham'—a declaration which, whether Zaccheus was by birth a Jew or not, signifies that he had the same principle of faith which was imputed to Abraham, the father of the faithful, for righteousness (Luke xix. 2, sq.).

Tradition represents Zaccheus as the first Christian bishop of Cæsarea.—J. R. B.

ZACHARIAH. [Zechariah.]

ZACHARIAS. [Zechariah.]

ZADOK, derived from the root צדק, corresponding with the Latin *justus*. There are several men of this name mentioned in the Old Testament.

1. In the reign of David, Zadok (the son of Ahitub and father of Ahimaaz (1 Chron. vi. 8) and Ahimelech were the priests (2 Sam. viii. 17). Zadok and the Levites were with David when, after the middle of the eleventh century B.C., he fled from Absalom; but the king ordered Zadok to carry back the ark of God into the city (2 Sam. xv. 24, 25, 27, 29, 35, 36; xviii. 19, 22, 27). The king, also, considering Zadok a seer, commanded him to return to the city, stating that he would wait in the plain of the wilderness until he should receive such information from him and his son Ahimaaz, and also from the son of Abiathar, as might induce him to remove farther away. On hearing that Ahithophel had joined Absalom, David requested Hushai, his friend, to feign himself to be also one of the conspirators, and to inform Zadok and Abiathar of the counsels adopted by Absalom and his rebellions confederates. The request of David was complied with, and the plans of the rebels made known to David by the instrumentality of Zadok and the others.

After Absalom was vanquished, David sent to Zadok and Abiathar, the priests, saying, 'Speak unto the elders of Judah, Why are ye the last to bring the king back to his house?' &c. (2 Sam. xix. 11; xx. 25). When Adonijah attempted to succeed to the throne, Abiathar countenanced him, but Zadok was not called to the feast at which the conspirators assembled. King David sent for Zadok and Nathan the prophet to anoint Solomon king (1 Kings i. 32-45).

2. In 1 Chron. vi. 12, and Neh. xi. 11, another Zadok is mentioned, the father of whom was also called Ahitub, and who begat Shallum. This Zadok descended from Zadok the priest in the days of David and Solomon, and was the ancestor of Ezra the scribe (Ezra vii. 2). We learn from Ezek. xl. 46; xliii. 19; xliv. 15; xlviii. 11, that the sons of Zadok were a pre-eminent sacerdotal family.

3. Zadok was also the name of the father-in-law of Uzziah and the grandfather of king Jotham, who reigned about the middle of the eighth century before Christ (2 Kings xv. 33; 2 Chron. xxvii. 1).

4 and 5. Two priests of the name of Zadok are mentioned in Neh. iii. 4-29, as having assisted in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem about B.C. 445.

The Zadok mentioned in Neh. x. 22 as having sealed the covenant, and Zadok the scribe named in Neh. xiii. 13, are probably the same who helped to build the wall.—C. H. F. B.

ZAIT, or SAIT (זַיִת), is universally acknowledged to be the Olive-tree. The Latin author Ammianus Marcellinus, as quoted by Celsius (vol. ii. p. 331), was acquainted with it, for he says of a place in Mesopotamia, '*Zaitam* venimus locum, qui *Olea* arbor interpretatur.' *Zaitoon* is the Arabic name by which the olive is known from Syria to Caubul, and described in the works of both Arabic and Persian authors. It is more than probable that it was introduced from Asia into Europe. The Greeks, indeed, had a tradition that the first branch of it was carried by a dove from Phœnicia to the temple of Jupiter in Epirus, where the priests received and planted it; and Pliny states that there were no olive-trees in Italy or Spain before the 173rd year from the foundation of the city of Rome. Though the olive continues to be much cultivated in Syria, it is yet much more extensively so in the south of Europe, whence the rest of the world is chiefly supplied with olive-oil.

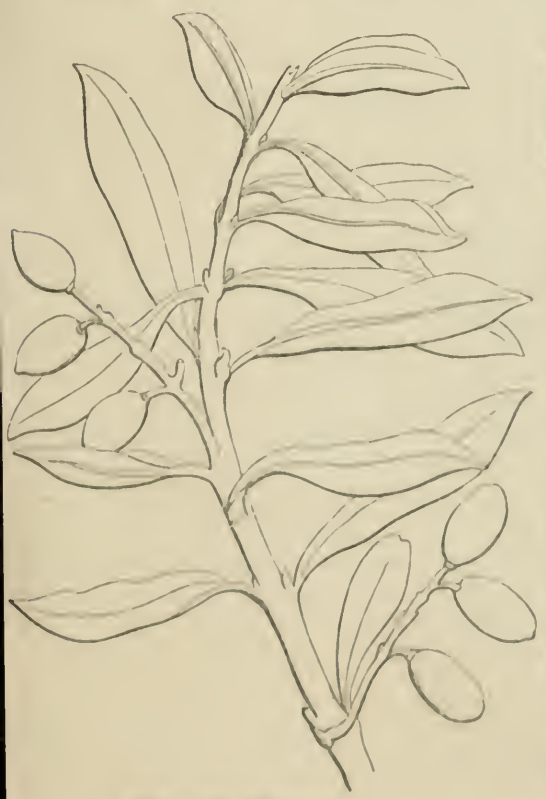
No tree is more frequently mentioned by ancient authors, nor was any one more highly honoured by ancient nations. By the Greeks it was dedicated to Minerva, and even employed in crowning Jove, Apollo, and Hercules, as well as emperors, philosophers, and orators, and 'quivis alii, cæteros mortales virtute et industria supergressi, olea coronantur.' By the Romans also it was highly honoured. 'Oleæ,' says Pliny, 'honorem Romana majestas magnum præbuit;' and Columella describes it as 'prima omnium arborum.' It is not wonderful that almost all the ancient authors, from the time of Homer, so frequently mention it, and that, as Horace says (*Carm.* i. 7)—

'—— sunt quibus unum opus est ——
Undique decerptam fronti præponere olivam.'

The olive-tree is of slow growth, but remarkable for the great age it attains. It never, however, becomes a very large tree, though sometimes two or three stems rise from the same root, and reach from twenty to thirty feet high. The leaves are in pairs, lanceolate in shape, of a dull green on the upper, and hoary on the under surface. Hence in countries where the olive is extensively cultivated, the scenery is of a dull character from this colour of the foliage. The fruit is an elliptical drupe, with a hard stony kernel, and remarkable from the outer fleshy part being that in which much oil is lodged, and not, as is usual, in the almond of the seed. It ripens from August to September.

Of the olive-tree two varieties are particularly distinguished; the long-leafed, which is cultivated in the south of France and in Italy, and the broad-leafed in Spain, which has also its fruit much larger than that of the former kind. The wild olive-tree, as well as the practice of grafting, has been noticed in the article Agrileia. That the olive grows to a great age, has long been known. Pliny mentions one which the Athenians of his time considered to be coeval with their city, and therefore 1600 years old. Near Terni, in the vale of the cascade of Marmora, there is a plantation of very old trees, supposed to consist of the same plants that were growing there in the time of Pliny. Lady Calcott states that at Teri-

concio, on the mountain-road between Tivoli and Palestrina, there is an ancient olive-tree of large dimensions, which, unless the documents are purposely falsified, stood as a boundary between two possessions even before the Christian era, and in the second century was looked upon as very ancient. The difficulty on this point arises from a fresh tree springing up from the old stump. Chateaubriand says: 'Those in the garden of Olivet (or Gethsemane) are at least of the times of the Eastern empire, as is demonstrated by the following circumstance. In Turkey every olive-tree found standing by the Mussulmans, when they conquered Asia, pays one *medina* to the Treasury, while each of those planted since the conquest is taxed half its produce. The eight olives of which we are speaking are charged only eight *medinas*.' By some, especially by Dr. Martin, it is supposed that these olive-trees may have been in existence even in the time of our Saviour. Dr. Wilde describes the largest of them as being twenty-four feet in girth above the roots, though its topmost branch is not thirty feet from the ground; Bové, who travelled as a naturalist, asserts that the largest are at least six yards in circumference, and nine or ten yards high; so large, indeed, that he calculates their age at 2000 years.



551. [Olea Europea.]

The wood of the olive-tree, which is imported into this country from Leghorn, is described by M. Holtzapffel to be 'like that of the box, but softer, with darker grey coloured veins. The roots have a very pretty knotted and curly character; they are much esteemed on the continent for making embossed boxes, pressed into engraved metallic moulds.' Furniture is made of the olive-tree in Italy, and the closeness of the grain fits it even for painters' pallettes. A resin-like exudation is obtained from it, which was known to the ancients, and is now sometimes called olive-gum; but the fruit, with its oil, is that which renders the tree especially valuable. The green unripe fruit is preserved in a solution of salt, and is well known at our desserts. The fruit when ripe is bruised in mills, and the oil pressed out of the paste. Different qualities are known in commerce, owing partly to variations in the fruit, but more to the greater or less care bestowed in the collection of it, and in the subjecting of it to pressure.

The olive is one of the earliest of the plants specifically mentioned in the Bible, the fig being the first. Thus, in Gen. viii. 11, the dove is described as bringing the olive-branch to Noah. It is always enumerated among the valued trees of Palestine; which Moses describes (Deut. vi. 11; viii. 8) as 'a land of oil-olive and honey' (so in xxviii. 40, &c.); and (2 Chron. ii. 10) Solomon gave to the labourers sent him by Hiram, king of Tyre, 20,000 baths of oil. Besides this, immense quantities must have been required for home consumption, as it was extensively used as an article of diet, for burning in lamps, and for the ritual service. The olive still continues one of the most extensively cultivated of plants. Mr. Kitto mentions that in a list he had made of references to all the notices of plants by the different travellers in Palestine, those of the presence of the olive exceed one hundred and fifty, and are more numerous by far than to any other tree or plant. The references to vines, fig-trees, mulberries, and oaks, rank next in frequency. Something of this must, however, depend upon the knowledge of plants of the several travellers. Botanists, even from Europe, neglect forms with which they are unacquainted, as, for instance, some of the tropical forms they meet with. Not only the olive-oil, but the branches of the tree were employed at the Feast of Tabernacles. The wood also was used (1 Kings vi. 23) by Solomon for making the cherubim (vers. 31, 32), and for doors and posts 'for the entering of the oracle,' the former of which were carved with cherubim, and palm-trees, and open flowers. The olive being an evergreen was adduced as an emblem of prosperity (Ps. lii. 8), and it has continued, from the earliest ages, to be an emblem of peace among all civilized nations. The different passages of Scripture are elucidated by Celsius (*Hierobot.* ii. p. 330), to whom we have been much indebted in most of the botanical articles treated of in this work, from the care and learning which he has brought to bear on the subject.—J. F. R.

ZALMON (צַלְמוֹן; Sept. Σελμών), a mountain in Samaria near to Shechem (Judg. ix. 48). Many suppose this to be the same with the Zalmon of Ps. lxviii. 15: 'where the Almighty scattered kings in it (the land), there was snow as in Zalmon;' i. e. the fields were whitened with the bones of the slain. So Gesenius: but Robinson says 'The only high mountains around Shechem are Ebal and Gerizim, and these would be first covered with snow.' True: but may not Zalmon be another name for either Ebal or Gerizim?

ZALMUNNA. [Zebah and Zalmunna.]

ZAMZUMMIMS (זַמְזֻמִּים; Sept. Ζομμείν), a race of giants dwelling anciently in the territory

afterwards occupied by the Ammonites, but extinct before the time of Moses (Deut. ii. 20).

ZANOAH (זָנוֹחַ, *marsh*, *bog*), one of the towns of Judah 'in the valley' (Josh. xv. 34); which Jerome identifies with a village called in his time Zanua, on the borders of Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem (*Onomast.* s. v. 'Zanohua'). The name of Zanua is still connected with a site on the slope of a low hill not far east of Ain Shems (Beth-shemesh).

ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH (צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ, Sept. Ψονθομφανήχ), an Egyptian name given by Pharaoh to Joseph in reference to his public office. The genuine Egyptian form of the word is supposed to have been more nearly preserved by the Sept. translator, as above; in which both Jablonsky (*Opusc.* c. 207-216) and Rosellini (*Mon. Storici*, i. 185) recognise the Egyptian PSOTMFENEH, 'the salvation,' or 'saviour of the age;' which corresponds nearly enough with Jerome's interpretation, 'Salvator mundi.' Gesenius and others incline, however, rather to regard its Egyptian form as PSONTMFENEH, 'sustainer of the age,' which certainly is a better meaning. This, in Hebrew letters, would probably be represented by פצנת פנעח, Paznath-Paaneah; but in the name as it now stands the letters פצ are transposed, in order to bring it nearer to the Hebrew analogy. Concerning the Egyptian root SNT, *sustentare*, *tueri*, see Champollion, *Gramm.* p. 380; Pezron, *Lex. Copt.* p. 207.

ZAREPHATH. [SAREPTA.]

ZEALOTS. The followers of Judas the Gaulonite or Galilean [JUDAS]. Josephus speaks of them as forming the 'fourth sect of Jewish philosophy,' and as distinguished from the Pharisees chiefly by a quenchless love of liberty and a contempt of death. Their leading tenet was the unlawfulness of paying tribute to the Romans, as being a violation of the theocratic constitution. This principle, which they maintained by force of arms against the Roman government, was soon converted into a pretext for deeds of violence against their own countrymen; and during the last days of the Jewish polity, the Zealots were lawless brigands or guerrillas, the pest and terror of the land. After the death of Judas, and of his two sons, Jacob and Simon (who suffered crucifixion), they were headed by Eleazar, one of his descendants, and were often denominated *Sicarii*, from the use of a weapon resembling the Roman Sica (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* iv. 1-6; vii. 8; Lardner's *Credibility*, pt. i. b. i. ch. 6, 9; Kitto's *Palestine*, pp. 741, 751).—J. E. R.

ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA, chiefs of the Midianites, whom Gideon defeated and slew [GIDEON].

ZEBEDEE (Ζεβεδαῖος; in Hebrew, זַבְדִּי *Zabdi*, זַבְדָיָה, *Jehovah's gift*), husband of Salome, and father of the apostles James and John (Matt. x. 2; xx. 20; xxvi. 37; xxvii. 56; Mark iii. 17; x. 35; John xxi. 2). He was the owner of a fishing boat on the lake of Gennesaret, and, with his sons, followed the business of a fisherman. He was present, mending the nets with them, when Jesus called James and John to follow him (Matt. iv. 21; Mark i. 19; Luke v. 10); and as he offered no obstacle to their obedience, but remained alone without murmuring in the vessel, it is supposed that he had been previously a disciple of John the Baptist, and, as such, knew Jesus to be the Messiah. At any rate, he must have known this from his sons, who were certainly disciples of the Baptist. It is very doubtful whether Zebedee and his sons were of that very abject condition of life which is usually ascribed to them. They seem to have been in good circumstances, and were certainly not poor. Zebedee was the owner of a 'ship,' or fishing smack, as we should call it—and, perhaps, of more than one; he had labourers under him (Mark i. 20); his wife was one of those pious women whom the Lord allowed 'to minister unto him of their substance;' and the fact that Jesus recommended his mother to the care of John, implies that he had the means of providing for her; whilst a still further proof that Zebedee's family was not altogether mean, may be found, perhaps, in the fact, that John was personally known to the high-priest (John xviii. 16).

1. ZEBOIM (צְבֹעִים; Sept. Σαβίμ), a valley and town in the tribe of Benjamin (1 Sam. xiii. 18; Neh. xi. 34).

2. ZEBOIM (צְבֹאִים; Sept. Σεβωείμ), a city in the vale of Siddim, destroyed along with Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. x. 19; xiv. 2; Hos. xi. 8). [SODOM.]

ZEBUL (זְבֻל, *a dwelling*; Sept. Ζεβούλ), an officer whom Abimelech left in command at Shechem in his own absence; and who discharged with fidelity and discretion the difficult trust confided to him (Judg. ix. 29-41). See the particulars in ABIMELECH.

ZEBULUN (זְבֻלוּן, *habitation*; Sept. Ζαβουλών), the sixth and last son of Jacob by Leah (Gen. xxx. 19, seq.; xxxv. 23), who, in the order of birth, followed his brother Issachar, with whom, in history, as in the promised land, he was closely connected (Deut. xxxiii. 18). Zebulun was the founder of the tribe which bore his name (Gen. xlvi. 14), and which, while yet in the wilderness, was respectable for numbers (Num. i. 30; xxvi. 26). Zebulun obtained its lot in north Palestine between Naphtali on the north and Issachar on the south, while Asher stretched along both it and Naphtali on the west (Josh. xix. 10, seq.). The country of the Zebulonites bordered towards the east on the south-western side of the lake of Tiberias, and was connected with the Mediterranean by means of Carmel (Gen. xlix. 13). Its inhabitants in consequence took part in seafaring concerns (Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 1. 22). They failed to expel all the native race, but made those of them that remained tributaries (Judg. i. 30). One of the judges of Israel, Elon, was a Zebulonite (Judg. xii. 11). A city lying on the borders of Asher also bore the name of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 27).—J. R. B.

ZECHARIAH (זְכַרְיָה, *whom Jehovah remembers*; Sept. and N. T. Ζαχαρίας), a very common name among the Jews, borne by the following persons mentioned in Scripture.

1. ZECHARIAH, son of Jeroboam II., and fourteenth king of Israel. He ascended the throne in B.C. 772, and reigned six months. It has been shown in the article ISRAEL, that from undue deference to a probably corrupted number, which

ascribes 41 years to the reign of Jeroboam II., chronologers have found it necessary to *suppose* anarchy or an interregnum of 11 years, during which his son Zechariah was kept from the throne. But there is no appearance of this in the sacred narrative, and it was not likely to follow a reign so prosperous as Jeroboam's. The few months of Zechariah's reign just sufficed to evince his inclination to follow the bad course of his predecessors; and he was then slain by Shallum, who usurped the crown. With his life ended the dynasty of Jehu (2 Kings xiv. 29; xv. 8-12).

2. Zechariah, high priest in the time of Joash, king of Judah. He was son, or perhaps grandson, of Jehoiada and Jehosheba; the latter was the aunt of the king, who owed to her his crown, as he did his education and throne to her husband [Joash]. Zechariah could not bear to see the evil courses into which the monarch eventually fell, and by which the return of the people to their old idolatries was facilitated, if not encouraged. Therefore, when the people were assembled at one of the solemn festivals, he took the opportunity of lifting up his voice against the growing corruptions. This was in the presence of the king, in the court of the temple. The people were enraged at his honest boldness, and with the connivance of the king, if not by a direct intimation from him, they seized the pontiff, and stoned him to death, even in that holy spot, 'between the temple and the altar.' His dying cry was not that of the first Christian martyr, 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge' (Acts vii. 60), but 'The Lord look upon it, and require it' (2 Chron. xxiv. 20-22). It is to this dreadful affair that our Lord alludes in Matt. xxiii. 35; Luke xi. 51. At least, this is the opinion of the best interpreters, and that which has most probability in its favour. The only difficulty arises from his being called the son of Barachias, and not of Jehoiada: but this admits of two explanations—either that Zechariah, though called the 'son' of Jehoiada in the Old Testament, was really his grandson, and son of Barachias, who perhaps died before his father; or else that, as was not uncommon among the Jews, Jehoiada had two names, and Jesus called him by that by which he was usually distinguished in his time, when the Jews had acquired a reluctance to pronounce those names which, like that of Jehoiada, contained the sacred name of Jehovah. See Doddridge, Le Clerc, Kuinoel, Wetstein, and others, on Matt. xxiii. 35.

3. Zechariah, described as one 'who had understanding in the visions of God' (2 Chron. xxvi. 7). It is doubtful whether this eulogium indicates a prophet, or simply describes one eminent for his piety and faith. During his lifetime Uzziah, king of Judah, was guided by his counsels, and prospered: but went wrong when death had deprived him of his wise guidance. Nothing is known of this Zechariah's history. It is possible that he may be the same whose daughter became the wife of Ahaz, and mother of Hezekiah (2 Kings xvi. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxix. 1).

4. Zechariah, son of Jeberechiah, a person whom, together with Urijah the high priest, Isaiah took as a legal witness of his marriage with 'the prophetess' (Isa. viii. 2). This was in the reign of Ahaz, and the choice of the prophet shows that Zechariah was a person of consequence. Some confound him with the preceding; but the distance of time will not admit their identity. He may, however, have been the descendant of Asaph, named in 2 Chron. xxix. 13.

5. Zechariah, the eleventh in order of the minor prophets, was 'the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo, the prophet.' The meaning of the word בן־עדו has been disputed, some affirming that Iddo was not the *grandfather*, as the formula seems to indicate, but the *father* of Zechariah, and thus rendering the clause with Jerome, 'filium Barachiae, filium Addo,' or with some MSS. of the Septuagint, τὸν τοῦ Βαραχίου, υἱὸν Ἀδδώ. Jerome likewise refers to his peculiar rendering in his notes. Others of the fathers also adopted it, such as Cyril of Alexandria, who attempts to solve the difficulty created by it by maintaining that the one was the natural, the other the spiritual parent, of the prophet—Berechiah being his father κατὰ τὴν σάρκα, and Iddo the prophet, κατὰ πνεῦμα. Others have justified this translation by assigning both names to Zechariah's father, as if he had worn them successively at different periods of his life, or as if one of them had been a cognomen. But the version of Jerome and the Seventy is a false one. Analogy declares against it, and its origin is to be traced to Ezra v. 1, and vi. 14, where the prophet is named only 'Zechariah the son of Iddo.' The words בר־עדוא denote merely 'grandson of Iddo' (Gesenius, *Thesaur.* p. 216), and the paternal name may have been omitted, because of its comparative obscurity, while the grand-paternal name is inserted, because of its national popularity. It was a very foolish mistake of Jerome to confound the Iddo named in connection with this prophet as his ancestor with Iddo the seer, who flourished some centuries before under Jeroboam, first king of Israel (Hieronym. *Comment. ad Zach.*). The term נביא in the first verse belongs, not to Iddo, but to Zechariah, as the Septuagint and Vulgate properly render it, or as it appears in Henderson's version—'The word of Jehovah was communicated to Zechariah (the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo) the prophet.' The probability is, that Iddo is the person mentioned in Nehemiah xii. 4, as one of the sacerdotal prophets, who had returned from Babylon with Joshua and Zerubbabel. Berechiah, son of Iddo, and father of Zechariah, seems to have died young, for in Nehemiah xii. 16, Zechariah is said to be Iddo's successor, under Joiakim, son of Joshua. Thus the prophet's descent is, in Ezra, traced at once from his grandfather. Compare Gen. xxix. 5, and xxxi. 28—55. Should this theory be correct, Zechariah exercised the priestly as well as the prophetical office. The name signifies *one whom Jehovah remembers*—a name very common among the Jews (three others bearing it seem also to have been prophets), and not therefore specially given to this inspired agent, as Jerome thought, because in his days μνημὴ Κυρίου, *remembrance of God* and of his kindness prevailed intensely among the returned exiles.

Zechariah seems to have entered upon his office in early youth (Zech. ii. 4). The period of his introduction to it is specified as the eighth month of the second year of Darius, a very short time later than the prophet Haggai. The mission of Zechariah had especial reference to the affairs

of the nation that had been restored to its territory. The second edict, granting permission to rebuild the temple, had been issued, and the office of Zechariah was to incite the flagging zeal of the people, in order that the auspicious period might be a season of religious revival, as well as of ecclesiastical re-organization; and that the theocratic spirit might resume its former tone and energy in the breasts of all who were engaged in the work of restoring the 'holy and beautiful house,' where their fathers had praised Jehovah. The prophet assures them of success in the work of re-erecting the sacred edifice, despite of every combination against them; for Zerubbabel 'should bring forth the head stone with shouting, Grace, grace unto it—comforts them with a solemn pledge that, amidst fearful revolutions and conquests by which other nations were to be swept away, they should remain uninjured; for, says Jehovah, 'He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye'—sketches in a few vivid touches the blessings and glory of the advent of Messiah—imparts consolation to those who were mourning over their unworthiness, and pronounces a heavy doom on the selfish and disobedient, and on such as in a remote age, imbibing their spirit, 'should fall after the same example of unbelief.' The pseudo-Epiphanius records some prodigies wrought by Zechariah in the land of Chaldæa, and some wondrous oracles which he delivered; and he and Dorotheus both agree in declaring that the prophet died in Judæa in a good old age, and was buried beside his colleague Haggai.

Book.—The book of Zechariah consists of four general divisions.

I. The introduction or inaugural discourse (ch. i. 1-16).

II. A series of nine visions, extending onwards to ch. vii., communicated to the prophet in the third month after his installation. These visions were,

1. A rider on a roan horse among the myrtle-trees, with his equestrian attendants, who report to him the peace of the world, symbolizing the fitness of the time for the fulfilment of the promises of God, his people's protector.

2. Four horns, symbols of the oppressive enemies by which Judah had been on all sides surrounded, and four carpenters, by whom these horns are broken, emblems of the destruction of these anti-theocratic powers.

3. A man with a measuring-line describing a wider circumference for the site of Jerusalem, as its population was to receive a vast increase, foreshowing that many more Jews would return from Babylon and join their countrymen, and indicating the conversion of heathen nations under the Messiah, when out of Zion should go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

4. The high-priest Joshua before the angel of the Lord, with Satan at his right hand to oppose him. The sacerdotal representative of the people, clad in the filthy garments in which he had returned from captivity, seems to be a type of the guilt and degradation of his country; while forgiveness and restoration are the blessings which the pontiff symbolically receives from Jehovah, when he is reclad in holy apparel and crowned with a spotless turban, the vision at the same time stretching into far futurity, and including the advent of Jehovah's servant the Branch.

5. A golden lamp-stand fed from two olive-trees, one growing on each side, an image of the value and divine glory of the theocracy as now seen in the restored Jewish church, supported, not 'by might nor by power, but by the Spirit of Jehovah,' and of the spiritual development of the old theocracy in the Christian church, which enlightens the world through the continuous influence of the Holy Ghost. (Dr. Stouard, in his *Commentary on Zechariah*, without foundation supposes that this candelabrum had twice seven lamps, seven on each side, emblematizing the church of God in both dispensations, Jewish and Christian.)

6. A flying roll, the breadth of the temple-porch, containing on its one side curses against the ungodly, and on its other anathemas against the immoral, denoting that the head of the theocracy, the Lord of the temple, would from his place punish those who violated either the first or the second table of his law (Hengstenberg's *Christol.* ii. 45).

7. A woman in an ephah (at length pressed down into it by a sheet of lead laid over its mouth), borne along in the air by two female figures with storks' wings, representing the sin and punishment of the nation. The fury, whose name is Wickedness, is repressed, and transported to the land of Shinar; *i. e.* idolatry, in the persons of the captive Jews, was for ever removed at that period from the Holy Land, and, as it were, taken to Babylon, the home of image-worship (for another meaning, see Jahn's *Introduction*, Turner's translation, p. 428).

8. Four chariots issuing from two copper mountains and drawn respectively by red, black, white, and spotted horses, the vehicles of the four winds of heaven, a hieroglyph of the swiftness and extent of divine judgments against the former oppressors of the covenant people. Judgments seem issuing from God's holy habitation in the midst of the 'mountains which are round about Jerusalem,' or from between those two hills, the ravine dividing which forms the valley of Jehoshaphat, directly under the temple mountain, where dwelt the head of the theocracy.

9. The last scene is not properly a vision, but an oracle in connection with the preceding visions, and in reference to a future symbolical act to be performed by the prophet. In presence of a deportation of Jews from Babylon, the prophet was charged to place a crown on the head of Joshua the high-priest, a symbol which, whatever was its immediate signification, was designed to prefigure the royal and sacerdotal dignity of the man whose name is Branch, who should sit as 'a priest upon his throne.'

The meaning of all the preceding varied images and scenes is explained to the prophet by an attendant *angelus interpres.*

III. A collection of four oracles delivered at various times in the fourth year of Darius, and partly occasioned by a request of the nation to be divinely informed, whether, now on their happy return to their fatherland, the month of Jerusalem's overthrow should be registered in their sacred calendar as a season of fasting and humiliation. The prophet declares that these times should in future ages be observed as festive solemnities.

IV. The 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters contain a variety of prophecies unfolding the fortunes

of the people, their safety in the midst of Alexander's expedition, and their victories under the Maccabæan chieftains, including the fate of many of the surrounding nations, Hadrach (Persia), Damascus, Tyre, and Philistia.

V. The remaining three chapters graphically portray the future condition of the people, especially in Messianic times, and contain allusions to the siege of the city, the means of escape by the cleaving of the Mount of Olives, with a symbol of twilight breaking into day, and living water issuing from Jerusalem, concluding with a blissful vision of the enlarged prosperity and holiness of the theocratic metropolis, when upon the bells of the horses shall be inscribed 'holiness unto the Lord.'

Integrity.—The genuineness of the latter portion of Zechariah, from ch. ix. to xv., has been disputed. Among the first to suggest doubt on this subject was Joseph Mede, who referred chaps. ix., x., and xi. to an earlier date, and ascribed them to Jeremiah. Remarking on Matt. xxvii. 9, 10, he says: 'It may seem the Evangelist would inform us that those latter chapters ascribed to Zachary, namely, the ninth, tenth, eleventh, &c., are indeed the prophecies of Jeremy, and that the Jews had not rightly attributed them. Certainly, if a man weigh the contents of some of them, they should in likelihood be of an elder date than the time of Zachary, namely, before the captivity; for the subjects of some of them were scarce in being after that time. .... As for their being joined to the prophecies of Zachary, that proves no more they are his than the like adjoining of Agur's proverbs to Solomon's proves that they are therefore Solomon's, or that all the psalms are David's because joined in one volume with David's psalms' (*Epist.* xxxi.). His opinion was adopted in England by Hammond, Kidder, Newcome, Whiston, and Secker, and has been followed, with variations, on the continent by Flügge (*Die Weissagung, D. p. Zach. übersetzt*, &c., 1781); by Bertholdt (*Einleit.* p. 1701); by Rosenmüller in his *Scholia*, though in the first edition he defended the genuineness of these chapters; by Eichhorn (*Einleit.*); Corrodi (*Beleuchtung des Bibelcanons*, i. 107); and De Wette, in the earlier editions of his *Einleitung*, though in the last edition he says in the preface, 'I feel constrained to adhere to Koester's opinion of the second part of Zechariah;' Hitzig (*Stud. und Krit.*, 1830); Credner (*Joel*, 67); Knobel (*Der Prophetism*, &c. Th. ii. s. 281); Forberg (*Comment. in Zach. Vaticin.*, pars i.). Pye Smith (*Principles of Interpretation applied to the Prophecies*, p. 65), and Davidson (*Sacred Hermeneutics*), also deny these later chapters to be the production of Zechariah.

On the other hand, the integrity of this portion of Zechariah has been defended by Jahn (*Introduction*, pt. ii. § 161), Carpzov (*Critica Sacra*, p. 848), Beckhaus (*Integrität d. Proph. Schriften*, p. 337), Koester (*Meletemata Crit. et Exeget. in Zach. part. post.* p. 10), Hengstenberg (*d. Integrität d. Sacharjah*, in his *Beitrage*, i. 361), and Blayney (*Minor Proph.* p. 362). The theory of Mede was suggested by the difficulty arising from the quotation in Matthew, and, rejecting other hypotheses, he says:—'It is certain that Jeremiah's prophecies are digested in no order, but only as it seems they came to light in the scribes' hands. Hence sometimes all is ended with Zedekiah, then we are brought back to Jehoiakim, then to Zedekiah again, &c. Whereby it seems they came not to light to be enrolled *secundum ordinem temporis*, nor all together, but as it happened in so distracted a time. And why might not some not be found till the return from captivity, and be approved by Zechariah, and so put to his volume according to the time of their finding and approbation by him, and after that some other prophecies yet added to his?' (*Epist.* lxi.) The others who deny the genuineness of these chapters are by no means agreed as to the real authorship of them. Eichhorn ascribes one portion to the time of Alexander, and the other sections to a period before the exile; while Corrodi places the fourteenth chapter as low as the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. Bertholdt supposes the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters to be the production of Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah, referred to in Isaiah viii. 2, and the remaining three to be the composition of an anonymous author who lived under Josiah, and of course before the captivity. Rosenmüller is of opinion that the whole second part is the work of one author who lived under Uzziah. Flügge arbitrarily divides it into no less than nine sections, referring them to different times and authors, but yet ascribing the ninth chapter to the Zechariah spoken of in 2 Chron. xxvi. 5. Newcome places the first three chapters, as to date of authorship, before the overthrow of Israel, and the last three before the captivity of Judah. Hitzig and Credner carry back the period of their authorship to the age of Ahaz, or before it. Knobel finds in them a diversity both of authors and times; and his opinion is partly adopted by Dr. Davidson. This great variety of opinion is proof that these conflicting views are the result of peculiar tastes and fancies.

Many of the arguments against the genuineness of this latter portion of Zechariah rest on peculiar interpretations of his language, making it refer to events that happened prior to the time when the prophet flourished. But this exegesis is not in all points correct. Ephraim is indeed spoken of, though that kingdom was overthrown 186 years before the return of the Jews from Babylon; and it is inferred that the author of such oracles must have lived when Ephraim was an independent sovereignty. It may be said, in reply, that vast numbers of the ten tribes returned with their brethren of Judah from captivity; and we find (ch. xii. 1) Israel used as a name for all the tribes. In Malachi, too, we find Israel used after the captivity in contrast to Jerusalem. Zechariah never characterizes Ephraim as a separate political confederation; nor, as Henderson remarks, 'is there any thing, but the contrary, to induce the conclusion that a king reigned in Judah in the days of the author.' The predictions in this latter part, supposed by some to refer to past events, are most correctly interpreted to refer to the Egyptian expedition of Alexander, the sufferings of the Messiah, and the final overthrow of Jerusalem. The prophets before the Babylonian captivity threatened a deportation to Babylon; Zechariah, living after that event, menaces a Roman invasion and slavery. Little force can be placed in any argument based on an imagined difference of style in the former and latter chapters of this

prophecy. The introductory notices to the separate oracles recorded in the early portion of the book, are either not found in the last section, or are very different in form (comp. i. 1-7; iv. 8; vi. 9, with ix. 1; xi. 4). But we are too ignorant of many circumstances in the prophet's history to speculate on the causes of such change; or if we are unable to discover any æsthetical or religious reasons for the alteration, it is surely rash to come on such grounds to a decision of diversity of authorship. Introductory formulæ as different as those in Zechariah occur in other books, whose sameness of style is admitted as proof of identity of authorship, as in Amos, where the application of the same principles of criticism would 'dismember it,' and assign its composition to three different authors. Nor is the difference of style of the former and latter portions of Zechariah greater than the different topics treated would lead us to expect. The difference of style is not very striking; and such difference is often a fallacious ground of judgment. Would the difference of style in such volumes as *Ancient Christianity* and the *Natural History of Enthusiasm* warrant us to declare them the works of different authors? It is also a presumption in favour of the genuineness of this portion of Zechariah, that the arranger and editor of the Hebrew canon gave it the place which it now occupies; for it is also found in the Septuagint, executed three centuries before the composition of Matthew's Gospel. The chief argument against the genuineness of these chapters, and that which seems to have suggested all the varied hypercritical judgments on the text, is that expressed by Mede: 'There is no Scripture saith they are Zechariah's, but there is Scripture saith they are Jeremiah's' (*Works*, p. 786). The question, then, resolves itself into the consideration of the passage in Matt. xxvii. 9, referred in our text to Jeremiah, but now found in Zechariah. We cannot accede to the supposition of Döpke (*Hermeneutik*, p. 212) and Kuinoel (*Comm.*, in loc.), that Matthew quoted some unpublished apocryphal Jeremiah, perhaps such a one as that to which Jerome refers, as having found it among the Nazarenes, and of which a portion containing analogous language is yet extant in a Sahidic lectionary in the *Codex Huntingtonianus*, 5, in the Bodleian Library, and in the Coptic language in a MS. in the library of St. Germain in Paris. This passage, as given by Dr. Henderson, at once betrays itself to be a clumsy imitation, designed to solve the very difficulty on which we are writing. We must also dismiss at once all the neological theories which rest on any supposed error of quotation made by the Evangelist, condemning utterly the remark of Fritzshe, that the discrepancy arose on the part of the Evangelist, 'per memoriæ errorem' (*Comment. in Matt.*, p. 801). Nor is there any extrication from the difficulty in supposing, with Elsner, that the reference of the Evangelist is to the transaction recorded in Jer. xxxii. 8, or in hinting, with Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* x. 4), that the oracle cited has been falsified by the Jews. Another conjecture without warrant is to affirm that the name Jeremiah was the technical appellation of the third great division of the Hebrew Scriptures, and that any quotation from the minor prophets may be referred to him, not as its author, but as the title of that collection, from one of the books of which it is taken (Lightfoot's *Works*, by Pitman, vol. xi. p. 344). Such hypotheses plainly lead us to look for some corruption in the text. That there is a difference of reading was a fact early known. It may be that the proper name was omitted altogether, or rather not inserted at all by the Evangelist, that he only wrote διὰ τοῦ προφήτου. Augustine testifies that MSS. were found in his days wanting the word Ἱερεμίου. It is not found either in the most ancient and faithful version, the Syriac, nor in the Verona and Vercelli Latin MSS. It is wanting also in MSS. 33, 157, and in the Polyglott Persic, in the modern Greek, and in a Latin MS. of Luc. Brug. Other codices and versions read Ζαχαρίου, such as MS. 22, and the Philoxenian Syriac in the margin—a reading which was approved of by Origen and Eusebius. Griesbach (*Nov. Test.*, in loc.), Dr. Henderson, and others, believing that Matthew wrote in Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic, think the original was simply בִּיד הַנָּבִיא, 'by the prophet,' and that the Greek translator mistaking the ד for ר in the word בִּיד, read בִּיר, and thinking it a contraction for בִּירְמְהִיר, rendered it διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου; but this theory rests upon a foundation which we do not regard as tenable, viz., that the original of Matthew was composed in Aramaic, and that our present Gospel is only an anonymous translation. If the authority of MSS. be now in favour of the insertion of the name Ἱερεμίου, then the error may have arisen on the part of some early copyist meeting with the contracted form Ζριου, and mistaking it for Ιριου. The various opinions of the fathers and the different lections in MSS. and versions, seem to point to some such change and error in the course of early transcription. Or, lastly, we may refer to the theory of Hengstenberg (*Christologie*, ii. 189), who imagines that Matthew names Jeremiah, and not Zechariah, on purpose to turn the attention of his readers to the fact that Zechariah's prophecy was but a reiteration of a fearful oracle in Jer. xviii., xix., which was to be fulfilled in the utter destruction and abandonment of the Jewish people. It is not our province to enter into any exegesis of the passage, so as either to vindicate or refute the view of Hengstenberg; only, to make it intelligible, we add, that in his opinion Jeremiah had already, by the breaking of a potter's vessel, portrayed the fearful ruin of the people in Nebuchadnezzar's invasion; and as the oracle of Zechariah is a virtual repetition of this fearful commination to be inflicted again in Messianic times, and in consequence of the national rejection of the Son of God, so the evangelist wishes to remind his readers that the field of blood, now purchased by the 'reward of iniquity,' in the valley of Hinnom, had been long ago a scene of prophetic doom, in which awful disaster had been symbolically predicted; that the present purchase of that field with the traitor's price renewed the prophecy and revived the curse—a curse pronounced of old by Jeremiah, and once fulfilled in the Babylonian siege, a curse reiterated by Zechariah, and again to be verified in the Roman desolation. Such a theory is at least preferable to that of such critics as Glassius and Frischmuth, who believed that the quotation in Matthew is made up of a mixture of oracles from Jeremiah and Zechariah, while Jeremiah only is named as the earlier and more illustrious of the two.

Style.—The language of Zechariah has not the purity and freshness of a former age. Some of its solecisms are noticed by De Wette (*Einleit.* § 249). A slight tinge of Chaldaism pervades the composition. The symbols with which he abounds are obscure, and their prosaic structure is diffuse and unvaried. The rhythm of his poetry is unequal, and its parallelisms are inharmonious and disjointed. His language has in many phrases a close alliance with that of the other prophets, and occasional imitations of them, especially of Ezekiel, characterize his oracles. He is also peculiar in his introduction of spiritual beings into his prophetic scenes.

Commentaries.—*Der Proph. Zach. Ausgelegt durch*, Mart. Luthern. Vitemberg, 1528; Phil. Melanchthonis *Comment. in Proph. Zach.* 1553; J. J. Grynaei *Comment. in Zach.* Genevæ, 1581; J. H. Ursini *Comment. in Proph. Zach.* 1652; C. Vitringa, *Comment. ad lib. Proph. Zach.* 1734; B. G. Flugge, *Die Weissagungen welche bey den Sehrift. des Proph. Zach. beygebogen sind, &c.* 1788; F. Venema, *Sermones Academ. in lib. Proph. Zach.* 1789; Koester, *Meletemata Crit. &c.* 1818; Forberg, *Comm. Crit. et Exeget. in Zach.* 1824; Rosenmulleri *Scholia*, pars sept. 1828; Hengstenberg's *Christology*, Keith's translation, vol. ii. 1839; B. Blaney, *New Translation of Zech.* Oxf. 1797; W. Newcome, *Minor Prophets*, 1785; *Comment. on the Vision of Zechariah the Proph.*, by John Stouard, D.D., 1824; Rabbi David Kimchi, *Comment. on the Proph. of Zech.*, translated, with Notes, &c., by A. M'Caul, A.M., 1837; Henderson, *On the Minor Prophets*, 1845.—J. E.

6. Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist. See John the Baptist.

ZEDEKIAH, son of Josiah, the twentieth and last king of Judah, was, in place of his brother Jehoiakim, set on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar, who changed his name from Mattaniah to that by which he is ordinarily spoken of. As the vassal of the Babylonian monarch, he was compelled to take an oath of allegiance to him, which, however, he observed only till an opportunity offered for throwing off his yoke. Success in such an undertaking was not likely to attend his efforts. His heart was not right before God, and therefore was he left without divine succour. Corrupt and weak, he gave himself up into the hands of his nobles, and lent an ear to false prophets; while the faithful lessons of Jeremiah were unwelcome, and repaid by incarceration. Like all of his class, he was unable to follow good, and became the slave of wicked men, afraid alike of his own nobility and of his foreign enemies. By his folly and wickedness he brought the state to the brink of ruin. Yet the danger did not open his eyes. Instead of looking to Jehovah, he threw himself for support on Egypt, when the Chaldæan came into the land and laid siege to his capital. The siege was begun on the tenth day of the tenth month in the ninth year of his reign. For a year and a half did Jerusalem effectually withstand Nebuchadnezzar. At the end of that time, however, the city was stormed and taken (B.C. 588), when Zedekiah, who had fled, was captured on the road to Jericho. Judgment was speedily executed: his sons were slain before his eyes, and he himself was deprived of sight and sent in chains to Babylon, where he died in prison (2 Kings xxiv. 17, seq.; xxv. 1, seq.; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10, sq.; Jer. xxviii.; xxxiv.; xxxvii.; xxxviii.; xxxix.; lii.; Ezek. xvii. 15).—J. R. B.

ZELOPHEHAD, son of Hepher, a descendant of Joseph, who had no sons, but five daughters. These came to Moses and Eleazar when now at the edge of the promised land, to lay their case before them for adjudication. Their father had died in the wilderness, leaving no male child. The daughters thought themselves entitled to take their father's share of the land. Moses on this brought their cause before Jehovah, who ordered that they should receive their father's inheritance, taking occasion to establish the general rule: 'If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter,' and failing daughters, to his next of kin (Num. xxvi. 33; xxvii. 1, sq. Compare Josh. xvii. 3, sq.)—J. R. B.

ZEMER. In our version of Deut. xiv. 5, זֶמֶר *zemer*, is rendered Chamois; Sept. Καμηλοπάρδαλις; Vulg. *Camelopardalus;* Luther, in his German translation, adopts *Elend*, or 'Elk;' and the old Spanish version, from the Hebrew, has 'Cabra montes.'* All, however, understand *zemer* to be a clean ruminant; but it is plain that the Mosaic enumeration of clean animals would not include such as were totally out of the reach of the Hebrew people, and at best only known to them from specimens seen in Egypt, consisting of presents sent from Nubia, or in pictures on the walls of temples. The Camelopardalis or Giraffe is exclusively an inhabitant of Southern Africa, and therefore could not come in the way of the people of Israel. The same objection applies to the Elk, because that species of deer never appears further to the south than Northern Germany and Poland; and with regard to the Chamois, which has been adopted in our version, though it did exist in the mountains of Greece, and is still found in Central Asia, there is no vestige of its having at any time frequented Libanus or any other part of Syria. We may, therefore, with more propriety refer to the ruminants indigenous in the regions which were in the contemplation of the sacred legislator, and we may commence by observing that זֶמֶר *zemer* is a term which, in the slightly altered form of *zammer*, is still used in Persia and India for any large species of ruminants, particularly those of the stag kind, which are commonly denominated Rusa, a subgenus of deer established in Griffith's translation of Cuvier's 'Animal Kingdom.' In the sacred text, however, the word *zemer* is not generical, but strictly specific. *Ail*, or 'stag,' is mentioned at the same time, and, as well as several Antilopidæ, in the same verse: we must, therefore, look for an animal not hitherto noticed, and withal sufficiently important to merit being named in so important an ordinance.

The only species that seems to answer to the conditions required is a wild sheep, still not uncommon in the Mokattam rocks near Cairo, found in Sinai, and eastward in the broken ridges

* Biblia en lengua Española traducida palabra por palabra da la verdad Hebrayca por muy excellentes letrados, fol. No date.

of Stony Arabia, where it is known under the name of Kebsch, a slight mutation of the old Hebrew כֶּשֶׂב *Cheseb*, or rather כֶּבֶשׂ *Chebes*, which is applied indeed to a domestic sheep, one that grazed; while *Zemer* appears to be derived from a root denoting 'to crop' or 'feed on shrubs.'



552. [Kebsch. Ovis Tragelaphus.]

This animal is frequently represented and hieroglyphically named on Egyptian monuments, but we question if the denomination itself be phonetically legible. The figures in colour leave no doubt that it is the same as the Kebsch of the modern Arabs, and a species or a variety of Ovis Tragelaphus, or bearded sheep, lately formed into a separate group by Mr. Blyth under the name of Ammotragus Barbatus. The Spanish version of the Hebrew text, before quoted, appears alone to be admissible, for although the species is not strictly a goat, it is intermediate between that genus and the sheep. It is a fearless climber, and secure on its feet, among the sharpest and most elevated ridges. In stature the animal exceeds a large domestic sheep, though it is not more bulky of body. Instead of wool, it is covered with close fine rufous hair: from the throat to the breast, and on the upper arms above the knees, there is abundance of long loose reddish hair, forming a compact protection to the knees and brisket, and indicating that the habits of the species require extraordinary defence while sporting among the most rugged cliffs; thus making the name *Zemer*, 'one that springeth,' if that interpretation be trustworthy, remarkably correct. The head and face are perfectly ovine, the eyes are bluish, and the horns, of a yellowish colour, are set on as in sheep; they rise obliquely, and are directed backwards and outwards, with the points bending downwards. The tail, about nine inches long, is heavy and round. It is the Mouflon d'Afrique and Mouflon à Manchettes of French writers, probably identical with the Tragelaphus of Caius, whose specimen came from Barbary. See bearded Argali in Griffith's 'Animal Kingdom' of Cuvier. We figure a specimen in the Paris Museum and one in Wilkinson's *Egypt*, vol. iii. p. 19.—C. H. S.

ZENAS (Ζηνᾶς), a disciple who visited Crete with Apollos, bearing seemingly the epistle to Titus, in which Paul recommends the two to his attentions (Tit. iii. 13). He is called 'the lawyer;' and as his name is Greek, it seems doubtful whether he is so called as being, or having been, a doctor of the Jewish law, or as being a pleader at the Roman tribunals. The most probable opinion is, perhaps, that which makes him an Hellenistic Jew, and a doctor of the Mosaical law.

ZEPHANIAH (צְפַנְיָה; Sept. Σοφονίας), the ninth in order of the minor prophets, both in the Hebrew and Greek copies of the Scriptures (Hieronym. *Prolog. ad Paul. et Eustoch.*).

Author.—The name of this prophet has been variously explained. Disputes upon it arose as early as the time of Jerome, for in his Commentary on this book he says, 'Nomen Sophoniæ, alii speculam, alii arcanum Dei, transtulerunt.' The word was thus derived either from צָפָה, *he saw beyond*, or צָפַן, *he hid*, with the common affix יָהּ. The old father made it a matter of indifference which etymon he adopted, as both, according to him, give virtually the same sense, —the commission of a prophet being virtually that of a watchman or seer, and the burden of his message, some secret revealed to him by God. Abarbanel (*Præf. in Ezek.*) adheres to the latter mode of derivation, and the pseudo-Dorotheus, following the former, translates the prophet's name by the Greek participle σκοπεύων. Hiller and Simonis differalso in a similar way—Hiller, taking the term from צָפַן, renders it 'abscondidit se, *i. e.* delituit Jehovah' (*Onomast.* sub voce), as if the name had contained a mystic reference to the character of the age in which the prophet lived, when God had withdrawn himself from his apostate people; but Simonis (*Onomast. V. T.*) gives the true signification, one sanctioned by Gesenius—'abscondidit, *i. e.* custodivit Jehovah,' *Jehovah hath guarded*, the verb צָפַן being used of divine protection in Ps. xxvii. 5; and lxxxiii. 4. The name seems to have been a common one among the Jews. Contrary to usual custom the pedigree of the prophet is traced back for four generations—'the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah.' This formal record of his lineage has led many to suppose that Zephaniah had sprung from a noble stock (Cyril, *Præf. ad Zeph.*), and the occurrence of the highest name in the list, which in the Hebrew text is spelled and pointed in the same way as that rendered Hezekiah in the books of Kings and Chronicles, has induced some to identify it with that of the good king Hezekiah, and to pronounce the prophet a cadet of the royal house of Judah. Kimchi is very cautious in his opinion, and leaves the point undecided; but Aben-Ezra, ever ready to magnify his nation, at once concludes that Zephaniah was descended from Hezekiah; and his opinion has been followed by Huet (*Demonstrat. Evangel.* Propos. iv. 303), and partially by Eichhorn (*Einleit.* § 593). The conjecture has little else to recommend it than the mere occurrence of the royal name. But it was not a name confined to royalty; and had it been the name of the pious monarch to which Zephaniah's genealogy is traced, certainly his official designation, 'king of Judah,' would have been subjoined, in order to prevent mistake. Such an addition is found in connection with his name in Prov. xxv. 1, and Isa. xxxviii. 9. It forms no objection to this

statement to affirm that the phrase 'king of Judah' is added to Josiah, and to avoid repetition may have been omitted after Hizkiah, for such regard to euphony, such finical delicacy, is no feature of Hebrew composition. The argument of Carpzov (*Introd.* p. 414), copied by Rosenmüller (*Proœmium in Zeph.*), against the supposed connection of the prophet with the blood royal, is of no great weight. These critics say that from Hezekiah to Josiah, in whose reign Zephaniah flourished, are only three generations, while from Hezekiah to Zephaniah four are reckoned in the first verse of the prophecy. But as Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years, and his successor sat on the throne no less than fifty-five years, there is room enough in such a period for the four specified descents; and Amariah, though not heir to the crown, may have been much older than his youthful brother Manasseh, who was crowned at the age of twelve. As there was at least another Zephaniah, a conspicuous personage at the time of the captivity, the parentage of the prophet may have been recounted so minutely to prevent any reader from confounding the two individuals. The Jews absurdly reckon that here, as in other superscriptions, the persons recorded as a prophet's ancestors were themselves endowed with the prophetic spirit. The so-called Epiphanius (*De Vitis Prophet.* cap. xix.) asserts that Zephaniah was of the tribe of Simeon, of the hill Sarabatha, ἀπὸ ὄρους Σαραβαθά. The existence of the prophet is known only from his oracles, and these have no biographical sketches; so that our knowledge of this man of God comprises only the fact and the results of his inspiration. It may be safely inferred, however, that he laboured with Josiah in the pious work of re-establishing the worship of Jehovah in the land.

Age.—It is recorded (ch. i.) that the word of the Lord came to him 'in the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah.' We have reason for supposing that he flourished during the earlier portion of Josiah's reign. In the second chapter (vers. 13-15) he foretells the doom of Nineveh, and the fall of that ancient city happened about the eighteenth year of Josiah. In the commencement of his oracles also, he denounces various forms of idolatry, and specially the remnant of Baal. The reformation of Josiah began in the twelfth, and was completed in the eighteenth year of his reign. So thorough was his extirpation of the idolatrous rites and hierarchy which defiled his kingdom, that he burnt down the groves, dismissed the priesthood, threw down the altars, and made dust of the images of Baalim. Zephaniah must have prophesied prior to this religious revolution, while some remains of Baal were yet secreted in the land, or between the twelfth and eighteenth years of the royal reformer. So Hitzig (*Die 12 Klein Prophet.*) and Movers (*Chronik.* p. 234) place him; while Eichhorn, Berthholdt, and Jaeger, incline to give him a somewhat later date. At all events, he flourished between the years B.C. 642 and B.C. 611; and the portion of his prophecy which refers to the destruction of the Assyrian empire, must have been delivered prior to the year B.C. 625, the year in which Nineveh fell (Henderson, *On the Minor Prophets*, p. 326). The publication of these oracles was, therefore, contemporary with a portion of those of Jeremiah, for the word of the Lord came to him in the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah. Indeed, the Jewish tradition is, that Zephaniah had for his colleagues Jeremiah and the prophetess Huldah, the former fixing his sphere of labour in the thoroughfares and market-places, the latter exercising her honourable vocation in the college in Jerusalem (Carpzov, *Introd.* p. 415). Koester (*Die Propheten*, iii.) endeavours to prove that Zephaniah was posterior to Habakkuk. His arguments from similarity of diction are very trivial, and the more so when we reflect that all circumstances combine in inducing us to fix the period of Habakkuk in the reign of Jehoiakim [HABAKKUK], immediately before the Chaldæan invasion.

Contents.—The book consists of only three chapters. In the first, the sins of the nation are severely reprimanded, and a day of fearful retribution is menaced. The circuit of reference is wider in the second chapter, and the ungodly and persecuting states in the neighbourhood of Judæa are also doomed; but in the third section, while the prophet inveighs bitterly against Jerusalem and her magnates, he concludes with the cheering prospect of her ultimate settlement and blissful theocratic enjoyment. It has been disputed what the enemies are with whose desolating inroads he threatens Judah. The ordinary and most probable opinion is, that the foes whose period of invasion was 'a day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities and against the high towers' (ch. i. 16), were the Chaldæans. Hitzig especially, Cramer too, and Eichhorn, supposed the prophet to refer to a Scythian invasion, the history of which they imagine has been preserved by Herodotus (i. 105). But the general style of the oracle, and the sweeping vengeance which it menaces against Assyria, Philistia, Ammon, and Cush, as well as against Judah, by some great and unnamed power, point to the Chaldæan expedition which, under Nebuchadnezzar, laid Jerusalem waste, and carried to Babylon its enslaved population. The contemporary prophecies of Jeremiah contemplate the musterings, onset, and devastations of the same victorious hosts. The former part of Zephaniah's prediction is 'a day of clouds and of thick darkness,' but in the closing section of it light is sown for the righteous: 'The King of Israel, the Lord, is in the midst of thee; He will rejoice over thee with joy; He will rest in his love.'

Style.—We cannot by any means award so low a character to Zephaniah's style as is done by De Wette (*Einleit.* § 245), who describes it as being often heavy and tedious. It has not the sustained majesty of Isaiah, or the sublime and original energy of Joel: it has no prominent feature of distinction; yet its delineations are graphic, and many of its touches are bold and striking. For example, in the first chapter the prophet groups together in his descriptions of the national idolatry several characteristic exhibitions of its forms and worship. The verses are not tame and prosaic portraiture, but form a series of vivid sketches. The poet seizes on the more strange peculiarities of the heathen worship—uttering denunciations on the remnant of Baal, the worshippers of Chemarim—the star-adorers, the devotees of Malcham, the fanatics who clad themselves in strange apparel, and those who in some superstitious mummery leapt upon the threshold (Bochart, *Hier.* cap. 36). Not a few

verses occur in the course of the prophecy which, in tone and dignity, are not unworthy to be associated with the more distinguished effusions of the Hebrew bards. A few paronomasiæ occur (i. 15 and ii. 1-4); and occasionally there is a peculiar repetition of a leading word in the formation of a climax (ii. 15). Jahn (*Introd.* § 132) and Eichhorn assert that Zephaniah has borrowed to a considerable extent from the earlier prophets, especially from Isaiah; yet the similarity of such passages as Isa. xxxiv. 11 to Zeph. ii. 14, or Isa. xlvii. 8 to Zeph. ii. 15, or Isa. xviii. 1 to Zeph. iii. 10, or Isa. xvi. 6 to Zeph. ii. 8, is not sufficient evidence that Zephaniah was Isaiah's imitator. The clauses of resemblance are idiomatic in nature, and seem to have been of proverbial force and currency, so that both prophets may have taken them from the national *usus loquendi*. Coincidences of expression have also been noted between Zephaniah and some of his contemporaries, particularly Jeremiah (Eich. *Einleit.* § 595; Rosen. *Proœm.* vi.) Between Zeph. i. 5 and Jer. viii. 2, we can perceive little similarity of language, though the same superstitious custom is referred to, and a comparison of Zeph. i. 12 with Jer. xlviii. 11, leads to such a conclusion as we have already stated, as the phrase common to both passages—'settled on the lees'—must have been one in wide circulation in a wine country like Judæa. It was altogether groundless, therefore, in some of the older critics, such as Isidore and Schmidius (*Prolegom. in Sophon.*), to style Zephaniah the abbreviator of Jeremiah. Resemblances have also been traced between Zephaniah and Amos, and between him and his successor Ezekiel; but to call these imitations, is rash indeed, if we reflect on the similarity of the topics discussed, the peculiar range of imagery and phraseology which is common to Hebrew prophetic poetry, and which was the stereotyped language of the inspired brotherhood. The language of Zephaniah is pure: it has not the classic ease and elegance of the earlier compositions, but it wants the degenerate feebleness and Aramaic corruption of the succeeding era. Zephaniah is not expressly quoted in the New Testament; but clauses and expressions occur which seem to have been formed from his prophecy (Zeph. iii. 9; Rom. xv. 6, &c.). He was, in fine, as Cyril of Alexandria terms him (*Præfat. in Soph.* tom. iii.), 'a true prophet, and filled with the Holy Ghost, and bringing his oracles from the mouth of God.'

Commentaries.—Martini Lutheri *Comment. in Sophon. Prophet.* Opera Latina, t. iv.; Mart. Buceri *Sophoniæ Explicatio*, 1528; Noltenii *Dissertatio Exeget. Prælim. in Proph. Zeph.* 1719; Cramer, *Scythische Denkmäler in Palæstina*, 1777, contains a Comment on Zephaniah; Don A. Cœllu, *Spicileg. Observat. Exeget. Critic. ad Zeph. Vaticinia*, 1818; Maurer, *Comment. Grammat. Hist. Crit. in Prophetas Minores*, p. 373, 1840; *Handbuch Exeget. z. A. T. die 12 kleinen Prophet. erklaert* von F. Hitzig, 1838; Rosenmülleri *Scholia in Proph. Min.* vol. iv.; Dr. E. Henderson, *On the Twelve Minor Prophets*, 1845.—J. E.

ZEPHATH (צְפַת; Sept. Σεφέθ), a Canaanitish city, afterwards called Hormah (Judg. i. 17). The ancient designation is perhaps retained in the modern Sufah, the name of a difficult pass leading up from the Arabah to the south of Judah (Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, ii. 592-616).

ZEPHATHAH (צְפָתָה; Sept. Βοῤῥὰν Μαρησά), a valley at Mareshah, in the tribe of Judah (2 Chron. xiv. 10), where Asa defeated Zerah the Cushite. Mareshah was near Eleutheropolis (*Onomast.*, s. v. 'Masera'), and Robinson thinks the valley may have been the broad wady which comes down from Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis) towards Tell es-Saifeh; in which last name a trace of Zephathah may perhaps be recognised (Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, ii. 361).

1. ZERAH (זֶרַח, *a rising*; Sept. Ζαρά), son of Judah and Tamar, and younger but twin brother of Pharez (Gen. xxxviii. 30; Matt. i. 3). Geddes, in his *Critical Remarks* (pp. 126, 127), has some interesting medical testimony in illustration of the remarkable circumstances attending the birth of the twins.

2. ZERAH, son of Reuel and grandson of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 13, 17).

3. ZERAH, son of Simeon and founder of a family in Israel (Num. xxvi. 13). He is called Zohar in Gen. xlvi. 10: his descendants are called Zarhites in Num. xxvi. 13, 20.

4. ZERAH, the Cushite king or leader who invaded Judah in the tenth year of king Asa (B.C. 941), with an army of 'a thousand thousands' (*i. e.* very many thousands) of men, and three hundred chariots. Asa defeated them in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah, utterly routed them, pursued them to Gerar, and carried back much plunder from that neighbourhood. We are left uncertain as to the country from which Zerah came. The term Cushite or Ethiopian may imply that he was of Arabian Cush; the principal objection to which is, that history affords no indication that Arabia had at that epoch, or from its system of government could well have, any king so powerful as Zerah. That he was of Abyssinia or African Ethiopia, is another conjecture, which is resisted by the difficulty of seeing how this 'huge host' could have obtained a passage through Egypt, as it must have done to reach Judæa. If we could suppose, with Champollion (*Précis*, p. 257), whom Coquerel follows (*Biog. Sacr.* s. v.), that Zerah the Cushite was the then king of Egypt, of an Ethiopian dynasty, this difficulty would be satisfactorily met. In fact it is now often stated that he was the same with Osorkon I. (of whom there is a statue in the British Museum, No. 8), the son and successor of the Shishak who invaded Judæa twenty-five years before, in the time of Rehoboam. This is a tempting explanation, but cannot be received without question, and it is not deemed satisfactory by Rosellini, Wilkinson, Sharpe, and others. Jahn hazards an ingenious conjecture, that Zerah was king of Cush on *both* sides of the Red Sea, that is, of both the Arabian and African Ethiopia; and thus provides him a sufficient power without subjecting him to the necessity of passing through Egypt. This also is not without serious difficulties. In fact no conclusion that can be relied upon has yet been exhibited.

ZERED, the name of a valley (Num. xxi. 12) and of the stream flowing through it, east of the Dead Sea [RIVER]

ZEREDA (צְרֵדָה; Sept. Σαρηδαθά), a city of Manasseh, near Beth-shan (1 Kings xi. 26; 2 Chron. iv. 17). This is, probably through an erroneous reading, the Zererath (צררתה) of Judg. vii. 22; and, perhaps, the Zaretan (צרתן) of Josh. iii. 16; 1 Kings iv. 12; vii. 46).

ZERESH (זֶרֶשׁ; Pers. *gold;* Sept. Ζωσάρα), the wife of Haman (Esth. v. 10; vi. 13), and well worthy of him, if we may judge from the advice she gave him to prepare a gibbet and ask the king's leave to hang Mordecai thereon [Haman; Mordecai].

ZERUAH (צְרוּעָה, *leprous;* Sept. Σαριρά), the widowed mother of Jeroboam (1 Kings xi. 26).

ZERUBBABEL (זְרֻבָּבֶל, *sown in Babylon;* Sept. Ζοροβάβελ), called also 'Sheshbazzar, prince of Judah' (Ezra i. 8), son (comp. 1 Chron. iii. 17) of Shealtiel, of the royal house of David (1 Chron. iii.), was the leader of the first colony of Jews that returned from captivity to their native land under the permission of Cyrus, carrying with them the precious vessels belonging to the service of God. With the aid of Joshua and his body of priests, Zerubbabel proceeded, on his arrival in Palestine, to rebuild the fallen city, beginning with the altar of burnt-offerings, in order that the daily services might be restored. The Samaritans, however, having been offended at being expressly excluded from a share in the land, did all they could to hinder the work, and even procured from the Persian court an order that it should be stopped. Accordingly, everything remained suspended till the second year of Darius Hystaspis (A.C. 521), when the restoration was resumed and carried to completion, according to Josephus, owing to the influence of Zerubbabel with the Persian monarch (*Antiq.* xi. 3; Ezra; Haggai i. 1-14; ii. 1.) —J. R. B.

ZERUIAH (צְרוּיָה, *wounded;* Sept. Σαρουία), daughter of Jesse, sister of David (1 Chron. ii. 16), and mother of Joab, Abishai, and Asahel (2 Sam. ii. 18: iii. 39; viii. 16; xvi. 9).

ZIBA (צִיבָא, *statue;* Sept. Σιβά), a servant of the house of Saul, of whom David inquired if there was any one left of the house of Saul to whom the monarch might show favour. Mephibosheth was in consequence found, and having been certified of David's friendship, Ziba, who was at the head of a large family, having fifteen sons and twenty slaves, was appointed to till the land for the prince, and generally to constitute his household and do him service (2 Sam. ix. 2-10). This position Ziba employed for his master's harm. When David had to fly from Jerusalem in consequence of the rebellion of Absalom, Ziba met the king with a large and acceptable present:—'But where is Mephibosheth?' asked the fugitive monarch; 'in Jerusalem,' was the answer; 'for he said, To-day shall the house of Israel restore me the kingdom of my father.' Enraged at this, which looked like ingratitude as well as treachery, David thereupon gave to the faithless Ziba all the property of Mephibosheth (2 Sam. xvi. 1, sq.). On David's return to his metropolis an explanation took place, when Mephibosheth accused Ziba of having slandered him; and David, apparently not being perfectly satisfied with the defence, gave his final award, that the land should be divided between the master and his servant (2 Sam. xix. 24, sq.).—J. R. B.

ZIBEON (צִבְעוֹן, *dyed;* Sept. Σεβεγών), a son of Seir, phylarch or head of the Hivites (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 20, 24, 29).

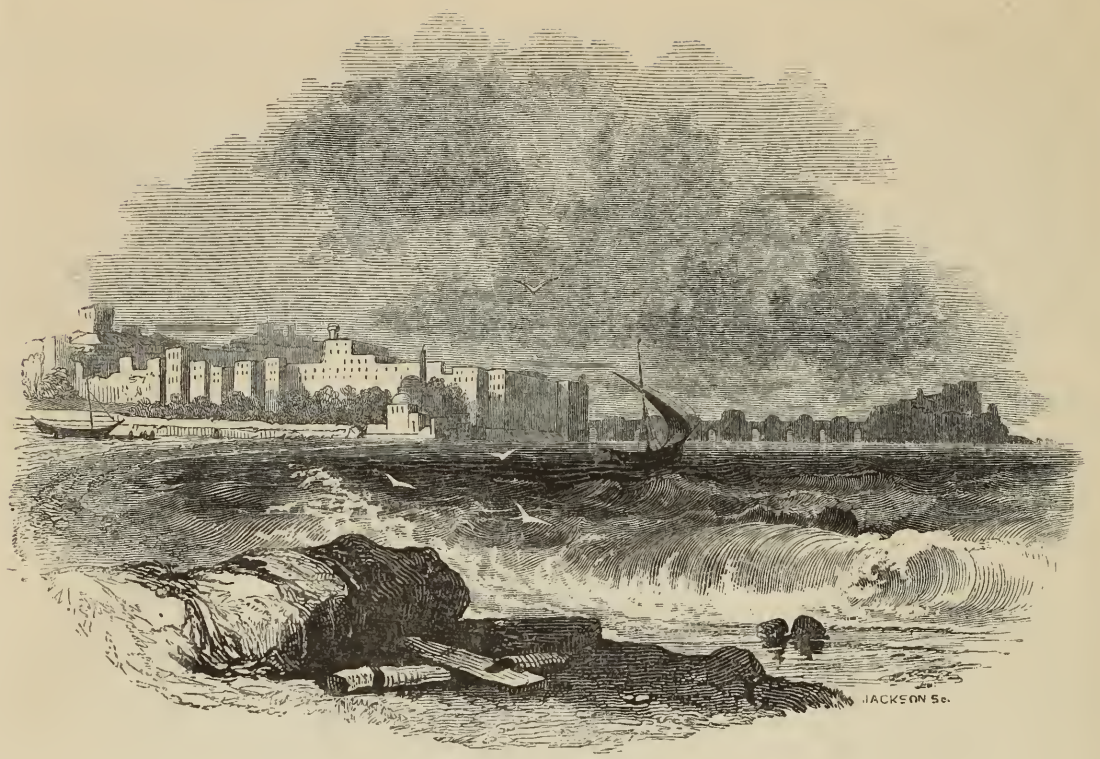
ZICHRI (זִכְרִי, *renowned;* Sept. Ζεχρί), an Ephraimite, probably one of the chiefs of the tribe, and one of the generals of Pekah king of Israel. It has been supposed that he took advantage of the victory of this monarch over the army of Judah to penetrate into Jerusalem, where he slew one of the sons of Ahaz, the governor of the palace, and the king's chief minister or favourite. It is difficult without this supposition to explain 2 Chron. xxviii. 17. There is some probability in the conjecture, that he was the 'Tabael's son' whom Pekah and Rezin designed to set upon the throne of Judah [Tabael].

ZIDON (צִידוֹן; Σιδών). 1. The eldest son of Canaan (Gen. x. 15). 2. One of the most ancient cities in Phœnicia. Justin derives the name from the Phœnician word for *fish*, 'piscem Phœnices *sidon* vocant' (xviii. 3); but Josephus, from the son of Canaan (*Antiq.* vi. 2). It had a very commodious harbour, which is now nearly choked up with sand (Strabo, xvi. p. 756; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6): it was distant one day's journey from the fountains of the Jordan (Joseph. *Antiq.* v. 3. 1), 400 stadia from Berytus, and 200 stadia from Tyre (Strabo, xvi. pp. 756, 757). It was situated in the allotment of the tribe of Asher, but never conquered (Judg. i. 31); on the contrary, it was sometimes a formidable enemy (Judg. x. 12). Even in Joshua's time it was called Tsidon-Rabba, or Great Zidon (Josh. xix. 28). It was noted in very early times for its extensive traffic (Isa. xxiii. 2; Ezek. xxvii. 8) and manufactures, particularly glass (Plin. v. 20; Strabo, xvi. 10). Frequent reference to it occurs in Homer (*Il.* vi. 290; xxiii. 743; *Odyss.* xiii. 285; xv. 425). The best vessels in the fleet of Xerxes were Sidonian (Herodotus, vii. 99. 128). Its modern name is Saide. In Hasselquist's time (1750) its exports to France were considerable (*Travels*, p. 166); but at present its traffic is chiefly confined to the neighbouring towns; the population is about 15,000 (Mannert's *Geographie*, vi. 1, p 291; *Pictorial Bible*, notes on Deut. xxxiii., Josh. xix.).—J. E. R.

ZIF (חֹדֶשׁ זִו, *bloom-month*), an ante-Exilian name of the second Hebrew month (1 Kings vi. 1-37), corresponding with our April and May. This, the second month of the sacred, was the eighth of the civil year. The second month bore also the name Iyar.—J. R. B.

ZIKLAG (צִיקְלַג; Sept. Σεκελάκ), a city belonging to the tribe of Simeon (Josh. xv. 31; xix. 5), but at times subject to the Philistines of Gath, whose king, Achish, bestowed it upon David for a residence; after which it pertained to Judah (1 Sam. xxvii. 6; xxx. 1, 14, 26; 2 Sam. i. 1; 1 Chron. iv. 30; Neh. xi. 28).

While David was absent with his men to join Achish, Ziklag was burned and plundered by the Amalekites; and on his return, after receiving the spoil from them, he remained here till called to assume the crown after the death of



553. [Zidon.]

Saul. It was during his stay in this place that he was joined by many considerable and valiant persons, whose adhesion to his cause was of much importance to him, and who were ever after held in high esteem in his court and army.

ZILLAH (צִלָּה, *shade;* Sept. Σελλά), one of the wives of Lamech, and mother of Tubal-cain (Gen. iv. 19) [LAMECH].

ZILPAH (זִלְפָּה, *a dropping;* Sept. Ζελφά), a female servant of Laban, whom he gave to Leah on her marriage with Jacob (Gen. xxix. 24), and whom Leah eventually induced him to take as a concubine-wife; in which capacity she became the mother of Gad and Asher (Gen. xxx. 9-13; xxxv. 26; xxxvii. 2; xlvi. 18).

ZIMRAN (זִמְרָן, *sung, i.e. celebrated in song;* Sept. Ζομβρᾶν), a son of Abraham by Keturah, and the name of an Arabian tribe descended from him (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chron. i. 32). This name may perhaps be connected with the Zabram mentioned by Ptolemy as a city with a king, situated between Mecca and Medina.

ZIMRI (זִמְרִי), a proper name in the Old Testament, which is derived from the root זמר, *carpere*, especially *carpere vites=putare vites*, 'to prune;' and also *carpere fides=pulsare, cantare*, 'to play,' 'sing.' It is very remarkable that the Greek ψάλλειν also occurs in both these acceptations, which appear at first sight to be so very heterogeneous — *to scrape, pull, pluck*, and *to sing*. Compare the Latin *carpere*, which is etymologically connected, as well with the Greek ἅρπη, *sickle*, as with the English *harp;* and the English colloquial and vulgar expressions, 'to scrape the violin,' 'to pull away at the piano,' and 'to pull out a note.' If we consider the striking coincidence of the Greek with the Hebrew, we are led to suppose that the link of the ideas is as we have stated, and cease to be surprised that Fürst translates the name זִמְרִי by the German *Winzer=vine-dresser*, but Gesenius by *carmine celebratus, i. e.* a man celebrated by song, or a man of celebrity in general.

The Septuagint imitates the Hebrew sound by Ζαμβρί, and Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 12. 5) by Ζαμάρης.

Four men are called Zimri in the Old Testament:—

1. A son of Zerah, who was a son of Judah by Tamar (1 Chron. ii. 6).

2. The name of the Israelite slain, together with the Midianitish woman, in Shittim, by Phinehas, was ZIMRI, the son of Salu, a prince of a chief house among the Simeonites (Num. xxv. 14).

3. King Saul begat Jonathan, who begat Merib-baal, who begat Micah, who begat Ahaz, who begat Jehoadah, whose sons were Alemeth, Azmaveth, and ZIMRI. Zimri begat Moza, &c. (1 Chron. viii. 36; ix. 42).

4. In the twenty-sixth year of Asa, king of Judah, Elah, the son of Baasha, began to reign over Israel in Tirzah. After he had reigned two years, ZIMRI, the captain of half his chariots, conspired against him when he was in Tirzah, drunk, in the house of his steward. Zimri went in and smote and killed him, and reigned in his stead, about B.C. 928; and he slew all the house of Baasha, so that no male was left. Zimri reigned only seven days at Tirzah. The people who were encamped at Gibbethon, which belonged to the Philistines, heard that Zimri had slain the king. They made Omri, the captain of the host, king over Israel in the camp. Omri besieged Tirzah and took it. Zimri, seeing that the city was taken, went into the king's palace, set it on fire, and perished in it for his sins in walking in the way of Jeroboam, and for making Israel to sin (1 Kings xvi. 1-20; 2 Kings ix. 31).

5. The kings of Zimri, mentioned in Jer. xxv. 25, seem to have been the kings of the Zimranites, the descendants of Zimran, son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chron. i. 32). It seems that in Jer. xxv. 25, זמרי is a contraction for זמרני. The town Zabram, mentioned by Ptolemy as situated between Mecca and Medina, perhaps had its name from the tribe of Zimran.—C. H. F. B.

ZIN (צִן; Sept. Σίν), a desert on the south of Palestine, and westward from Idumæa, in which was situated the city of Kadesh-barnea (Num. xiii. 22; xx. 1; xxvii. 14). Its locality is therefore fixed by the considerations which determine the site of Kadesh to the western part of the Arabah south of the Dead Sea.

ZION. [Jerusalem.]

ZIPH (זִיף; Sept. Ζίφ), the name of a city in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 55; 2 Chron. xi. 8), and of a desert in its vicinity (1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 15). It is mentioned by Jerome (*Onomast.* s. v.), but had not been since noticed till Dr. Robinson found the name in the Tell Zif (Hill of Zif), which occurs about four miles and a half S. by E. from Hebron, and is a round eminence about a hundred feet high, situated in a plain. A site also called Zif, lies about ten minutes east of this, upon a low hill or ridge between two small wadys, which commence here and run towards the Dead Sea. There is now little to be seen besides broken walls and foundations, mostly of unhewn stones, but indicative of solidity.

ZIPPORAH (צִפֹּרָה, *little bird;* Sept. Σεπφώρα), one of the seven daughters of Reuel (comp. Exod. xviii.), priest of Midian, who, in consequence of aid rendered to the young women when, on their going to procure water for their father's flocks, they were set on by a party of Bedouins, was given to Moses in marriage (Exod. ii. 16, sq.). A son, the fruit of this union, remained for some time after his birth uncircumcised; but an illness into which Moses fell in a khan when on his way to Pharaoh, being accounted a token of the divine displeasure, led to the circumcision of the child, when Zipporah, having, it appears, reluctantly yielded to the ceremony, exclaimed, 'Surely a bloody husband thou art to me' (Exod. iv. 26). This event seems to have caused some alienation of feeling, for Moses sent his wife back to her father, by whom she is again brought to her husband while in the desert, when a reconciliation took place, which was ratified by religious rites (Gen. xviii. 1, sq.).—J. R. B.

ZIPPORIS, or Sepphoris, was, about the beginning of the Christian era, a principal and strongly fortified city of Galilee, under latitude 32° 44′. Rabbinical writers call it צִיפּוֹרִין, צִפְרִים, צִיפּוֹרָה, צִפּוֹרִי, or צִפּוֹר, SPaRrow, the radicals of which are transposed in the Latin PaSseR, from the root צָפַר, *to pipe like a bird*, the German ZiRPen. According to Bab. Megillah, fol. 6. 1, Zipporis had its name from being perched on a mountain like a bird, כִּצִפּוֹר. The name occurs also beginning with ז instead צ. Josephus and Suidas give Zipporis in the form of Σέπφωρις, and Ptolemy, according to the present reading, in that of Ἀπφουρεί. At a later period it was called Diocæsarea. Οἱ ἐν Διοκαισαρεία τῆς Παλαιστίνης Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ Ρωμαίων ὅπλα ἀντήρουν. 'The Jews of Diocæsarea in Palestine took up arms against the Romans' (Socrates, *Hist.* xi. 31). Sozomen (*Hist.* iv. 7) adds that Gallus Cæsar, who was then at Antioch, destroyed Diocæsarea, ἀναστάτον ἐποίησε. Epiphanius uses both the names,—Diocæsarea and Sepphoris. The same city which (*Adversus Hæreses*, p. 128) he calls Διοκαισαρεία, he mentions (p. 136) under the name of Σέπφωρις. It is also called Sephorum, and described as contiguous to Mount Carmel and Cana, and six miles west of Nazareth. It is considered to be the birthplace of Joachim, the brother of the Virgin Mary. According to R. Benjamin, Zipporis was distant from Tiberias ה פרסאות, or twenty miles. The distance of Zipporis from Mount Tiberias is indicated in *Echa Rabbati*, fol. 75. 2:—'Adrian had a vineyard forming a square of eighteen miles, which is the distance from Tiberias to Sepphoris.' Ταρεισίμης was twenty stadia from Zipporis. Zipporis is celebrated in the works of Josephus as a military station, and in the Talmud on account of its famed rabbinical academy. Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh, or *the Saint*, resided seventeen years in Zipporis, and he used frequently to say that Jacob sojourned in Egypt seventeen years, and Judah in Zipporis seventeen years (*Hieros. Ketaim*, fol. 32, col. 2). He resided also in Beth-shaarim, but died in Zipporis (*Juchasin*, fol. 2, col. 2).

According to the Gloss. in *Tal. Babylon.* (*Sanhedrim*, fol. 47, col .1), Rabbi Judah died in Zipporis, but was buried in Beth-shaarim. When dying he commanded his sons,—'in carrying me to the grave, weep not in the small towns through which you pass, but in the great cities.' Nevertheless, Rabbi Benjamin, in his *Itinerarium*, supposed he saw the sepulchre of Rabbi Judah, and that of Rabbi Chaija, and of the prophet Jonas, on a mountain at Zipporis.

Eighteen synagogues lamented at the burial of Rabbi Judah, but it is doubtful whether all these belonged to Zipporis (*Hieros. Berac*, fol. 6, col. 1; fol. 9, col. 1. *Nazir*, fol. 56, col. 1; *Shabb.*, fol. 3, col. 1).

Among the celebrated rabbis of Zipporis, there occur in the Talmud Rabbi Homa Rabba, R. Abudma, R. Bar Kuphra, and R. Chaninah. It appears, however, that the number of Gentiles at Zipporis was so great that they could stir up persecutions against the Jews for affixing to the doors the prescribed sacred sentences (*Babylon-Joma*, fol. 11, col. 1).

It seems that R. Akibah also died in Zipporis, about forty years before the academy was transferred thither (*Abodah Zarah*, fol. 11, col. 2); but here the spelling is זִפּוֹרִין. To Zipporis also belonged Ben Elam, who, when the high-priest was not clean on the day of atonement, and therefore unable to perform his functions, went himself into the holy of holies and did duty for him. According to *Hieros. Biccurim*, fol. 64. 2, for sixteen miles round Zipporis the country everywhere flowed with milk and honey; an expression which denotes the greatest degree of fertility and prosperity. Among the numerous synagogues in Zipporis two were especially celebrated, viz., *Synagoga Gophnitica*, כנישתא דגופנא, and *Synagoga Babylonica*, כנישתא דבבל (*Hieros. Berachoth*, fol. 6. 1, and 9. 2).

Zipporis was celebrated for the investigation

and decision of legal niceties (*Hieros. Jevamoth*, fol. 15. 3). Josephus mentions Sepphoris frequently as the greatest town of Galilee, and built in a well fortified situation: Σέπφωρις μεγίστη τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλις, ἐρυμοτάτῳ δὲ ἐπεκτισμένη χωρίῳ (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 2; *Antiq.* xiii. 21; xvii. 12). Sepphoris, Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, and Amathus, were the five cities in which the assemblies of the Synedrium were held (*Antiq.* xiv. 10). In this passage the name has undergone some modification, as we read ἐν Σαμφορείς. After Sepphoris was taken by Varus, it was made the chief city of Galilee, and strongly fortified by Herod Antipas (*Antiq.* xviii. 3). Herod Agrippa junior obtained Zipporis as a present from the emperor Nero (Joseph. *Vita*).

Before this period Tiberias was considered to be the first city in Galilee. Sepphoris was surrounded by many villages, and situated near Mount Asamon, in the centre of Galilee (*De Bell. Jud.* ii. 23), in a very strong and secure situation (*De Bell. Jud.* iii. 1). One of the small towns near Zipporis was called יִשְׁנָה, Jeshenah (*Kidduschin*, cap. iv. 5); another was called קְצָרָה, K'zarah (*Gloss. in Erachim*, cap. ix. 6). Sepphoris was destroyed A.D. 339, in consequence of the rebellion of its citizens.

Theophanes relates (page 33, ed. Par.); Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει οἱ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην Ἰουδαῖοι ἀντῆραν· καὶ πολλοῦς τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν ἀνεῖλον· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ παγγενεὶ (παγγενῆ, *Cedrenus*) ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἀνηρέθησαν, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν Διοκαισάρεια ἠφανίσθη :—'In this year (the 25th of Constantine) the Jews in Palestine rebelled, and killed many of other nations, both Greeks and Samaritans; but they were themselves extirpated by the Roman army, and their town Diocæsarea entirely destroyed.'—Cedrenus has the same account (*Comp. Histor.* 299). It is remarkable that a similar fatality befel the town of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, for which Gregorius Nazianzenus interceded, in a letter to Olympius, which still exists in his works, (tom. i. p. 809).

In the acts of the *Concilium Constantinopolitanum*, among the bishops of Palestine is mentioned Μαρκελλῖνος Νεοκαισαρείας (*Concil.* tom. v. p. 192).

Reland, in his Palæstina, under Sepphoris, conjectures that Νεοκαισαρείας is an erratum for Διοκαισαρείας, which latter town is omitted in the above list of bishops, although we have clear proof that it was rebuilt, and had at a later period a bishop; as we learn from the list of bishops in the *Acta Concilii Hierosolymitani*, A.D. 536, where mention is made of Κυριακὸς Διοκαισαρείας, but not of any bishop of Neocæsarea; nor does there occur any ancient notice of such a town in Palestine. Hence we infer that Neocesarea is nothing but an editorial blunder, as well in the *Acts* quoted, as also in the *Itinerarium Antonini Martyris*, where we read: De Tholomaide maritima venimus in fines Galilææ in civitatem Neocesaream, in qua adoravimus præ veneratione molam et canistellum Sanctæ Mariæ, in quo loco est cathedra in qua sedebat, quando ad eam venit Gabriel Archangelus :—'From Ptolemais at the sea-coast we came into the borders of Galilee, to the town of Neocæsarea, where we adored with veneration the *mola*, and the little basket of St. Mary. In that place is also the chair in which she was seated when the Archangel Gabriel came to her.' We have retained here the word *mola*, since we would leave it uncertain whether Antoninus Martyr adored the hand-mill, molar tooth, or the jawbone, or even a more delicate part of the virgin. *Mola* dicitur in uteris mulierum massa cornea sine ossibus et visceribus, ex imperfecta conceptione concrescens (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 15. 13). Let it be decided by others which object of adoration at Zipporis should be preferred. The Greek μύλη occurs in the same acceptation with *mola*.

It is also remarkable that in the seventh century the place where Gabriel met St. Mary was shown at Nazareth; but it is clear from the progress of the journey that Antoninus, by the name Neocæsarea, meant Diocæsarea or Sepphoris, because this was the first city on the road from Ptolemais into Galilee. We therefore read in Johanns Phocas (*Descript. Palestinæ*, § 10): Πρώτος οὖν κατὰ τὴν Πτολεμαιδα ἐστὶν ἡ Σεμφωρὶ, πόλις τῆς Γαλιλαίας πάντῃ ἄοικος σχεδὸν μηδὲ λείψανον τῆς πρώην αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐμφαίνουσα :—'After Ptolemais, one arrives first at Semphori, a town of Galilee, which is now entirely uninhabited, and shows no remains of its former prosperity.'

Some old coins are extant with the inscription ΣΕΠΦΩΡΗΝΩΝ. One of these, belonging to the reign of Domitian, is mentioned by Vaillant, (p. 23); and (p. 31) he produces another with a similar inscription, belonging to the reign of Trajan, of which Patinus furnishes an engraving (*Numm. ær. Imperatorum*, p. 146). Comp. Hadriani Relandi *Palæstina*, sub Sepphoris, and Othonis *Lexicon Rabbinicum*, sub Zipporis; Lightfoot, *Centuria Geographica*, cap. lxxxii., lxxxiii.; Nicol. Santon, *Index Geographicus*, sub Sephoris.—C. H. F. B.

ZIZ (צִיץ; Sept. Ἀσσεῖς), a cliff or pass leading up from the Dead Sea towards Jerusalem, by which the bands of the Moabites and Ammonites advanced against Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 16). They seem to have come round the south end of the Dead Sea, and along the western shore as far as Engedi, where there is a pass which leads out northward towards Tekoa (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* ii. 215). This is the route which is taken by the Arabs in their marauding expeditions at the present day.

ZIZANION (Ζιζάνιον). This word occurs in Matt. xiii. 25, and several of the following verses, and is translated *weeds* by Luther, and *tares* in the Auth. Vers.; but it is not found in any Greek author. It is therefore supposed that, as the Gospel of Matthew was (as some think) first written in Syro-Chaldaic, the vernacular name of some particular plant was adopted, and thus introduced into the Greek version. This seems to be confirmed by the existence of a plant which is suitable to the above passage, and of which the Arabic name is very similar to *zizanion*. Thus, in the parable of the man who sowed good seed in his field, it is said, 'But while men slept, his enemy came and sowed *tares* among the wheat: when the blade sprung up and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also.' From this it is evident that the wheat and the *zizanion* must have had considerable resemblance to each other in the herbaceous parts,

which could hardly be the case, unless they were both of the family of the grasses. That such,



554. [Lolium temulentum.]

however, is the case, is evident from what Volney says, that the peasants of Palestine and Syria do not cleanse away the seeds of weeds from their corn, but even leave that called *Siwan* by the Arabs, which stuns people and makes them giddy, as he himself experienced. This no doubt is the زوان *Zawan*, or *Ziwan*, of Avicenna, and which Buxtorf, in his Rabbinical Lexicon, says was by the later Hebrews called זוֹנִין *Zonin*. Avicenna describes two kinds of *Ziwan;* one 'quidpiam tritico non absimile,' of which bread is made; the other, 'res ebrietatem inducens, pravæ naturæ, atque inter fruges provenit.' The *Ziwan* of the Arabs is concluded to be our Darnel, the *ivraie* of the French, the *Lolium temulentum* of botanists, and is well suited to the palate. It is a grass often found in corn-fields, resembling the wheat until both are in ear, and remarkable as one of the very few of the numerous family of grasses possessed of deleterious properties. These have long been known, and it is to this plant that Virgil alludes (*Georg.* i. 154):—

'Interque nitentia culta
Infelix *lolium* et steriles dominantur avenæ.'

ZOAN (צֹעַן; Sept. Τάνις), an ancient city of Lower Egypt, situated on the eastern side of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, called in Egyptian ϫⲁϥⲛⲏ or ϫⲁϥⲛⲓ, *Gané* or *Gani*, *i. e.* 'low region,' whence both the Hebrew name Zoan, and the Greek Tanis, are derived; as is also the Arabic San, by which name the site is still known. Zoan is of considerable Scriptural interest. It was one of the oldest cities in Egypt, having been built seven years after Hebron, which already existed in the time of Abraham (Num. xiii. 22; comp. Gen. xxii. 2). It seems also to have been one of the principal capitals, or royal abodes, of the Pharaohs (Isa. xix. 11, 13; xxx. 4); and accordingly, 'the field of Zoan,' or the fine alluvial plain around the city, is described as the scene of the marvellous works which God wrought in the time of Moses (Ps. lxxviii. 12, 33). The destruction predicted in Ezek. xxx. 14, has long since befallen Zoan. The 'field' is now a barren waste; a canal passes through it without being able to fertilize the soil; 'fire has been set in Zoan;' and the royal city is now the habitation of fishermen, the resort of wild beasts, and infested by reptiles and malignant fevers. The locality is covered with mounds of unusual height and extent, full of the fragments of pottery which such sites usually exhibit. These extend for about a mile from north to south, by about three quarters of a mile. The area in which the sacred enclosure of the temple stood, is about 1500 feet by 1250, surrounded by the mounds of fallen houses, as at Bubastis [Pi-beseth], whose increased elevation above the site of the temple is doubtless attributable to the same cause—the frequent change in the level of the houses to protect them from the inundation, and the unaltered position of the sacred buildings. There is a gateway of granite and fine grit stone to the enclosure of this temple, bearing the name of Rameses the Great. Though in a very ruinous condition, the fragments of walls, columns, and fallen obelisks, sufficiently attest the former splendour of the building to which they belonged. The obelisks are all of the time of Rameses the Great (B.C. 1355), and their number, evidently ten, if not twelve, is unparalleled in any Egyptian temple. The name of this king most frequently occurs; but the ovals of his successor Pthamen, of Osirtasen III., and of Tirhakah, have also been found. The time of Osirtasen III. ascends nearly to that of Joseph, and his name, therefore, corroborates the Scriptural account of the antiquity of the town. Two black statues, and a granite sphinx, with blocks of hewn and occasionally sculptured granite, are among the objects which engage the attention of the few travellers who visit this desolate place. The modern village of San consists of mere huts, with the exception of a ruined kasr of modern date (Wilkinson's *Modern Egypt*, i. 449-452; *Narrative of the Scottish Deputation*, pp. 72-76).

ZOAR (צֹעַר and צוֹעַר; Sept. Σηγώρ, Ζόγορα), a town originally called Bala, and one of the five cities of the plain of Siddim. It was doomed with the rest to destruction; but spared at the intercession of Lot as a place to which he might escape. He alleged the smallness of the city as a ground for asking this favour; and hence the place acquired the name of Zoar, or 'SMALLNESS' (Gen. xiii. 10; xiv. 2, 8; xix. 20, 22, 30). It is only again mentioned in Deut. xxxiv. 3; Isa. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 34; which passages indicate that it belonged to the Moabites, and was a place of some consequence. Eusebius and Jerome describe it as having in their day many inhabitants, and a Roman garrison (*Onomast.*, s. v. 'Bala'). Stephen of Byzantium calls it a large village and fortress (Reland, *Palæst.* p. 1065). In the Ecclesiastical Notitia it is mentioned as the seat of a bishop of the Third Palestine, down to the centuries preceding the Crusades (Reland, pp. 217, 223, 226, 230). The Crusaders seem to have found it under the name of Segor, as in the Sept., and they describe the place as pleasantly situated, with many palm

trees (*Will. Tyr.* x. 8). Abulfeda repeatedly speaks of Zoghar as a place adjacent to the Dead Sea and the Ghor (*Tab. Syr.* pp. 8, 9, 11, 148), and indeed calls the Dead Sea itself the Lake of Zoghar (pp. xii. 148, 156). This is the same name as צֹעַר; the apparent difference in Roman types arising from the fact, that the letter ע *ain* in the Hebrew word is treated as mute, but in Arabic is represented by *gh*. Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Researches,* ii. 480, 481; 648—651) has much argument to show that Zoar must have lain on the *east* of the Dead Sea; which seems clear enough from its having been in the territory of Moab: and he thinks that Irby and Mangles have rightly fixed its position at the mouth of the Wady Kerak, at the point where the latter opens upon the isthmus of the long peninsula which stands out from the eastern shore of the lake towards its southern end. At this point Irby and Mangles discovered the remains of an ancient town. Here 'stones that have been used in building, though for the most part unknown, are strewed over a great surface of uneven ground, and mixed with bricks and pottery. This appearance continues without interruption, during the space of at least half a mile, quite down to the plain, so that it would seem to have been a place of considerable extent. We noticed one column, and we found a pretty specimen of antique variegated glass. It may possibly be the site of the antient Zoar' (*Travels,* p. 448).

ZOBAH (צוֹבָה; Sept. Σουβά), a Syrian kingdom, whose king made war with Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 47), with David (2 Sam. viii. 3; x. 6), and with Solomon (2 Chron. viii. 3). Respecting its situation, see ARAM.

1. ZOHAR (צֹחַר, *whiteness;* Sept. Σαάρ), a son of Simeon [ZERAH].

2. ZOHAR, the father of Ephron the Hittite (Gen. xxiii. 8; xxv. 9).

3. ZOHAR (in Keri; in Chetib יצהר, Jezoar), a descendant of Judah (1 Chron. iv. 7).

ZOPHAR (צוֹפַר, *sparrow?* Sept. Σωφάρ), one of Job's three friends and opponents in argument (Job ii. 11; xi. 1; xx. 1; xlii. 9). He is called a Naamathite, or inhabitant of Naamah, a place whose situation is unknown, as it could not be the Naamah mentioned in Josh. xv. 41. Wemyss, in his *Job and his Times* (p. 111), well characterizes this interlocutor:—'Zophar exceeds the other two, if possible, in severity of censure; he is the most inveterate of the accusers, and speaks without feeling or pity. He does little more than repeat and exaggerate the arguments of Bildad. He unfeelingly alludes (ch. xi. 15) to the effects of Job's disease as appearing in his countenance. This is cruel and invidious. Yet in the same discourse how nobly does he treat of the divine attributes, showing that any inquiry into them is far beyond the grasp of the human mind! And though the hortatory part of the first discourse bears some resemblance to that of Eliphaz, yet it is diversified by the fine imagery which he employs. He seems to have had a full conviction of the providence of God, as regulating and controlling the actions of men; but he limits all his reasonings to a present life, and makes no reference to a future world. This circumstance alone accounts for the weakness and fallacy of these men's judgments. In his second discourse there is much poetical beauty in the selection of images, and the general doctrine is founded in truth; its fallacy lies in its application to Job's peculiar case. The whole indicates great warmth of temper, inflamed by misapprehension of its object and by mistaken zeal.'

It is to be observed that Zophar has but two speeches, whereas the others have three each. When Job had replied (ch. xxvi.-xxxi.) to the short address of Bildad (ch. xxv.), a rejoinder might have been expected from Zophar; but he said nothing, the three friends, by common consent, then giving up the contest in despair (ch. xxxii. 1) [JOB].

ZORAH (צָרְעָה, *hornets' town;* Sept. Σαραά), a town reckoned as in the plain of Judah (Josh. xv. 33), but inhabited by Danites (xix. 41), not far from Eshtaol, and chiefly celebrated as the birthplace of Samson (Judg. xiii. 2, 25; xviii. 2, 8, 11; comp. 2 Chron. xi. 12; Neh. xi. 29). The site may still be recognised under the name of Surah, situated upon a spur of the mountains running into the plain north of Beth-shemesh (Robinson, ii. 339; iii. 18).

ZURIEL (צוּרִיאֵל, *God is my rock;* Sept. Σουριήλ), son of Abihail, and family chief or genesarch of the Merarites at the organization of the Levitical establishment (Num. iii. 35). It does not appear to which of the two great divisions of the Merarites he belonged.

ZUZIMS (זוּזִים; Sept. ἔθνη ἰσχυρά), one of the ancient tribes or nations conquered by Chedorlaomer and his allies (Gen. xiv. 5). The Zuzims were settled beyond the Jordan, and are perhaps the same as the Zamzummims of Deut. ii. 20. The Syriac and Onkelos, like the Septuagint, take the word for an appellative, signifying 'strong' or 'valiant.'

NAHUM (נָחוּם, *consolation;* Sept. Ναούμ), the seventh of the minor prophets, according to the arrangement of both the Greek and Hebrew, but the sixth in point of date, was a native of Elkosh, a village of Galilee (Jerome's *Pref. to his Comment.*). He prophesied in Judah after the deportation of the ten tribes, and soon after the unsuccessful irruption of Sennacherib (ch. i. 11-13; ii. 1, 14), consequently towards the close of the reign of Hezekiah. Attempts have been made to fix the date with precision, from the allusion to the destruction of No-Ammon or Thebes in Egypt (ch. iii. 8); but as it is uncertain when this event took place, Eichhorn and others have conjectured that it was near the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah, or about B.C. 720, as about this time Sargon, king of Assyria, waged an unsuccessful war for three years against Egypt (Isa. xx.).

The contents of the prophecy of Nahum are as follows:—Chap. i. 2-7. The destruction of Nineveh and of the Assyrian monarchy is depicted in the liveliest colours, together with the relief of Judah from oppression. The destruction of Nineveh is detailed with still greater particularity in the third chapter; which has induced some to suppose that the prophet refers to two

different events—the sack of Nineveh by the Medes, B.C. 867, in the reign of Sardanapalus, and its second and final destruction, under Chyniladan, by Cyaxares the First and Nabopolassar, B.C. 625. Those who suppose that two events are here alluded to, conclude that Nahum must have prophesied before the first destruction of Nineveh, or about B.C. 877. It is, however, observed by Jahn (*Introd.*) that it is evident from ch. i. 9-11, 14; ii. 1, 14, where the Hebrews are represented as oppressed by the Assyrians, and the irruption of Sennacherib is mentioned as having already taken place, that there is but one event referred to, namely, the last destruction of Nineveh. De Wette remarks that Nahum could not have alluded to the historical circumstances under which Nineveh was taken by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar (B.C. 625, 603, or 600), as at that time Babylon, not Assyria, was formidable to the Jews; but that perhaps he was led to prophesy by the liberation of the Medes (from the Assyrians), and their election of a king, in the person of Dejoces.

The beauty of the style of Nahum has been universally felt. It is classic, observes De Wette, in all respects. It is marked by clearness, by its finished elegance, as well as by fire, richness, and originality. The rhythm is regular and lively. The whole book remarkably coherent, and the author only holds his breath, as it were, in the last chapter. Jahn observes that the language is pure, with a single exception (טפסרים, ch. iii. 17), that the style is ornate, and the tropes bold and elegant (rendering it, however, necessary for the reader to supply some omissions; see ii. 8; ix. 3, 16); and that the descriptions of the divine omnipotence, and of the destruction of Nineveh, are resplendent with all the perfection of oratory. No one, however, has entered more fully into the beauties of the prophet Nahum than the accomplished Eichhorn, who conceives that the most striking characteristic of his style is the power of representing several phases of an idea in the briefest sentences, as in his description of God, the conquest of Nineveh, and the destruction of No-Ammon. 'The variety in his manner of presenting ideas discovers much poetic talent in the prophet. The reader of taste and sensibility will be affected by the entire structure of the poem, by the agreeable manner in which the ideas are brought forward, by the flexibility of the expressions, the roundness of his turns, the delicate outline of his figures, by the strength and delicacy, and the expression of sympathy and greatness, which diffuse themselves over the whole subject. He does not come upon you roaring and violent, nor yet softly and lightly. Here there is something sonorous in his language, there something murmuring; and with both there alternates somewhat that is soft, delicate, and melting, as the subject demands. This is not possible for a poet of art, but only for the poet of nature' (De Wette's *Introd.*, English transl.). The following works on this prophet are enumerated by De Wette:—Bibliander, *Proph. Nahum*, 1534; Ursini *Hypomnemata in Obad. et Nahum*, 1652; Hattenrefferi *Comm. in Nah. et Habac.* 1663; Abarbanel, *Comment. Rabbinicus in Nahum*, a Sprechero, 1703; Von Höke, *On the Six last Minor Prophets*, 1709, 1710; Kalinsky, *Vaticc. Habac. et Nahum, &c.*, 1748; Agrell, *Vaticc. Nahum, Observ. Hist. Phil. Illustr.* 1788; Greve, *Nah. et Habac. Interp. ed. Metrica*, 1793; Svanborg, *Nahum, Latine Vers. &c.* 1806; Frähn, *Cur. Exeg. Crit.* 1806; Kreenen, *Nahum Vatic. Phil. et Crit. Expos.* 1808.—W. W.

THE END.

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